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"ON THE ROAD TO RELIGIOUS FREEDOM": A STUDY OF THE NAZARENE EMIGRATION FROM SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE TO THE UNITED STATES

ALEKSANDRA DJURIĆ MILOVANOVIĆ

ABSTRACT

Different historical and socio-political circumstances often were the cause of migration, especially in the countries of Southeastern Europe. Migration was also triggered by religious persecution of particular religious minorities by different political systems, one of them being the Nazarenes. The Nazarenes were founded by a former Reformed minister Samuel Fröhlich around 1830 in Switzerland, but they soon expanded to Central and Eastern Europe. Because of their pacifist beliefs and refusal to swear and to take an oath a large number of the Nazarenes were condemned to severe prison sentences. Defending their religious identity and escaping religious persecution, thousands of Nazarenes started to emigrate especially during the First World War and in the interwar period to North America. In North America they joined the Apostolic Christian Church (Nazarene), which was the official name of the Nazarene community in the United States and Canada. The material presented in this paper results from empirical research, conducted in Serbia and the United States, on the history of the Nazarene emigration to North America. The aim of this paper is twofold: to analyze how early migration is remembered by the Nazarenes today and how the Nazarenes, as a religious minority from Southeastern Europe, became a trans-national religious community that developed in several branches. The paper shows how religion could be a 'channel for migration' and how immigrants used religion in processes of migration.

Keywords: religious minorities, persecution, migration, Nazarenes, Southeastern Europe, North America.

INTRODUCTION

The issues of migration of various religious groups to the New World have been in the focus of early modern and modern European history. Through most of early modern period, the migration, expulsion and exile of particular religious groups increased significantly. Emerging diversity of religious minorities after the Protestant Reformation caused complex interreligious relations and often conflicted with states aiming to establish religious conformity.[1] When we speak

[1] Lachenicht 2007: 5.

about religious minorities and their migration experiences, it is necessary to analyze the broader political and religious context which can provide insights on their position before migration as well as reasons for migration. There are several examples of transatlantic migration of Protestant groups in the early modern period that indicate how persecuted religious minorities from Europe settled and integrated in their new homeland across the Atlantic. One example is the migration of Huguenots – French Calvinists, to North American colonies that started in 1680s and 1690s as a result of violent persecution in France.[2] Huguenots also migrated to other European countries such as the Netherlands, England, Ireland or the German states, but they considered the colonial world "a *refugium* – a safe shelter where European persecution would not reach them".[3] Like Huguenots, members of the Amish community being persecuted in their German, French and Swiss homeland came to North America in two migration waves in the 1700s and 1800s. One of the largest mass migrations of Amish to North America occurred from 1820 to 1860 due to increasing pressures of military recruitment following the French Revolutionary era.[4] Accordingly, the early modern period witnessed dramatic increase in migration of various religious groups and as Nicholas Terpstra points out "forced expulsion reshaped Europe's social geography by creating diasporic communities across and beyond the continent".[5]

Alongside the examples of Huguenots, Amish or Mennonites, in the following decades, another Radical Reformation group developed in Switzerland. In 1830 in Leutwil (Canton Aargau, Switzerland), Anabaptists and about the same number of Reformed joined the new religious group which became known locally as *Neutäufer* or *Frohlichianer*. Reviving some of the old Mennonite principles, this newly emerging religious community emphasized pacifism, refusal to take an oath, children baptism, and stressed the need of separation from the world. The history of this religious group has many similarities with the above mentioned early-modern cases. The founder of Swiss Neutäufer (Nazarenes) was Samuel Heinrich Fröhlich (1803–1857) a former Calvinist minister from Brugg (Canton Aargau), who was deeply influenced by the Anabaptists, the radical reformers in sixteenth century Europe.[6] He embraced the practical living, separation of church and state, adult baptism as opposed to infant baptism, nonviolence and refusal to take an oath.[7] Similar to Anabaptists, Fröhlich emphasized a need for faith in Christ alone, the necessity of the New Birth through inner conversion experience; he insisted on the renunciation of the excesses of the world in terms of personal lifestyle, adornment, and

[2] See Van Ruymbeke 2003, Mentzer and Van Ruymbeke 2016.
[3] Schurmann 2007: 214.
[4] Pfeiffer 2011: 7.
[5] Terpstra 2015: 5.
[6] Historian Herman Ruegger mentions how Fröhlich came from an old French Huguenot family of the name DeJoyeux. Since they were persecuted in France, they came to Switzerland and changed their name to "Fröhlich". See Ruegger 1985: 34–35.
[7] Fröhlich 1926.

entertainment.[8] Communities were practicing strict discipline and rules, but all members were equal regardless of their ethnic background, social status or education; they are considered to be "brothers and sisters in faith". Historian Delbert Gratz argues that "even though the Neutäufer group was composed of more former Reformed Church members than those of Anabaptist origin, doctrinally it has remained Anabaptist".[9] From the beginning Fröhlich and his followers were strongly persecuted. In that period preaching in houses was forbidden, the baptism for a newborn was obligatory, and marriage was recognized only for Lutherans, Catholic and Jews. Because of his teachings and missionary work and also because of his marriage in his own church, Fröhlich came into conflict with state authorities of Canton Aargau.[10] Fröhlich preached through different missionary journeys in Switzerland (Canton Aargau, Canton Bern, Emmental, Zurich and Eastern Switzerland), gaining new followers and baptizing people. Some of the religious meetings held by Fröhlich were interrupted by the police but still this community grew in their membership. By 1850 there were 110 churches. Missionaries spread Fröhlich's teachings in German lands, France, Austria and Hungary.

THE NAZARENES IN SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE: SPREADING A MOVEMENT OF RELIGIOUS DISSENT

When two Hungarian journeymen, locksmiths János Denkel and János Kropacsek, went to Switzerland they were inspired by Fröhlich's preaching. After coming back to Budapest in 1839, they presented their new religious experience to a young Catholic apprentice Lajos Hencsey. Inspired by the testimony of Denkel and Kropacsek, Lajos Hencsey founded the first Nazarene congregation in Hungary. Those first converts were mostly journeymen from different parts of Hungary, Catholic or Lutherans.[11] The community founded by Hencsey had some differences comparing to Froehlich's followers. Hencsey and Fröhlich met several times before Froehlich's death in 1844. Beside Hencsey, Hungarian Nazarenes had few important preachers: Heinrich Geistlich, Joseph Bella and Imre Hencsey. Nazarenes encountered severe problems after the Revolution 1848–1849 and the introduction of the absolutist regime. They were persecuted and imprisoned since they were considered politically subversive.[12] According to historian Bojan Aleksov:

"The initial ban and repression of the sect itself was intensified as a result of its members' refusing to carry weapons, especially during the Italian war of 1859 and the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, when several executions of Nazarenes

[8] Joseph F. Pfeiffer defines Neutäufer or Apostolic Christian Church as nineteenth century Neo-Anabaptist movement or Anabaptist renewal movement.

[9] Gratz 1987: 430.

[10] Eotvos 1997: 141.

[11] Aleksov 2006: 51.

[12] Idem: 53.

from Bácska were recorded and prison sentences of ten to fifteen years were meted out to those escaping the death penalty".[13]

Liberal Hungarian politician Karoly Eotvos described Nazarenes as following: "Official circles issued strict edicts against them. But Nazarenes were not the kind of Christians whom the authorities could intimate by severe treatment. They were not willing to deny their faith, even under pressure. They always remained faithful to their Christian convictions".[14] Their pacifism had the most significant impact on the community's future development and relationship with the state.[15] In spite of persecution, this new faith spread through other parts of Hungary, gaining more and more followers especially in the south among different ethnic groups – Slovaks, Germans, Hungarians, Serbs, Romanians.

They formed sizable communities mostly in rural settlements in the Banat and Bácska region. In multiethnic and multidenominational Austria-Hungary, the Nazarenes were of extremely mixed ethnic origin, which enabled their rapid spreading to different settlements. Based on reports of British Quakers and Dutch Mennonites in the late nineteenth century, historian Peter Brock approximated the number of Nazarenes in Hungary to be between 13,000 and 15,000.[16] The precise number of the Nazarenes cannot be determined however as some sources indicate that there were 86,000 members before World War I and more than 230 congregations.[17] Some congregations had between 200–300 members: Lokve, Melenci, Padina, Nadalj, Stara Pazova, Pačir, Feketić, Crvenka.

Alongside religious changes, migration waves from Southeastern Europe to North America started in the late nineteenth century and during the first decade of the twentieth century.[18] Coming from the areas of Austria-Hungary and later on from the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, members of different ethnic and religious groups have immigrated to North America since 1844. Alongside Orthodox Christians, Roman Catholics, Lutherans or Reformed Christians, religious minority groups such as the Nazarenes were also present. As a movement of religious dissent, emphasizing strong community commitment, the Nazarenes were in conflict with the state authorities from the moment they appeared in the southern areas of Austria-Hungary. The spreading of the Nazarenes in the newly formed Yugoslav state, occupied much political and ecclesiastic attention at the time. Spreading of the Nazarenes was monitored by the state officials and many reports reveal the growth or decline of their members and locations of their churches, usually in private homes. Since the Nazarenes strongly criticized prevailing political and ecclesiastical order,

[13] Idem: 61.
[14] Eotvos 1997: 141.
[15] Brock 1972.
[16] Brock 1980: 54.
[17] Aleksov 2006: 81.
[18] More on transnationalsm and Balkan migration history to the United States see Brunnbauer 2016.

Orthodox priests published many articles and book-pamphlets as anti-Nazarene propaganda.[19]

One of the strengths of this religious community was its ability to recruit members from all the nationalities that inhabited this ethnically mixed area. In spreading the Nazarene teachings and conversion, the use of vernacular language and even several languages had an important role in religious service and hymn singing. Each congregation consists of baptized members, called brothers and sisters, and non-baptized community friends. Beside attending Sunday service, reading the Bible and praying frequently were essential parts of the Nazarene everyday practice. Strict Nazarene discipline prescribed the adoption of everyday behavioral norms approved by those who were already members of the community. Prohibitions included drinking of alcohol and coffee, smoking, cursing and using other bad language, going to public festivities or attending religious ceremonies in other churches. Icons and symbols of cross were strictly forbidden. Beside strong morality and work ethic, the Nazarene communities were based on communitarian principles with high solidarity of their members, which was very important in rural and peasant areas of south Hungary and later in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Maintaining distinct group identity was one of the keys of their success. Communitarian principles, pacifism and anti-clericalism characterized the Nazarene community, along with disinterest in politics, distinguished this minority group from the rest of the society. Peter Brock explained the Nazarene rigid abstention from politics as a trait of Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition, which is concerned with paradise in heaven and not on earth according to Jesus's words "My Kingdom does not belong to this world" (John 18:36).

Drawing from a limited number of primary sources on the Nazarene community, the novelty of this paper lies in its focus on the Nazarene migration within broader context of religious migration from Europe to North America. More precisely, the main aim of this paper is twofold: to analyze the question of the Nazarene migration until the Second World War and transnational links both in their homeland – Yugoslavia and host society – the United States, and to address how migration history within Nazarene community is remembered today within researched communities in North America. This paper provides insight into several important features of overseas migration from the area of Southeastern Europe, especially complex relationship between ethnicity, religion and migration, in one trans-Atlantic religious community.

SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE NAZARENE PRE-MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

When the Nazarenes from Switzerland started spreading throughout Austria-Hungary among mostly Protestant but also Christian Orthodox populations, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the first waves of emigration to North

[19] Orthodox theologian Vladimir Dimitrijević published several books on the Nazarenes in the late nineteenth century. These books represent the only published sources on the Nazarenes. See Dimitrijević 1898.

America also started. Available historiography sources indicate the main reasons for the Nazarene emigration were: persecution, imprisonment and lack of religious freedom because of their pacifist stance. Not willing to resist this key element of their doctrine, hundreds of Nazarenes escaped to North America in several migration waves, mainly a few years before the First World War and in the interwar period. Repression and intolerance in their homeland were the primary reasons for fleeing. This migration flow was even more present after the Second World War, during the communist Yugoslavia and it reached its peak between 1955 and 1970.

Even though Nazarenes have been inclined to migration, this religious minority has remained largely invisible within the existing migration research and existing records are fragmentary. The material collected for the purposes of this paper came to be the result of empirical research, conducted in Serbia (2008–2012) and the United States (2015), on the history of the Nazarene emigration to North America and the transformation of the community in the American context. The focus of my research is the area of Akron, Cleveland and Mansfield (Ohio, U.S.) which received many Southeastern European immigrants. In North America they came to be known as the Apostolic Christians (Nazarene). My research was primarily ethnographic involving participant observation, semi-structured qualitative interviews with church leaders and members, and review of the archive documents.[20]

Since there is lack of primary sources on the early immigration waves of the Nazarenes from Southeastern Europe, I interviewed family members, children and grandchildren of those first Nazarene immigrants. Number of collected interviews in 25 and they were conducted in Serbian, English or Romanian depending on informant's language choice. The historical memory of their migration is well preserved today among the second and the third generation of descendants. I have interviewed Nazarene family members who settled in Akron, Cleveland and Mansfield during my ethnographic field research in the United States (March–June 2015). My informants were members of several Apostolic Christian Churches of Nazarene: Brunswick Hills, Cleveland Romanian, West Akron, Mansfield, Norton and Ontario Christian Fellowship.[21] The Apostolic Christian Church does not maintain an official publishing house and does not keep extensive records on their community. Thus, available sources on the history of the Apostolic Christian Church both in Europe and in the United States are limited.

[20] Apostolic Christian Church of America Foundation Records is deposited in The Virginia Historical Society (VHS), Department of Manuscripts and Archives, where I have conducted my research in May 2015.

[21] Ontario Christian Fellowship is a new, more liberal, branch developed from the members of the Apostolic Christian Church of Nazarene. It consists from members that were previously part of ACCN churches in the area but also it has its own new membership within younger generations. It was founded in 1969 by group of believers from the ACCN in Mansfield. They are emphasizing evangelism and missionary activities. This church maintained affiliation with the ACCN and became one of the flagship churches of what has come to be known as "Western Conference". Beside Ontario Christian Fellowship there is one more similar church – Lake Side Christian Fellowship situated also in Ohio.

The specificity of the Nazarene emigration needs to be analyzed in the broader socio-political context of the post-First World War Yugoslavia. In this turbulent period, marked with the rise of nationalism and creation of the new nation-states, the Nazarenes were exposed to many challenges but they also challenged some of the key elements of developing patriotism such as obligatory military service or loyalty to the king. After the end of the First World War and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians (from 1929 the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) was formed in 1918 and it existed until 1941. Change of the state borders, politics and religious landscape was significant when it comes to minorities issues. In the period of Yugoslavian nation building between the two world wars, this multiethnic religious community was not recognized by the law; therefore all gatherings were prohibited and sanctioned. But members of this community still gathered secretly and quickly spread in both rural and urban areas.

In the newly founded state, the position of the Nazarenes deteriorated. The existence of multiple identities in the Austria-Hungary changed in the newly formed state especially in its religious structure after the First World War. Strengthening the position of the Orthodox Serbs led to the union under one ecclesiastical authority and the Patriarchate of Serbia 1920.[22] The new Ministry of Religion was established in 1918 and until 1921 all religious communities previously recognized in Austria-Hungary had the same status. Eventually a new Constitution was proclaimed in 1921 and legal status was only granted to the Serbian Orthodox Church, Catholic and Greek-Catholic churches, Lutheran and Reformed churches, as well as the Islamic Religious Community and the Moses Faith Community (Jewish), as recognized and adopted religious communities.[23] From the state authorities' point of view, the Nazarenes were seen as a rapidly growing "harmful sect" whose members persisted in their pacifist attitudes in spite of strict penalties. Therefore, their pre-emigration experience was marked by a hostile and marginalized position, since they were perceived as un-loyal citizens, not willing to defend their country participating in the army or to take an oath.

The Ministry of Religion ordered obligatory military service and did not have an option for the Nazarenes to serve in non-combatant roles in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. On the basis of military reports from 1927–1929 it could be seen how many Nazarenes did take an oath and participated in military exercise. In those reports there is information on those Nazarenes who eventually accepted military obligations.[24]

In the article "The Battle over New-Believers" published in Serbian daily newspaper *Politika* [Politics], the Nazarenes were described as a rapidly growing religious sect whose activities are sanctioned by the state. In 1924 the Ministry of Religious Affairs sent orders to all police officials in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to prohibit all further activity of the societies of the Nazarenes and of the Adventists, to close all their prayer houses, and to arrest their agitators and their preachers and

[22] Radić 2010: 231–248.
[23] Bjelajac 2012: 80.
[24] Archives of Yugoslavia (AJ) inv.no 69-64-103.

to deliver them to the courts.[25] All Nazarene prayer houses must be closed, religious books seized, all members' listed and future meetings forbidden.[26] Beside this, the Nazarenes confronted again the problem of going to the army. Historian Branko Bjelajac has argued the following: "During the month of September 1924, all men between 20 and 50 in the Vojvodina province were drafted to military reserve exercises and to swear an oath to the new state. All men up to the age of 50 were called into the army in order to swear allegiance to the king. At this time 1,400 Nazarenes rejected the oath and all were sent to military court and then to prisons. Some of them were paraded through villages with chains on their legs".[27]

Instead of saying "I swear" the Nazarenes wanted to change it to "I promise" which was not accepted by the authorities. They were even willing to serve double time in the army (ex. sanitary service) but without taking arms. However, the state authorities did not accept any kind of exclusion from military duties and sentenced the Nazarenes even twice for the same "delict". In the interwar Yugoslavia there was a sizable illegal underground communist movement and members were imprisoned if caught. Nazarenes were also imprisoned along with communists, sometimes in the same prison cells.[28]

Since the number of the Nazarenes was continuously growing, police regularly made reports on their number. Therefore the Ministry of Interior Affairs informed the Ministry of Religion on 5th September 1924 on "the danger of spreading of the Nazarenes in the Kingdom since the consequences of their spreading could be felt in our daily life".[29] In 1925 they made detailed reports of all the villages and towns where the Nazarenes gathered, including their ethnic background, number, name of the elders, and noted if the community number was growing or descending.[30]

The situation with the Nazarene community in Yugoslavia was reported to their communities abroad, in Switzerland and in North America. According to Stäubli "the distress of the Nazarenes in Yugoslavia could not remain a secret. Their brothers in the faith in Switzerland and in America became interested in the case and in January 1925 four Swiss brothers made a trip in Yugoslavia to investigate their troubles".[31] Two important facts should be mentioned here. One is the transnational character of this community and the other was their congregational principle and internal cohesion which contributed to their group mobilization. Although theologically based on the communitarian principle, the perception of the Nazarenes as a "state enemy" strengthened even more their community mobilization. Furthermore, transnational ties with other Nazarene communities abroad played a significant role in their decision to emigrate. Leaving their homeland, the Nazarenes settled in those areas of North America where Nazarene churches already existed.

[25] *Politika*, February 18, 1925, no. 6042, 5.
[26] AJ, inv. no. 69-64-103
[27] *Politika*, February 18, 1925, no. 6042, 5.
[28] Bjelajac 2012: 82
[29] Ehnle and Ehnle 2005: 15– 16.
[30] AJ, inv. no. 69-64-103
[31] Aleksov 2010: 303–345.

An additional factor in their group mobilization was the multiethnic character of Nazarenes which enabled migrants to join a more extensive network of people living abroad. Pressures from the outside, more precisely from the state authorities, created an identity of a closed religious minority group and on the other hand the Nazarenes became *invisible emigrants*. Their reaction on the pressure to serve the army and the ban on their religious activities, led to the strengthening of their narrative of suffering and persecution, and alternatively a sense of superiority of a chosen group. This represented a challenge for the community itself since it had influence on the internal cohesion of the community. At that time a split among the Nazarenes in Yugoslavia emerged. One group of the Nazarenes (called the new-Nazarenes) agreed to take the oath, while the other rejected it. The state encouraged the new-Nazarene group to convince their former fellows – the old-Nazarenes, to accept military service.[32] Repressive measures and hardship led many members of the Nazarene community to escape searching for religious freedom. Since the Nazarene families were very numerous and after years of prison sentences, men decided to find a way to escape and join fellow-believers abroad where they could practice their faith freely with their families.[33]

THE EVANGELICAL BAPTISTS OR "NEW AMISH" IN NORTH AMERICA: AN EXAMPLE OF TRANSATLANTIC MIGRATION

The migration history of the Nazarenes to North America is closely related to their persecution in their European homeland. The first waves of migration of Froehlich's followers across the Atlantic started in 1847. They were mostly ethnic Germans, settling in the American Midwest. The first Evangelical Baptist community (Ger. *Evangelische Taufgesinnter*), later known as Apostolic Christian church was organized in 1852 among Amish and Mennonites in Croghan, New York.[34] The second church was established in Sardis, Ohio, by three Switzerland families. Members of the new churches in the United States consisted of immigrants from the Evangelical Baptist Church in Europe and American converts from those who had previously settled in those areas, especially Amish and Mennonite groups. The first Evangelical Baptist in North America, elder Benedict Weyeneth (1819–1887), preached necessity of the new birth through baptism of adults among Amish and Mennonites. Their theology was close with the teachings of Evangelical Baptists. However, many new congregations were established by Evangelical Baptists coming from Europe with no Amish or Mennonite background. Several congregations were established in areas of central Illinois. Together with Weyeneth, Joseph Bella tried to preserve a strong sense of continuity with their European heritage, especially after the translation of Fröhlich texts appeared in English. Historian Joseph Pfeiffer argues: "No longer a minority in the face of a gargantuan government and state

[32] AJ, inv. no. 69-64-103.
[33] Stäubli 1928: 9.
[34] Sutter 1968: 28.

church prejudiced against them, they now settled in the frontier areas of the early nineteenth century America, where in they would find abundant freedom to make their own way. They were now a minority among minorities, in a land where the majority consisted of minorities, and no one religious group predominated".[35]

Until 1917 the name of the community was Evangelical Baptists or sometimes New Amish, afterwards they were officially named the Apostolic Christian Church.[36] New waves of immigrants from Eastern European communities of the Nazarenes resulted in making an ethnically diverse structure of the Apostolic Christian Church which was predominantly German speaking but also raised future tensions and divisions. These new immigrants were Donauschwaben Germans, Serbian, Romanian, Hungarian and Slovak Nazarenes from the areas within Austria-Hungary. Pfeiffer notes that a number of key differences existed in what would become the Apostolic Christian Church of America from the European Neutäufer: "Through a distinct process of ethnicization and Americanization, the Apostolic Christian Church, though remaining German speaking until the early twentieth century, would become considerably distinct from its sister churches in Europe, highlighted through tensions and struggles that would ensue with a new wave of European immigrants toward the end of the nineteenth century".[37]

In 1906 the Apostolic Christian Church split into the Apostolic Christian Church of America (ab. ACCA), which was more conservative and Apostolic Christian Church of Nazarene (ab. ACCN), more liberal and evangelistic branch. The division of the community emerged due to some specific religious practices of the European Nazarenes (such as wearing a mustache, a certain way of dressing, or the style of head covering etc.), as well as the use of the German language, which, was the official language of the Nazarene congregations in America and Canada until the early twentieth century. Many Nazarene immigrants, especially Serbs and Slovaks from Banat or Bacska, established new communities in urban areas of Ohio, in Akron, Barberton, Warren, Wooster, Cleveland. German speaking immigrants from the villages along the lower Danube River, according to Ted and Ernie Pavkov, were the first to arrive in Akron. The family names included: Feldman, Kalman, Tiffan, Wenhardt, Pamer and Graf.[38] Local church historian Evelyn Betz notes how "many of these immigrants had learned a trade in Europe and came skilled as a cabinet maker, upholsterer, tailor, baker, butcher or tool maker. Their skills were welcomed and profitable in the agricultural area of Mansfield".[39] The Apostolic Christian Church of America was primarily concentrated in rural agricultural areas, while the Apostolic Christian Church of Nazarene was mostly present in industrial areas where immigrants were searching for new jobs. Immigration flow from Southeastern Europe occurred between 1902 and 1912 leading to the formation of new

[35] Pfeiffer 2010: 110.

[36] Since their theology was different from Baptists in the US, Nazarenes officially registered their name as the Apostolic Christian Church in 1917.

[37] Pfeiffer 2010: 93.

[38] Pavkov and Pavkov 1989: 29.

[39] Sheetz and Betz 1989: 1.

Apostolic Christian Churches. Congregations of the ACCN were multiethnic and sometimes divided on the bases of language. This was the case with the ACCN in Akron, Ohio, which consisted of four separate congregations: West Akron was using Serbian and Romanian language, North Akron German, South Hungarian, and East Akron Slovak. In some congregations services were held in several languages, but still used English during one part of the worship. This issue of preserving their native language and slowly adopting English was a sign of ethnically defining borders within this multi-ethnic religious community, but at the same time a sign of resistance to rapid assimilation into their new setting. Avoiding social relations outside the community, they intermarried only with community members and having a high birth rate, influenced a slower process of acculturation and "Americanization", but still future generations were more inclined to introduce the English language in the religious service. A significant change that occurred after emigration from Europe was the relative lack of persecution which was one of the main community identity markers. Still, the influence of Eastern European customs persisted for many years. Practices of closed weddings or baptism (i.e. not open to non-members) represented the old legacy from the time of persecution of the Nazarenes in Yugoslavia and the time when religious rituals were held in secret. These practices were gradually changing and in a way modernizing in the American context. Comparing to the ACCA or the "Sister Church", ACCN had many more connections with European communities and was more missionary oriented. They would often send financial help to their relatives and Nazarene communities they left in Yugoslavia.[40] Even though Nazarenes were persecuted and imprisoned, their number continued to grow in Southeastern Europe even in the interwar period. With the growing number of new members in their homeland, more waves of emigration were also present. However, following World War I, the flow of immigrants was reduced, according to Hutchinson, beside a literacy requirement adopted by Congress in 1917 in the Quota Act of 1921 marked a turning point in American immigration policy.[41] After heavy immigration waves before the Great War, immigration policy after 1918 was more selective and restrictive. Immigration of Southeast Europeans started in the beginning of nineteenth century, but the biggest wave of immigration occurred between 1880 and 1914. From Austria-Hungary, members of the Nazarene community with various ethnic backgrounds emigrated together with majority of the Orthodox or Catholic population. The next wave of immigrants was between the world wars (1918–1941), but it was followed by a more restrictive immigration policy. Although most of the immigrants were looking for better economic opportuneities,[42] among them, a small group of Nazarenes was searching for religious freedom.

[40] VHS, ACCF, Prison fund 198–205.

[41] Hutchinson 1949: 15–21.

[42] The emigration from South-East Europe to America is "tightly connected to the industrial booming during which there was a stringent need of work force for difficult and challenging jobs. In order to have access to this work force for a low price, the immigration agencies and the sailing companies extended their activities in Eastern and Southern Europe".

"THEY WERE SO USED TO THEIR LAND…": POST-EMIGRATION EXPERIENCES AND COMMUNITY MEMORY

Living both in Austria-Hungary and later on in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Nazarenes experienced similar treatment regarding their opposition to take arms and oath.[43] There were also other religious minorities at that time, however doctrinally different (Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah Witnesses, etc.). The only religious community that did not obey the laws of the country regarding military service was the Nazarene. However, the Nazarenes attitude towards persecution and imprisonment in their discourse is almost always Biblically explained. During several years of ethnographic field research of the Nazarene community in Serbia and later in the United States, their testimonies on persecution were explained as the support of the truthfulness of their theology. Among my informants were also those who personally experienced imprisonment and almost all of them argue that they would do the same thing again if needed, and they would not abandon their faith.

Within the collected corpus of the 25 interviews, I analyzed the migration narratives using the oral history approach. The ACCN archival documents preserved in the Virginia Historical Society (VHS) cover the period 1946–1992, and therefore records on the early migration of the Nazarenes are limited.[44] The only sources on their migration history before the Second World War could be found in personal archives and drawn from oral history. Although most of my informants came in the United States during the communist period in Yugoslavia, especially between 1950 and 1975, several families came earlier and belong to the second or third generation of immigrants. They remember their family stories of arriving to the United States before World War I and in the interwar period, being members of a persecuted religious minority in their homeland. In order to avoid military service, many Nazarenes tried to leave the county, or depending on the period and emigration policy in their homeland, tried to cross the border, mostly illegally. The Nazarenes had only two choices to avoid persecution or imprisonment – emigration or accepting military duties.

Among the interviewed Nazarenes, the narrative on their family persecution in their homeland is still present:

> [1] It was hard. They kept my brothers in prison for a long time. After they got out, they were afraid of new punishment so they crossed the border to Italy. There they were in camps, before they left to Australia, the United States, and Canada. Everybody left.[45]
> [2] I was thinking if I have children they will go again through this. So I decided to leave. *You knew that already many Nazarenes left?* I knew all of that. My father had 10 siblings and all

[43] During the communist regime in Yugoslavia the Nazarenes refused participation in collectiveization of land, voting in the elections and joining the Communist political party. More on the Nazarenes in Yugoslavia, in Aleksov 1999.

[44] VHS, ACCF, Mss Ap466a Fa2 1946–1992.

[45] Maria Pascu, Mali Žam (Serbia), 10th June 2012, Archive of the Institute for Balkan Studies SASA.

> were Nazarenes. Then 5 of them were in prison. I knew that all and I decided to leave, but I could not come out normally, I had to escape.[46]

The most significant cause for the community extinction in Southeastern Europe was emigration of their members. America became an opportunity for the Nazarenes which their founder Fröhlich also recognized: "If it is no longer possible for you to live your faith where you are then go to America". The first Nazarene immigrants from Southeastern Europe to the United States arrived between 1905 and 1915 in the New York harbor in the large registry hall on Ellis Island. After receiving a stamp of approval they would arrange transportation and mostly settle in the American Midwest. The Galat family was of Slovak ethnic background from the town of Nagybecskerek (present name Zrenjanin) in Banat, Austria-Hungary. George Galat, my informant's grandfather, was born in 1865 and he served as an officer in German Army in Prussia:

> [3] He came home on leave, when he made a conversion experience to the Nazarene faith. When he went back, he told them about his religious experience and said he cannot accept to carry arms. Because they didn't have conscientious objectors, which we have here in this country. So there was no religious exception to the military. He needed to make a decision either to bear arms or to go to prison. And he went to prison for three and a half years and it was not like American prison, it was hard, the family had to bring him food and blankets. But he kept his faith and they led him out. Couple of years later they called him to the military again. He was again in prison for three and a half years, total seven years. And when he got out of prison it was nearly 1900 and he was 35 years old. The rumblings of war started soon, he didn't want his sons to go to prison for their faith. They made a decision to move.[47]

The Galat family with 11 children started their emigration journey from Austria-Hungary in 1911 when they heard the *Titanic* was going to America. But, eventually they arrived too late in the Southampton harbor, when the ship already sailed. They went back home in Austria-Hungary and in 1913 they travelled to the United States on the biggest passenger ship at that time – the *Imperator*. They settled in Barberton, Akron area, in Ohio where they had "sponsor" Živa Gospođinski, who help them to start a new life. During his time in prison George Galat learned to make furniture. He worked at the Ohio Match Company and later on bought a store. The Galat family joined the ACCN in Akron where religious services were held in Serbian and Slovak.

Coming from the ethnically diverse region of Austria-Hungary, members of the Nazarene church in the United States were Serbs, Slovaks, Germans, Romanians, and Hungarians. Until 1924 in the ACCN in Akron long services were held in the morning and afternoon because of the use of several languages. All the members and elders came from Austria-Hungary later on northern parts of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Based on the church records, services were held in German by

[46] Branislav Žarkovački (Ohio), 27th May 2015, Archive of the Institute for Balkan Studies SASA.
[47] Daniel Galat, Mansfield (Ohio), 27th April 2015, Archive of the Institute for Balkan Studies SASA.

elders Kalman, Wenhardt and Gamauf, in Hungarian Ferensz, in Serbian Božić and Subić, in Romanian Hornia, in Slovak Hubik, and after 1924 English was introduced.

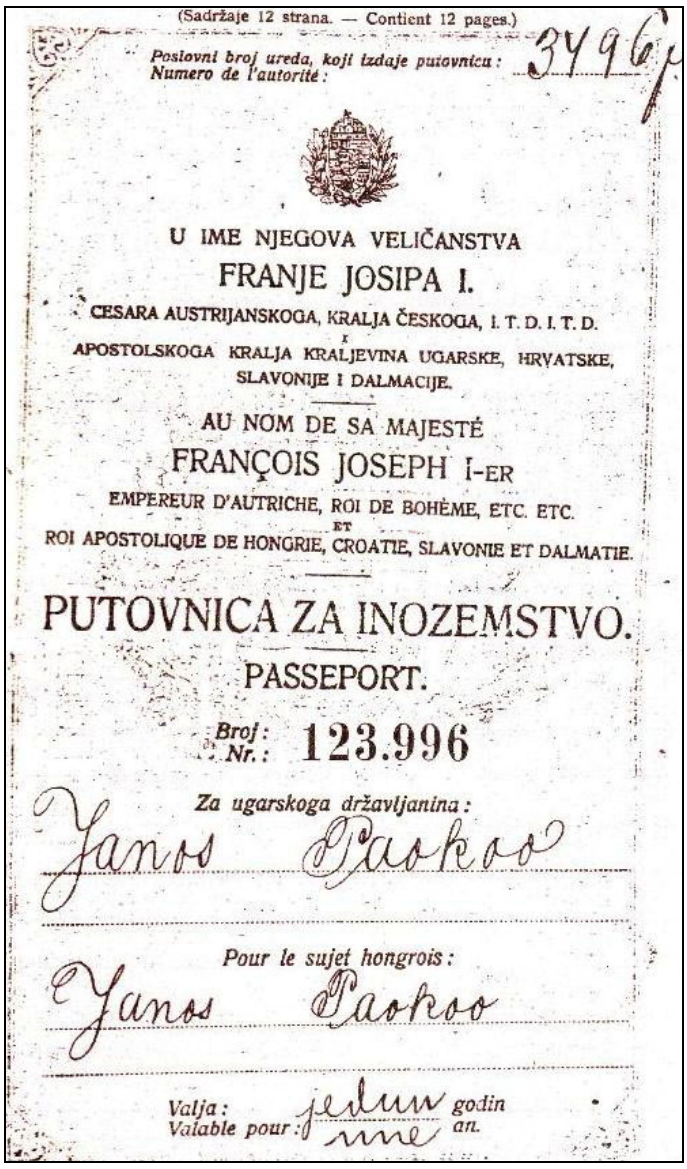


Illustration 1: The Haring family (photo courtesy James W. Haring)

In Austria-Hungary, Janoš Pavkov was baptized in the Nazarene faith in 1876, when he became a Bible distributor for the First Hungarian Mission Association. Because of his religious convictions, Janos refused to bear arms and consequently was imprisoned for five years. He married Draga Pavkov and had six children. One of his sons Lazar was 19 years old when he applied for a passport to go to the United States and avoid prison. Getting a passport (printed "in the name of His Majesty" Franz Joseph I), Lazar Pavkov boarded a ship in Bremen and arrived in New York in 1905. From New York he went by train to Akron Ohio, where he searched for the ACCN. A year later, his parents, brothers and sisters came on ship *Sophia* from Trieste to Ellis Island and settled in Akron.[48]

The Tomić family started their immigration voyage from Bremen in 1910 on the ship *S.S. Cassel* to America. Kosta and Darinka Tomić lived in Madison, Illinois from 1911 until 1919 and in Granite City from 1919 until 1937. They had 13 children. The family was Serbian Orthodox until their son David encountered with the ACCN in Detroit, Michigan. Eventually he became a believer together with his other brothers, sisters and parents. His grandson remembers their family history:

[48] Pavkov-Freuch 1989: 15.


(Sadržaje 12 strana. — Contient 12 pages.)

Poslovni broj ureda, koji izdaje putovnicu: 3496
Numero de l'autorité:

U IME NJEGOVA VELIČANSTVA
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I
APOSTOLSKOGA KRALJA KRALJEVINA UGARSKE, HRVATSKE, SLAVONIJE I DALMACIJE.

AU NOM DE SA MAJESTÉ
FRANÇOIS JOSEPH I-ER
EMPEREUR D'AUTRICHE, ROI DE BOHÈME, ETC. ETC.
ET
ROI APOSTOLIQUE DE HONGRIE, CROATIE, SLAVONIE ET DALMATIE.

PUTOVNICA ZA INOZEMSTVO.
PASSEPORT.

Broj: 123.996
Nr.:

Za ugarskoga državljanina:
Janos Pavkov

Pour le sujet hongrois:
Janos Pavkov

Valja: jedan godin
Valable pour: une an.

Illustration 2: Janos Pavkov's passport (front cover)

[4] My father was born in Vršac in 1909 and my mother in Stapar in 1907. And my father, he immigrated to St Louis when he was about two years old and my mother, she came with her family in 1911 she was 4 years old. They immigrated to Akron. So, my mother, she was, well, we belong to the church, the Apostolic Christian Church of Nazarene, I was raised in this church. When my dad's parents immigrated here they were Orthodox at that time. My father's brother converted to this church. When my uncle was converted to this Nazarene faith after him, my father Samuel, my uncle Walter, my aunt Pauline and my

> grandparents converted as well. When my parents got married in 1929 they were both Nazarenes. *Why did the Nazarenes come to America*? Most of them were coming here from persecution, well, maybe half of them was economics reasons. The largest immigration from Southeastern Europe started in '40 up to the '70. Members of the church here would later on sponsor a family from the church to come here.[49]

Growing up in Nazarene families, religion was an important part of their everyday life. Congregation and gatherings of the families within the church on Sunday as well as during the week for preaching, hymn singing or Sunday school was a significant part of their private and communal life. The Nazarene churches were mostly founded by the new immigrants with various ethnic identities. Coming from different cultural backgrounds, new Nazarene immigrants from Southeastern Europe would bring some different customs and habits in the host land:

> [5] A lot of people that were born here, like myself, sometimes would be in a conflict. The people from Europe would come and insert their ways into the church. *Did they have more conservative customs?* Yes, very conservative. They didn't believe in wearing neckties. And only a white shirt no colour shirt. In the '50 when I was young they didn't have TV. No dancing, no smoking, no drinking, no wedding rings, women were not allowed to cut their hair with head covering. Older women wear their head in "pundja". Separate sitting of men and women in the church. Divorce was almost unheard of in the church.[50]
>
> [6] *When you came to Akron, was it similar with your church in Yugoslavia?* The preaching was the same, but some customs weren't. They would dress differently, that's all. There was a lot of the people, 115 of them in a weekly children's choir. I have 12 kids and we loved it right away.[51]

Collected interviews indicate how even for the second and third generation of immigrants the central migration narrative was associated with *memories of the old world* – persecution in Europe and transnational community ties. On the other side, it is significant to observe conceptualization of America as a "land of milk and honey" in my informants' narrative.

> [7] We have found a better country here than what we left behind. From the first day we were welcomed and they were all my people, I had a nice time here. In the church it was the same, same. You see, when we were there, no one was looking on the nation. There were Serbs, Croats, Hungarians, Romanians, Slovaks, seven nations, all we all sang in one voice during service on Sunday.[52]

Singing was important part of community gatherings. Having a hymn book *Zion's Harp* in the mother tongue was even more important for the Nazarenes that left their communities behind. Alongside with Bibles, these hymn books were the

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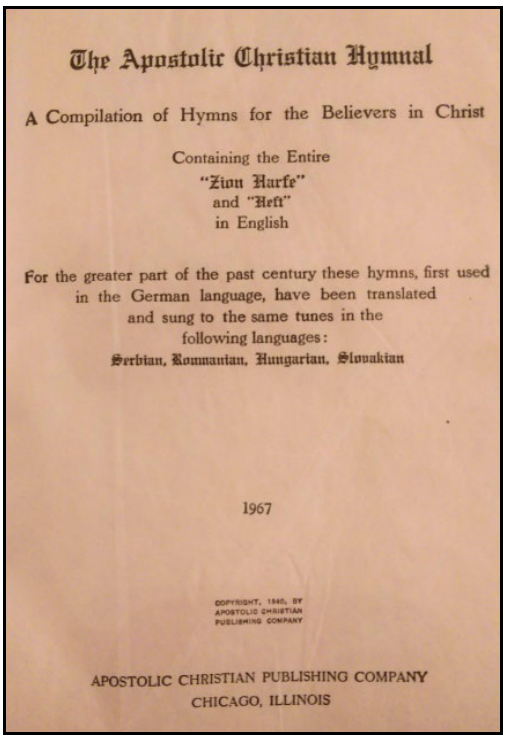
[49] David Tomich, Bellville (Ohio), 5th April 2015, Archive of the Institute for Balkan Studies SASA.

[50] David Tomich, Bellville (Ohio), 5th April 2015, Archive of the Institute for Balkan Studies SASA.

[51] Branislav Žarkovački, Akron (Ohio), 27th May 2015, Archive of the Institute for Balkan Studies SASA.

[52] Stanimir Katanić, Akron (Ohio), 22nd April 2015, Archive of the Institute for Balkan Studies SASA.

only "materialized" symbols of their religion. They would bring them to the church and even have their names stamped on the covers. Some communities would use piano and organ during singing hours, which represented a new practice in the North America. The Nazarene communities in Southeastern Europe did not use musical instruments in their services.[53] Nevertheless, the ACCN accepted the use of musical instruments.


The Apostolic Christian Hymnal

A Compilation of Hymns for the Believers in Christ

Containing the Entire
"Zion Harfe"
and "Heft"
in English

For the greater part of the past century these hymns, first used in the German language, have been translated and sung to the same tunes in the following languages:
Serbian, Roumanian, Hungarian, Slovakian

1967

COPYRIGHT, 1940, BY
APOSTOLIC CHRISTIAN
PUBLISHING COMPANY

APOSTOLIC CHRISTIAN PUBLISHING COMPANY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Illustration 3: Hymnal Book *Zion's Harp* in English (1967)

It seems that their struggles to adopt in their new setting seem less emphasized in their discourse, compared with the stories of coming to the land where they could practice their faith alongside other religious groups. However, having "a good life in America" as one of my informants stressed did not exclude feeling of *nostalgia* to their old homeland.

> [8] A group of people welcomed us, all from the church. They all came, flew from Yugoslavia before we did. They were our people. I felt sorry I abandoned my country, but there was such crises that we could not live any more.[54]

[53] More on the Nazarenes from Serbia see in Djurić-Milovanović 2010: 34–43, Djurić-Milovanović 2015.

[54] Kata Katanić, Akron (Ohio), 22nd April 2015, Archive of the Institute for Balkan Studies SASA.

As churches grew in their number from the children of believers and new converts, some religious practices changed becoming less conservative compared to those in Southeastern Europe. However, constant influx of the new members from Europe brought inner group differences in their cultural ways rooted in their Southeastern European traditions. One of my informants belongs to the third generation of immigrants. Her Nazarene family came from Vrbas at the beginning of the century. She remembers how new generations, like herself, had difficulties to accept some more conservative practices within the church:

> [9] They were so used to their land. And you cannot blame them; this was what they were used to. *You think they brought customs from Yugoslavia in the church?* Yes, they did. They brought Serbian customs in the church and their children wanted to be Americans. Parents didn't understand how to handle that. It was a big change for them. Children wanted to do things American way and some elders were hard to accept that. These kids were born in '30 and '40.[55]

Until the 1920s, various Apostolic Christian Church congregations used German. This was the legacy of the first immigrants from Switzerland and Germany at the beginning of the century. Extensive social pressure was put on German-speaking communities and churches to adopt the English language and American socio-cultural norms. After 1932, only a small number of German-speaking Apostolic Christian churches existed. However, the influx of immigrants from Eastern Europe had a significant impact on the languages used, since everyone wanted to hear preaching in their mother tongues (having no knowledge of English or German). This led to the establishment of ethnically, linguistically, and culturally diverse religious communities during the high point of immigration from Eastern Europe after the Second World War.

> [10] People would usually go in the church where they could hear their own language. In Akron there was on church with several languages. Then the service was too long, so they divided the church on West Akron (Serbian language), South Akron (Hungarian), North Akron (German) and South Akron (Slovak).[56]

It was inevitable that the American communities started to face various changes with several waves of immigrants coming from Europe in the first half of the 20th century. The Nazarenes in their homeland were quite conservative, closed and isolated community. Immigration and displacement of the Nazarenes from the Southeastern Europe in the American setting had a significant impact on the changing of the ACCN and old/new religious practices, as we could observe form the interview fragments. Wearing of the head covering for women members represented one of the practices that changed over years, especially outside of the church. The first generation of the Nazarene women is still wearing head covering in the church

[55] Bosiljka Kovachevich, Ontario (Ohio), 16th April 2015, Archive of the Institute for Balkan Studies SASA.

[56] Steve Grujić, Norton (Ohio), 8th April 2015, Archive of the Institute for Balkan Studies SASA.

but also in the public sphere. Yet, this practice became abandoned outside the church service especially within second and the third generation of immigrants:

> [11] *What about the clothing in the church? Head covering?* Yes, that changed, in our church some don't like to wear head covering. During service it was obligatory. In public we didn't wear, but some do even now, they kept that.[57]

Bringing old traditions and customs from their homeland the Nazarenes were confronted with many challenges in the communities they joined. As Pfeiffer argues "the constant inflow of immigrants mixing with older more Americanized communities ensured that the community would remain as an American ethnic subculture, resistant to the pressures of 'Anglo-conformity'".[58] Practices such as relationships with non-church members, use of television and going to cinema or theatre were not allowed.[59] Modernization of the ACCN started slowly, however they still seemed quite conservative comparing to the rest of the society. One of the interesting examples was the practice of taking pictures that was almost avoided in the Nazarene communities in Southeastern Europe. This practice changed in America.



Illustration 4: Apostolic Church of Nazarene Camp in 1950s

[57] Marta Grujić, Norton (Ohio), 8th April 2015, Archive of the Institute for Balkan Studies SASA.
[58] Pfeiffer 2010: 108.
[59] Idem: 176.

From the presented interview fragments we can distinguish several aspects: how community marginalization caused by state oppression was significant for their pre-emigration experience, how religion was an element above cultural, linguistic or ethnic divisions and on the other hand how their post-migratory experience was defined by their inner group differences.

The case of Nazarenes could be compared to similar religious groups from Europe such as Mennonites, Quakers or Schwarzenau Brethren which also left searching for religious freedom sometimes in the mass wave migrations. Still, the Nazarenes organized their emigration in small groups and sometimes individually, having individual sponsors from America for their voyage and financial help to settle in the new country.[60] This early migration period was significant for more than a few reasons, but foremost it enabled development of the new identity not only among community members that arrived in a new country, but of the religious group as a whole. The changes and the external influences over the years brought their adjustment to the American setting.[61]

Transnational religious ties with their homeland were preserved trough letters, travel, missionary journeys. After going abroad, many believers participated actively in missionary activities and helped the communities in their home-countries, donating money to build prayer houses or buy church buildings and to acquire religious literature and Bibles. These relations were especially intensified in the Communist period when members of the Nazarene community found themselves again in the unfavorable position and new migration waves started.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Migration history of the Nazarenes from Europe on the other side of the Atlantic from the late nineteenth and during the whole twentieth century was an almost unexplored phenomenon until recently. It could be said that migration history within the Nazarene community lasted throughout the entire twentieth century with great intensity. In the early stage, emigration from the area of Central and Eastern Europe to the United States was noted within different ethnic and religious groups who had mostly economic reasons for emigration.[62] Among them, Nazarenes as multiethnic religious minority group emigrated primarily because of their pacifist doctrine, which had been sanctioned by the state. Going abroad, the Nazarenes remained committed to the religious communities to which they belonged in their homeland, which was an important basis for a better integration into the new society (finding jobs, housing, etc.), but it also showed an expression of unity among members.

[60] From 1946 Church World Service provided assistance for the Nazarene immigrants that were escaping religious persecution in Yugoslavia. VHS, ACCF, Mss Ap466a Fa2 1946–1992, Series one: Church World Service 207-216.

[61] For the similar Mennonite community change in North America, see Driedger 2010.

[62] O'Reilly 2005: 7–20.

Research of different religious experiences of immigrants provide an insight into how religion is embodied, lived and carried across borders, where it may be re-negotiated and transformed.[63] One of main questions when we discuss about religion and migration is: What is the effect of migration on religious communities?[64] In the case of the Nazarenes migration influences that brought re-negotiation and transformation of this religious community in North America include: the absence of religious persecution, the social/religious changes from homogenous (mostly) village life to heterogeneous life in large cities, the absence of recent conflicts/wars on the soil of North America and much better treatment, even having the opportunity to be a conscientious objector in times of compulsory military service in North America, different political systems, secular influences, and, later, missionary efforts.



Illustration 5: Apostolic Christian Church of Nazarene – Brunswick Hills, Ohio 2015

On the other hand, the long term effect that migration experience had on this community could be seen in division into separate denominations. Similar to other European Radical Reformation groups that have settled in the United States (Amish, Mennonites, etc) the freedom to exercise their religion led to schism. Post-migratory experiences brought various changes since the beliefs and practices of the several branches of the Nazarenes in North America are no longer homogenous; they have become polarized. They now encompass conservative, moderate, and liberal theologies and practices with respect to Fröhlich's original teachings.[65]

[63] Sheringham 2010: 1–29, 22.

[64] For more on migration impact on religion from anthropological perspective, see Levitt 2003, 2007.

[65] Email correspondence from Peter Szabo, 24th January 2013.



Illustration 6: Eastern Sunday Service in Ontario Christian Fellowship – a new liberal branch of the Apostolic Christian Church of Nazarene, Ohio, 2015

This new identity was influenced by the American setting they were now living in, but with strong collective memory of their European homeland and persecution to which their community was exposed. Keeping certain elements of the "old traditions" but evidently transforming some of their religious practices and teachings over years, the Nazarenes from Austria-Hungary and later on Yugoslavia during the twentieth century developed their new transatlantic community identity.[66]

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LA MUSIQUE ET L'HISTOIRE OU LES MANIPULATIONS DU FOLKLORE MORAVE: *LA PLAISANTERIE* DE MILAN KUNDERA

KATARINA MELIĆ

RESUME

Il s'agit d'étudier le lien entre la musique et l'Histoire, plus précisément l'apport et la manipulation de la musique dans la création d'une nouvelle identité nationale dans le roman de Milan Kundera, *La plaisanterie*. Kundera s'interroge comment, dans le contexte politique et idéologique de la Tchécoslovaquie après 1948, la musique est instrumentalisée par le pouvoir afin de consolider sa mainmise et son pouvoir de contrôle des masses. Le folklore morave (et sa longue tradition) est réécrit et manipulé sciemment afin de permettre la création d'une nouvelle identité nationale à l'image du nouveau régime communiste établi en 1948. La deuxième partie de l'article est consacrée à une lecture des passages consacrés au folklore morave et à sa manipulation politique dans le roman *La plaisanterie*. Cela dit, en interrogeant les manipulations du folklore morave, Kundera, déconstruit l'histoire officielle tchèque qui a délibérément été oblitérée.

Mots-clés: Kundera, *La plaisanterie,* musique, folklore morave, identité, histoire, réécriture, manipulation.

KUNDERA ET LA MUSIQUE

Milan Kundera est né en 1929 à Brno, en Tchécoslovaquie, aujourd'hui Tchéquie, dans une famille de musicologues et d'artistes. Il grandit en Moravie, région fortement imprégnée par la musique, où l'art et la culture sont prépondérants. Son père Ludvík Kundera (1891–1971), célèbre musicologue et éminent pianiste tchèque, collaborateur de Janacek, directeur de l'académie musicale de Brno, lui apprend très tôt le piano. En raison de cette culture et éducation musicale, Kundera envisage d'abord une carrière comme pianiste de jazz ce qu'il confesse à Christian Salmon dans une interview: «Jusqu' à vingt-cinq ans, j'étais beaucoup plus attiré par la musique que par la littérature.».[1] Kvetoslav Chvatik, dans son étude *Le monde romanesque de Milan Kundera*, souligne les liens entre les mondes de la musique et de la littérature:

[1] Kundera 1986: 111.

> L'accent que met Kundera sur la forme du roman relève de son intérêt constant pour la musique. Il faut rappeler que c'est par la grande porte de la musique qu'il a pénétré dans le monde de l'art; à quinze ans, il a commencé à étudier la composition musicale auprès de Pavel Haas et Vaclav Kapral, et la pratique du piano a fait partie intégrante de sa vie pendant sa jeunesse; la musique a été le premier langage artistique qu'il a parfaitement maîtrisé.[2]

Kundera met à profit l'apprentissage de la musique lorsque, exclu du parti communiste et effacé de la vie officielle après le Coup de Prague en 1968, il doit vivre de petits boulots, notamment comme pianiste de jazz. Grand connaisseur et amateur de musique, il lui accorde une place privilégiée dans la composition de ses romans (*La plaisanterie, Risibles amours, La vie est ailleurs, Le livre du rire et de l'oubli, L'insoutenable légèreté de l'être, La lenteur, L'identité, L'ignorance, La fête de l'insignifiance*) et de ses essais (*L'art du roman, Les testaments trahis, Le rideau, La rencontre*). Sa conception du roman est d'ailleurs basée sur deux grands principes musicaux: la polyphonie et la variation. En recourant à la musique qui lui sert de modèle, Kundera associe vision du roman et vision du monde.

Kundera estime que la musique populaire (et la musique rock qu'il met au même niveau) est la «musique moins la mémoire», réflexion qu'il développe dans son roman *Le livre du rire et de l'oubli*. Dans *Les testaments trahis*, il fait valoir qu'il n'y a pas de développement mélodique dans la musique populaire, et que ce manque est lié à l'absence de mémoire de cette musique:

> […] elle est la prolongation d'un seul moment d'extase; et puisque l'extase est un moment arraché au temps, un court moment sans mémoire, moment entouré d'oubli, le motif mélodique n'a pas d'espace pour se développer, il ne fait que se répéter, sans évolution et sans conclusion […].[3]

De ce fait, sans sa propre mémoire, elle peut facilement assimiler d'autres mémoires, comme la mémoire politique, ce que nous allons voir par la suite.

LA MUSIQUE ET LA CONSTRUCTION DE L'IDENTITÉ NATIONALE

La musique en Europe centrale est un élément important dans la construction et la manifestation de l'identité nationale. Deux des plus grands musiciens tchèque du XIX^{e} siècle, Smetana et Janacek, ont posé les bases de l'école tchèques de musique en faisant appel dans leurs œuvres au folklore du sol natal et en affirmant ainsi son identité nationale par rapport à l'influence dans la musique de l'école italo-française et germanique. L'identité nationale est dans ce cas comprise et admise comme préservation et sauvegarde des attributs d'une histoire renouvelée. Les années postérieures à la Deuxième guerre mondiale voient émerger un renouveau identitaire qui se caractérise sur le plan musical par le rejet de l'apport musical allemand (dans sa dimension postromantique et wagnérienne). Conçue comme une réponse slave à la domination allemande, l'identité tchèque a été recherchée jusque dans la campagne et avait explicitement le but patriotique

[2] Chvatik 1995: 197.
[3] Kundera 1993: 274.

d'établir la culture tchèque nationale, en conservant la forme pure et libre de la culture paysanne tchèque. La musique populaire devait traduire au plus près le sentiment national et l'âme d'un peuple. La musique s'inscrit dans la longue mémoire d'une nation. Les compositeurs n'inventent rien, ils s'inspirent des mélodies et des chansons qui appartiennent à la culture dans laquelle ils vivent. Ils puisent naturellement dans le passé. Bakhtine en décrivant le temps de la vie historique collective de l'ensemble social, note:

> La plupart des thèmes créés dans le temps unique du folklore primitif sont entrés dans l'ensemble des thèmes de la vie privée, après avoir subi, naturellement, une réinterprétation, des réajustements et des transferts substantiels.[4]

Tous les régimes à toutes les époques ont utilisé la musique comme lien social et instrument de manipulation. Prendre le pouvoir par la musique invite au rassemblement des individus, c'est un acte d'autorité, et leur rassemblement est perçu comme tel par ceux qui l'entendent. L'importance de la musique est parfois si importante qu'elle est comprise en termes politiques. De par sa capacité à manipuler les gens et/ou de transmettre des valeurs, la musique devient un instrument de pouvoir et de manipulation. L'essence de la musique est de déclencher l'émotion; il est bien connu que c'est toujours l'émotion qui a mené le monde, et non la raison. Ainsi, la musique, objet potentiel de subordinations politiques, a toujours été convoitée culturellement: par son ouverture et son champ d'interaction, elle devient une expression collective, base d'un groupe autour de symboles, signes, valeurs et codes partagés par la force de l'histoire. Le groupe l'emporte sur l'individu pour en faire la voix de l'ensemble pour l'ensemble. L'identité individuelle s'intègre dans une dimension culturelle, c'est-à-dire que l'individu se situe face à des règles de comportement, des valeurs, des normes et des buts communs. La quête de l'identité se construit sur la notion d'unité. Comme le remarque Noémie Pascal, «la quête identitaire nationale en musique trouverait son salut dans l'activisme et dans la recherche de cohésion *avec les autres*».[5] L'identité nationale doit avoir une cohérence, une unité et une unicité, et dans ce cas, via la musique.

La musique a été, comme en témoigne l'histoire des régimes totalitaires, un instrument de fascination et de manipulation politique des masses. Associée aux régimes totalitaires, l'ivresse musicale se transforme facilement en fièvre collective. Ainsi, le pouvoir de la musique alimente-t-il l'histoire puisque, note Kundera «Ce qui incite les gens à lever le poing, à saisir un fusil, à défendre ensemble de justes ou d'injustes causes, ce n'est pas la raison, mais l'âme hypertrophiée. C'est elle, le carburant sans lequel le moteur de l'histoire n'aurait pu tourner […]».[6] Cette alliance entre la musique et la politique a été dénoncée par maints intellectuels. Si la musique a pu, dans l'histoire politique, prendre la place qui a été la sienne, c'est en raison de sa nature même qui véhicule l'émotion présente dans la haine, la vengeance et l'enthousiasme des masses. La masse populaire est malléable et soumise

[4] Bakhtine 1978: 353.
[5] Pascal 2005: 69.
[6] Kundera 1990: 315.

aux valeurs idéalisées de progrès social et de bonheur. En effet, sur de simples combinaisons de notes, d'une harmonie stéréotypée, d'une mélodie banale, la ferveur collective qu'elles provoquent permet de fraterniser:

> Il n'est pas de communion plus bruyante et plus unanime que la simple communion avec l'être. Là-dessus les Arabes se rencontrent avec les juifs et les Tchèques avec les Russes. Les corps s'agitent au rythme des notes, ivres de la conscience d'exister. C'est pourquoi aucune œuvre de Beethoven n'a été vécue avec une aussi grande passion collective que les coups uniformément répétés sur les guitares.[7]

Tout au long de l'histoire, le leadership politique s'est ainsi souvent associé à la musique et appuyé sur la conformité de l'individu à la collectivité. Récupérant les compositeurs à des fins idéologiques, les régimes de politiques totalitaires ont bien retenu la leçon. C'est pourquoi, écrit à nouveau Kundera, «[l]yrisme, lyrisation, discours lyrique, enthousiasme lyrique font partie intégrante de ce qu'on appelle le monde totalitaire; ce monde, ce n'est pas le goulag, c'est le goulag dont les murs extérieurs sont tapissés de vers et devant lesquels on danse».[8] Les chants folkloriques et patriotiques chers au socialisme participent de l'éthos de l'État en lui fournissant son identité, et parallèlement, contribuent à dessiner une image de l'individu, de la population, en lui permettant de s'admirer dans une image embellie et porteuse de sens. «Les individus sont les représentants de l'entité sociale», note Bakthine.[9] La musique se déploie dans deux directions symboliques au travers desquelles s'affrontent une politique et une esthétique politique: 1) elle construit une image ou un éthos social, associé à une identité populaire et à ses aspirations au progrès; 2) elle déconstruit un éthos de l'individu par la négation de sa faculté de jugement et de choix. C'est dans cette optique que le personnage principal du roman de Kundera, *La plaisanterie,* Ludvik, cherche, au travers des chants populaires du régime socialiste, «à voguer sur les grosses vagues de cette politique».[10] C'est la dimension pathétique de la musique qui unit l'Europe:

> Plus tard, il comprit que le pathos de la musique romantique unit toute l'Europe: on l'entend chaque fois qu'un homme d'État est assassiné ou une guerre déclarée, chaque fois qu'il faut farcir de gloire la tête des gens pour qu'ils se laissent tuer plus volontiers. Les nations qui s'entre-déchiraient débordaient d'une émotion fraternelle identique en entendant le vacarme de la *Marche funèbre* de Chopin ou de la *Symphonie héroïque* de Beethoven. Ah, si cela ne tenait qu'à Paul, le monde se passerait bien tant du rock que de Mahler.[11]

Cet apport de la musique dans la construction de l'identité nationale prend une autre dimension en Tchécoslovaquie après la Deuxième guerre mondiale, pendant la période d'adhésion au système communiste qui demande un processus identitaire national.

La création en 1946 du festival «Printemps de Prague» est caractérisée par cette orientation. Le caractère national de la musique est soigneusement mis en évidence, permettant ainsi de populariser le patrimoine national, mais aussi de fixer

[7] Kundera 1985b: 275.
[8] Kundera 1993: 186-187.
[9] Bakhtine 1978: 361.
[10] Kundera 1985a: 216.
[11] Kundera 1990: 307.

dans un nouveau cadre, les nouvelles créations. L'Union des compositeurs, structurée de la même manière que l'Union des écrivains, contrôle l'activité musicale par le biais de la programmation des concerts, des émissions de radio. Outre la musique, la littérature a joué un rôle central dans la construction identitaire et dans la consolidation de la conscience nationale. La société morave dépeinte dans le roman *La plaisanterie* peut être considérée comme le microcosme de tout le pays et de l'idéologie communiste en tant que représentante de tous les dogmes et les doctrines idéologiques imposés. Le roman de Kundera reflète également sur les effets néfastes de l'adhésion aveugle à ces idéologies et de ses conséquences. L'existence de pratiques musicales traditionnelles est antérieure à la prise de conscience d'identité nationale. Désignées souvent de manière péjorative comme relevant du folklore, elles exercent une fonction de figures identifiant une communauté – la musique permet à un groupe de se reconnaître et de se différencier des autres. La musique est en mesure d'intégrer les patrimoines populaires. Le folklore incite l'éveil d'une identité musicale nationale.

Le folklore, authentique ou construit artificiellement, est mis à contribution pour procéder à l'élaboration d'une culture nationale et d'une identité nationale en lui conférant la légitimité idéologique et esthétique de l'époque. Rappelons que les critères de l'époque sont ceux qui ont été définis déjà en 1934 par Andreï Jdanov, un des principaux propagandistes du régime soviétique. La doctrine de Jdanov prône la défense du «réalisme socialiste» en art et la lutte contre le formalisme. Le réalisme socialiste exige la représentation véridique et concrète de la réalité dans son développement révolutionnaire et contribue à la transformation idéologique et à l'éducation des travailleurs dans l'esprit du socialisme. Les impératifs politiques l'emportent sur les considérations artistiques. Le pouvoir politique admet facilement un art de propagande dont le principal outil peut être le mensonge car il faut idéaliser la réalité. La littérature, la peinture et la musique doivent absolument se plier aux normes du «réalisme socialiste» ainsi défini, et les artistes doivent participer à la formation idéologique des travailleurs. Parmi les principes de cette doctrine figurent le dévouement à l'idéologie communiste, la défense de l'esprit du parti, l'humanisme socialiste, l'optimisme historique.

Le pouvoir politique a son propre calendrier, avec ses fêtes, ses commémorations, ses rites ; il instaure un temps qui est flexible aux variations des conjonctures tout en étant infini – puisque le communisme incarne l'avenir et que le parti garantit sa pérennité. Dans l'ex-Yougoslavie, sous Tito, le jour de son anniversaire officiel[12] est aussi la Fête de la jeunesse qui réunissait tous les jeunes du pays pour une célébration officielle autour de la musique et de la danse. À titre d'exemple que cette tendance n'est pas le propre des pays communistes, le Parti communiste français se sert dans les années soixante, des chansons et des chansonniers pour attirer des visiteurs à ses traditionnelles Fêtes de l'Humanité. En arrivant au pouvoir en 1981 en France, la gauche instaure dès 1982, une Fête de la musique qui ne véhicule pas des messages idéologiques, mais a le pouvoir de rassembler les

[12] Le 25 mai alors que Tito est né en 7 mai.

masses et de transmettre des émotions, ce que la gauche a très bien compris en récupérant un terrain pour contrôler la jeunesse. Le besoin de s'incorporer l'histoire, un passé partagé par la communauté est une composante fondamentale de l'identité.

Dans le cadre de la formation de la nation, tchécoslovaque en ce cas, la construction d'une mémoire collective officielle est un moyen de légitimation d'une vision officielle. Le folklore joue un rôle crucial dans la définition de la nouvelle politique culturelle de l'état. Canalisé par la rhétorique de l'art populaire communiste, le folklore devient l'objet d'enthousiasme officiel. Après le coup d'État en février 1948, les artistes et les ethnographes, les connaisseurs érudits du folklore sont contraints à participer à l'élaboration de nouvelles matrices culturelles idéologiques. La culture populaire devait être promue afin de servir l'objectif national en embrassant tous les moyens nécessaires pour effectuer le triomphe du peuple. Le folklore est dynamique, cela est bien connu, de sorte que certaines coutumes et rituels sont systématiquement détruites par un processus d'oubli organisé et remplacé par l'idéologie officielle communiste/soviétique. Le folklore est ainsi réinventé pour permettre aux masses de diriger le processus de création afin de promouvoir l'avancement des valeurs socialistes à tous les niveaux de la société. Ce nouveau folklore communiste a complètement remplacé les anciennes formes folkloriques; toutefois, un répertoire traditionnel a subsisté en parallèle avec cette nouvelle production manipulée et contrôlée et a continué d'exercer une grande attraction. Les efforts de Jaroslav, un des personnages de *La plaisanterie*, de faire revivre La Chevauchée des Rois, même sous une forme communiste purgée et épurée, illustre le profond attachement et des érudits et des amateurs aux vieilles formes de folklore. Le folklore représente un champ de bataille. En s'émancipant, le folklore devient un acte conscient et délibéré de création qui, par ses performances, permet de défricher un terrain pour de nouvelles identifications.

LE FOLKLORE MORAVE OU LA RÉÉCRITURE DE L'HISTOIRE

Le roman *La plaisanterie* raconte les trois journées du dernier week-end de mai 1965, du vendredi soir au dimanche après-midi, traditionnellement consacré en Moravie à un événement folklorique, la Chevauchée des Rois.[13] À cette occasion,

[13] La «Chevauchée des Rois» est une fête qui a lieu au printemps, à la Pentecôte, dans le sud-est de la République tchèque. Cette manifestation culturelle a été inscrite en 2011 par l'UNESCO sur la liste représentative du patrimoine culturel immatériel de l'humanité. C'est une coutume très ancienne dont les origines remontent probablement à l'époque païenne lorsque les jeunes bergers rivalisaient entre eux et choisissaient leur «roi». Selon une autre hypothèse, la Chevauchée des Rois serait inspirée du roi de Hongrie Mathias Corvin qui, pour échapper à son rival, le roi tchèque Georges de Poděbrady, se serait déguisé en femme et aurait mis une rose dans sa bouche. La «Chevauchée des Rois» est exécutée par de jeunes gens, les Cavaliers, précédés de chanteurs et suivis de garçons d'honneur qui portent des sabres pour garder le Roi. Le Roi est joué par un jeune garçon âgé de 10 à 15 ans dont le visage est partiellement caché et qui tient une rose dans la bouche. Le Roi et les garçons d'honneur sont vêtus de costumes cérémoniels de femmes, tandis que les autres cavaliers portent des tenus d'hommes.

les protagonistes du roman, Ludvik, Jaroslav, Kostka, Helena et Zemanek, se retrouvent dans la ville natale de Ludvik, le personnage principal. Les allers-retours de la narration s'effectue et dans le temps et dans l'espace (1948–1965). Ce sont les années du stalinisme en Tchécoslovaquie et le récit suit les mésaventures de Ludvik dues à une mauvaise plaisanterie: il adresse à une fille qu'il courtise sans trop de succès, une carte postale avec le message suivant: «L'optimisme est l'opium du genre humain! L'esprit sain pue la connerie. Vive Trotski!».[14] Cette carte est lue par d'autres personnes. Ludvik est exclu du Parti et de la faculté et envoyé dans un bataillon disciplinaire en Moravie-Silésie où il travaille pendant cinq ans dans une mine et fait un an de prison pour désertion. De retour à Prague, il reprend des études et, pendant ce week-end, il veut se venger de Pavel Zemanek qu'il considère comme le principal responsable de ses malheurs en séduisant sa femme, Helena. Pendant ce week-end, il rencontre de vieux compagnons de route qui se sont éloignés de lui, Jaroslav et Kostka.

Dans la deuxième partie de cette étude, nous allons voir comment s'effectue la réécriture de l'Histoire à partir du personnage de Jaroslav et de l'histoire du folklore morave, et à quelles fins. La vie de Jaroslav est fondée sur des valeurs absolues, antérieures aux changements historiques qui se sont passés, mais qu'il a essayé d'ajuster aux temps nouveaux. Pour Jaroslav, il s'agit de l'art populaire, du folklore morave, de la restauration du passé et des coutumes oubliées par les nouvelles générations; il essaie de revivifier l'esthétique ancestrale, et pour cela, il collabore avec le régime, participant à la réécriture du passé, – ce avec les meilleures intentions; mais ces intentions se révèlent contraires à celles du Parti. Quand Jaroslav prend la parole dans la troisième partie du livre, c'est un homme solitaire, âgé et désabusé, qui, allongé dans l'herbe, prend la parole. Il ne sait pas saisir la portée des événements qui sont en train de se dérouler et, par conséquent, il ne sait s'y ajuster. Il cherche à fuir la réalité historique et les soucis que lui cause son fils lequel refuse de participer à la légendaire Chevauchée des Rois. Il rêve de musique; pour lui, les chansons et les rites populaires sont ce qu'il appelle «un tunnel sous l'Histoire où l'on a sauvé une bonne part de tout ce qu'en haut, depuis longtemps, détruisirent guerres et révolutions, la civilisation.».[15] Il est décontenancé quand il réalise, lors d'un séjour à Prague, que ce qui naguère représentait la nouvelle culture communiste, et l'honneur de cette culture, est devenu aujourd'hui la risée – on se moque de la culture populaire:

> Je n'en croyais pas mes yeux. Il y a seulement cinq ans, personne n'aurait eu l'audace de se payer ainsi notre tête. Du reste, ça n'aurait fait rire personne. Et maintenant nous voici comme des guignols. Pourquoi sommes-nous comme des guignols, tout d'un coup?[16]

Il se remémore le passé pour essayer de trouver une réponse à cette question. Il part de l'année 1948 et du coup d'État, c'est-à-dire de l'arrivée des communistes

[14] Kundera 1985a: 55.
[15] Idem: 205.
[16] Idem: 196.

au pouvoir, qui était apparu comme «l'avènement de la terreur».[17] Lors d'une répétition de l'orchestre, il est conquis par Ludvik qui essaye de convaincre l'assemblée de considérer la musique dans un contexte plus vaste. Ludvik utilise des arguments séduisants pour convaincre ses amis de s'inscrire au Parti. À l'aide de grands mots, il associe le sort de l'orchestre au destin du Parti communiste bien qu'aucun de ses membres ne soit à l'époque membre du Parti. La renaissance de la musique populaire n'est possible que dans le communisme:

> À nous d'épurer la culture musicale commune, celle de tous les jours, de ces rengaines, de ces couplets à la noix dont les bourgeois gavaient les gens, et de les remplacer par l'art originel du peuple.[18]

Exemple d'une des nombreuses formes de réécriture de l'Histoire, *La plaisanterie* dénonce l'oblitération de la culture tchèque. Si les chansons d'antan appartenaient à une communauté, il en est de même au présent qu'ils vivent. La communauté est devenue plus perméable et fragile que par le passé et par conséquent, son folklore fait écho plus fort que jamais avec les voix empiétant de l'extérieur. La communauté est définie par des traditions et inconcevable en dehors d'elles ce qui lui permet de persister dans le temps. Il est dans le meilleur intérêt de la communauté de sacraliser certaines de ces traditions afin de fournir une référence permanente par laquelle tel ou tel comportement peut être sanctionné, éventuellement ou périodiquement, et correctement guidé par la suite.

Le communisme est aussi une communauté qui demande ses chansons: l'art du peuple doit trouver partout sa place dans le nouveau système politique et devenir l'art du communisme. On applique aux chansons populaires la définition que Staline a donnée de l'art: «un contenu socialiste dans une forme nationale». La forme dite nationale est, dans ce cas, ramenée à l'art populaire, lequel 'art' est un alibi: une stratégie représentative lui est dévolue. On garde les vieilles chansons et les vieux rituels – les fêtes de la récolte, des moissons, des coutumes liées au travail –, on en ajoute d'autres – célébration du Premier Mai, anniversaire de la Libération, réunions, etc.:

> Le capitalisme a détruit cette vie collective. L'art populaire a perdu ainsi son assise, sa raison d'être, sa fonction. […] Mais voici que le socialisme va délivrer les gens du joug de la solitude. Ils vivront dans une collectivité nouvelle. […] Leur vie privée fera corps avec la vie publique. Ils seront liés par une foule de rituels. Certains seront empruntés au passé: fêtes de la récolte, soirées de danse, coutumes liées au travail. D'autres seront des innovations: célébration du Premier Mai, meetings, anniversaire de la libération, réunions. Partout l'art du peuple trouvera sa place. Partout il se développera, se transformera, se rénovera. Est-ce que nous le comprenons enfin?[19]

Le Parti consacre de grandes sommes d'argent à la création de nouveaux ensembles populaires; la musique populaire est constamment au programme de la radio, les

[17] Idem: 211.
[18] Idem: 211.
[19] Idem: 215–216.

chants moraves entrent dans les universités. Exhausser l'art populaire, c'est interdire d'autres arts. Si le Parti trouve un intérêt dans la musique populaire, ce n'est certainement pas par amour pour la musique. D'autre raisons existent; premièrement, la musique permet de créer et de renforcer une communauté, une idylle pour tous, car la communauté est ce qui lie les individus; deuxièmement, à l'aide du folklore qui, par essence, est lié au passé – à la tradition et aux rituels – elle leur donne un certain sentiment de sécurité et des points de repère. Ainsi, tout n'est pas nouveau: la musique touche les masses lesquelles constituent l'infrastructure dont le Parti a besoin pour mener à sa fin la Révolution amorcée. Dès lors, après avoir 'nettoyé' les chansons de toutes traces jugées inappropriées et après avoir, par la réécriture, 'adapté' les textes de chansons aux temps nouveaux, le Parti peut rabattre le passé sur le présent et incorporer cet héritage populaire dûment réécrit dans son programme politique. Ces chansons doivent être le reflet des temps nouveaux:

> Et nous ne chantions pas seulement, à l'ancienne, la chanson du brigand qui avait tué sa bien-aimée, mais aussi des airs que nous-mêmes composions. Par exemple une chanson sur Staline ou sur les moissons coopératives. Notre chanson n'était plus simple évocation des temps anciens. Elle faisait partie de l'histoire la plus contemporaine. Elle l'accompagnait.[20]

Jaroslav et d'autres membres de l'orchestre adhèrent au Parti communiste et embrassent de tout cœur ce mouvement folklorique dont le but correspond d'ailleurs à la vieille utopie des patriotes moraves – sauvegarder le vieux patrimoine culturel:

> Le parti nous soutenait. Aussi nos réticences politiques se dissipèrent-elles rapidement. J'entrai au Parti dès le début de l'année quarante-neuf. Les copains de l'ensemble m'y rejoignirent l'un après l'autre.[21]

L'ensemble connaît un grand succès, participe à divers concerts et manifestations populaires, il est reçu partout avec honneur, et, ô privilège, il peut voyager à l'étranger – ce qui est extrêmement rare dans les pays de l'Europe de l'Est:

> Notre orchestre se mit à voguer sur les grosses vagues de cette politique. Bientôt, il fut connu du pays tout entier. Son effectif accru de chanteurs et de danseurs, il devint un grand ensemble qui se produisait sur des centaines de scènes et partait chaque année en tournée à l'étranger.[22]

Jaroslav perd de vue Ludvik et ne le revoit qu'à deux occasions: lors de son mariage et, en 1956, lors d'une visite de Ludvik dans leur ville natale.

Cette deuxième visite s'avère être une des premières lézardes dans la vie de Jaroslav. À cette époque, Ludvik a terminé son service militaire et repris ses études à l'Université. Il rencontre Jaroslav qui le trouve changé; ce dernier est impatient de renouer leur ancienne amitié et propose de lui jouer quelques chansons. Mais, au lieu de lui jouer des chansons traditionnelles, la fonction politique immédiate du folklore ayant vite remplacé, sous la pression du Parti communiste et le contrôle de la police, la préservation de l'héritage du passé, il lui joue des chansons inventées *à*

[20] Idem: 216-217.
[21] Idem: 216.
[22] Idem: 216.

la manière[23] de l'art populaire, des chansons:

> [...] sur l'immensité des champs coopératifs, ou sur les pauvres, aujourd'hui maîtres en leur pays, ou sur le tractoriste que la coopérative ne laisse manquer de rien. La musique de ces chansons ressemblait aux vraies mélodies populaires et leurs paroles étaient plus actuelles que le texte des journaux. Dans ce florilège, nous tenait surtout à cœur la chanson consacrée à Fucik, héros torturé par les nazis sous l'Occupation.[24]

Pour Jaroslav, l'art populaire représente la source de la sève sans laquelle la culture ne serait plus: le folklore est le refuge de l'identité tchèque. Jaroslav parle des progrès faits dans le domaine de l'art populaire et des efforts engagés pour sa diffusion. Pour lui et d'autres, il s'agit avant tout d'accommoder cet art aux habitudes du plus grand nombre, de créer «un folklore *contemporain*»[25] qui raconte la vie d'aujourd'hui. Les personnages du roman rejoignent un groupe de musique folklore et font des tournées à travers le pays dans l'espoir de ressusciter les vieilles chansons moraves, rejetées par l'idéologie bourgeoise et embrassées par la doxa marxiste. Cette initiative est bien sûr saluée par le gouvernement communiste qui place toute activité culturelle sous ses ailes, maintenant bien la direction. Ludvik, le communiste désabusé, démasque ces intentions. Et ces efforts n'aboutissent pas car les masses ne sont pas touchées par ces chansons qu'elles ne chantent pas. Ludvik lui rit au nez et lui montre le côté ridicule de ces chansons:

> Tout ça, c'était de l'utopie, dit Ludvik. […] Votre ensemble les chante. Mais en dehors de l'ensemble, montre-moi un seul homme qui se les chante! Trouve-moi un seul coopérateur qui les fredonne pour son plaisir à lui, vos ritournelles à la gloire des coopératives! Elles lui feraient grimacer la gueule, tellement elles sont truquées! Ce texte de propagande rebique de cette musique pseudo-populaire comme un col mal ajusté! Une chanson simili-morave sur Fucik! Quel défi au bon sens! Un journaliste pragois! Qu'est-ce qu'il a de commun avec la Moravie?[26]

Il lui montre le côté utopique de l'entreprise, lui reproche de se comporter comme un agit-prop, d'avoir perdu l'essence de l'art populaire, d'avoir trahi la mémoire et d'en avoir fait quelque chose de vide que chacun peut remplir de sens au gré des changements historiques. À force de réécrire le passé, on perd et la mémoire et le passé. Les chansons populaires ne peuvent laisser de traces car elles sont retouchées et défigurées. Le folklore a ainsi perdu ses racines. Pour avoir voulu participer à l'histoire contemporaine, l'art populaire paie un prix exorbitant: celui de sa disparition. Ayant perdu son influence sur les masses et ayant oblitéré le passé, le pseudo-folklore laisse aussi échapper leur futur. Cette triste fin éradiquant le folklore sous couvert de le revivifier, montre que le totalitarisme en tant que système de contrôle peut atteindre les extrêmes – des plus hautes instances jusqu'aux masses populaires. Le totalitarisme n'épargne personne – intellectuels et

[23] Nous soulignons.
[24] Kundera 1985a: 233.
[25] Idem: 234. En italique dans le texte.
[26] Idem: 235.

ouvriers. C'est une machine à s'approprier l'Histoire, à la mettre au service de la révolution pour en faire l'Histoire:

> La pratique des arts populaires faisait partie intégrante de l'éducation communiste. Le Comité national du district en était pleinement conscient. C'est pourquoi il soutenait pleinement. Il leur souhaitait plein succès et partageait pleinement.[27]

Si le peuple tchèque, après deux siècles d'une domination étrangère, a pu renaître grâce à la culture de chansons et de contes.

Il s'agit d'une communauté fraternelle rassemblée par la musique. La musique est catalyseur d'une forme de relation humaine – la fraternité, c'est l'expérience de Ludvik et de Jaroslav – leur rapprochement s'est fait sous le signe de la musique:

> Lors de mes débuts dans notre jazz de lycéens, il tint à en faire partie avec moi. Il acheta aux puces une clarinette de quatre sous et il eut vite appris à en jouer très convenablement. Après quoi nous nous vouâmes au jazz ensemble, et ensemble nous ralliâmes l'orchestre avec cymbalum.[28]

La réflexion de Jaroslav en entendant les mots de Ludvik est celle de quelqu'un qui est devenu conscient de la manipulation dont l'art populaire a été l'objet:

> Fatigue, fatigue. Les mêmes sempiternelles phrases. Entendre depuis quinze ans toujours les mêmes sempiternelles phrases. Et les entendre de la bouche d'un Kalasek, qui se fout éperdument de l'art populaire. L'art populaire, pour lui, c'est un moyen. Qui lui permet de se vanter d'une nouvelle action. D'accomplir une directive. D'insister sur ses mérites. [...] C'est lui qui règne sur la culture au niveau du district. Un ancien garçon de magasin qui ne distingue pas un violon d'une guitare.[29]

Qu'advient-il alors du folklore morave, de l'art populaire, une fois qu'ils ont servi l'Histoire? Rien. Ils tombent dans les oubliettes. Significatif est à cet égard l'épisode de la Chevauchée des Rois.

La Chevauchée des Rois a été interprétée comme la commémoration d'un événement historique du XV^e^ siècle, la fuite, en Hongrie, du roi de Bohême vaincu, Mathias. On affirme aussi qu'elle représente l'évasion, au XV^e^ siècle, du prince Viktorin, fils du roi tchèque Jiri Poděbrady. Des documents révèlent que cette coutume remonte bien au-delà de ces aventures. Cela pourrait être aussi la survivance d'un rite païen qui symbolise le passage de l'adolescence à l'âge adulte, ou bien, une antique croyance qui, à l'aide de travestis, protège contre les génies malfaisants. En fait, la Chevauchée des Rois présente un exemple de réécriture de l'Histoire car elle porte les traces de ses multiples écritures antérieures: on la nomme Chevauchée *des* Rois, et pourtant il n'y a qu'un seul roi; tous, le roi et ses écuyers, sont habillés en femmes, tantôt dans de riches habits, tantôt simplement. Dans certaines versions, le roi qui est censé être muet tient une rose entre ses lèvres; d'autres versions sont sans rose. En effet, après des siècles de survie, de

[27] Idem: 369.
[28] Idem: 209.
[29] Idem: 369.

gloire et d'honneur, elle perd tout son prestige et devient un simple événement culturel de campagne dont les autorités pourraient aussi bien se passer car elle ne cause que des ennuis:

> Tout allait de travers. Le Comité national commence à lésiner sur nous. Il y a peu d'années encore, il allouait des sommes considérables aux fêtes folkloriques. À présent, c'est nous qui devons soutenir les finances du Comité national. [...] Nous avions demandé aux services de la Sécurité de suspendre le trafic routier pendant le déroulement de la Chevauchée. Or, nous venions, le jour même de notre réunion, d'obtenir une réponse négative. Il n'était, disait-on, pas possible de perturber la circulation à cause d'*une*[30] Chevauchée des Rois. Seulement, elle va ressembler à quoi, cette Chevauchée, avec des canassons emballés parmi des autos?[31]

Le coup final pour Jaroslav est celui que lui porte son fils en refusant de participer à la Chevauchée où il aurait dû représenter le roi – c'est surtout un hommage au père que de choisir le fils pour Roi. Jaroslav apprend, lors de la Chevauchée, que quelqu'un d'autre a pris la place de son fils. Ce dernier, lui dit sa femme, a honte parce que, grâce à son père et sa place dans le système communiste, toutes les portes lui sont ouvertes. De plus, ajoute sa femme, il est moderne et n'a pas besoin de ces vieilles coutumes. L'homme du folklore reste sans descendance; le fils à qui il voulait remettre sa vie a choisi la voie de la trahison et de la modernité. Si la jeunesse d'autrefois chantait avec ferveur les chansons moraves, elle est aujourd'hui devenue sourde et insensible à la musique d'antan. Le couple formé par Jaroslav et son fils, Vladimir, incarne le conflit entre la tradition et la modernité. Jaroslav est l'homme des temps mythiques, alors que Vladimir est une image caricaturale de la jeunesse qui préfère la musique américaine aux chants enfantins et aux danses folkloriques que Jaroslav organise en marge de son orchestre: «Vladimir est différent. Mes chansonnettes, pour lui, c'est de l'hébreu. Ça ne l'amuse pas. Il trouve ça barbant. Il faut que j'en prenne parti. Vladimir est un homme moderne.»[32]

Jaroslav se demande où est alors sa place? Il réalise que d'avoir constamment voulu vivre dans deux univers à la fois, celui du passé, de la tradition folklorique, le monde de l'imaginaire et celui du présent, le monde réel, défini par l'Histoire, était un leurre:

> De l'un de ces deux mondes, je suis maintenant banni. Du monde réel. Il ne me restait que l'autre, l'imaginaire. Mais ça ne me suffit pas pour vivre, le monde imaginaire.[33]

Jaroslav est tourné vers le passé, fixé sur l'univers de la chanson populaire, qu'il a voulu faire revivre au présent:

> On se figurait, nous autres, qu'on allait fabriquer un monde tout neuf. Et que les gens se remettraient à vivre dans les anciennes traditions. Que même la Chevauchée jaillirait de la profondeur de leur vie. Nous voulions encourager ce jaillissement. Nous nous crevions à organiser des fêtes populaires. Seulement, une source, on ne peut pas l'organiser. Ou bien elle gicle, ou bien elle n'est pas. Vous voyez bien, grand-père, où nous en sommes: nos petites

[30] Nous soulignons.
[31] Kundera 1985a: 195.
[32] Idem: 439-439.
[33] Idem: 441-442.

> chansons, nos chevauchées et tout, c'est de l'essorage. Les dernières gouttes, des gouttelettes, les toutes dernières.[34]

Son échec vient de la fusion qu'il a voulu opérer entre deux époques – il les a d'ailleurs toutes deux mal comprises – celle des mythes et celle des idéologies. L'idéologie va jusqu'à falsifier les chansons moraves pour ses 'propres' fins. Le narrateur du roman ne sous-estime pas l'originalité ni l'authenticité de l'être qui veut vivre dans la cabine de verre de la chanson populaire, mais il la démasque néanmoins à la fin du roman comme une belle illusion. Il ne peut plus lutter pour son monde dévasté que Ludvik est revenu soutenir. Symboliquement, le roman s'achève sur la défaillance physique du géant du royaume déchu qui s'effondre. Jaroslav, l'homme du passé, ressent de la fatigue. Tiraillé entre deux mondes, il choisit le sien et la sincérité, la musique folklorique, le retour au cœur de sa nation:

> Je ne veux plus rester dans ce monde de choses matérielles que je ne comprends pas et qui me trompent. Il existe encore un autre monde. Le monde où je suis chez moi, où je me retrouve. Il y a là-bas un chemin, un déserteur, un violoneux vagabond, et maman. […] Il faut bien que je voie jusqu'au fond de toutes les erreurs et leurres.[35]

Terrassé par une crise cardiaque lorsqu'il est en train de jouer des chansons moraves, «[...] vieux roi, abandonné. Roi vertueux et mendiant. Roi sans successeur. Le dernier roi».[36] Jaroslav, porte-parole de la culture tchèque, quitte la scène de l'Histoire, tristement laissé de côté par le cheval de l'histoire qui poursuit son chemin sans lui.

CONCLUSION

Et nous arrivons à la conclusion, si conclusion peut-il y avoir… La quête de l'identité culturelle et nationale, passionnément poursuivie par Jaroslav, demeure inaccessible. C'est l'illusion la plus longuement décrite dans le roman qui entretisse le folklore, la spécificité morave et la musique. La construction de la mémoire et de l'identité collective porte la marque de distorsion. Les efforts de Jaroslav pour mobiliser la mémoire mythique en tant que base pour une mémoire collective sont voués à l'échec. Les visions de Kundera portant sur le folklore illuminent les potentialités et les limites d'un discours identitaire basé sur la reconstruction mythique du passé. Le thème du folklore dans le roman est crucial sur la compréhension des façons dont le folklore recoupe avec les conceptions de l'histoire et de l'identité nationale/collective. Le folklore devient une force historique utilisée pour creuser et faire resurgir l'histoire oubliée afin de la modeler au nouveau moment historique et politique. Pour Jaroslav, le folklore morave doit s'appuyer sur l'éternel présent mythique de la tradition non perturbée par l'histoire moderne et montrer ainsi la continuité historique et musicale, ce qui se révèle être une illusion et une

[34] Idem: 389.
[35] Idem: 403.
[36] Idem: 441.

impossibilité historique. La libération de la Tchécoslovaquie par les Russes démontrant la soi-disant solidarité slave a facilité la continuation, sous l'égide communiste, d'un mythe panslave authentique et commun. Il était alors possible de procéder à un simulacre de continuité historique. Le nouveau folklore communiste a complètement remplacé les anciennes formes. Les efforts de Jaroslav pour renouer avec la tradition de la Chevauchée des Rois, même sous une forme communiste épurée, illustre le profond attachement aux vieilles formes du folklore morave.

Dans les années soixante, le désenchantement remplace la ferveur initiale et le folklore est de plus en plus perçu comme une forme d'expression épuisée, et petit à petit, abandonné, ce que Kundera montre à travers la relation de Jaroslav et de son fils qui rejette la tradition. L'importance des passages dans le roman consacrés à la «préservation» et à «l'invention» de la culture tchèque est compréhensible si l'on a en tête la fragilité de la culture, et sa résistance implicite à toute forme de manipulation, consciente ou inconsciente, idéologique ou historique. Kundera démontre les oblitérations de l'Histoire officielle. Par la réécriture de l'Histoire et de la mémoire fondamentale qui préserve le passé culturel d'un peuple, par l'oubli organisé, totalitaire, le pouvoir lobotomise l'esprit du peuple qui perd son identité : «Pour liquider les peuples, disait Hübl, on commence par leur enlever la mémoire. On détruit leurs livres, leur culture, leur histoire. Et quelqu'un d'autre leur écrit d'autres livres, leur donne une autre culture et leur invente une autre histoire.»[37] écrit Kundera dans son roman *Le livre du rire et de l'oubli* dans lequel il poursuit sa réflexion sur le pouvoir abrutissant et totalitaire de la musique, et sur ses manipulations à des fins politiques. La réécriture forcée de l'Histoire parvient rarement à son but, et elle est dénoncée aussi bien par les artistes que par les écrivains. Le personnage de Jaroslav dans *La plaisanterie* en est bel et bien l'exemple – qu'il s'agisse de l'inscription dans l'Histoire des traditions du folklore morave ou de la réécriture de la Chevauchée des Rois. Comme le militantisme de la culture officielle qui entretenait l'esthétisation du politique dans le communisme, avait imposé des directions et des modalités exprimant une doxa omniprésente et des directives officielles, la fin du régime communiste en 1989 remet en question à nouveau le contexte culturel en proposant de nouveaux codes culturels et artistiques. Et de nouvelles réécritures de la musique et de l'Histoire qui portent en elles les traces des oblitérations.

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[37] Idem: 185.

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FOLKLORE ARCHIVES AND THE METHODOLOGICAL RECONFIGURATIONS OF ROMANIAN ETHNOLOGY

ELEONORA SAVA

ABSTRACT

This article proposes a rereading of the folklore archives in Romania, starting from an analysis of the documentary fund preserved in the Archive of the Folklore Society from the Faculty of Letters, "Babeş-Bolyai" University, in Cluj. The study shows that, in addition to being *realms of memory* (Pierre Nora[1]) or *collections of traditions* (in the terms of classical folklore studies), these archives actually *document the research methodology*, serving as *witnesses to the history of the discipline* – ethnology, in this case.

Keywords: folklore archive, methodology, fieldwork, archiving, history of Romanian ethnology.

1. HOW CAN WE REREAD A FOLKLORE ARCHIVE?

This study is based on research I carried out from 2009 to 2011, when I examined the documents in the Folklore Archive from the Faculty of Letters of Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj, as part of a project targeted at rereading the manuscript field notes stored there through the lens of contemporary ethnology[2]. The project rested on the premise that this archive contained information about peasant cultures and that it could therefore be investigated and analysed from the perspective of this intangible cultural heritage. What was problematic, however, in terms of the actual research, was the methodology: how could I examine an archive that had been built several decades before, based on altogether different principles than those of today? Since there is no unique methodological system of reference, how can the contemporary reading grid tally with the one that structurally underlay the establishment of this archive? These methodological differences in relation to the archive's founders determined me to abandon my initial premise and to reconsider my approach.

[1] Nora 1989.

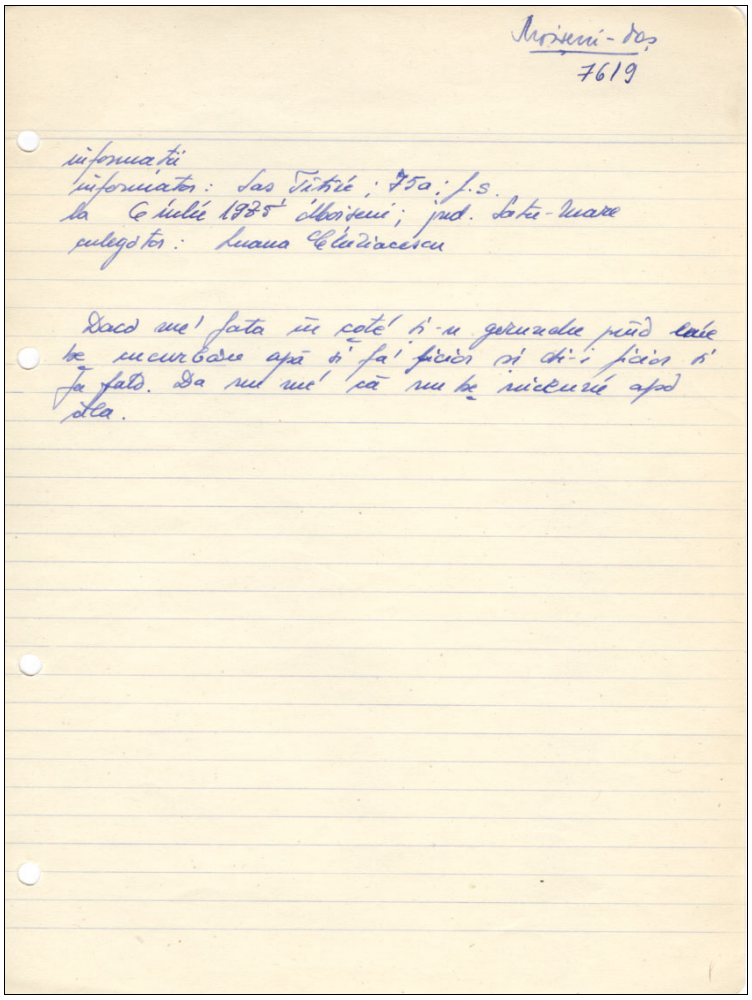
[2] As part of the project entitled *New Perspectives on Ethno-Folkloric Documents*, financed by CNCS Romania.

The methodology conveys a particular way of understanding the investigated facts. For the founders of the archive, this represented an *ethnographic and folkloric data bank*, in keeping with the positivist paradigm that dominated Romanian scientific research during the 19th and the 20th centuries. Because of the changes in perspective and, implicitly, in methodology that have affected ethnological sciences over the past few decades, my position, as a present-day researcher of the manuscript fund, is different and, to some extent, opposite to those of the archive's founders. I consider that the documentary fund is *a subjective construct,* given that the archived materials are not objective reproductions of reality, but rather *subjective textualizations* of various Romanian socio-cultural aspects. Formulated in the 1970s by theorists of the interpretive paradigm, the idea that "what we call our data are actually our own constructs of other people's constructs of what they and their compatriots do"[3] became a thesis that is endorsed by contemporary ethnologists: "there are no natural relations between the world and language, or between the signifier and the signified, but only cultural productions, which means that we should relinquish fictions about the transparency of language, the perfect overlap between words and things, or the isomorphism between the referent and the sign"[4]. According to this approach, "ethnographic description is never a simple transcription or 'decoding', but *an activity of construction and translation* [emphasis in the original] during which the researcher produces rather than reproduces"[5]. Fieldwork and ethnographic description take place in the historical, ideological and intellectual context in which every researcher is trained: specialized terminology, textual conventions, writing patterns – all these come from participating in a specific professional culture[6]. In this way, "the ethnologist shapes the 'research data' (considered objective, not long ago), turning them into a discourse that is built in compliance with certain methodological and rhetorical guidelines, specific to each period, a discourse in which subjectivity plays a prominent role. Far from being neutral, this discourse complies with a particular vision, subtending a particular terminology, which often carries some value judgments, or some stakes that are extrinsic to the scientific domain (ideological and political stakes, in the case of the militant folklore studies of the 19th century, for instance)"[7]. The textualization of the fieldwork, as an *act of interpretation* (the selection and reconstruction of the observed facts), begins at the time of compiling the field notes and continues throughout the process of archiving the documents.

To illustrate this idea, let me reproduce below a manuscript field note from the archive I have investigated. The field note dates back to 1975 and was drawn by a student, during one of the fieldwork supervised by the professors of folklore from the Faculty of Letters in Cluj. The example below shows that the field

[3] Geertz 2014 [1973]: 18.
[4] Laplantine 2000: 68.
[5] Ibidem.
[6] Dorst 1990: 179.
[7] Sava 2015: 67.

information was interpreted both at the very moment of compiling the field note and during the archiving process. Reread now, through other lenses than those of the researchers back then, this field note can provide different information, depending on the questions contemporary ethnologists may formulate.


Mojeni-Dos
7619

informații
informator: Sas Tinică; 75a; f.s.
la Crăciun 1935 Aboiești; jud. Satu-Mare
culegător: Ioana Cândroiescu

Dacă me' fata în coate și-n genunche până
be curcubău apă și fa' ficior și di-i ficior și
fa fată. Da nu me' că nu be niceuri apă
ala.

Fig. 1 – Field note indexed with number 7619 in the Archive of the Folklore Society from the Faculty of Letters in Cluj[8].

Here is the transcribed content of field note ACFC 7619: "Dacă me[rge] fata în coate și-n gerunche până uńe bę curcubău apă, si fa[ce] ficior, și di-i ficior si fa[ce] fată. Da nu me[rge], că nu bę niceuńe apă ala" [If a lass should walk on her elbows and

[8] The content of the field note is published in Sava (ed.) 2008: 208.

knees all the way to where the rainbow drinks water, she'll turn into a lad, and if he is a lad, he'll turn into a lass. But she's not going, 'cause the rainbow never drinks water anywhere]. Moişeni, Satu Mare Co[unty], 6 July 1975, informant: Ţîţîie Sas, 75 y[ears old], n[o] s[chooling], folklore collector: Luana Chiriacescu.

The field note includes two phrases, accompanied by the specific metadata of an ethnographic document: the place and date of the research, the surname, first name, age and studies of the informant, as well as the name of the collector. In the top left corner of the page, there appears the word *information*, without any indication about the theme to which it refers. In the catalogue of the Archive, it is indexed with the title *Information on "Rainbow" Magic.* The way in which the information was textualized allows me to read this field note only through the lens of the one who compiled it in 1975. I do not know *how this document was produced* or *how the interaction between the researcher and the interlocutor went*. The student may have been guided by one of the Questionnaires drawn up Ion Muşlea, which were quite frequently and consistently used in fieldwork practice. In *Questionnaire VIII,* compiled in 1933, entitled *Earth, Water, Sky and Atmospheric Phenomena according to Folk Beliefs and Stories*, the rainbow is covered in the section *Water* and the following questions are allocated to it: *Origin. How is it formed? What do they say about it?*[9] Since the above-mentioned field note does not mention the question that triggered that answer and is not part of the documents that transcribe questionnaires accompanied by replies, I have no way of reconstructing the conversational context that generated this short text. I verified the hypothesis that the student used Ion Muşlea's Questionnaire by browsing through various manuscripts from the same period and I noticed that the field notes indexed with numbers 8100 and 8101 in the catalogue of the archive were structured according to this questionnaire. Bearing the title *Beliefs about the Earth, Water, the Sky*, they recorded the following answers relating to the Rainbow*:* "Zîce că dă meri în cọte şi gĕrunče până la iel [la curcubeu], ti faci ficior, da şî iel nu stă. [Dacă eşti fată te faci fecior]" [They say that if you crawl on your elbows and knees to it (the rainbow), you'll turn into a lad, but it won't stay put. (If you are a lass, you'll turn into a lad.)][10]. The sentence in square brackets belongs to the student who drew up the field note. "Dumnezeu l-a făcut ca să bea apă din izvọre. Tre[buie] să mę în gerunci până la iel, ti faci ficior, ti faci sănătos. Îi bine, că nu plouă iară iute" [God made it so that it could drink water from springs. You (must) walk on your knees all the way to it, and you'll turn into a lad, you'll get healthy. It's all right, it's not going to rain again too soon"[11]. The first answer belongs to a woman, while the second to a 79-year-old man, for whom, as suggested in the field note, "turning into a lad" is tantamount to *ti faci sănătos* [getting healthy].

To understand the model of interpretation that formatted not only the field note reproduced entirely above, but also the type of questionnaire used in the other two field

[9] Muşlea 2003: 317.
[10] Fieldnote ACFC 1800.
[11] Fieldnote ACFC 1801.

notes, I turned to a few older or more recent studies that approach the same theme. The earliest comparable information is to be found in the encyclopaedia of Romanian beliefs "collected and placed in mythological order" in 1903 by Elena Niculiță-Voronca, in the section *The Rainbow*[12], included in part IV, dedicated to Water, as a primordial element:

> "The rainbow is a man; it shoots off water into the skies, making the rain fall. The rainbow drinks water through a ring. If there should be any human being nearby when it drinks, it will pull and release him from that end; then, that man will be a man for one month and a woman for another month and will know everything written in the stars"[13].
> "Whoever rides on a pig to where the rainbow drinks water and somersaults three times will turn into a lad for one month and into a girl for another. And if any woman with child who walks on her knees all the way to where the rainbow drinks water says the 'Lord's Prayer' three times and drinks water further downstream, the child she will bear will be a lass for one month and a lad for another month and will know everything there is to know in the world, as well as work wonders"[14].
> "In Moldova, it is well known that if you drink water from where the rainbow drinks water, you'll turn into a lad for one month and into a lass for another month or from a woman into a man and from a man into a woman"[15].

Using the same mythological perspective, Tudor Pamfile noted down several similar excerpts in 1916, placing them in relation to the sky and the air[16]. More recently, in 2001, Ion Taloș summarized data of the same type in a dictionary entry devoted to the *Rainbow*[17], while in 2013 Nicolae Constantinescu regrouped information from the same primary sources in a study entitled "Cunoştinţe despre om şi univers. Astronomie-meteorologie" [Knowledge of Man and the Universe. Astronomy-Meteorology], published in the volume *Patrimoniul cultural imaterial din România* [*The Intangible Cultural Heritage of Romania*][18]. The chronology of the studies reveals the continuity of the mythological approach, from the period of national ethnology, when it was deemed that the aim of folklore studies was to document the existence of Romanian mythology, as it had been preserved in folklore, in order to validate *the national specificity*. In all these studies, the reading of fieldwork information is guided by questions regarding the rainbow, subsumed to the mythology of primordial elements (water, air, fire, earth). Contemporary researchers are faced with the difficulty of removing information from this ensemble and questioning it in a different manner. Ethnographic documents are like "2 in 1" products: they provide both the information and its interpretation, all in one package. In the examples reproduced above, the content is structured on the basis of two referents: the *rainbow* and the *gender change*. Notwithstanding all this, the

[12] Niculiță-Voronca [1903] 1998: II, 245.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Pamfile 1 [1916] 2001, Pamfile 2 [1916] 2001.
[17] Taloș 2001: 45.
[18] Constantinescu 2013: 25-26.

interpretation of ethnographic materials is organized solely by the first referent, while the second is completely ignored. Contemporary ethnologists might find it interesting to reread these field notes starting from *the relationship between the two referents*, which would also render the *second element* visible. What did gender change mean to a woman from Oaş County, born in 1900? What was the order of ideas, beliefs, facts, stories or events she placed it in? How did she valorise it? The mere fact that it was mentioned suggests that this was food for thought for the people of past centuries, and not just for the individuals of the postmodern age. The *transgender* theme as such could not have featured on the list of questions addressed by folklore scholars in the past. However, as shown in the transcribed ethnographic information and in certain Romanian fairy tales whose protagonists are women with masculine features that eventually turn into men and marry women, this does not mean that the transgender issue was not of concern to people[19].

The analysis of the examples above reveals that if another methodology had been adopted, the material may have been organized differently and other, no less subjective information would have been generated. As seen above, the process of interpretation starts right from the moment of compiling the field notes. "Reconstruction is at work even in the ethnographers' field notebooks. They are never pure 'testimonies', raw reports collected by imperturbable and anonymous observers that somehow managed to break free from their own emotions"[20] and from the theoretical and methodological perspective they were trained to apply.

Starting from the premises concerning the manner in which "field data" are built (the premises proposed by the interpretative perspective in ethnology), I have analysed the field notes in the Archive of the Folklore Society in Cluj as *documents of cultural history*, and not just as sources of ethnographic or folkloric information. I have done this in a series of studies published both as the sole author[21] and in collaboration with Maria Candale Grosu[22]. These studies focus on the relation between *field writings* and *field reading,* pointing out how "the content of the field notes and the discursive techniques used (writing) is determined by the theoretical and epistemological premises prevalent in the period in which the research (reading) is conducted"[23]. Both the studies written by Maria Candale Grosu and those that we have co-authored propose an interpretative model that can be used for any folklore archive in Romania: *archives as documentary sources for the construction of a cultural history*.

[19] Gaster 1915: 285, Taloş 2001: 6.

[20] Laplantine 2000: 65.

[21] Sava 2010, Sava 2011.

[22] Sava & Candale 2011, Sava & Candale 2012. Maria Candale Grosu continued the research within the framework of her PhD Thesis (Candale Grosu 2013) and of several scientific papers. She has analysed diachronically and comparatively a rich corpus of field notes regarding funeral rituals, written at different times in the second half of the 20th century (Grosu 2015, Candale Grosu 2017).

[23] Idem 2015: 1070.

2. THE ARCHIVE OF THE FOLKLORE SOCIETY FROM THE FACULTY OF LETTERS IN CLUJ

The manuscript field notes from the Archive of the Folklore Society in Cluj cover three and a half decades of fieldwork (from 1958, the year when the archive was established, until 1993, the last year in which information was stored in manuscript field notes) and outline two major methodological stages. The documentary fund roughly corresponding to the first 15 years (from 1958 until the mid-1970s) was based on the principles of a positivist approach: it was guided by the *criterion of objectivity* and focused on the *notation of folkloric texts*, whose selection reflected the primacy of the *aesthetic* criterion. Most of the times, the researchers recorded only texts (ballads, legends, fairy tales, riddles, proverbs, songs, witty couplets, carols, orations, etc.). A small portion of the field notes reproduced various beliefs and descriptions of customs, on the basis of questionnaires. While the folklore of rituals was privileged, daily life was not a subject of interest. Researchers attempted to verify the existence of pre-existing schemas, without leaving any space for the interlocutor's subjectivity. Thus, they most often noted down only the folkloric text, in the absence of any context (the context of the conversation between the researcher and the interlocutor; the context of the text's production in that particular community). The focus was on the *accumulation* of ostensibly objective data that could fill the so-called "blank spots", i.e. the villages and areas where folklore texts had not been collected yet. Over the next 20 years, in addition to the field notes that reproduced, just like before, exclusively folklore texts, there also appeared some which recorded *subjective* information, evincing a *post-positivist* perspective. What could be noticed was an opening towards *the research of folk culture*, instead of a limitation to the "canonical" species of literary folklore. The *ethnographic* finality was visible through the far greater freedom granted to interlocutors, who were invited to recount their personal experiences related to daily life or exceptional periods (the war experience), to happenings that were out of the ordinary (encounters with the supernatural) or crucial events (birth, marriage, or the death of a family member). The working tools were no longer just questionnaires, but also semi-structured interviews, which granted space to the interlocutor's subjectivity.

During the period of the establishment of this archive, its contributors did not publish texts that theorized the methodology of fieldwork. The archived field notes show, however, that some of them had understood the limits of the positivist model and had therefore looked for and experimented with different research methods. The most prominent example is Professor Nicolae Bot, whose contribution is visible in the documents belonging to the second period of archive. In what follows, I will develop these ideas and illustrate them with examples.

3. METHODOLOGICAL MUTATIONS IN FIELDWORK AND ARCHIVING PRACTICES

3.1. The positivist perspective

Folklore archives in Romania were established in keeping with a *positivist* outlook, which became dominant in the 19th century and was maintained throughout the following century.

From the standpoint of fieldwork methodology, this perspective is predicated on the desideratum of full objectivity, the only one able to guarantee the "authenticity" of the ethnological field document: "Of foremost concern is observing very closely the authentic, i.e. the 'exclusion, as far as this is possible, of any subjective element'"[24]. This depends, above all, on the mechanical – sound, photographic, etc. – recording of the material 'because only a machine can be objective and only its reproductions can be whole and unquestionable'"[25]. Field note ACFC 7619, which is reproduced in the first part of this study, is illustrative for this type of approach. In this instance, the removal of subjective elements entailed the fact that the researcher noted down only the answers to questions, outside the conversational context in which they were given. The obstructed access to the interlocutor's opinion about the recounted belief created the impression of objectivity. The element of subjectivity resided in the fact that the information was displayed in the researcher's interpretation grid: the mythological perspective from the period of national ethnology.

According to positivism, "folklore may still mean the totality of the nation's spiritual and cultural heritage"[26]. In line with this perspective, folklore sums up an amount of spiritual "goods", with an objective existence, which can be identified, collected and stored in an archive by the researcher. Consequently, folklore textbooks build inventories of such goods, organized after the thematic-typological criterion and complying with the systematization imposed by the literary criteria of genres (narrative, lyrical and dramatic) and their corresponding species. The treatment of folklore through the "lens of literature"[27] is generated by the primacy of the aesthetic criterion: "the aesthetic criterion prevails, studies relying on the fact that reality is mirrored through transfiguration with the help of artistic images"[28]. Ovidiu Bîrlea's work, *Metoda de cercetare a folclorului* [*The Folklore Research Method*], published in 1969, from which we extracted the above passages, was the main bibliographical reference for the fieldwork conducted in the immediately following period and, implicitly, for the contributors to the archive in question. According to this perspective, the researcher was supposed to identify aesthetically valid items in the field, consistent with these typologies, and to record them, in order to fill out any potential "blank

[24] Bîrlea [1969] 2008: 38, apud Brăiloiu 1931.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Bîrlea [1969] 2008: 9.
[27] Zane 2007: 16.
[28] Bîrlea [1969] 2008: 12.

spots" on the Romanian territory, i.e. the areas or villages where those items had not been collected yet, or to document a pre-existing ritual-related pattern. In this posture, the ethnologist could not be anything other than a passive presence, objectively "recording" already existing "data". They were collected with a view to demonstrating the Romanians' cultural homogeneity by "hachuring" on the map the spiritual heritage they all had in common and outlining folklore creations as the national brand. Within the archive, field notes were organized according to the thematic-typological criterion (in line with the classical division into folklore species).

The positivist perspective is the one that steered the training of all the Romanian scholars who carried out their academic and scientific activity over the course of the 20th century. Since it was the only perspective acknowledged in the Romanian bibliography, the possibility of interrogating its premises was low, if not altogether absent. Being the sole perspective, it benefited from institutional endorsement and was adopted in the undergraduate folklore textbooks which formed philologist students during the second half of the 20th century[29], my generation included. All these generations of students, who became teachers of Romanian language and literature, handed down this type of perspective to their own students in various schools and colleges. That was the very perspective based on which the Archive approached in this study was established.

3.2. The post-positivist perspective

This methodological reconfiguration, noticeable in the manuscript field notes kept in the Archive of the Folklore Society from the Faculty of Letters in Cluj, was operated by Professor Nicolae Bot. Although he had been trained in the spirit of positivism (applying the methodological recommendations of the Sociology School of Bucharest, led by Dimitrie Gusti, in the interwar period), he went beyond this paradigm and accurately outlined a post-positivist perspective, with openings towards an interpretative approach. A scholar with a genuine calling for fieldwork, Nicolae Bot published rather few theoretical texts. One of them, "Baba Ruța și povestea ei sau despre autenticitatea documentului etnologic" ["Baba Ruța and Her Story or, On the Authenticity of Ethnological Documents"][30], contains a critique of positivist principles and proposes a research methodology that grants primacy to the interlocutor's subjectivity. The researcher is no longer viewed as an external, passive presence, who merely records objective, pre-existing facts, but appears as a character who participates in the *production* of ethnographic documents. The very objectivity – both of the "data" and of the researcher – is undermined by the idea of an interaction between the

[29] In 1976 Mihai Pop and Pavel Ruxăndoiu published *Folclor literar românesc* [*Romanian Literary Folklore*], București, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, re-edited in 1978. This was the textbook used by all the philologist students from the late 1970s until the 21st century. Upholding the same positivist perspective, the authors defined folklore as the "totality of artistic creations belonging to the people's spiritual culture (in other words, spiritual folk culture addressed from an aesthetic perspective)", second edition, p. 42.

[30] Bot 2001:143-146.

researcher and the collocutor, expressed in terms of the *co-construction of the ethnographic document*: "What has often been confirmed, but has neither been argued sufficiently nor, in some cases, understood well enough is the fact that ethnological documents, especially those compiled on the basis of the conversation between the researcher and his interlocutor(s), are, by their nature, vulnerable to a high degree of subjectivity, more so than those that are fixed on film"[31]. The terms in which the matter is approached pertain to post-positivism: thus, *conversation* replaces the previous terms: *inquiry*, *questionnaire*, *collecting*, while *collocutor* replaces the older *informant*.

I associate these changes with post-positivism, which, although it retains the idea of objective truth, deems it to exist only *in the context of*, as well as *thanks to* some subjective, human circumstances.

The author reveals the limits of the fieldwork that aimed to multiply pre-existing schemas: "Of course, a discussion on one or several oral culture facts starts from a schema that is generally valid in several areas. *As long as the researcher looks for answers to this schema alone, all he does is multiply already existing documents*"[32]. The critique of the archive-repository, which inventories "cultural goods" through a rigid technique, is accomplished with great delicacy: "Especially nowadays, when archives are packed with general schemata on several themes, these schemata come to life and acquire ethnographic value if they become autobiographical facts"[33]. The limits of the old approach can be overcome by emphasizing subjectivity: "Research becomes valuable as soon as the schema is 'embodied', in the sense that it is presented as alive at a certain point, when it becomes part of the collocutor's biography"[34]. The text further theorizes the issue of life stories, seen both *as a method of research* and as an *ethnological document*: "However, in this case, our collocutor, who has experienced countless such facts in his life, becomes a cultural personality, a case and – why not – often a character, really. Compiling ethnological documents with such a collocutor means making a biography, describing the life of a man who has been though experiences that are significant for his entire collectivity, i.e. has experienced various series of scenarios, ranging from mythical-ritual ones (family- or calendar-related, medical, magical) to ceremonial ones. The collocutor has gone through these events alongside some of his peers (sometimes all of them), which is why they become autobiographical facts. In such a 'life story' that unfolds in relation to traditional (archetypal) schemata, even mundane, seemingly trivial and insignificant deeds acquire the colour and scent of traditional ones"[35].

Upholding the importance of personal narratives, the author also discards the primacy of the aesthetic element, the basic tenet of the positivist perspective. Although life stories were recorded before, they occupied a position of inferiority in relation to traditional narrative species (fairy tales, legends, etc.), whose aesthetic value was considered comparable to that of written literature[36].

[31] Idem: 143.
[32] Idem: 144.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Fruntelată 2004: 7.

In contrast to the archiving practice based on the segmentation of information according to the thematic-typological criterion, the author chooses to preserve the material in the context of its production: "Since the case presented, the person (the character) and his biography are turned into a significant, integral ethnological document as such, any segmentation within a cultural unity [...] would render them inauthentic, leading to a scheme, which is dead and cannot attest the truthfulness or authenticity of the presented custom or rite. It seems to us that for future syntheses, such documents (descriptions of cases, biographical researches) are far more useful than schemata."[37] The author carries out, for the first time in the Romanian bibliography, a critique of the canonical system of grouping folkloric information: "This would avoid the troublesome occurrences from monographic approaches to customs in certain areas, in particular, in which a segment is from one village, another from another village and we have no way of knowing what that custom is like in any locality and with any informant. We believe that if we chose wisely our informants, we could record from just one, in a coherent document, the entire traditional culture of a village. Other documents, from other sources, could then be correlated with this"[38].

Some of the methodological changes described in this theoretical text from 2001 were foreshadowed in as early as the 1970s, but they became apparent during the 1990s, as the archived field notes show. The classical themes of ethnological research, such as the history of the village, the main occupations, etc., were refashioned through subjective lenses, as the interlocutor was asked to relate personal experiences, facts from his life. By way of exemplification, here are two excerpts, one from 1974 and the other from 1993:

> "La noi aşe de mult lucră femeile, că nu se esistă mai mult să lucre. Nu-s bune de nimicu. Am lucrat împreună cu Irinca şi cu fata de luni dimineaţa. Cân' ne-am începu' la sapă. Apăi ne-am păzit dă dimineaţă, ne-am scula' de dimineaţă, am hrănit viţeii, că ieu am contractat cinci viţei ş-un porc. Doi am bagat, tri am în poiată. Şi porcu' îl am acasă. Apăi m-am păzit de m-am scula' de dimineaţă, am hrăni' porcii, apoi am făcut, am şert la porci după, sara după ce-am venit. Dimineaţa mi-am aranjat treburile, ba, am un copil nenărocit de 21 de ai ie în pat, api' cu ala, apăi hai la sapă. Apăi la amiază-dzi dă fuga acasă. Am dus la câmp, ce-am dus, că la câmp n-am dus că, dimineaţa-am făcu' mâncare, da, şi sara, da d'amiază-am dus brânză, slănină şi pâine şi ceapă. No, aiste am mînca' d-amiază-dzi. Apăi când o fo sara nu mi-am putu' să ne-ndreptăm de cruce aşe ne-o duru' de tare. Am gânit că murim: mânurile, carne' am gânit că pică djos de pe noi. Dimineaţa hai iar la sapă. Apoi de multe ori soţu-mio vine' de la sărvici, apăi zice': no, să scula iel, să scula, că iel îi în birău, lucră în birău, nu la sapă. Apăi zice' cătă mine: no, să scula dimineaţa no, zice', te mai, no, te lăs să te mai culci un pic. Mai mărge' şi dăde' şî iel la viţăi şi mai făce' treburile. Cân' iera ora şepte, trebea să margă la sărvici. Zice': no hai că mi-i milă, no amu scolă-te că-i musai să ti scoli. Da'păi ci să fac? Mai făce' şi iel treabă până să duce'. După ce să duce' io mi-oi găta ia treburile. Pe la 8 iar ieram în sapă. Amu că de-abia mă hodin să zic..."
>
> [In our village, women work so hard, there's no way anyone could work harder. They're downright exhausted afterwards. I worked together with Irinca and the lass from Monday morning. We started by doing some digging. Then, we waited for the morning to come, got up early in the morning, fed the calves, for I'd purchased five calves and a pig. I put two of them inside, three were in the stables. And the pig was in its sty. Then I didn't close a wink so

[37] Ibid.
[38] Idem: 145.

I could get up early in the morning, fed the pigs, then I did this and that, brewed some swill for the pigs afterwards, in the evening, after I came back. In the morning, I put my affairs in order, and then, as I have a wretched 21-year old child in bed, then took care of that one, then tilled the land some more. Then, at noon, I rushed back home. I took some victuals to the field, whatever I could lay hands on, for I didn't take to the field, in the morning I cooked something, yes, and in the evening, too, for noon I took cheese, bacon and bread and onions. Well, that's what we have for lunch. Then, when evening came, we couldn't straighten our backs. We thought we were going to die: our hands, we felt like our flesh was going to flake off our bodies. In the morning, back to tilling the land. Then my husband often comes from work, saying: well, he stood up, he stood up, for works in an office, not in the field. So he says to me: well, he got up in the morning, so, he says, I'll let you go back to sleep for a little while longer. He also goes and feeds the calves and does the chores around. At 7 o'clock, he has to leave for work. He says: oh, dear, poor you, do get up now, you really must get up now. So what can I do? He does the chores around before he leaves. After he leaves, I finish the chores. At around 8 I was tilling the land. I barely get any rest, what can I say...][39]

"Când eram mică, mâncam toți dintr-un blid mare. Cine mai spăla atâtea blide? Aveam blide mai multe, da așa era obiceiu. Mâncam câte 10-12 la o masă. Blidul era mare cam de 5-6 litri. De când îi Ceaușescu nu se mai mănâncă așa. El o deschis tare multe șantiere, tare multe lucrări, o făcut fabrici de vase, de sticlă. După război am mâncat și din blide de lemn".

[When I was little, we all ate from a big bowl. Who would wash so many bowls? We had more than one bowl, but that was the custom: we used to be 10-12 at table. The bowl was big, it held about 5-6 litres. Since Ceaușescu, they no longer eat like that. He opened very many building sites, many projects, made crockery, glass factories. After the war we ate from wooden bowls, too].[40]

These fragments illustrate not only the narrator's subjective perspective, but also the shift of the researcher's interest from the topic of rites and ceremonies onto that of daily life, of small gestures (daily living, eating, dish washing, kitchen utensils). Another priority of fieldwork is the attempt to capture the dynamics of social facts and the transition from tradition to modernity (when and how a family switches from using a single bowl for the whole family to individual bowls). These themes are accompanied by other topics that have recently entered the ethnologist's sphere of concerns: shopping for food, the seasonal migration of labour, etc.

Other field notes document contemporary story telling practices, highlighting the fact that the topics from the story tellers' personal experience currently have a higher share than that of the traditional species of the narrative genre (fairy tales, legends, etc.). Among the recorded personal narratives are stories of men who participated in World War II or of some women who endured famine during the war, as well as more recent life stories, from the period of Communism:

"În anii războiului o fost tare greu. O fost prunci care plângeau: «Dă-ne de mâncare» și mama n-avea nimic ce le da, numa apă. N-o fo' întrebare că de ce-i pita – de mălai, de mădzărită, de coceni (...) Am fost odată la Liman și am stat 10 săptămâni. Strângeam paiele și luțărna. Nu mai puteam sta, că era pe timpul coasei și brigadirul o aprins baloții de pe câmp. Din avion o coborât niște bărbați de la conducere ș-o vinit Miliția și i-o pus cătușele la brigadir. Era un băiat tânăr și noi ne-am pus în fața lor: – Pă mâne sară niciun balot nu-ț vedea pă câmp! Tătă noaptea am strâns

[39] Informant Maria Marcuș, 46 years old, 4 grades, 25.07.1974, Bixad, Satu Mare County, collector Nicolae Bot.

[40] Informant Maria Bălin, 60 years old, 18.06.1993, Văleni, Maramureș County, collectors Eugenia Bîrlea, Laura Păcurar, Ileana Benga.

baloții la lumina becurilor de la tractoare și i-am făcut jireadă ca să nu-l ducă la închisoare. Nu l-o dus, că o venit revoluția. Noi n-am spus cătă nime, da' conducerea o știut ș-o fost tare supărată".
[During the war years it was hard. There were babies who cried, 'Give us something to eat,' and mother had nothing to give them, only water. There was no question, like what's the bread made of – maize, or lentils, or cobs. (...) I was once at Liman and stayed there for 10 weeks. I collected straw and alfalfa. I could no longer stay there, it was harvest time, and the brigadier set fire to the bales in the field. Several men got off the plane and the Militia came and they handcuffed the brigadier. He was a young lad and we stood up facing them: 'There'll be no bale left in the field by tomorrow evening!' The whole night I kept stacking bales of hay in the tractors' headlights and I built a hayrack, lest they should take him to jail. They didn't, 'cause the revolution broke out. We never told anyone, but the leadership knew and was mighty upset"[41].

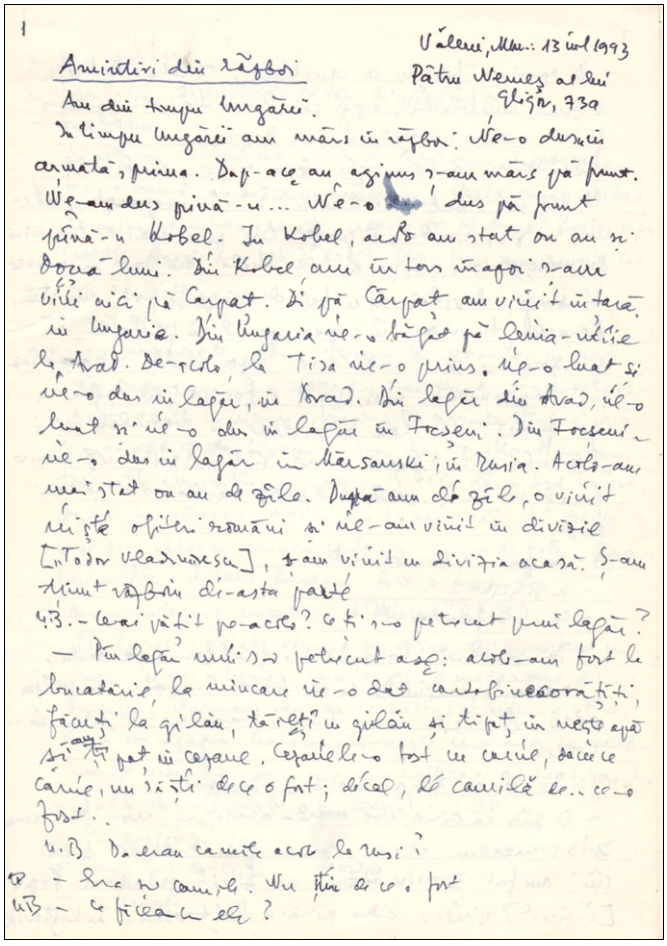


Fig. 2 – Unpublished field note, not indexed in the archive, comprising the first page from a personal narrative about participation in World War II.

[41] Informant Maria Buftea, 67 years old, Văleni, Maramureș, 16 July 1993, collectors Eugenia Bîrlea, Ileana Benga.

In fieldwork practice, methodological change entails, above all, the fact that researchers provide interlocutors with more freedom of expression. The questionnaires are replaced by semi-structured interviews or conversations on generic themes, such as memories of war. Subjective discourse involves the use of the pronoun forms specific to the first and third persons.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In this research, the "fieldwork" was my encounter with the Archive, while my interaction with these documents led to my reading them as pages in the history of ethnology, in which the two research methodologies and, implicitly, the two stages of Romanian ethnology are found: on the one hand, the positivist paradigm (the folkloristic stage), governed by the primacy of objectivity, the aesthetic criterion and quantitative researches (compiling collections of folklore texts, filling in questionnaires, hachuring the "blank spots" on a map), and on the other hand, the post-positivist paradigm, in which subjectivity and qualitative research prevail (via semi-structured interviews and conversations on generic themes). From this perspective, the Folklore Archive from the Faculty of Letters of Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj has – just like any other archive of this kind in Romania – the value of a documentary fund on the basis of which can be outlined the different visions and methods that have guided fieldwork and archival practice throughout the history of Romanian ethnology.

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ASPECTS CONNUS ET INEDITS DE LA VIE ET DE L'ACTIVITE DU GEOGRAPHE ET ETHNOLOGUE ROMULUS VUIA

ALEXANDRU PĂCURAR

RESUMÉ

Romulus Vuia (1887–1963), géographe de formation et ethnographe passionné, a eu une contribution déterminante à la création et à l'enrichissement des collections d'artefacts du Musée Ethnographique et du Parc Ethnographique de Cluj. Outre son activité d'enseignant à la Section de Géographie et ensuite à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université Regele Ferdinand I de Cluj, où il a été titulaire de la Chaire d'Ethnographie et de Folklore, il s'est remarqué par ses efforts de vulgariser l'art populaire roumain et de préserver et valoriser ce trésor identitaire unique, ainsi que par les conférences qu'il a soutenues dans le pays et à l'étranger. Dans le contexte dramatique de l'hiver 1943/1944, le professeur Romulus Vuia a effectué un périple dans l'espace culturel de langue allemande d'Europe pour soutenir six conférences sur le village roumain traditionnel, les coutumes des habitants et l'art populaire roumain. Ces conférences soutenues dans des centres universitaires prestigieux d'Allemagne, d'Autriche et de Suisse ont suscité de nombreux échos dans la presse de langue allemande, qui sont synthétisés dans l'étude ci-présente. Dans des articles élogieux, les auteurs de langue allemande soulignent presque à l'unisson la forme irrégulière et éparpillée du village roumain traditionnel, qui reflète l'esprit d'indépendance du paysan roumain, les formes autochtones de l'art populaire roumain, qui ont une longue tradition et figurent parmi les plus anciennes et les plus prestigieuses manifestations de l'art populaire européen. La créatrice de ces formes matérielles d'existence – remarquent les auteurs de ces articles – est une paysannerie fort liée à la terre et à l'histoire de la Roumanie.

Mots clés: Musée ethnographique et Parc ethnographique de Cluj, Transylvanie, conférences, presse de langue allemande, village traditionnel roumain, art populaire roumain.

DONNÉES BIOGRAPHIQUES

Romulus Vuia fait figure à part dans la galerie des membres de l'Institut de Géographie qui a fonctionné dans le cadre de la Faculté de Lettres de l'Université „Regele Ferdinand I" à Cluj. Comme ses anciens assistants allaient le reconnaître après des années: „Au fil de plus de quarante ans (1922–1963), le nom de Romulus Vuia a

figuré parmi les pionniers de l'ethnographie et de la muséographie ethnographique roumaines"[1].

Romulus Vuia est né le 28 janvier 1887 à Comloşul Mare, dans le district de Timiş-Torontal. Il fait l'école primaire dans la localité d'origine et le lycée à Orăştie et Timişoara, obtenant le diplôme de maturité (l'équivalent du diplôme actuel de bachelier) le 9 décembre 1916 au Lycée d'État à Budapest. Il faut mentionner ici que, sous la domination hongroise, il a été exempté du service militaire obligatoire. Après des études universitaires à Budapest, il obtient le diplôme de professeur à l'École Normale Supérieure. Pendant la période estudiantine, il a travaillé au Musée ethnographique de Budapest, étant dès cette époque-là intéressé par les domaines de l'ethnographie et de la muséographie. C'est ce qui l'a poussé à continuer ses études par une formation en ethnographie et en anthropologie à l'Université de Berlin, pendant un semestre, sous la coordination du professeur Felix von Luschan (1854–1924). Ses visites au Museum für Völkerkunde sont fréquentes pendant cette période-là[2].

Il commence l'activité didactique le 1er septembre 1910 à l'École civile de Haţeg en tant que professeur titulaire (entre 1912 et 1919). Du 1er septembre 1919 au 30 septembre 1920 il est directeur de l'École secondaire de Târnăveni. Il profite de cette période pour entreprendre une recherche ethnographique minutieuse sur le terrain, principalement dans la région de Pădureni et au Pays de Haţeg mais aussi dans des villages de la Transylvanie méridionale.

Cette recherche fait l'objet de sa thèse de doctorat, *Ţara Haţegului şi Regiunea Pădurenilor. Studiu antropogeografic şi etnografic* [Le Pays de Haţeg et la région de Pădureni. Étude anthropo-géographique et ethnographique], coordonnée par George Vâlsan et soutenue en juin 1924. Il devient ainsi docteur en géographie, le premier de l'histoire de la Faculté des Sciences de Cluj, sa thèse remportant un prix de 50 000 lei accordé par la Fondation Culturelle Royale „Regele Ferdinand". En 1912 il se marie avec Irina Perényi, née le 17 janvier 1889 à Kecskemet, d'origine ethnique allemande et de confession romano-catholique. Ils auront deux enfants, Octavian (né en 1914) et Romulus (né en 1922).

À l'issue de la guerre, il reçoit de la part du Conseil Dirigeant de la Transylvanie la mission de récupérer les artefacts que l'administration hongroise avait emportés en quittant la Transylvanie.

Au cours de l'année universitaire 1921/1922, Romulus Vuia devient licencié en géographie et en histoire de l'Université „Dacia Superioară" de Cluj[3]. À partir de 1920 il est l'assistant du professeur George Vâlsan, à la Chaire de géographie générale. Il reste ici jusqu'en 1926, lorsqu'il se transfère à la Chaire d'ethnographie et de folklore de la Faculté des Lettres. Il y est professeur suppléant jusqu'en 1939, lorsqu'il est nommé professeur titulaire par le Haut Décret Royal no 1157/15 mars 1939[4]. Le 1er janvier 1923 il est nommé directeur du Musée ethnographique de

[1] Morariu et Onişor 1966: 299.
[2] Onişor 1966: 270.
[3] Călugăreanu 1923: 213.
[4] Ştefănescu-Goangă 1940: 220.

Transylvanie à Cluj, fonction qu'il remplira avec professionnalisme et dévouement jusqu'en 1948.



Illustration 1: Museum für Völkerkunde à Berlin.
Source: Hoffmann 2008: Bild 146–1992-021-25.

Entre septembre 1940 et mai 1945, le professeur Vuia s'est réfugié avec l'Université Regele Ferdinand I à Sibiu et Timişoara. De retour à Cluj au printemps de 1945, il continue son activité à la chaire jusqu'au 1er septembre 1947, lorsqu'il prend sa retraite, tout en restant directeur du Musée et du Parc ethnographique de Transylvanie jusqu'en 1948. Pour son activité au service de la Patrie, il a été décoré de la Couronne de la Roumanie au grade d'officier (1928) et de la Couronne de la Roumanie au grade de Commandeur (1930). À la retraite, il s'établit à Bucarest, 55 rue Maria Rosetti, ét. III, ap. 7, où il mourra le 2 juillet 1963[5].

ROMULUS VUIA – LE FONDATEUR DU MUSÉE ETHNOGRAPHIQUE ET DU PARC ETHNOGRAPHIQUE À CLUJ

Outre les historiens, les géographes ont eu une contribution importante au développement de l'ethnographie en tant que science. Les statuts de la Société Roumaine de Géographie, fondée en 1875, stipulaient dans l'article 3 que la société

[5] Archives de l'État Cluj, noté ASC, Fonds Université Regele Ferdinand I 798, noté F. 798, Faculté des Sciences, note FS, numéros d'inventaire 1407, noté N.I. 1407, dossier 232, noté d. 232.

devait comprendre trois sections: géographie mathématique; géographie physique; ethnologie, en vertu du fait que „l'ethnographie a beaucoup de contingences avec l'anthropo-géographie"[6], comme le soulignait Valer Butură. Le savant géographe Simion Mehedinți plaidait, en 1909, pour „le rassemblement des documents ethnographiques, car les restes du passé sont en voie de disparaître dans le temps à venir: dans l'habit traditionnel, dans les outils ménagers et l'organisation de la propriété"[7]. Constantin Brătescu proposait „une méthode géographique dans les recherches ethnographiques en suivant un phénomène dans toute son aire de diffusion et en le cartographiant ensuite"[8], alors que George Vâlsan affirmait dans une conférence soutenue à Berlin en 1911 que „nous avons préservé un héritage culturel ancien – au sens ethnographique – aussi bien matériel que spirituel, comme peu de peuples en Europe avaient réussi à le faire"[9].

Les exploits de l'Armée royale roumaine et les sacrifices de toute la société roumaine pendant la Première Guerre mondiale ont rendu possible la réalisation d'un rêve séculaire des roumains qui vivaient à l'extérieur des frontières, l'Union à la Patrie-mère. Elle a été consacrée en 1919–1920 par les Traités de Paix de Versailles, Saint-Germain, Trianon, Neuilly et Paris qui „ont reconnu et enregistré dans des textes de droit international"[10] les nouvelles frontières de la Roumanie à la suite de la mise en œuvre des principes des nationalités et de l'autodétermination des peuples. L'État roumain était ainsi „une réalité vivante et le fruit d'une évolution historique et des efforts séculaires de toute la nation roumaine"[11], la conséquence d'une „parfaite unité géographique sur le squelette de l'ancienne Dacie"[12], selon l'expression d'Emmanuel de Martonne.

Après l'union de la Transylvanie à la Roumanie et la fondation de l'Université „Dacia Superioară", où la langue d'enseignement était le roumain, les professeurs, les chercheurs et les étudiants ont reçu la tâche d'axer leurs études sur les réalités roumaines, qui avaient longtemps été ignorées ou présentées de manière déformée. Tant les travaux de licence des étudiants que les articles, les études et les thèses de doctorat des membres du collectif de l'Institut de Géographie qui venait d'être créé présentaient en principal différents aspects de la vie de cette province géographique-historique roumaine. En 1921, au moment où Emmanuel de Martonne avait été invité à tenir des conférences à l'Université „Dacia Superioară", Vâlsan affirmait que „bien que les plus nombreux, les plus intéressants par les manifestations de leur vie liée à la terre, les plus originaux par leur caractère ethnique et leur civilisation, les roumains n'étaient étudiés qu'en passant, avec une sorte de mépris,

[6] Butură 1972: VI.
[7] Mehedinți 1910: 5–16.
[8] Brătescu 1913: 145–147; 1914: 101–125.
[9] Vâlsan 1927.
[10] Sofronie 1938: 983.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.

comme des parias dont il ne faut même pas parler"[13]. La situation n'a pas tardé de changer: en tant que président de la Société Ethnographique Roumaine de Cluj (1923–1927) et de la section géographique et ethnographique de l'ASTRA, George Vâlsan, le fondateur de l'École de géographie de Cluj, n'a pas perdu de vue le volet ethnographique de l'anthropo-géographie, formant des générations d'étudiants avec cette vision. L'un de ses meilleurs disciples a été Romulus Vuia, qui a son tour a eu comme disciples les géographes Tiberiu Morariu, Teodor Onişor, Valer Butură, Lucia Apolzan mais aussi Ioan Maloş et Gheorghe Pavelescu. Comme Valer Butură allait le mentionner après des années, grâce à Romulus Vuia, en sa qualité de directeur du Musée et du Parc ethnographiques de Cluj (1923–1948) et à ses disciples „la capitale de la Transylvanie est devenue le plus actif centre de recherches et de collections d'objets (ethnographiques – n.n.) de tout le pays pendant l'entre-deux-guerres"[14].

Le Musée ethnographique de Transylvanie a été fondé à Cluj, le 4 mai 1922, à l'initiative de la Fondation Culturelle „Principele Carol", de son directeur Gheorghe D. Mugur, après avoir reçu l'avis favorable d'une commission créée dans ce but et composée entre autres des professeurs Emil Panaitescu, George Vâlsan et Romulus Vuia. La Loi sur la création de la Fondation Culturelle „Principele Carol" avait été adoptée peu de temps avant, le 5 juillet 1921, et avait pour mission d'aider, soutenir et créer des faits de culture. Homme de lettres doué de l'esprit d'organisation, le journaliste Gheorghe D. Mugur (1878–1945) et les membres de la commission susmentionnée – dans laquelle ont été cooptés aussi Sextil Puşcariu, comme président, Alexandru Lapedatu et George Oprescu[15] – ont proposé la création d'un musée en plein air suivant le modèle du Musée de Stockholm, dans le but de préserver le patrimoine populaire et ses formes authentiques – édifices d'habitation et de culte, installations techniques, outils et objets d'usage ménager, habits traditionnels etc. Romulus Vuia a reçu la mission d'organiser le Musée ethnographique et de créer un Parc ethnographique, étant nommé, le 1er janvier 1923, directeur du Musée ethnographique de Transylvanie. Il a bénéficié du soutien inconditionnel de son mentor, le professeur George Vâlsan, qui en octobre 1923 avait été élu président de la Société ethnographique roumaine[16].

En qualité de directeur du premier Musée Ethnographique Roumain, Romulus Vuia a enrichi les collections par de nombreuses acquisitions. Comme Luise Netoliczka, une véritable exégète en la matière, allait le mentionner: „Le début des collections fut l'achat de deux collections privées: la collection de l'ethnographe transylvain Andrei Orosz (5 500 pièces)… du matériel transylvain en général, et la collection Leitner (300 pièces)… surtout de la céramique saxonne"[17].

[13] Vâlsan 1924: VII-VIII.
[14] Butură 1972: VII.
[15] Morariu et Onişor 1966: 299-300.
[16] Ibid; Bucuţa 1931: 532.
[17] Netoliczka 1931: 247.

Il a organisé et catalogué les artefacts populaires, selon les modèles des artefacts occidentaux, après avoir visité les musées ethnographiques de Prague, Leipzig, Berlin, Stockholm, Copenhague, Hambourg, Stuttgart, Munich, Bâle et Vienne en 1924. Le musée a fonctionné au début dans le bâtiment de l'ancien Musée des Arts et des Métiers, rue George Barițiu.

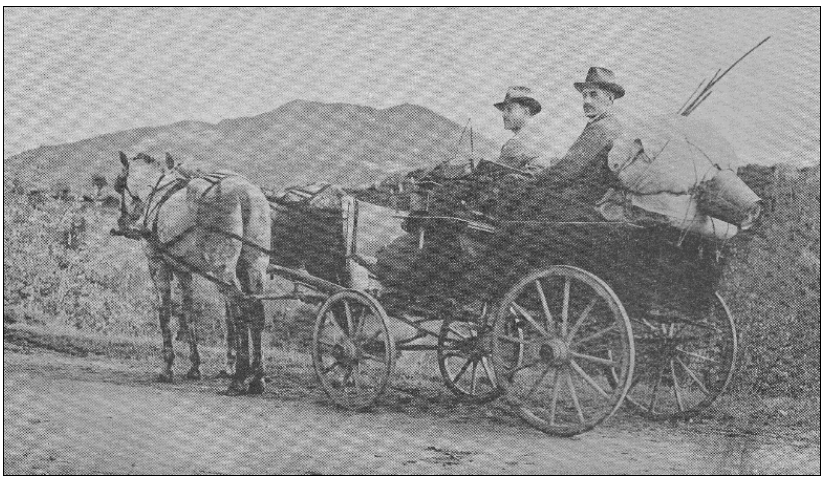


Illustration 2: Romulus Vuia *en expédition ethnographique* en Transylvanie.
Source: Bucuța 1931: 532.

En 1925, le directeur a réussi à obtenir un autre local pour le musée, dans le bâtiment de l'ancien Musée des Reliques, place Mihai Viteazul. Il a été inauguré le 17 juillet 1928 par une exposition permanente, en présence de Emil Racoviță, le président de l'Académie Roumaine, de Nicolae Iorga, Ion Bianu, Gheorghe Bogdan-Duică, le recteur de l'Université „Regele Ferdinand I", des membres du musée ethnographique, de Ion Agârbiceanu etc.[18].

L'idée de créer un parc ethnographique à Cluj a continué à hanter Romulus Vuia, qui a fait des efforts pour acquérir un terrain sur le versant nord de la colline Hoia, car „le dixième anniversaire de l'Union de la Transylvanie à la patrie-mère ne pouvait être mieux célébré que par l'ouverture de ce parc national, qui devait être une icône en miniature de toute la Transylvanie"[19]. Le 12 avril 1929, Romulus Vuia a obtenu pour le futur Parc National Ethnographique un terrain de 75 ha sur la colline Hoia, terrain prédestiné, semble-t-il, „de par sa nature à ce but, où le visiteur pourra voir en s'y promenant l'icône fidèle de la vie et de la civilisation de notre peuple"[20].

En parlant de cet espace, Teodor Onişor écrivait: „Situé relativement près de la ville, il a un relief varié qui correspond aux trois niveaux de relief de la

[18] Morariu et Onişor 1966: 301.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.

Transylvanie: en haut, la crête couverte de chaînes et de hêtres, où sera présentée la vie de la zone de montagne, et en bas des pentes douces, propres à la vie de la zone de colline et de bois; et la partie du terrain située près de la voie ferrée (*la voie ferrée Cluj-Oradea, n.n.*) était la plus appropriée à représenter les formes de vie des zones de plaine. Le parc sera ainsi divisé selon les principales régions géographiques du pays et chaque bâtiment sera placé dans son cadre naturel"[21].

Persuadé que ce parc ferait la fierté de la capitale transylvaine, qu'il serait un espace de loisirs pour les habitants, qu'il aurait également des valences éducatives, contribuant à la promotion et à la préservation de l'identité nationale, à la diffusion à l'étranger de nos éléments identitaires, Romulus Vuia et son équipe ont réussi à doter le parc d'artefacts vieux et originaux, représentatifs de tout le territoire transylvain. Le fruit de ses efforts et de ceux de ses collaborateurs, Tiberiu Morariu, Teodor Onişor et Ioan Maloş ont été l'acquisition d'une maison spécifique des montagnes Apuseni (originaire de Vidra), d'une croix votive (de Lupşa), d'un hangar hongrois (de Stana, Huedin), d'une bergerie (de Poiana Sibiului) et d'une ferme paysanne complète (de Telciu, Năsăud)[22].

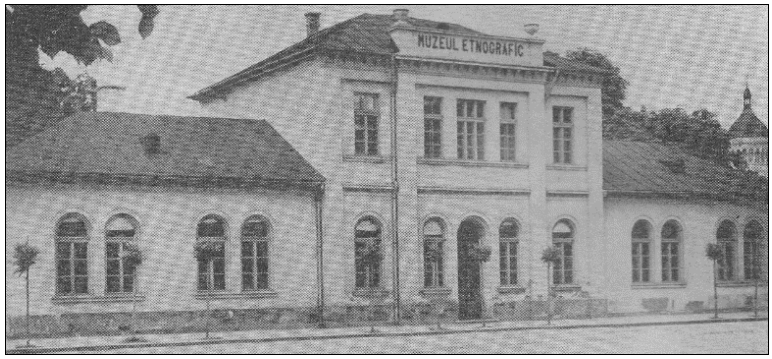


Illustration 3: Le Musée Ethnographique de la Transylvanie entre 1928–1937.
Source: Netoliczka 1931: 245.

Outre la dotation du parc ethnographique Hoia d'artefacts spécifiques, fruits de fréquentes campagnes de recherche et d'acquisition sur le terrain, le professeur Vuia a milité constamment pour la reconnaissance institutionnelle du musée et du parc. Petit à petit, le deuxième siège du musée de seulement 278 m² s'est avéré insuffisant pour abriter les 10 000 artefacts[23]. Grâce à son lobby, la Loi du musée ethnographique et du parc national de Cluj a été adoptée en mars 1932, alors que le musée a reçu un nouveau local, dans le bâtiment „Casino" situé dans le parc de la ville, où il allait fonctionner entre 1937 et 1957 (excepté les années du refuge à Sibiu, entre 1940 et 1945)[24]. À

[21] Ibid.
[22] Idem: 303.
[23] Netoliczka 1931: 248.
[24] Morariu et Onişor, 1966: 304

partir de 1957, le musée a été transféré dans le bâtiment „Reduta" (la Redoute), au centre de la ville, où il fonctionne même à présent (21 rue Memorandumului).

Outre les activités administratives, Romulus Vuia a fait des études scientifiques sérieuses qu'il allait présenter au milieu universitaire, aux spécialistes du pays et de l'étranger, où il entreprenait des voyages de documentation et d'information muséographique. En 1930 il a participé au congrès international d'art populaire organisé à Anvers, Liège et Bruxelles et a visité les musées ethnographiques belges. En 1934 il a participé au congrès international d'anthropologie et d'ethnographie de Londres et a visité les muées de Londres et d'Oxford. Avant de rentrer en Roumanie, il a visité les musées ethnographiques de Paris, Rome, Zagreb et Belgrade. Deux ans plus tard, il se rendit de nouveau à Londres, pour prendre part au festival international de danses populaires[25].

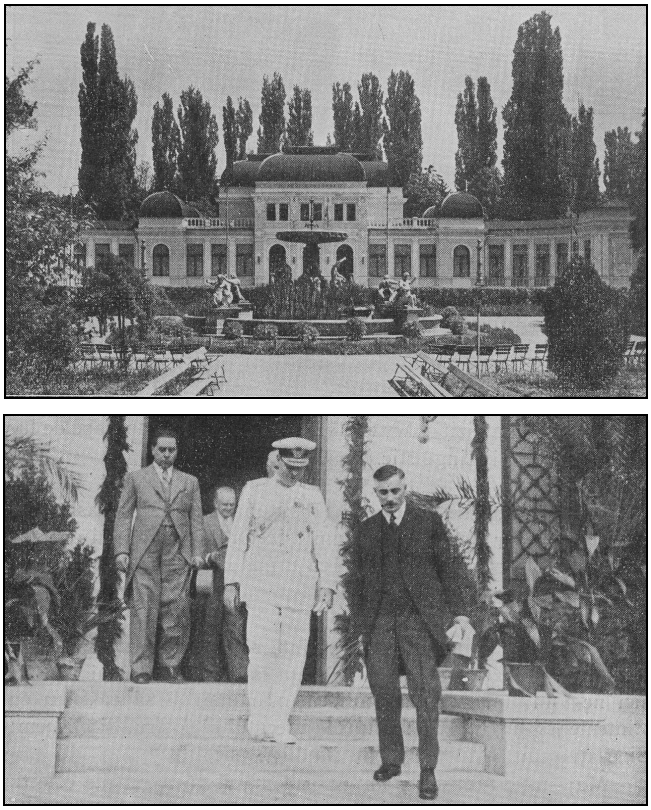


Illustration 4: Inauguration du nouveau siège du Musée Ethnographique de la Transylvanie à Cluj, en juin 1937, dans le bâtiment „Casino" du Parc de la ville, en présence de S.M. le Roi Charles II, du premier-ministre Gheorghe Tătărăscu et du directeur du musée, Romulus Vuia.
Source: Ștefănescu-Goangă 1939: 107.

[25] Idem: 303.

En 1938, il a figuré parmi les participants au congrès international d'anthropologie et d'ethnologie de Copenhague, occasion de visiter les musées ethnographiques danois ainsi que ceux de Hambourg, Paris, Stuttgart, Vienne et Budapest. L'année suivante (1939), il a participé au congrès international et au festival de danses populaires de Stockholm, il a visité le Skansen et, avant de revenir en Roumanie, les musées ethnographiques de Copenhague, Hambourg, Nürnberg, Munich, Leipzig, Berlin, Vienne et Budapest. Grâce à ses efforts, en 1933 le musée ethnographique a reçu un nouveau siège, situé dans le parc de la ville. De 1933 à 1937, les artefacts ont été transférés dans ce nouveau bâtiment, où a été aménagée une nouvelle exposition permanente. Différentes actions étaient destinées à inculquer au grand public l'importance de la culture populaire, telle que l'exposition ouverte en 1936 au Palais de la Préfecture à Cluj sur *Les musées ethnographiques en plein air d'Europe*[26].

L'évolution du musée et du parc ethnographiques de Cluj a été interrompue entre septembre 1940 et mai 1945 par le Diktat de Vienne et la Seconde Guerre mondiale, lorsque l'Université Ferdinand I s'est réfugiée avec ses musées et ses instituts à Sibiu et Timişoara. De retour à Cluj, aussi bien le musée que le parc ethnographique ont dû être refaits, la maison des montagnes Apuseni ayant été la seule à échapper aux destructions de la période hortyste. Romulus Vuia a été directeur du musée et du parc ethnographiques et professeur titulaire de la Chaire d'ethnographie et de folklore de l'Université de Cluj jusqu'au 1er septembre 1947, quand il a été obligé de prendre sa retraite.

LES CONFÉRENCES DU PROFESSEUR ROMULUS VUIA DANS L'ESPACE CULTUREL ROUMAIN ET SUR LE PLAN INTERNATIONAL

Parallèlement à l'édification, la consolidation et la reconnaissance institutionnelle du musée et du parc ethnographiques de Cluj, le professeur Romulus Vuia a montré un intérêt constant pour l'étude et à la vulgarisation de la vie et de la civilisation populaire roumaines – maisons spécifiques, outils, habit traditionnel, coutumes –, aspects qu'il a présentés dans une longue série de conférences soutenues en Roumanie et à l'étranger.

Transféré avec la Chaire d'ethnographie et de folklore à la Faculté de Lettres de l'Université de Cluj à l'automne 1927, Romulus Vuia a tenté à plusieurs reprises à jeter les bases d'un institut d'ethnographie et de folklore. Il s'est avéré un chercheur infatigable qui a promu notre habit traditionnel et nos coutumes populaires, en tant que membre actif de la section de géographie et d'ethnographie de l'ASTRA et de secrétaire général de la Société ethnographique roumaine et de la Société anthropologique de Berlin (*Berliner Antropologische Gesellschaft*), dont il était membre[27].

[26] Idem: 304.
[27] Bogdan-Duică 1929: 143.

Le contexte politique intérieur et international

Au cours de l'année 1930, les mouvements d'extrême droite ont connu une ascension fulminante, d'une part, comme une réaction au bolchevisme, de l'autre, à cause de la perte de crédit des régimes parlementaires démocratiques qui, soit n'ont pas su répondre aux attentes liées aux stipulations des Traités de Paix conclus à l'issue de la Première Guerre mondiale des États soit-disant revanchards, soit se sont avérés incapables d'arrêter la corruption et d'améliorer les conséquences de la crise économique mondiale de 1929–1933[28]. L'avènement au pouvoir du Parti Ouvrier National Socialiste (NSDAP) en Allemagne en 1933, dirigé par Adolf Hitler, investi comme chancelier, a eu des conséquences néfastes pour la paix en Europe. L'un des États les plus revanchards d'Europe à cette époque-là, l'Allemagne nazie, a commencé à mener une politique révisionniste de force, en occupant des territoires habités par des ethniques allemands: en 1936 il a réoccupé la Rhénanie, en 1938 l'Autriche (Anschluss signifie "union"), en septembre 1938 il a démembré et occupé un tiers de la superficie de la Tchécoslovaquie, plus précisément la région des Sudètes, action à laquelle se rallièrent la Hongrie qui a occupé le sud de la Slovaquie et la Pologne qui a occupé la région de Taschen. Le 15 mars 1939, l'Allemagne a occupé le reste de la République tchèque, en la déclarant protectorat allemand, alors que le 23 août 1939, à Moscou, le III^{e} Reich et l'URSS ont conclu un pacte de non-agression, en fait un partage de leurs sphères d'influence. Les „intérêts" de l'URSS en Bessarabie ayant été reconnus, elle occupa cette province, ce qui a justifié les actions ultérieures de la Roumanie, son adhésion à la coalition de l'Axe et ensuite la récupération de nos provinces géographiques et historiques. L'agression d l'Allemagne contre la Pologne, le 1er septembre 1939, et ensuite les déclarations de guerre de la France et de la Grande Bretagne, le 3 septembre, ont conduit au déclenchement de la Seconde Guerre mondiale.

Ce contexte européen et mondial si belliqueux ne pouvait que s'avérer favorable à l'apparition des mouvements d'extrême droite dans notre pays: la Légion de l'Archange Michel, la Garde de Fer, la Ligue de la Défense National-Chrétienne, le Parti National Agraire qui deviendrait le Parti National Chrétien, le Mouvement Légionnaire. En réponse à la prolifération des mouvements d'extrême droite et aux menaces qui venaient de l'extérieur, le roi Charles II a instauré la dictature royale, en février 1938, avec un parti unique, le Front de la Renaissance Nationale, et a opéré aussi une autre division administrative, par *pays*, afin de bloquer le bloc ethnique hongrois placé au centre du pays.

Les alliances de la Roumanie après la Première Guerre mondiale, qui avaient été conclues pour protéger les frontières et ses intérêts – la Petite Entente, entre la Roumanie, la Tchécoslovaquie et la Yougoslavie, créée en 1920, et l'Entente balkanique, entre la Roumanie, la Yougoslavie, la Grèce et la Turquie, une alliance régionale de sécurité et de coopération, conclue le 9 février 1934 à Athènes, dans le but de maintenir le *statu-quo* territorial dans les Balkans – se sont avérées inopérantes

[28] Djuvara 2013.

face aux pressions de l'Allemagne. Dans ce contexte, la Roumanie s'orienta de plus en plus vers les pays de l'Axe, en signant au début un Traité commercial avec l'Allemagne (23 mars 1939). Après la chute du système défensif traditionnel d'alliances de la Roumanie avec les démocraties parlementaires occidentales et régionales et dès que la France, l'alliée traditionnelle de notre pays, eut signé l'armistice le 17 juin 1940, l'URSS somma la Roumanie d'évacuer la Bessarabie et la Bucovine du Nord (le 26 juin 1941). Ainsi menacée, notre pays se vit obligée d'accepter l'ultimatum soviétique. Deux mois plus tard, le 30 septembre, la Roumanie fut à nouveau contrainte d'accepter le Diktat de Vienne, par lequel l'Allemagne nazie et l'Italie fasciste offraient à la Hongrie la Transylvanie du nord, qui était occupée dès le 15 septembre. Le 7 septembre, après les négociations échouées de Craïova, notre pays accepta de cesser à la Bulgarie le Quadrilatère. La sarabande des cessions sans combat de plusieurs morceaux du territoire roumain suscita beaucoup de mécontentements, qui allaient être exploités par le mouvement légionnaire en sa faveur. Le roi Charles II fut contraint d'abdiquer le 6 septembre 1940, bien qu'il se fût opposé aux cessions territoriales. C'est dans ce contexte extrêmement difficile pour le pays que le général Ion Antonescu prit le pouvoir, avec le soutien politique du Mouvement légionnaire. Le 14 septembre il fut proclamé le *Conducător* (dirigeant – n.n) de l'État national-légionnaire, et rallia le pays aux puissances de l'Axe.

Si cette nouvelle fut comme un coup de tonnerre pour la majorité des habitants de Cluj, elle ne surprit pas les élites intellectuelles qui avaient senti *l'inquiétude des espaces*[29], pour citer l'expression de Victor Jinga. À l'université, aussi bien le corps des enseignants que les étudiants se rendirent compte de la grande insécurité qui s'était ouverte devant eux. Après les moments de consternation et de forte émotion, la raison l'emporta sur la panique. Le 1er septembre 1940, à 11 h, le Sénat de l'université présidé par le recteur Florian Ştefănescu-Goangă se réunissait pour prendre les décisions qui s'imposaient. En annonçant officiellement le rapt territorial auquel la Roumanie avait été soumise, il précisait: „Une sentence d'un forum international acceptée par le gouvernement de notre pays nous oblige de quitter Cluj, qui a été attribué à un État étranger. Cette injustice criante peut être acceptée par un gouvernement passager, qui y avait été contraint par des circonstances politiques internationales très difficiles, mais elle ne sera jamais acceptée par la nation roumaine, qui avait subi beaucoup d'injustices dans son histoire et a toujours eu la force de les affronter et, le moment venu, de les écarter. Nous n'avons pas le moindre doute que notre départ est provisoire et que nous serons de retour au plus vite pour y rester à jamais. En quittant Cluj, l'université préserve à la fois sa nature et ses institutions. Elle continuera à fonctionner dans la nouvelle ville transylvaine où nous allons nous établir provisoirement"[30].

Le professeur Romulus Vuia et son équipe d'assistants et de collaborateurs durent s'occuper de l'organisation et de l'évacuation de la chaire d'ethnographie et

[29] Jinga 1995: 7.
[30] Neagoe 1980: II, 256-257.

de folklore. La nouvelle direction de l'Université „Regele Ferdinand I" en exil fut nommée le 5 octobre 1940: Sextil Puşcariu (recteur), Alexe Procopovici (vice-recteur) et, à la Faculté des Sciences, Dumitru V. Ionescu (doyen). Les cours ont commencé le 10 novembre 1940 tant à Timişoara qu'à Sibiu. Après la nomination de Sextil Puşcariu à la direction de l'Institut Roumain à Berlin, au début de 1941, un nouveau recteur a été installé le 4 juin 1941, en la personne du professeur Iuliu Haţieganu.

Les conférences nationales

Le professeur Romulus Vuia a soutenu de nombreuses conférences à la fois dans le pays et à l'étranger. Au cours de l'année académique 1934/1935, il a parlé à Caransebeş sur *Notre habit populaire*, et à Cluj sur *La question de nos parcs nationaux*. L'année suivante il a soutenu plusieurs conférences à Hunedoara sur *La région de Pădureni*, en 1939 à Cluj il a évoqué la question de la *Spécificité ethnique roumaine* et en 1944 à Deva il a fait accompagner sa conférence de projections sur le thème de *La préservation des habits traditionnels, des coutumes et des chants populaires*[31].

Dans le cadre de l'Université populaire de Vălenii de Munte, où il était devenu une présence constante tous les ans, il a fait les exposés suivants: *L'idée collective et la culture nationale* (1930), *L'évolution du métier à tisser* (1931), *Sur l'ethnographie et le folklore* (1932), *L'habit populaire roumain* (1933), *Le village roumain* (1934), *Race, peuple, religion* (1936), *L'habit populaire et l'action de préservation* (1937), *Musées villageois, musées régionaux* (1938), *Tradition et modernisme* (1944)[32].

En 1937 il a donné une conférence à l'Institut social Banat-Crişana de Timişoara sur *Le village roumain*, et en 1937 à Braşov, dans le cadre de la Ligue culturelle, sur *L'art populaire de Transylvanie*. À Braşov toujours, cette fois dans le cadre de l'Institut allemand-roumain, il a fait un parallèle entre *Le village roumain et le village saxon de Transylvanie*, alors que pendant les cours d'été organisés pour les instituteurs à Cristuru Secuiesc il a présenté deux études sur *L'habit populaire et l'action de préservation dans les régions siculisées* et sur *La question ethnique roumaine au Pays des Sicules*[33].

Grâce à sa passion pour la préservation des valeurs populaires traditionnelles roumaines, il a été nommé délégué du Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale dans le comité composé par la Fondation Culturelle Royale „Regele Carol al II-lea" qui devait s'occuper de l'extension et de la renaissance de l'habit national[34]. En 1939, il a fondé un cercle d'études ethnographiques, où il a présenté des comptes-rendus sur sa participation à des conférences internationales, tels que *Compte-rendu sur le congrès international d'anthropologie et d'ethnographie, Copenhague, 1938*, et

[31] ASC, F. 798, FS, N.I. 1407, d. 232.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ştefănescu-Goangă 1939: 21, 199-200.

Compte-rendu sur le congrès de danses populaires de Stockholm. Dans les conditions critiques du refuge, ce cercle d'études ethnographiques avait entre 15 et 25 membres durant l'année universitaire 1941/1942. Dans ce cercle il a soutenu en 1941 une conférence sur *L'activité ethnographique et folklorique de Nicolae Iorga* et, l'année suivante, sur *Les preuves ethnographiques de l'ancienneté et de la continuité de la population roumaine en Transylvanie*. Au cours de l'année universitaire 1942/1943 il a parlé à l'Université „Regele Ferdinand I" de *La spécificité ethnographique chez les roumains de Transylvanie*, et à la Radio des *Preuves ethnographiques de la continuité*[35]. Le professeur Romulus Vuia a d'ailleurs été un conférencier très prolifique pendant le refuge de l'université à Sibiu, comme le démontrent les communications de synthèse présentées devant les étudiants telles que *Problèmes et théories ethnologiques, Le village roumain, L'habit populaire, Les roumains par-delà les frontières, Le paysan roumain, L'unité du peuple roumain du point de vue ethnographique*[36].

Il s'est avéré tout aussi actif dans le cadre de l'ASTRA, où il a tenu en 1935 une conférence à Cluj sur *Le village roumain de Transylvanie* et l'année suivante, à Cluj et Arad, sur *Les actions de préservation de l'habit traditionnel, des chansons, des danses et des coutumes ancestrales*. Le 20 février 1944, dans le cadre du cercle culturel de Brad, il a parlé d'*Exhortations et ordres pour le moment ci-présent* et, le 12 mars de la même année, dans le cadre du cercle culturel de Sebeşul de Jos, il a présenté quelques *Réflexions sur la Transylvanie actuelle*[37]. Les thèmes abordés étaient en concordance avec les questions du jour, le professeur s'avérant un bon conseiller du public sur la conduite à suivre pendant ces heures difficiles.

LES CONFÉRENCES TENUES DANS L'ESPACE CULTUREL ALLEMAND EN L'HIVER 1943/1944

Le professeur Romulus Vuia a été aussi une présence visible aux congrès, aux festivals et aux conférences organisés à l'étranger ou dans des instituts ethnographiques et des universités de prestige. Ainsi, au congrès de l'Institut international d'anthropologie organisé en 1928 à Prague, il a présenté une étude sur *L'origine de la danse «căluşar»*, et au deuxième congrès international d'arts populaires, organisé à Anvers en 1930, il a tenu une conférence sur *Le «Cerbu», survivance d'un culte païen chez les roumains*. Au premier congrès international d'anthropologie et d'ethnologie de Londres (1934), il a tenu deux conférences sur *Le culte solaire chez les roumains* et *Les agglomérations rurales roumaines*. Le professeur Vuia y a fait trois propositions visant l'unification de la terminologie des sciences anthropologiques, l'introduction de l'anthropologie et de l'ethnologie

[35] Archives de l'État Cluj, noté ASC, Fonds Université „Regele Ferdinand I" 798, noté F. 798, Faculté des Sciences, noté FS, dossier 232, noté d. 232, feuille 22, noté f. 22.
[36] Ibid.
[37] ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 232, f. 22-30.

comme des disciplines d'étude au lycée et la création d'une publication scientifique de spécialité. La qualité de sa prestation à Londres lui a valu l'élection comme membre dans le conseil permanent qui devait préparer le futur congrès de Copenhague, de 1938. En 1936, il a participé au Festival International de danses populaires (Londres, 15-20 juillet), en tant que délégué du Ministère Royal des Affaires étrangères, où il a tenu une communication en anglais sur *L'origine des «căluşari» et des danses apparentées chez d'autres peuples européens*[38]. L'année suivante (1-8 septembre 1937), il participa à Bucarest au XVII[e] Congrès international d'Anthropologie préhistorique avec une communication sur *Les types de villages en Roumanie et leur chronologie*, et il publia dans le volume du congrès l'étude *Histoire de l'état actuel des études ethnographiques et folkloriques en Roumanie*. Du 1[er] au 7 août 1938, en tant que délégué du Gouvernement de la Roumanie et représentant de la Faculté de Lettres de l'Université de Cluj, il a été présent au Congrès international d'Anthropologie et d'Ethnologie de Copenhague avec deux conférences sur *La haute culture en terrasses en Transylvanie* et *Les coutumes agraires chez les roumains*. C'est le moment où Romulus Vuia a été élu président de la Commission internationale pour l'introduction de l'Anthropologie et de l'Ethnographie dans l'enseignement de tous les degrés[39]. Entre le 1[er] et le 6 août 1939, il a participé à Stockholm au troisième Festival international de Danses populaires, où il a tenu une conférence sur *Les danses d'épées chez les peuples balkaniques*[40].

Le 25 août 1942, lors de l'ouverture de l'Exposition d'Art populaire roumain à Breslau, organisée par le Ministère de la Propagande Nationale de Bucarest, il a présenté devant le public allemand une étude sur *L'art populaire chez les roumains*[41].

Au cours de 1943, comme il avait été invité par plusieurs sociétés scientifiques allemandes et suisses, le professeur Romulus Vuia a tenu à préciser que *Monsieur le Vice-Président du Conseil des Ministres et le Ministère de la Propagande m'ont chargé de tenir une série de conférences dans ces pays*[42].

C'est ainsi qu'en hiver 1943/1944 il a donné des conférences en Allemagne, en Suisse et en Autriche. Compte tenu du contexte géopolitique – l'Autriche avait été rattachée à l'Allemagne –, il n'a fait mention dans son rapport remis au doyen de la Faculté des Lettres que de l'Allemagne et de la Suisse. Comme son cycle de conférences s'est déroulé sur trois mois, on mentionne à un moment donné que: *Par le départ de Monsieur le Professeur Romulus Vuia à l'étranger (pendant les mois de décembre, janvier et février), le séminaire a poursuivi son activité sous la direction de monsieur l'assistant Gheorghe Pavelescu*[43]. Le 16 décembre 1943, il a tenu la conférence *Das rumänische und sächsische Dorf in Siebenbürgen*, en tant

[38] Ştefănescu-Goangă 1935: 19.
[39] Ştefănescu-Goangă 1939.
[40] ASC, F. 798, FS, d.410, f. 65.
[41] Ibid.
[42] ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410, f. 165.
[43] ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410, f. 176.

qu'invité de la société Geographische Gesellschaft und Naturforschende Gesellschaft de Freiburg im Breisgau. Le 10 février 1944 il allait tenir la même conférence à Berne, en Suisse, comme invité de la société Geographische Gesellschaft – Gesellschaft für Volkskunde. En Suisse toujours, cette fois à Bâle, il a parlé le 4 février 1944 de *Rumänische Volkskunst*.

Le 6 janvier 1944, comme invité des sociétés Der Verein für Volkskunde in Wien und die Geographische Gesellschaft in Wien, il a tenu une communication sur *Deutsche und rumänische Dorfforment*, suivie, le jour suivant, de celle sur *Rumänische Volkskunst* dans le cadre de la société Der Verein für Volkskunde in Wien. Le 26 janvier 1944, il tiendra la même conférence à Munich, comme invité de l'université locale[44].

Dans le rapport remis au doyen de la Faculté de Lettres, Romulus Vuia écrivait le 4 août 1944: „J'ai préparé pour ces conférences deux sujets: le premier réservé plutôt à un cercle restreint de spécialistes: *Das rumänische und sächsische Dorf in Siebenbürgen*, le second destiné plutôt au grand public: *Die rumänische Volkskunst.* J'y ai utilisé aussi des projections en couleurs (Agfacolor), ce qui a fait très bonne impression. Pour la première conférence j'ai expressément choisi ce parallèle des influences réciproques entre le village roumain et le village saxon de Transylvanie, d'abord pour couvrir en quelque sorte la tendance de la conférence à la propagande, ensuite pour éveiller l'intérêt pour la conférence du public allemand. Je suis persuadé d'avoir réussi à atteindre les deux buts que je me suis proposé. Une conférence uniquement sur le village roumain de Transylvanie aurait pu paraître suspecte dans les circonstances actuelles et n'aurait peut-être pas attiré un public trop nombreux. Sous le prétexte de ce parallèle entre les villages roumain et saxon j'ai pu montrer et prouver le caractère autochtone de l'élément roumain en Transylvanie"[45].

LES ÉCHOS DES CONFÉRENCES DU PROFESSEUR ROMULUS VUIA DANS LA PRESSE ALLEMANDE*

En hiver 1943/1944, le professeur Vuia a soutenu six conférences dans le milieu culturel allemand, quatre en Allemagne et deux en Suisse. Le 16 décembre 1943 il a parlé à Freiburg im Breisgau, le 6 et le 7 janvier 1944 à Vienne, le 26 janvier 1944 à Munich, le 4 février à Bâle et le 10 février 1944 à Berne.

La rédaction du journal *Der Alemanne* de Freiburg im Breisgau annonçait dans son numéro du 22 décembre 1943, dans une note intitulée *Ein Gast aus Rumänien* [Un invité de Roumanie], la présence du professeur Romulus Vuia, „*l*e père du lecteur de langue et de littérature roumaines à l'Université de Freiburg", qui avait soutenu une conférence sur „les villages saxon et roumain de Transylvanie" à la Société géographique et de recherche de la nature.

[44] ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410, f. 177.

[45] ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410, f. 165–166.

***** La traduction des textes allemands en roumain appartient à Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan de la Faculté d'Histoire et Philosophie de l'Université Babeş-Bolyai de Cluj, que je remercie de son amabilité.

Selon la rédaction, „il a été très intéressant … d'entendre un roumain parler de l'influence que le village saxon transylvain avait exercée sur les villages roumain et hongrois". En faisant référence au professeur Metz, un spécialiste du domaine, elle reconnaissait honnêtement „l'échange réciproque" qui s'était produit. Les jours suivants, à la même société scientifique, le professeur Vuia a participé à une conférence sur *La maison paysanne de Monts Schwarzwald* soutenue par le chercheur Hermann Schilli, sous la coordination du professeur Metz, avec qui il avait effectué une excursion scientifique dans la région de Dreisamtal pour visiter „des maisons et des agglomérations paysannes".



DONAUZEITUNG

Mittwoch, 12. Januar 1944

Rumänische Volkskunst

Aufschlußreicher Vortrag Prof. Vujas in Wien

Auf Einladung des Wiener Vereins für Volkskunde und der Geographischen Gesellschaft hielt Universitätsprofessor Romulus Vuia, der Direktor des Volkskundenmuseums Hermannstadt zwei Vorträge. Nachdem er die bedeutungsvollen Arbeiten der deutschen Siedlungsforschung gewürdigt hatte, deren Methode er in seinen langjährigen Forschungen über die Siedlungen in Siebenbürgen verwerten konnte, ging er auf seine persönlichen Forschungsergebnisse über. Zunächst führte er, über die rumänische Dorfform sprechend, die fortgeschrittenen Typen der siebenbürgischsächsischen Siedlungen vor. Im allgemeinen sind dies Straßendörfer mit fränkischen Gehöften.

Das Straßendorf haben die deutschen Siedler im XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert mitgebracht und den anwohnenden Rumänen und Magyaren übermittelt. Die zugehörige Hausform ist meist das dreiteilige Wohnhaus nach mitteldeutscher Art und das Einheitshaus Streckhof. Dagegen weist das rumänische Dorfgehöft und Haus urtümlichere Formen auf. Die älteren rumänischen Dörfer sind in Einzelgehöfte, Streudörfer, Taldörfer und Hafendörfer einzuteilen. Nur die neueren gehören zu den Straßendörfern und quadratischen Dorfformen. Auch die Hofanlagen zeigen altertümliche Formen und zwar den Streuhof, Zwiehof und Viehkant. Der Zwiehof gemahnt an südschwedische gleichartige Bildungen und es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß er von Goten und Gepiden nach Siebenbürgen gebracht wurde. Unter den Hausformen, ist die altertümlichste das Haus mit Eckflur, das schon in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit in Siebenbürgen belegt ist.

Der zweite Vortrag Prof. Vulas befaßte sich mit der rumänischen Volkskunde. An Hand zahlreicher schöner Lichtbilder legte er dar, daß das rumänische Volk eine der interessantesten und ältesten Arbeiten der Volkskunst geschaffen habe. Zeigen doch selbst die einfachsten und alltäglichsten Gebrauchsgegenstände mit ihren oft vorgeschichtlichen Formen das hohe Alter der rumänischen Volkskultur. Immer ist diese Kultur mit der Landschaft verwachsen und ihr angepaßt. Hier ist Volkstum und Kunst nicht mehr zu trennen, gleichwie auch die Kunstdichtung von der Volksdichtung immer wieder ihre Bereicherung empfängt. Der Vortragende beschäftigte sich vorwiegend mit der rumänischen Volkskunst, wie sie uns im Hausbau, in den Textilien und in der Töpferei entgegentritt. Er zeigte die ganz einzigartigen Holzbauten seines Landes, namentlich die kunstgeschichtlich so bedeutsamen Kirchen, die prachtvollen Nationalkleider, die herrlichen Teppiche und die Keramiken. Nicht nur der Formsinn des Volkes lebt sich in ihnen aus, ihre leuchtende Pracht zeugt auch von seinem frohen Farbensinn.

Alte rumänische Holzkirche aus der Maramuresch.
Aufn.: DZ-Archiv

ROMÂNIA ARHIVELE NAȚIONALE CLUJ

Illustration 5: L'article sur la conférence du professeur Romulus Vuia publié dans *Donauzeitung*.
Source: ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410, f. 170.

Romulus Vuia a écrit plus tard au sujet de cette conférence: „J'ai soutenu la première conférence le 16 décembre 1943 dans la grande salle de conférences de l'Université de Freiburg im Breisgau. Cette conférence a été donnée dans le cadre des sociétés scientifiques Geographische Gesellschaft et Naturforachande Gesselschaft de Freiburg, dont j'avais été l'invité. Le sujet de la conférence a été *Das rumänische und sächsische Dorf in Siebenbürgen*, et elle a été suivie avec beaucoup d'intérêt par une nombreuse assistance qui a fait la salle comble. D'autant plus qu'une conférence sur le même sujet, *Das Schwarzwälder Bauernhaus* devrait être soutenue les jours suivants par le meilleur connaisseur des villages allemands: Monsieur Studienrat Hermann Schilli… La conférence a eu lieu dans un cadre solennel accoutumé dans les universités d'Allemagne. Au début de la conférence, le professeur Schuchardt Walter-Herwig, le doyen de la Faculté de Philosophie, et le professeur Hans Günther m'ont salué au nom de l'Université, respectivement de la société Naturforachande Gesselschaft. À la fin de la conférence, le professeur Metz Friedrich m'a remercié au nom de la Société de Géographie"[47]. La rédaction du journal *Donauzeitung* [Journal danubien] de Passau annonçait dans son numéro de mercredi 12 janvier 1944, dans un article intitulé *Rumänische Volkskunst* [L'art populaire roumain] que le professeur Romulus Vuia avait été invité à donner deux conférences à Vienne. Le savant roumain avait apprécié „les travaux très importants de la recherche des agglomérations allemandes dont il avait analysé les méthodes" et les avait même mises en pratique „dans ses longues recherches sur les agglomérations humaines de Transylvanie, présentant au public viennois les résultats de ses propres études et enquêtes scientifiques". Ainsi, il a évoqué la typologie du village roumain ainsi que „les types développés des agglomérations des Saxons transylvains qui sont des villages compacts avec des cours et un aspect *frankons*", situés en général „le long des routes"[48] (l'appellatif „fränkisch" – „frankon" vient de la région de Franken, actuellement une partie de la Bavière, qui avait été une principauté autonome avant le congrès de Vienne, 1815, n.n.). La rédaction consignait: „les colons saxons avaient apporté le type de village compact le long de la route" au temps de la colonisation de la Transylvanie, pendant le XII^{e} et le XIII^{e} siècle, „le transmettant par la suite aux habitants roumains et hongrois". En ce qui concerne les maisons, elles sont toutes différentes: les maisons saxonnes „ont trois salles, selon le modèle d'Allemagne centrale", avec une grande cour, alors que la maison et la cour dans les villages roumains „présentent des formes autochtones, les villages sont éparpillés", les maisons „ont une seule unité d'habitation…, la plus ancienne étant la maison au vestibule documentée dès la préhistoire", et les cours „présentent des formes anciennes, ancestrales", de forme *courbée* (zwiehof) et un espace destiné au bétail. Cette organisation de la ferme paysanne, mentionnait la rédaction, „renvoie à des formes similaires rencontrées au sud de la Suède", ce qui la faisait supposer que ce type „aurait pu être apporté en Transylvanie par les Goths et les Gépides". En ce qui concerne la seconde

[47] ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410, f. 166.
[48] ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410, f. 170.

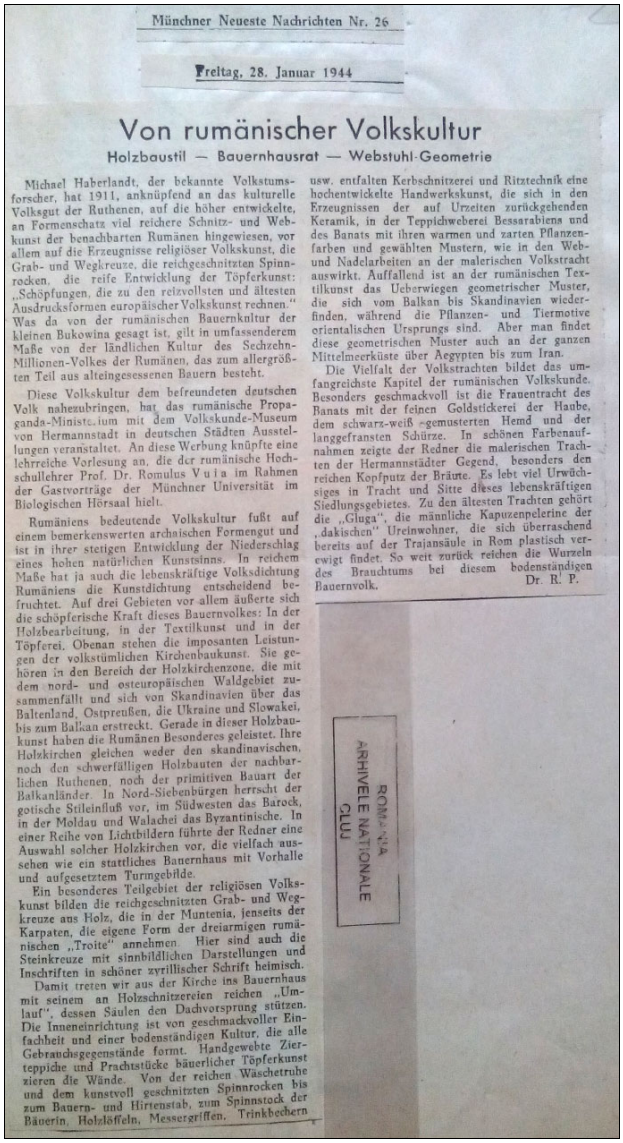
conférence, sur le folklore roumain, la rédaction du journal mentionnait que le professeur Vuia, „par l'intermédiaire de plusieurs photographies a démontré que le peuple roumain avait créé l'un des plus intéressants et des plus vieux travaux d'art populaire, comme le démontrent les objets simples d'usage quotidien, avec leurs formes souvent préhistoriques". On continuait par souligner la variété régionale de la culture populaire roumaine „qui s'était développée en même temps avec la région et s'était adaptée à celle-ci"; le folklore et l'art populaire roumains sont inséparables, „étant une source d'inspiration pour l'art culte". Le professeur de Cluj, affirmait la rédaction du journal, avait préféré illustrer les manifestations de l'art populaire roumain par „la construction et l'aspect des maisons, de l'habit traditionnel et de la céramique", sans oublier les églises en bois „tellement importantes du point de vue de l'histoire de l'art, les merveilleux costumes traditionnels, les tapis splendides et les objets de céramique". Toutes ces formes de manifestation dans lesquelles „se reflète l'esprit intérieur du peuple" et sa richesse spirituelle „brillante" témoignent de „l'appétence heureuse du peuple pour le sens de la couleur".

Au sujet de ses conférences viennoises, le professeur Romulus Vuia consignait dans son rapport adressé au doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de Cluj-Sibiu: „Les conférences ultérieures ont eu lieu à Vienne, où j'ai donné deux conférences, à savoir le 6 janvier 1944, lorsque j'ai parlé de *Deutsche und rumänische Dorfformen* et j'ai fait une comparaison entre les types de villages allemands et roumains, alors que le 7 janvier j'ai présenté *L'art populaire chez les roumains.* Les deux conférences ont eu lieu dans la salle de conférences du Muzeum für Volkskunde, j'ai été invité par les sociétés Verein für Volkskunde et Geographische Gesellschaft à Vienne. J'ai eu le grand plaisir de voir parmi les participants à cette conférence non seulement un public sélect et nombreux mais aussi plusieurs sommités scientifiques, tels que le professeur dr. Hugo Hassinger, le président de la Société de Géographie, le professeur dr. Eugen Oberhummer, le professeur dr. Norbert Krebs de l'Université de Berlin, le professeur Karl von Spiess, le professeur Richard Wolfram etc. Au début des conférences, j'ai été salué par le professeur Arthur Haberlandt, le président de la société ethnographique de Vienne, qui a montré que j'étais le premier érudit étranger invité à donner des conférences dans le cadre de cette société. À mon arrivée à Vienne, j'ai été salué officiellement de la part du professeur Pernkopf, le recteur de l'Université de Vienne et le président de la société allemande-roumaine, au nom de qui un dîner a été donné à l'hôtel Bristol. Y ont participé les représentants de l'université, dont monsieur le recteur Eduart Pernkopf, le professeur Hugo Hassinger, le président de la société de géographie, le professeur Arthur Haberlandt, le président de la société ethnographique de Vienne, et d'autres personnalités de Vienne"[49].

La conférence du professeur Vuia à Munich a été amplement présentée dans deux journaux. Le journal *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten* [Les nouvelles les plus récentes de Munich] de vendredi 28 janvier 1944 a publié un article signé *Dr.R.P.*, qui s'intitulait *Von rumänischer Volkskultur. Holzbaustil-Bauernhausrat-*

[49] ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410, f. 166–167.

Webstuhlgeometrie [Sur la culture populaire roumaine. Le style des constructions en bois- La maison paysanne-La géométrie du Jacquard][50]. Cet ample article commençait par citer l'ethnographe Michael Haberlandt, qui en 1911 parlait du „trésor



Münchner Neueste Nachrichten Nr. 26

Freitag, 28. Januar 1944

Von rumänischer Volkskultur

Holzbaustil — Bauernhausrat — Webstuhl-Geometrie

Michael Haberlandt, der bekannte Volkstumsforscher, hat 1911, anknüpfend an das kulturelle Volksgut der Ruthenen, auf die höher entwickelte, an Formenschatz viel reichere Schnitz- und Webkunst der benachbarten Rumänen hingewiesen, vor allem auf die Erzeugnisse religiöser Volkskunst, die Grab- und Wegkreuze, die reichgeschnitzten Spinnrocken, die reife Entwicklung der Töpferkunst: „Schöpfungen, die zu den reizvollsten und ältesten Ausdrucksformen europäischer Volkskunst rechnen." Was da von der rumänischen Bauernkultur der kleinen Bukowina gesagt ist, gilt in umfassenderem Maße von der ländlichen Kultur des Sechzehn-Millionen-Volkes der Rumänen, das zum allergrößten Teil aus alteingesessenen Bauern besteht.

Diese Volkskultur dem befreundeten deutschen Volk nahezubringen, hat das rumänische Propaganda-Ministerium mit dem Volkskunde-Museum von Hermannstadt in deutschen Städten Ausstellungen veranstaltet. An diese Werbung knüpfte eine lehrreiche Vorlesung an, die der rumänische Hochschullehrer Prof. Dr. Romulus Vuia im Rahmen der Gastvorträge der Münchner Universität im Biologischen Hörsaal hielt.

Rumäniens bedeutende Volkskultur fußt auf einem bemerkenswerten archaischen Formengut und ist in ihrer stetigen Entwicklung der Niederschlag eines hohen natürlichen Kunstsinns. In reichem Maße hat ja auch die lebenskräftige Volksdichtung Rumäniens die Kunstdichtung entscheidend befruchtet. Auf drei Gebieten vor allem äußerte sich die schöpferische Kraft dieses Bauernvolkes: In der Holzbearbeitung, in der Textilkunst und in der Töpferei. Obenan stehen die imposanten Leistungen der volkstümlichen Kirchenbaukunst. Sie gehören in den Bereich der Holzkirchenzone, die mit dem nord- und osteuropäischen Waldgebiet zusammenfällt und sich von Skandinavien über das Baltenland, Ostpreußen, die Ukraine und Slowakei, bis zum Balkan erstreckt. Gerade in dieser Holzbaukunst haben die Rumänen Besonderes geleistet. Ihre Holzkirchen gleichen weder den skandinavischen, noch den schwerfälligen Holzbauten der nachbarlichen Ruthenen, noch der primitiven Bauart der Balkanländer. In Nord-Siebenbürgen herrscht der gotische Stileinfluß vor, im Südwesten das Barock, in der Moldau und Walachei das Byzantinische. In einer Reihe von Lichtbildern führte der Redner eine Auswahl solcher Holzkirchen vor, die vielfach aussehen wie ein stattliches Bauernhaus mit Vorhalle und aufgesetztem Turmgebilde.

Ein besonderes Teilgebiet der religiösen Volkskunst bilden die reichgeschnitzten Grab- und Wegkreuze aus Holz, die in der Muntenia, jenseits der Karpaten, die eigene Form der dreiarmigen rumänischen „Troite" annehmen. Hier sind auch die Steinkreuze mit sinnbildlichen Darstellungen und Inschriften in schöner zyrillischer Schrift heimisch.

Damit treten wir aus der Kirche ins Bauernhaus mit seinem an Holzschnitzereien reichen „Umlauf", dessen Säulen den Dachvorsprung stützen. Die Inneneinrichtung ist von geschmackvoller Einfachheit und einer bodenständigen Kultur, die alle Gebrauchsgegenstände formt. Handgewebte Zierteppiche und Prachtstücke bäuerlicher Töpferkunst zieren die Wände. Von der reichen Waschetruhe und dem kunstvoll geschnitzten Spinnrocken bis zum Bauern- und Hirtenstab, zum Spinnstock der Bäuerin, Holzlöffeln, Messergriffen, Trinkbechern usw. entfalten Kerbschnitzerei und Ritztechnik eine hochentwickelte Handwerkskunst, die sich in den Erzeugnissen der auf Urzeiten zurückgehenden Keramik, in der Teppichweberei Bessarabiens und des Banats mit ihren warmen und zarten Pflanzenfarben und gewählten Mustern, wie in den Web- und Nadelarbeiten an der malerischen Volkstracht auswirkt. Auffallend ist an der rumänischen Textilkunst das Ueberwiegen geometrischer Muster, die sich vom Balkan bis Skandinavien wiederfinden, während die Pflanzen- und Tiermotive orientalischen Ursprungs sind. Aber man findet diese geometrischen Muster auch an der ganzen Mittelmeerküste über Aegypten bis zum Iran.

Die Vielfalt der Volkstrachten bildet das umfangreichste Kapitel der rumänischen Volkskunde. Besonders geschmackvoll ist die Frauentracht des Banats mit der feinen Goldstickerei der Haube, dem schwarz-weiß gemusterten Hemd und der langgefransten Schürze. In schönen Farbenaufnahmen zeigte der Redner die malerischen Trachten der Hermannstädter Gegend, besonders den reichen Kopfputz der Bräute. Es lebt viel Urwüchsiges in Tracht und Sitte dieses lebenskräftigen Siedlungsgebietes. Zu den ältesten Trachten gehört die „Gluga", die männliche Kapuzenpelerine der „dakischen" Ureinwohner, die sich überraschend bereits auf der Trajansäule in Rom plastisch verewigt findet. So weit zurück reichen die Wurzeln des Brauchtums bei diesem bodenständigen Bauernvolk.

Dr. R. P.

ROMÂNIA
ARHIVELE NAȚIONALE
CLUJ

Illustration 6: L'article sur la conférence
du professeur Romulus Vuia à Munich publié dans *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*.
Source: ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410, f. 172.

[50] ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410, f. 172.

de formes de l'art sculptural et de tissage" des roumains, estimé beaucoup plus riche que celui des Ruthènes. L'ethnographe avait en vue, entre autres, les créations „de la culture religieuse populaire", matérialisées dans „les croix tombales", les croix votives placées au croisement des chemins, „la maturité du développement de l'art céramique", autant de „créations appartenant aux formes d'expression les plus attrayantes et les plus anciennes de la culture populaire" européenne. L'auteur considérait que les réalités constatées dans „la culture paysanne de Bucovine" correspondaient généralement „aux dix-sept millions de roumains composés pour la plupart de paysans de souche".

Après cette nécessaire introduction, l'auteur précisait que „pour que cette culture populaire roumaine devînt accessible à son ami, le peuple allemand", le Ministère de la Propagande de Roumanie et le Musée ethnographique de Sibiu avaient organisé une exposition itinérante dans plusieurs villes allemandes. La conférence du professeur Vuia était un autre volet de cette „publicité itinérante". L'auteur de l'article évoquait „l'importante culture populaire de la Roumanie composée d'un amalgame de biens archaïques remarquables", qui s'était affirmée „au cours de son développement continu comme l'incarnation d'un sens naturel élevé de l'art". À son avis, „la force de création de ce peuple de paysans" s'était surtout manifestée dans l'art du bois, l'art textile et la céramique, et „l'art lyrique populaire roumain avait en grande mesure fertilisé la création poétique culte". Cependant, „les performances imposantes de l'architecture et de l'art populaire dans la construction des églises" constituaient le domaine où les roumains avaient obtenu „des réalisations particulières". Ainsi, par la construction des églises en bois, „par ce patrimoine, les roumains appartiennent à la zone géographique des églises en bois" correspondant à la région des forêts qui s'étend du nord jusqu'à l'est de l'Europe en traversant la Scandinavie, les pays baltes, la Prusse orientale, l'Ukraine, la Slovaquie et les Balkans. Les églises roumaines en bois, soulignait *Dr. R.P.*, „ne ressemblent ni aux églises scandinaves, ni aux accablantes constructions en bois de leurs voisins ruthènes, ni à la manière primitive de construction des pays balkaniques". Il signalait à juste titre les différences entre les différentes régions, que Romulus Vuia avait présentées „par l'intermédiaire de photos: si l'influence du style gothique est prédominante en Transylvanie septentrionale, dans le sud-ouest du pays c'est surtout le baroque, et en Moldavie et en Valachie le style byzantin. Dans le même registre des „arts funéraires", l'auteur allemand fait référence aux croix tombales et aux croix votives, qui en Valachie sont en forme de croix tréflée. Ce sont des croix en pierre „richement décorées de motifs symboliques", avec des inscriptions en lettres cyrilliques. Après les édifices de culte, l'auteur décrit les maisons paysannes, qui sont „d'une simplicité raffinée", les tapis tissés à la main qui „décorent les murs et dont les couleurs douces sont extraites de plantes". Il remarque „la prépondérance du modèle géométrique, rencontré depuis les Balkans jusqu'en Scandinavie, alors que les motifs floraux et zoomorphes sont d'origine orientale et se retrouvent le long de la Méditerranée, depuis l'Égypte jusqu'à l'Iran". Il admire aussi „les splendides pots de la céramique paysanne, la vaisselle riche et les quenouilles artistiquement sculptées, des bâtons de bergers et de paysans" aux

incrustations admirables, qui „témoignent d'un art manuel bien développé". L'habit populaire, constatait le même auteur, „constitue le plus ample chapitre de l'ethnographie roumaine", en principal „l'habit populaire féminin rencontré dans le Banat" mais aussi „l'habit populaire très coloré de la région de Sibiu", imprégné „d'éléments naturels et pittoresques". Témoignant d'un savoir ethnographique remarquable, l'auteur *Dr. R.P* mentionnait aussi „*le capuchon*, le bonnet de fourrure des Daces anciens", retrouvable sur la colonne de Trajan à Rome et entré ainsi dans l'éternité. Tout ceci le faisait conclure que „les coutumes de ce peuple autochtone de paysans remontent loin dans l'histoire".

Les échos de la conférence du professeur Vuia à Munich ont été consignés aussi dans le journal *Völkischer Beobachter* [L'Observateur populaire], dans le numéro 28 du 28 janvier 1944. L'article signé Esser Harzmann s'intitulait *Geschnitztes Holz und buntes Tuch. Ein Lichtbildervortrag über «Rumänische Volkskunst»* [Bois sculpté et serviette colorée. Une communication sur «l'art populaire roumain» à travers des images][51]. Au début de l'article, Esser Harzmann annonçait les lecteurs que le professeur Romulus Vuia de l'Université de Sibiu, Roumanie, l'invité de l'Université de Munich, avait soutenu une conférence „dans la grande salle de la Faculté de Biologie", offrant au public „une large perspective sur la culture populaire ancienne d'un pays profondément attaché par sa paysannerie à la terre de la patrie, à la nature et à son histoire". Une exposition itinérante „dans plusieurs grandes villes de l'Allemagne", avec des artefacts qui illustraient „l'originalité et la spécificité de cette culture populaire" a été également organisée. Le public allemand a ainsi eu la possibilité de connaître „un sentiment de l'art impressionnant dans tous les domaines de l'art populaire" des roumains, qui avaient créé „des produits comptant parmi les plus anciens et les plus précieux de l'art populaire européen". Harzmann précisait que la présentation s'était accompagnée de photos qui illustraient „l'art sculptural en bois, l'art textile et celui des objets d'usage ménager", que ces artefacts ne semblaient pas avoir été affectés par le temps et que le professeur avait mentionné „les aires géographiques typiques d'apparition et de diffusion de ces artefacts". Le public allemand, affirmait l'auteur, avait surtout été intéressé par l'église roumaine en bois, „avec l'unicité de ses formes", tels que la haute tour, le toit en pente, la décoration des stalles, des portes et des fenêtres qui ressemble à celle „des croix en bois rencontrées en Bavière supérieure". Tout aussi impressionnants ont été „la peinture sur verre, la sculpture en bois, l'art du tissage des tapis, la céramique et l'habit traditionnel". Naturellement, l'auteur allemand a été surtout attiré par l'art paysan du sud-ouest du pays, de la zone „méditerranéenne" (sic!), cherchant des similitudes avec la culture populaire du sud de l'Allemagne. Parmi les participants à cette conférence, il a remarqué le professeur Walter Wüst, le recteur de l'université, et le consul général de la Roumanie, Hermann Aumer.

Le professeur Vuia a noté dans son rapport: „J'ai soutenu la quatrième conférence en Allemagne à l'Université de Munich, le 26 janvier, comme invité de

[51] ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410, f. 171.

cette université. Compte tenu du grand intérêt pour l'art de ce centre culturel, j'ai parlé de *L'art populaire roumain*. J'ai été présenté et salué de la part de l'université par le professeur von Faber, vice-recteur, et dans l'assistance j'ai remarqué le professeur Walter Wüst, le recteur de l'université, qui s'est montré très intéressé par mon exposé et m'a demandé des photos illustrant les éléments présentés, le professeur Franz Dirlmeier, le doyen de la Faculté des Lettres, le professeur Arthur Kutscher, le professeur Gerhard, le professeur Rohlfs – *(sic!), il fait une confusion, il s'agit du professeur Gerhardt Rohlfs, n.n.* –, Monsieur Hermann Aumer, le consul général de la Roumanie etc. À l'issue de la conférence, le consul général Hermann Aumer a offert un dîner à l'hôtel Vier Jahreseiten"[52].

Les conférences du professeur Vuia ont eu le plus grand impact en Suisse, où trois quotidiens les ont présentées *in extenso*. Le professeur Vuia a écrit au sujet de ces conférences: „En Suisse j'ai soutenu deux conférences: la première le 4 février à Bâle, et la seconde le 10 février à Berne. Les deux sous les auspices de la Société ethnographique suisse et de la Société géographique et ethnologique. Le sujet de la conférence de Bâle a été *L'art populaire roumain,* afin de compenser en quelque sorte l'absence de l'exposition d'art populaire, et celui de la conférence de Berne *Le village roumain de Transylvanie*. J'y ai bénéficié du concours précieux du ministre Vespasian V. Pella, qui m'a fait l'honneur de prendre part à ma conférence et a donné un dîner à la Légation, et du conseiller de la Légation, Constantin Th. Vulcan, qui a eu la bienveillance de m'accompagner à Bâle et m'a été d'une grande utilité. Mes conférences ont joui d'un grand intérêt dans la presse, comme le démontrent les articles de journaux ci-joints. Malgré la crise de papier, des articles amples ont été publiés en Allemagne aussi. J'ai eu les meilleurs résultats en Suisse, où mes conférences ont été présentées par les plus importants journaux, tels que *Bund* de Berne*, Basel Nachrichten* et *National-Zeitung* de Bâle"[53].

Dans son numéro de lundi 7 février 1944, le quotidien *Basler Nachrichten* [Les nouvelles de Bâle] a publié un article signé *dv* qui s'intitulait *Die rumänische Volkskunst* [L'art populaire roumain]. L'auteur commençait par regretter l'absence de Bâle de „la grande exposition d'art populaire" qui avait été vernissée dans plusieurs villes suisses, offrant aux lecteurs un exposé sur un thème qu'il considérait, pour paraphraser son compatriote Carl Spitteler, comme „un exposé sur le paradis". Il faisait savoir à son public que vendredi 4 février le professeur Romulus Vuia avait soutenu une conférence devant les membres de la Société suisse de folklore à Bâle et de la Société géographique-ethnologique. Son exposé s'était accompagné de „photographies, documents sur les formes autochtones de l'art populaire roumain, en nous révélant le sens admirable de l'art, fondé sur une tradition ancienne et intimement lié aux formes de vie du milieu rural". Cet art s'était matérialisé à travers le bois, les tissus et la céramique, trouvant sa meilleur forme d'expression „dans le milieu ecclésiastique et celui de la maison paysanne avec son

[52] ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410, f. 167.
[53] ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410, f. 167–168.

petit univers”. Le rédacteur écrivait „que les églises roumaines en bois sont des œuvres d’art dont la symétrie révèle l’intégration et la totale adaptation des influences étrangères aux styles historiques”.



Montag
7. Februar 1944

Basler Nachrichten

Die rumänische Volkskunst

Basel wird es nun leider nicht mehr vergönnt sein, die große Ausstellung rumänischer Volkskunst, die in verschiedenen Schweizerstädten gezeigt worden ist, auch in sich zu beherbergen. Legationsrat Dr. Vulcan von der Königlich Rumänischen Gesandtschaft in Bern hat nun aber in entgegenkommender Weise als Ersatz dafür wenigstens einen Vortrag ermöglicht (einen Vortrag über das Paradies, anstatt des Eintrittes ins Paradies, mit Carl Spitteler zu reden). Am Freitag sprach nun vor der Sektion Basel der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde und der Geographisch-Ethnologischen Gesellschaft Prof. Romulus Vuia, Dozent an der Universität und Direktor des ethnographischen Museums von Sibiu (Hermannstadt), und führte uns in Lichtbildern Proben der hohen Formen rumänischer Volkskunst vor, des bewundernswürdigen Kunstsinns, der auf alter Tradition beruht und mit den ländlichen Lebensformen noch innig verwachsen ist. Das Material dieser Volkskunst besteht hauptsächlich aus Holz, Gewebefaser und Töpferton, und man kann zwei Kreise unterscheiden, in denen sich die Kunst äußert: den Bereich der Kirche und den des Bauernhauses mit seiner Einrichtung und seiner Kleidung.

Die rumänischen Holzkirchen sind Kunstwerke von hohem Ebenmaß, das fremde Einflüsse sich eingegliedert hat. Von den historischen Stilen vollendet angepaßt hat sich hierbei die Gruppe der gotischen oder gotisch anmutenden Holzkirchen in Nordsiebenbürgen, deren Türme auffallend hoch und schlank sind und oft vier Ecktürmchen neben dem Helm zur Schau tragen. Die Kirchenwand ist außen mit Bändern in Kerbschnitzerei geschmückt, die sich auch um die Pforten winden. Die Barockkirchen, die denselben Schmuck zeigen, wirken zunächst plumper im Aeußern. Die Holzwände sind hier oft getüncht und erscheinen daher wie Stein. Byzantinische Stilformen machen sich schließlich im nördlichen Teil der Moldau geltend. Die Grundform dieser Holzkirchen ist breiter angelegt, sie wirkt aber doch leicht und elegant durch die offene Säulenhalle ringsum. Das Innere ist tonnenförmig überwölbt, und die Wände sind bemalt. Bezeichnend ist die Trennungswand aus Ikonen zwischen Chor und Schiff. Auch die Außenwände, vor allem an den Klosterkirchen der Bukowina, sind mit Fresken geschmückt. Mit stilisierten Blumen beschnitzt sind die schönen Kreuze auf den Friedhöfen und an den Wegen. Religiöse Darstellungen erscheinen auch auf den berühmten volkstümlichen Hinterglasmalereien, die nirgends so farbenprächtig sind wie in Rumänien, vor allem in Siebenbürgen.

Das rumänische Bauernhaus zeichnet sich äußerlich aus durch reich geschnitzte, zum Teil mit Säulen versehene Umgänge. Das gilt hauptsächlich für das mittlere Siebenbürgen. Zur Inneneinrichtung gehören der Herd in der Ecke und die mit der Wand verbundenen Betten und Bänke. Charakteristisch sind die Stangen unterhalb der Decke, über die schöne Tücher zur reinen Zierde gehängt sind. Der Stock des Mannes wie der Spinnstab der Frau, die hölzernen Trinkbecher wie die Holzlöffel sind geschmackvoll beschnitzt. Das Leitmotiv der Verzierung der Tongefäße ist die Spirale. Hier überraschen wieder die leuchtenden Farben. Unter den Textilien nehmen die Teppiche einen besonderen Platz ein. Sie werden nicht geknüpft, sondern gewoben, im Banat nach der Kelimtechnik. Die Teppiche aus dem Gebirge erinnern an flandrische Gobelins. Ein Teilgebiet der Kunst sind schließlich die Trachten. Besonders die Frauentrachten zeigen an Häubchen, an Fransenschürzen und an Hemdärmeln üppige Schmuckformen. Den reichen Gold- und Silberstickereien gegenüber wirken die schmalen schwarz-weißen Streifen der Tracht von Sibiu fast vornehm. Die größte Farben- und Formenfülle besitzt aber das Altreich. Am unberührtesten ist freilich das Volksleben und damit auch die Volkskunst in der Muntenia, im Gebirge bei den Hirten.

dv.

ROMÂNIA ARHIVELE NAȚIONALE CLUJ

Illustration 7: L’article sur la conférence du professeur Romulus Vuia publié dans *Basler Nachrichten*. Source: ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410, f. 174

Il mentionnait les églises du nord de la Transylvanie, avec des éléments de style gothique, qui sont les plus anciennes, avec de hautes tours et les murailles extérieures „ornées de rubans sculptés en bois qui encadrent aussi les portes”. Les églises de style baroque sont plus grandes, ont „les mêmes ornements” et les murs sont généralement blanchis à la chaux. Dans le nord de la Moldavie les églises sont de style byzantin, „leur empreinte sur le sol est plus large”, elles présentent des voûtes et les murailles sont peintes, „même les murs extérieurs des églises et des monastères de Bucovine sont ornés de fresques”. Il remarque surtout l’iconostase, qu’il appelle „le mur orné d’icônes qui sépare le naos de l’autel”. Les éléments d’art funéraire qui lui semblent les plus intéressants sont „les belles croix

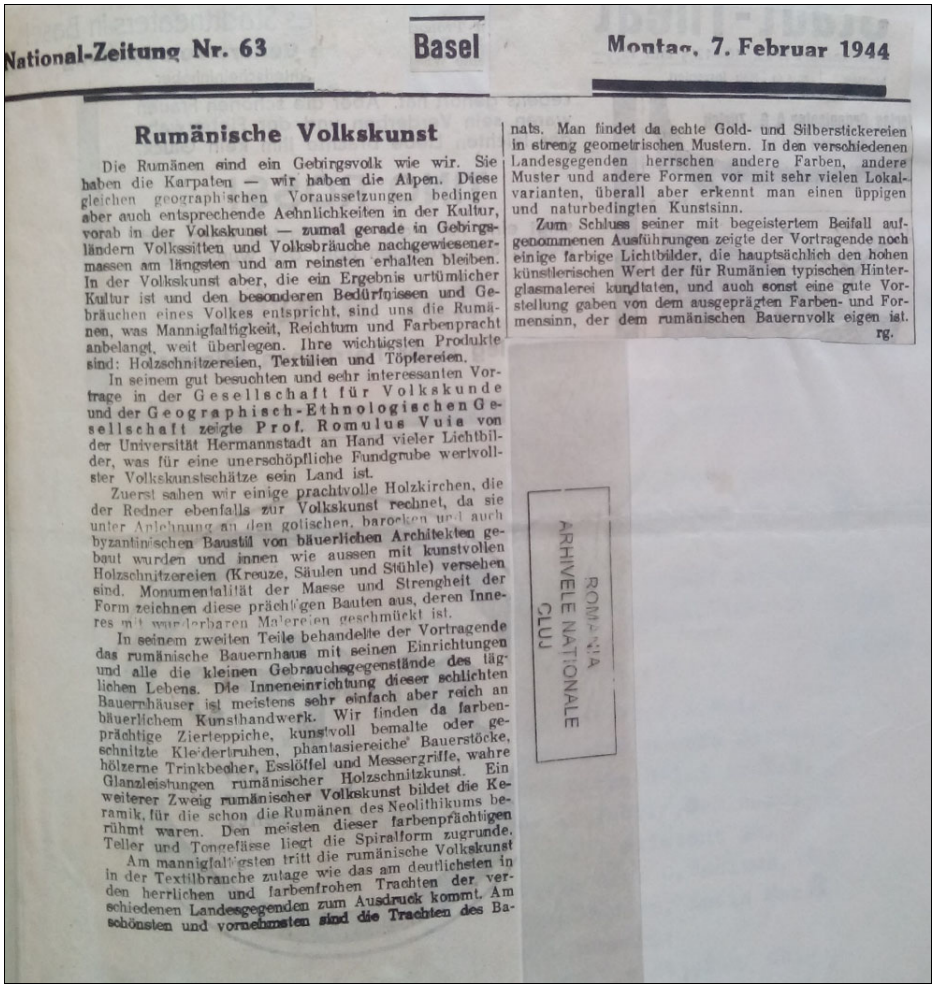
tombales" et „les croix votives placées au croisement", qui sont „ornées de sculptures florales stylisée". Il finit par exprimer son admiration pour „les peintures paysannes sur verre qui nulle part ne sont mieux colorées qu'en Roumanie, surtout en Transylvanie".

En parlant de la maison paysanne roumaine, il remarque „les colonnes richement sculptées de l'extérieur formant le vestibule" et, à l'intérieur, l'âtre, les lits et les banques, les poutres du plafond „ornées de belles serviettes". Quant aux objets d'usage ménager, il affirme que „le bâton de l'homme, la canette à tisser de la femme, les gobelets et les cuillères en bois sont artistiquement sculptés", alors que dans le cas de la céramique, „le leitmotiv des ornements est la spirale" et les couleurs sont „lumineuses". Parmi les textiles, „les tapis occupent une place spéciale" s'ils sont tissés; dans le Banat, ils „sont faits selon la technique du kilim", tandis que „les tapis tissés des zones de montagne rappellent les tapisseries de Flandre". En ce qui concerne l'habit populaire traditionnel, qui constitue „un palier autonome", il remarque les éléments des costumes populaires de femmes, „tels que les fichus, les manches des blouses et les jupes" qui sont pourvus „d'ornements exubérants"; la plus grande variété de formes et de couleurs est rencontrée dans le Vieux Royaume, où „la vie populaires des bergers reste la moins touchée par la modernité". L'auteur tient à souligner qu'une note discordante „dans la série de broderies d'or et d'argent sont les costumes rayés en blanc-noir de la zone de Sibiu".

Au sujet de la même conférence, le quotidien *National-Zeitung* [Le Journal national] de Bâle publiait dans son numéro du 7 février un article signé *rg* et intitulé *Rumänische Volkskunst* [Art populaire roumain]. Le journaliste commence par affirmer que „les roumains sont comme nous, un peuple de montagne. Ils ont les Carpates, nous avons les Alpes, ces prémisses géographiques identiques" ayant, à son avis, généré des similitudes culturelles, surtout dans l'art populaire, car „dans les pays de montagne les coutumes et les traditions populaires sont préservées de manière véritable et à long terme". Considérant que „l'art populaire est un résultat de la culture antique", il estime que „les roumains nous sont nettement supérieurs en ce qui concerne la diversité, la richesse et la multitude de couleurs", les „produits" les plus importants de l'art populaire roumain étant, à ses yeux, la sculpture en bois, les textiles et la céramique.

L'auteur apprécie que la conférence du professeur Romulus Vuia „a été très intéressante" et que les photographies dont il s'est servi ont montré „le trésor d'art populaire inépuisable qui est son pays". Il mentionne que „les superbes églises en bois" appartiennent à l'art populaire du fait d'avoir été „construites par des architectes paysans", qu'elles sont des édifices grandioses, de différentes styles – gothique, baroque et byzantin –, qui impressionnent par „la monumentalité de la masse et la précision de la forme, étant ornées à l'intérieur de merveilleuses peintures". Quant à la seconde partie de la conférence, sur la maison paysanne, le journaliste constate que „les utilités intérieures de cette maison paysanne sont le plus souvent simples mais riches du point de vue de l'art manuel paysan". Il remarque „de merveilleux tapis décoratifs,

des coffres peints ou sculptés, des bâtons paysans fantastiques, des gobelets, des cuillères et des manches de couteaux en bois", la céramique „pour laquelle les roumains avaient été célèbres dès le néolithique, les splendides costumes populaires" de différentes régions du pays, la peinture sur verre „typiquement roumaine" qui illustre „le sens des couleurs et des formes propres au paysan roumain". Il finit par souligner que la conférence „a soulevé des applaudissements enthousiastes".



National-Zeitung Nr. 63 Basel Montag, 7. Februar 1944

Rumänische Volkskunst

Die Rumänen sind ein Gebirgsvolk wie wir. Sie haben die Karpaten — wir haben die Alpen. Diese gleichen geographischen Voraussetzungen bedingen aber auch entsprechende Aehnlichkeiten in der Kultur, vorab in der Volkskunst — zumal gerade in Gebirgsländern Volkssitten und Volksbräuche nachgewiesenermassen am längsten und am reinsten erhalten bleiben. In der Volkskunst aber, die ein Ergebnis urtümlicher Kultur ist und den besonderen Bedürfnissen und Gebräuchen eines Volkes entspricht, sind uns die Rumänen, was Mannigfaltigkeit, Reichtum und Farbenpracht anbelangt, weit überlegen. Ihre wichtigsten Produkte sind: Holzschnitzereien, Textilien und Töpfereien.

In seinem gut besuchten und sehr interessanten Vortrage in der Gesellschaft für Volkskunde und der Geographisch-Ethnologischen Gesellschaft zeigte Prof. Romulus Vuia von der Universität Hermannstadt an Hand vieler Lichtbilder, was für eine unerschöpfliche Fundgrube wertvollster Volkskunstschätze sein Land ist.

Zuerst sahen wir einige prachtvolle Holzkirchen, die der Redner ebenfalls zur Volkskunst rechnet, da sie unter Anlehnung an den gotischen, barocken und auch byzantinischen Baustil von bäuerlichen Architekten gebaut wurden und innen wie aussen mit kunstvollen Holzschnitzereien (Kreuze, Säulen und Stühle) versehen sind. Monumentalität der Masse und Strengheit der Form zeichnen diese prächtigen Bauten aus, deren Inneres mit wunderbaren Malereien geschmückt ist.

In seinem zweiten Teile behandelte der Vortragende das rumänische Bauernhaus mit seinen Einrichtungen und alle die kleinen Gebrauchsgegenstände des täglichen Lebens. Die Inneneinrichtung dieser schlichten Bauernhäuser ist meistens sehr einfach aber reich an bäuerlichem Kunsthandwerk. Wir finden da farbenprächtige Zierteppiche, kunstvoll bemalte oder geschnitzte Kleidertruhen, phantasiereiche Bauerstöcke, hölzerne Trinkbecher, Esslöffel und Messergriffe, wahre Glanzleistungen rumänischer Holzschnitzkunst. Ein weiterer Zweig rumänischer Volkskunst bildet die Keramik, für die schon die Rumänen des Neolithikums berühmt waren. Den meisten dieser farbenprächtigen Teller und Tongefässe liegt die Spiralform zugrunde.

Am mannigfaltigsten tritt die rumänische Volkskunst in der Textilbranche zutage wie das am deutlichsten in den herrlichen und farbenfrohen Trachten der verschiedenen Landesgegenden zum Ausdruck kommt. Am schönsten und vornehmsten sind die Trachten des Banats. Man findet da echte Gold- und Silberstickereien in streng geometrischen Mustern. In den verschiedenen Landesgegenden herrschen andere Farben, andere Muster und andere Formen vor mit sehr vielen Lokalvarianten, überall aber erkennt man einen üppigen und naturbedingten Kunstsinn.

Zum Schluss seiner mit begeistertem Beifall aufgenommenen Ausführungen zeigte der Vortragende noch einige farbige Lichtbilder, die hauptsächlich den hohen künstlerischen Wert der für Rumänien typischen Hinterglasmalerei kundtaten, und auch sonst eine gute Vorstellung gaben von dem ausgeprägten Farben- und Formensinn, der dem rumänischen Bauernvolk eigen ist.

rg.

ROMANIA
ARHIVELE NATIONALE
CLUJ

Illustration 8: L'article sur la conférence du professeur Romulus Vuia publié dans *National-Zeitung*. Source: ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410, f. 175.

La conférence que le professeur Vuia a donnée à Berne, le 10 février 1944 a été amplement présentée par *dr. B.Sch.* dans l'article *Sächsischen und das rumänische Dorf in Siebenbürgen* [Les villages saxon et roumain de Transylvanie] paru dans le

journal *Der Bund* [L'Union] à Berne, vendredi 11 février. Le journaliste commence par constater que le thème de la conférence „ne manque pas d'intérêt" même si la région en cause „ne paraît pas proche du point de vue spatial". Il remarque que „dans les plaines, les plateaux et les vallées de la Transylvanie, une zone géographique de la Roumanie entourée comme un cercle des forêts des Montagnes Carpates", depuis „huit siècles vivent ensemble" les roumains „comme les autochtones" et les Saxons transylvains „comme les descendants des colons du Moyen Àge". Il tient à souligner que „dans cette aire géographique protégée, le roumanisme a réussi à être préservé et à survivre, se répandant par des vagues successives au fil des siècles au-delà des montagnes, à l'est et dans le sud, en Moldavie et en Valachie". La Transylvanie est considérée comme une région *pivot*, un *noyau dur* ou le *cœur* du roumanisme[54]. Selon l'auteur de l'article, „les Allemands avaient été appelés par les princes régnants autochtones au cours du XII^e^ siècle", ils sont venus „par trois vagues successives" de la zone du Rhin et de l'est de la France et „se sont établis sur les domaines royaux", sous l'escorte et après les chevaliers teutoniques. Nous devons préciser qu'ils avaient au fond été appelés par les rois hongrois, qui au XII^e^ siècle régnaient nominalement seulement en Transylvanie. Le journaliste suisse estime que „la cohabitation pacifique depuis des siècles entre les roumains et les saxons a généré de nombreuses influences réciproques" qui doivent être étudiées, étant „d'une importance particulière pour les deux peuples. Après cette introduction "académique", il mentionne que „parmi les questions discutées, le conférencier a prêté une attention particulière aux agglomérations humaines", présentant „du point de vue ethnographique" et à l'aide d'un „grand nombre de photographies très instructives" les éléments spécifiques de l'habitation, le village, la ferme, la cour et la maison „des deux peuples dans leur propre unicité". Le village saxon est compact, „bâti le long d'un chemin ou suivant un plan régulier de bourg", étant „la forme avancée d'agglomération humaine", édifiée selon „un plan des colons qui avaient été appelés dans un pays de forêts faiblement cultivé" qu'ils „avaient occupé et commencé à cultiver assez vite". Il a parfaitement raison, les Saxons avaient constitué l'élément avancé, ils ont su bien organiser l'espace géographique et, par leur travail assidu, ont fait accroître la valeur des terres. En parlant du type d'habitation, le journaliste dit que „la cour des saxons transylvains a la forme typique de la cour de leur patrie d'autrefois, la soi-disant cour «frankone»". L'influence qu'ils avaient exercée sur les agglomérations roumaines apparaît „occasionnellement et de manière déstructurée", les roumains „n'ayant pas la maison, le grenier et l'étable sous un seul toit. La forme typique des agglomérations rurales roumaines est avec une seule cour, étant éparpillées dans les plaines, les plateaux, les dépressions et les montagnes. Cette organisation historique éparpillée témoigne de l'appétence vers la décentralisation et reflète l'esprit personnel autonome et indépendant du paysan roumain", mais, grâce à la croissance démographique, il a tendance à s'orienter vers les villages compacts. Le journaliste informe ses lecteurs qu'en Transylvanie les villages roumains éparpillés sont

[54] Lupaş 1939: 11–18.

prédominants, „leur plus grand nombre étant enregistré dans les Montagnes Apuseni, au nord de la Transylvanie et au centre du pays, où ils se trouvent le plus souvent à proximité des villages saxons qui longent les chemins". Ce sont „les formes d'habitation autochtones les plus authentiques des roumains, en contraste avec celles organisées suivant les plans des Saxons". Les réalités roumaines qu'il apprécie correctement lui donnent matière à réflexion. Ainsi, il affirme que „la forme naturelle, irrégulière et éparpillée des villages roumains démontre que les roumains doivent être considérés comme la population autochtone du pays, car la forme d'agglomération humaine libre est celle initiale", à la différence de „celle régulière et structurée selon un plan qui est la plus récente". Qui plus est, „le caractère archaïque du roumanisme s'exprime aussi par l'aspect de la cour roumaine". Cette cour individuelle roumaine est „le type archaïque initial", se trouvant „sous la forme la plus pure dans les montagnes Apuseni, qui doivent être considérées comme «le nid d'origine» ou la zone initiale de l'agglomération rurale roumaine". La maison paysanne roumaine „présente des formes antiques", parmi les types „les plus anciens qui s'étaient conservés figurant «la maison à la galerie extérieure» dont les origines remontent au néolithique". Les formes plus récentes montrent „l'influence exercée par les concitoyens allemands du pays". Le professeur Romulus Vuia, écrit l'auteur de l'article, a présenté „une série de particularités constructives de ces emprunts saxons-allemands par les roumains", notamment en ce qui concerne la forme du toit. Dans cette partie de l'Europe, des maisons et des cours paysannes très anciennes, similaires à celles des montagnes Apuseni en Transylvanie, se trouvent aussi dans d'autres régions de montagne, comme dans „Stari-Vlah en Serbie, étant présentées comme des reliques de l'antiquité thraco-illyrienne". Du fait d'être „une population antique conservatrice", les roumains „avaient préservé des formes archaïques" dans l'aspect des agglomérations rurales, des maisons et des cours, étant „indubitablement la population la plus ancienne de la Transylvanie". Il conclut par préciser que la conférence du professeur Vuia a été „accompagnée de photographies suggestives", dont il remarque deux: „l'âtre d'un village et d'une maison paysanne", qui „avaient jusqu'ici manqué à la recherche ethnographique suisse"[55]. C'est l'une des plus "savantes" et des plus complètes présentations des conférences que Romulus Vuia ait soutenues dans l'espace culturel et linguistique allemand en hiver 1943/1944.

Placé à la tête du Musée Ethnographique de la Transylvanie à Cluj, institution fondée par la volonté du roi et avec le concours des élites intellectuelles roumaines, Romulus Vuia a fait preuve de réelles qualités administratives, œuvrant avec détermination et passion pour en développer les collections, pour créer un Parc ethnographique qu'il a finalement réussi à organiser et doter d'une manière appropriée. Il a été également un chercheur et un homme de plume, comme en témoignent son œuvre et les nombreuses conférences soutenues dans le pays et à l'étranger. De tous les membres de l'ancien Institut de Géographie de l'Université de Cluj, Romulus Vuia a été le mieux connu sur le plan national et international.

[55] ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410.

Le développement de l'Université de Cluj, de ses institutions et de ses *parcs* (ethnographique, botanique, sportif) a été brusquement arrêté par le déclenchement de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, avec tout son corollaire d'événements néfastes pour la Roumanie, principalement les amputations territoriales.

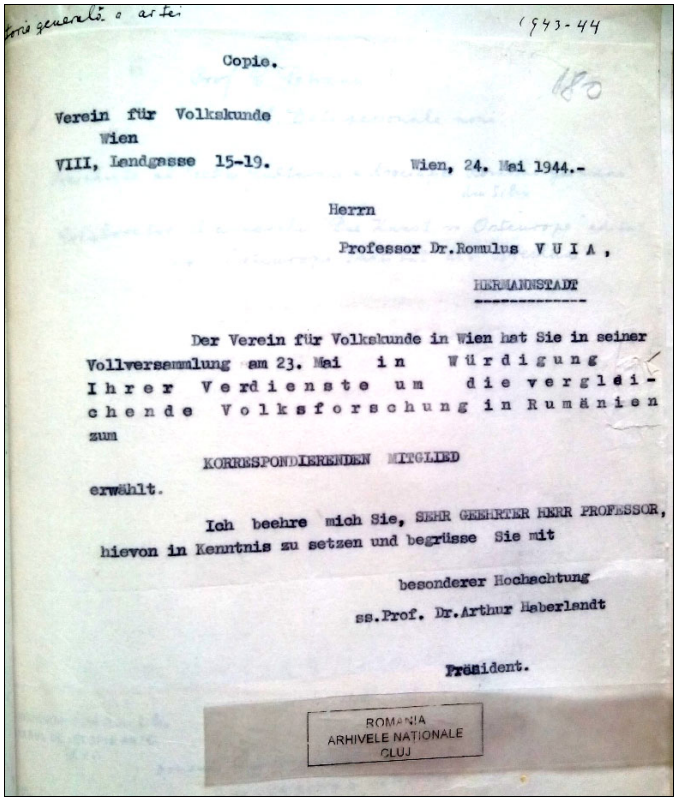
Dans les moments malheureux de la vie d'une nation, la conscience collective tente de s'ancrer dans ses repères identitaires, or les éléments ethnographiques, matériels et immatériels sont fondamentaux pour les roumains. Ainsi, entre 1942 et 1944, dans des moments cruciaux pour la nation roumaine, qui était décidée de récupérer les provinces géographiques-historiques qu'on lui avait volées, les élites roumaines ont été appelées à soutenir l'effort national par l'affirmation de ses droits historiques à l'aide de ses éléments définitoires. Dans ce contexte, Romulus Vuia a reçu la mission de soutenir des conférences dans l'espace culturel de langue allemande, afin de faire connaître la vérité historique sur l'unité du peuple roumain. En se servant de la typologie de l'habitation, des éléments de l'art populaire, il a réussi a démontrer au public allemand que „la force de création de ce peuple autochtone de paysans" s'était manifesté dans le travail du bois, dans l'art textile et dans la céramique, et que „les racines de ses coutumes remontent loin dans l'histoire" (*Münchner Neueste Nachristen*). Le journaliste Esser Harzmann de *Völkischer Beobachter* écrivait que le professeur roumain avait offert à ses auditeurs „une large perspective sur la culture populaire ancienne d'un pays qui est profondément attaché par sa paysannerie à la terre de la patrie, à sa nature et à son histoire", dont les éléments de manifestation populaire „font preuve d'un goût noble et d'une passion insatiable pour la vie".

Les conférences de Romulus Vuia ont été appréciées par la presse de langue allemande par des expressions comme „un exposé sur le paradis" (*Basler Nachrichten*), „très belle" (*National-Zeitung*) et ont été récompensées par le public avec „des applaudissements enthousiastes" (*National-Zeitung*) ou „des applaudissements sincères" (*Völkischer Beobachter*). Tout aussi intéressantes sont les considérations des journalistes sur les roumains, qui sont tenus pour „une population antique conservatrice" (*Der Bund*), „des paysans bien enracinés dans l'histoire", qui avaient obtenu „des réalisations particulières" (*Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*), qui avaient créé „l'une des plus belles cultures populaires d'Europe" (*Völkischer Beobachter*). Ils sont considérés comme „un peuple de montagne" qui „nous sont supérieurs en ce qui concerne la variété, la richesse et la diversité de couleurs", que „le plan éparpillé des villages montre une appétence pour la décentralisation et reflète l'esprit personnel autochtone et indépendant du paysan roumain", qu'ils „ont conservé des formes archaïque d'habitation" (*Der Bund*).

CONCLUSIONS

Cette publicité *itinérante* que le professeur Romulus Vuia avait faite à la Roumanie, son plaidoyer pour l'unité culturelle populaire et pour les relations de

ses habitants avec les colons allemands qui avaient contribué avec leur spécificité à l'organisation et à la valorisation de notre territoire, ont été apprécié à l'unanimité par le public allemand, par les spécialistes du domaine et par le milieu universitaire. Ils ne sont pas restés sans écho; dans la conjoncture géopolitique de ce temps-là, „ces articles ont attiré l'attention de la presse hongroise, qui a combattu avec véhémence le point de vue roumain de mes conférences", mentionne Romulus Vuia, „étant attaqué de ce point de vue même par Radio Budapest, qui m'a accusé que sous le prétexte de ces conférences scientifiques j'ai fait de la propagande en faveur de la cause roumaine"[56].



Copie.

Verein für Volkskunde
Wien
VIII, Landgasse 15-19. Wien, 24. Mai 1944.-

Herrn
Professor Dr.Romulus V U I A ,
HERMANNSTADT

Der Verein für Volkskunde in Wien hat Sie in seiner Vollversammlung am 23. Mai in Würdigung Ihrer Verdienste um die vergleichende Volksforschung in Rumänien zum

KORRESPONDIERENDEN MITGLIED

erwählt.

Ich beehre mich Sie, SEHR GEEHRTER HERR PROFESSOR, hievon in Kenntnis zu setzen und begrüsse Sie mit

besonderer Hochachtung

ss.Prof. Dr.Arthur Haberlandt

Präsident.

ROMANIA
ARHIVELE NAȚIONALE
CLUJ

Illustration 9: L'annonce de l'élection de Romulus Vuia comme membre correspondant de Verein für Volkskunde de Vienne, le 23 mai 1944.
Source: ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410, f. 180.

En même temps et dans un autre registre d'idées, conscients de la valeur du professeur Romulus Vuia, ses hôtes de Vienne ont tenu à mentionner qu'il „a été le premier étranger invité à donner des conférences" à la Société ethnographique de

[56] ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410, f. 168.

Vienne. La société Verein für Volkskunde, „l'une des plus anciennes et des plus importantes sociétés ethnographiques allemandes", selon Romulus Vuia, l'a élu membre correspondant, le 24 mai 1944, „en signe d'appréciation de vos mérites dans la recherche folklorique comparative de Roumanie"[57].

C'est de cette manière que Romulus Vuia, ce brillant représentant de l'École ethnographique de Cluj, a entendu servir sa patrie. Ses efforts et ceux de l'équipe dont il a su s'entourer et qui s'est cristallisée en une véritable École d'ethnographie et de folklore à Cluj, ont réussi à convaincre d'autres intellectuels à se pencher plus assidûment sur l'étude des éléments identitaires roumains.

L'exemple des élites de Cluj qui ont milité pour la fondation d'un musée et d'un parc ethnographique n'est pas resté sans écho en Roumanie. Ainsi, Ionel Bejenaru signale *l'Appel* de l'Association Générale des Instituteurs de Roumanie, du 21 juillet 1943, adressé aux instituteurs de Botoşani, pour la fondation d'un musée ethnographique dans cette localité[58]. Les arguments de ces instituteurs sont un admirable exemple de conscience nationale, d'esprit civique et de probité professionnelle. Ils ne sont en rien inférieurs à ceux des journalistes et des scientifiques de l'espace culturel allemand, qui avaient décrit les éléments spécifiques de la culture populaire roumaine. Les représentants des instituteurs de Botoşani affirmaient: „Plus que chez d'autres peuples – et sous tous les aspects – le village roumain constitue le fondement non seulement de la nation mais aussi de notre État national. Véritable réservoir de vitalité de la nation, le village roumain est en même temps le dépositaire d'un réel trésor de valeurs spirituelles et matérielles, représentées par le folklore et l'ethnographie et correspondant aux notions de culture et de civilisation, dont les racines sont à chercher loin dans le passé, jusqu'à l'époque très ancienne thraco-illyrienne. Ce trésor dans lequel se mélangent nos vieilles traditions et coutumes, notre art populaire, les chansons et les danses, nos vieux outils… constitue – selon l'expression de l'un de nos grands écrivains-poètes – la cendre brûlante du vieil âtre de culture autochtone qui nous a chauffés et a éclairé toute la nuit de notre histoire nationale bien tourmentée. C'est à travers ce trésor qu'on peut comprendre l'âme de notre peuple; c'est toujours lui qui définit notre race et notre génie et qui témoigne de notre origine illustre et très ancienne. C'est pourquoi, l'un des grands commandements nationaux pour tout intellectuel roumain est de chercher et trouver toutes les parties éparpillées de ce cher trésor, de les rassembler avec soin et modération, d'en approfondir le sens et de les laisser briller à la lumière de ces grands enseignements". Ce plaidoyer s'achève par une exhortation vibrante: „Cher collègue, collecte telle une abeille laborieuse et aujourd'hui et demain, collecte tout le temps… toutes ces choses imprégnées de la vie du passé qui actuellement restent éparpillées et muettes dans l'ignorance de nos villages et qui demain, rangées dans un musée ethnographique, commenceront à parler et à

[57] ASC, F. 798, FS, d. 410, f. 180.
[58] Bejenaru 2013.

reconnaître devant tout le monde que les instituteurs de Botoşani sont, aujourd'hui comme hier, au service des grands commandements nationaux"[59].

Les élites roumaines avaient toujours été conscientes de l'importance de la classe paysanne et préoccupées de son émancipation. Lors des cérémonies de couronnement des Souverains de la Roumanie à Alba Iulia, où l'Université de Cluj a été représentée par 20 professeurs, par le recteur, le vice-recteur et trois doyens, par deux directeurs de la Bibliothèque universitaire et par plus de 600 étudiants, le Roi Ferdinand I[er] déclarait: „Le cœur plein d'amour et de foi je vous confie les souhaits de mon âme. Je veux que les paysans, devenus à jamais maîtres des terres qu'ils avaient acquises, les rendent entièrement fertiles, à leur propre bénéfice et à celui de la collectivité. Je veux que les ouvriers, fidèles à la patrie (*allusion directe à l'internationalisme prolétaire, n.n.*), vivent en harmonie et qu'ils jouissent de prospérité et de justice sociale… Je veux qu'entre les frontières de la Grande Roumanie, tous les bons fils du pays, sans distinction de religion et de nationalité, jouissent de l'égalité de droits avec tous les roumains, pour qu'ils puissent aider de toutes leurs forces l'État dans lequel le Très-Haut avait décidé de les faire vivre à côté de nous. Je veux que les roumains de toutes les couches sociales soient animés par l'aspiration vers une parfaite fraternité nationale"[60]. Quel beau projet de pays, quel roi visionnaire, comment ne pas admirer la monarchie? – une institution qui, pour émanciper la paysannerie roumaine, avait réalisé la plus ample réforme agraire en Europe après la Première Guerre mondiale, la rendant propriétaire de plus de six millions d'hectares en vertu de la Loi agraire de 1921, et de 1 468 000 hectares après la Deuxième Guerre mondiale en vertu de la nouvelle réforme agraire de 1945.

BIO-NOTES DES PERSONNALITÉS MENTIONÉES

Agârbiceanu, Ion (1882, Cenade, Alba – 1963, Cluj), écrivain roumain, archiprêtre catholique de rite grec de Cluj, député dans le Parlement de la Roumanie (1919, 1922–1926), vice-président du Sénat, membre de l'Académie Roumaine (1955). Il fait des études supérieures de philologie classique à partir de 1905 à l'Université de Budapest, il est curé à Bucium-Saşa et à Orlat (1906–1916), directeur des journaux *Patria* (1919–1927) et *Tribuna* (1938–1940) de Cluj.

Der Alemanne, quotidien de Freiburg in Breisgau, il commence à paraître à partir du 1[er] novembre 1931 comme organe du NSDAP, affilié à la propagande nazie; en 1945 il est interdit par l'armée américaine.

Antonescu, Ion (1882, Piteşti – 1946, Jilava), militaire, homme d'État roumain, maréchal de l'Armée Royale Roumaine, "Dirigeant" du pays (1940–1944). Il décide de l'entrée de la Roumanie dans la Deuxième Guerre mondiale aux côtés des puissances de l'Axe, en vue de récupérer la Bessarabie et la Bucovine du Nord, qui avaient été occupées par les envahisseurs soviétiques.

[59] Ibid.
[60] Călugăreanu 1923: 10.

Apolzan, Lucia (1911, Sibiu – 2001, Bucarest), géographe, anthropologue, ethnologue roumain, formée à l'Institut de Géographie de l'Université Regele Ferdinand I de Cluj, collaboratrice de Romulus Vuia et Dimitrie Gusti dans les actions de l'Institut Social Roumain. Elle étudie au Lycée Regina Maria de Cluj (1920–1928) et, à 16 ans seulement, elle s'inscrit à la Section de Géographie de la Faculté des Sciences de Cluj. En 1934, elle devient licenciée en géographie et en histoire avec la thèse *Plasa* (ancienne subdivision d'un département) *Bran, département de Braşov*. Passionnée d'ethnographie, elle suit les cours de spécialité des professeurs Romulus Vuia, Lucian Blaga et Constantin Sudeţeanu à la Faculté des Lettres de Cluj, ensuite elle fait des études supérieures de sociologie à l'Université de Bucarest. Elle devient docteur en ethnographie en 1944 avec la thèse *Portul şi industria casnică textilă în Munţii Apuseni* [L'habit populaire et l'industrie ménagère textile dans les Montagnes Apuseni], sous la coordination du professeur Dimitrie Gusti. Entre 1941 et 1968 elle travaille à l'Institut de Statistique, avec une interruption de 1952 à 1954, quand elle est marginalisée. Elle publie une série d'ouvrages importants comme *Ţara de piatră* [Le pays de pierre], *Sate, oraşe şi regiuni cercetate de Institutul Social Român 1925–1945* [Villages, villes et régions recherchées par l'Institut Social Roumain, 1925–1945], *Carpaţii, tezaur de istorie. Perenitatea aşezărilor risipite pe înălţimi* [Les Carpates, un trésor d'histoire. La pérennité des agglomérations éparpillées sur les hauteurs] et le volume autobiographique *Drumuri, încercări, împliniri* [Chemins, tentatives, réalisations].

Aumer, Hermann (1915–1955), économiste, financier, homme politique allemand, Consul de la Roumanie à Munich. Il travaille à Bankhaus Gebrüder Arnhold à Berlin et, entre 1940 et 1945, à la compagnie Diamalt à Munich. À partir de 1942, il est vice-consul, ensuite consul général de la Roumanie à Munich jusqu'en 1944. Après la Deuxième Guerre mondiale il est député dans le Budestag de l'Allemagne (1949–1953).

Basler Nachrichten, journal d'informations générales, de facture bourgeoise, fondé en 1844, à Bâle, qui se considère comme le successeur du journal *Avis coli*, fondé en 1792. En 1856 il change son nom en *Basler Nachrichten aus der Schweiz und für die Schweiz* et, une année plus tard, en *Basler Nachrichten*. Entre 1912–1924 et 1944–1972 il paraît en deux éditions, le matin et le soir. En 1977 il fusionne avec *Basler Nachrichten*, formant *Basler Zeitung*.

Bejenaru, Ionel (1948, Botoşani – 2013, Botoşani), historien roumain, muséographe, journaliste. Il étudie au Lycée August Treboniu Laurian à Botoşani (1962–1966) et suit des cours d'histoire à la Faculté d'Histoire et de Philosophie de l'Université de Iaşi (1967–1973). Entre 1973–1975 il est professeur et, à partir de 1975, muséographe au Musée départemental de Botoşani. Chercheur passionné, il est l'auteur de plusieurs ouvrages dont *Dicţionarul Botoşănenilor* [Dictionnaire des habitants de Botoşani, 1994, Iaşi], *Dintre sute de rondeluri* [Des centaines de rondeaux, 1996, Botoşani], *Botoşanii şi Marea Unire a românilor din 1918* [Botoşani et la Grande Union des Roumains en 1918, 1998, Botoşani], *Botoşanii de altădată până la 1944* [La ville de Botoşani d'autrefois jusqu'en 1944, en collaboration avec Ştefan Ciubotaru, 1999, Botoşani].

Bianu, Ioan (1856, Făget, Alba – 1935, Bucarest), philologue et bibliographe roumain, professeur d'université, membre de l'Académie Roumaine (1902) et ensuite président (1929–1932). Il fait des études de philologie à l'Université de Bucarest et ensuite à Milan, Madrid et Paris. Professeur d'université à l'Université de Bucarest, et, à partir de 1884 jusqu'à sa mort, directeur de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine.

Bogdan-Duică, Gheorghe (1866, Braşov – 1934, Braşov), historien littéraire roumain, professeur d'université, membre de l'Académie Roumaine (1919), homme politique libéral. Il fait des études de logique aux universités de Budapest, Leipzig et Vienne et obtient sa licence à l'Université de Bucarest en 1897. À partir de 1919 il est professeur d'université à l'Université Dacia Superioară de Cluj.

Brătescu, Ioan Constantin (1882, Câşla [actuellement Mineri], Tulcea – 1945, Bucarest), géographe roumain, professeur d'université, membre correspondant de l'Académie Roumaine (1919). Il fait le lycée à Tulcea et s'inscrit ensuite à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Bucarest (1901), obtient la licence en géographie en 1906 et devient l'assistant de Simion Mehedinți. Il fait plusieurs stages aux universités de Leipzig et Berlin (1910–1912). Avec le mathématicien Constantin Moisil (1876–1958), il fonde la revue *Arhiva Dobrogei* et, avec Ioan N. Roman (1866–1931), la revue *Analele Dobrogei*, en 1920, qui va paraître tous les ans jusqu'en 1938 ; à partir de 1924 elle apparaît à Tchernovtsy, où il est professeur d'université (1924–1939); à partir de 1939 jusqu'à sa mort il dirige la Section de géographie de l'Université de Bucarest. En 1920 il devient docteur en géographie avec la thèse *Mișcări epirogenetice și caracterele morfologice ale Dunării de Jos* [Mouvements épirogénétiques et les caractères morphologiques du Bas Danube]. Son œuvre vise l'étude de la Dobroudja du point de vue géographique, historique, ethnographique et folklorique.

***Der Bund*,** quotidien suisse fondé en 1850 à Berne par le libraire Franz Louis Jent, comme un organe officiel du gouvernement fédéral helvétique, au début en une édition de 1000 exemplaires, pour atteindre en 1870–1871 10 000 exemplaires. Entre 1890 et 1967 le journal a deux parutions par jours. Le Reich l'interdit entre 1934 et 1945. Jusqu'en 1993 le journal a été en propriété de la famille Jent[61].

Butură, Valer (1910, Sălciua de Jos, Alba – 1989, Cluj-Napoca), géographe roumain, ethnographe, membre de l'Institut de Géographie de l'Université Regele Ferdinand I de Cluj. Il fait le lycée à Turda et s'inscrit ensuite à la Faculté des Sciences à Cluj, où il étudie la géographie (1928–1932). En 1933 il devient licencié en géographie avec la thèse *Bazinul superior al Arieşului* [Le bassin supérieur de la rivière Arieş]. Il est professeur de lycée (1932–1937) et préparateur à l'Institut de Botanique Systématique de l'Université de Cluj (1937–1939). Pendant le refuge de l'université de Cluj, il est professeur de géographie à Bucarest (1940–1946), ensuite il revient à l'Institut de Géographie de Cluj. Après une période de marginalisation (1948–1956), il est réhabilité et devient chef de section au Musée ethnographique de la Transylvanie (1956–1968) et directeur (1968–1970), étant un continuateur de l'oeuvre de Romulus Vuia; il a décrit l'organisation de la section en plein air du Musée ethnographique de la Transylvanie[62]. Il est l'auteur d'une vaste œuvre dont nous mentionnons *Plante de leac din regiunea Mocanilor de pe Arieş. Notițe etnografice* [Plantes médicinales de la région de Mocani sur l'Arieş. Notes ethnographiques, 1933, Cluj], *Etnografia poporului român. Cultura materială* [L'Ethnographie du peuple roumain. La culture matérielle, 1978, Cluj-Napoca], *Enciclopedie de etnobotanică românească* [Encyclopédie d'ethno-botanique roumaine, 1979, Cluj-Napoca], *Cultura spirituală românească* [La culture spirituelle roumaine, paru posthume, 1992, Bucarest].

[61] htpps://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Der_Bund, consultée le 27 mars 2016 à 14 h 54.
[62] Butură 1966: 3-72.

Dirlmeier, Franz, (1904–1977), philologue allemand, spécialiste de la littérature classique, professeur d'université. Il étudie la philologie classique à l'Université de Munich et devient lecteur à l'Université de Belgrade. En 1934 il obtient l'habilitation à l'Université de Munich et devient par la suite professeur d'université et doyen de la Faculté des Arts (1941–1945). Il a des sympathies nazies et il est membre du NSDAP. Après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, il est professeur aux universités de Mainz (1946), Würzburg (1951) et Heidelberg (1959) jusqu'au moment où il prend la retraite en 1970.

***Donauzeitung*,** journal qui paraît à Passau à partir de 1847, d'orientation catholique. Parmi ses premiers éditeurs, Joseph Bucher (1838–1909), qui est propriétaire du journal entre 1856 et 1889. Par la suite, il devient l'organe du Parti des Patriotes Bavarois. Entre 1889 et 1935 il est en propriété de la société Passavia AG et ultérieurement il est acheté par Bayerische Ostmark, devenant un appendice du journal *Bayerische Ostmark*, l'officieux du NSDAP à Passau. Il cesse de paraître le 30 novembre 1953.

Faber, Georg (1877–1966), mathématicien allemand, professeur d'université. Il étudie les mathématiques et la physique aux universités de Munich et Göttingen (1896–1901). Il devient docteur ès mathématiques à Munich (1902) et obtient l'habilitation à Würzburg (1905). Il est professeur de mathématiques aux universités de Tübingen (1909–1910), Stuttgart (1910–1912), Königsberg (1912–1913), Strasbourg (1913–1916) et Munich (1916–1946).

Günther, Hans Friedrich Karl (1891–1968), eugéniste allemand, professeur d'université, chercheur dans le domaine des races, adepte des théories raciales (surnommé *Rassengünther*). Ses études ont servi à la politique raciale néfaste du NSDAP, le plus connu de ses ouvrages étant *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes* [La Raciologie du peuple allemand]. Il enseigne aux universités de Jena, Berlin (1935–1940) et Freiburg (1940–1945) des disciplines comme l'eugénique, la biologie humaine et l'ethnographie.

Haberland, Arthur (1889–1964), folkloriste autrichien, professeur d'université, directeur de musée. Il étudie l'anthropologie, l'ethnologie et la pré-histoire à l'Université de Vienne, obtenant sa licence en 1911 et l'habilitation en 1914. Il suit à son père et devient en 1924 directeur du Musée ethnographique de Vienne, ses études portant surtout sur les peuples de l'ancien Empire austro-hongrois, qu'il publie dans le journal *Wiener Zeitschrift für Folklor*. Il salue l'annexion de son pays au Reich allemand, il est membre du parti nazi (NSDAP), raisons pour lesquelles il est obligé de prendre sa retraite en 1945.

Haberlandt, Michael (1860–1940), folkloriste et indianologue autrichien, professeur d'université, membre correspondant de l'Académie des Sciences d'Autriche. Il étudie l'indianologie à l'Université de Vienne et complète ses études à partir de 12882 comme curateur du Musée des Sciences Naturelles à Vienne, la section d'anthropologie-ethnographie. En 1892 il obtient l'habilitation en ethnologie à l'Université de Vienne et à partir de 1910 il est professeur à la même université. En 1894 il fonde avec Wilhelm Hein l'Association de Folklore et, une année plus tard, le Musée Autrichien de Folklore dont il est directeur entre 1911 et 1923.

Harzmann, Esser, (1900–1981), journaliste, homme politique allemand, un proche d'Adolf Hitler, chef nazi, éditeur du journal NSDAP *Völkischer Beobachter* où il publie des éditoriaux. Il est membre du Parlement allemand, le Reichstag (1933–1935), dont il devient vice-président en 1939. À la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale il est arrêté et emprisonné par l'armée américaine (1945–1947). Sorti de la prison, il est à nouveau retenu (1949–1952) en raison de la politique de dénazification de l'Allemagne[63].

[63] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hermann_Esser, consultée le 24 avril 2016, 15 h 31.

Hassinger, Hugo (1877–1952), géographe autrichien, avec des préoccupations concernant la géographie, les activités humaines du milieu rural. Professeur d'université, membre de l'Académie des Sciences d'Autriche. Il fait des études de géographie, de géologie et d'histoire, en 1902 il obtient le titre de docteur et en 1914 l'habilitation à l'Université de Vienne. Il est professeur d'université, associé à l'Université de Vienne et titulaire à l'Université de Bâle, où il fonde la Société géographique-ethnologique. Entre 1927–1930 il enseigne à l'université de Freiburg, en 1931 revenant à l'Université de Vienne. Entre 1937–1951 il est le président de Geographische Gesellschaft (Société de géographie) de Vienne. Il est un partisan de l'extension de l'Allemagne vers l'Est, saluant l'incorporation de son pays dans le Reich allemand (Anschluss).

Hațieganu, Iuliu (1885, Dârja, Cluj – 1959, Cluj), médecin, professeur d'université, homme politique roumain. Il étudie la médecine à Cluj, il est doyen de la Faculté de Médecine de Cluj (1919–1920), recteur de l'Université de Cluj (1930–1931, 1941–1944). Il est membre du Parti National Paysan, président de l'ASTRA filiale de Cluj, il soutient le mouvement sportif.

Hitler, Adolf (1889–1945), homme politique allemand d'origine autrichienne, le chef du Parti National-Socialiste Ouvrier Allemand (NSDAP), chancelier de l'Allemagne (1933–1945), le Führer du III^{e} Reich (1934–1945). Dans le contexte du mécontentement des Allemands au sujet des traités conclus après la Première Guerre mondiale, il instaure une dictature totalitaire, xénophobe, il est le promoteur du holocauste et se rend coupable du déclenchement de la Seconde Guerre mondiale.

Ionescu, V. Dumitru (1901, Bucarest – 1985, Cluj), mathématicien roumain, professeur d'université. Il étudie les mathématiques à l'Université de Bucarest (1919–1922) et s'inscrit ensuite à l'École Normale Supérieure de Paris (1923–1927), où il devient docteur (1927) avec la thèse *Sur une chose d'équation fonctionnelle*. De retour en Roumanie, il est maître de conférences à l'Université de Cluj (1928–1931), professeur (1931–1949), professeur à la Polytechnique (1949–1955) et de nouveau à l'université (1955–1971).

Iorga, Nicolae (1871, Botoşani – 1940, Strejnic, Prahova), savant roumain, historien, professeur d'université, membre de l'Académie Roumaine (1910), homme politique, premier-ministre de la Roumanie (1931–1932). Il étudie l'histoire à l'Université de Iaşi et fait ensuite plusieurs spécialisations à Paris, Berlin et Leipzig. Il obtient le titre de docteur à la Sorbonne avec la thèse *Thomas III, marquis de Saluces. Étude historique et littéraire*. Il a une œuvre prodigieuse: historique, littéraire, journalistique, poétique, mémoires etc.

Jinga, Victor (1901, Săcele – 1990, Bucarest), économiste roumain, professeur d'université, recteur de l'Académie de Hautes Études Industrielles et Commerciales à Cluj-Braşov (1942–1945). Il étudie l'économie à l'Université de Venise (1925), travaille pour un temps dans le milieu privé et en 1935 devient professeur titulaire à l'Académie Commerciale de Cluj. Pendant le régime communiste il est emprisonné (1949–1963) et une fois réhabilité il devient chercheur à l'Institut de Recherches Économiques de l'Académie Roumaine à Bucarest (1963–1974). En 1945 il remporte le prix de l'Académie Roumaine avec l'ouvrage *Probleme fundamentale ale istoriei Transilvaniei* [Questions fondamentales de l'histoire de Transylvanie].

Krebs, Norbert (1876–1947), géographe allemand-autrichien, professeur d'université, avec des recherches sur des questions d'habitation en Europe centrale. Il étudie la géographie et l'histoire à l'Université de Vienne (1896–1902), où il obtient le titre de

docteur (1900). Il est professeur associé à l'Université de Vienne (1909–1917) et professeur titulaire aux universités de Würzburg (1917–1918), Francfort (1918–1920), Freiburg (1920–1927) et Berlin (1927–1943).

Kutscher, Artur, (1878–1960), historien littéraire allemand, professeur d'université. Il étudie la littérature aux universités de Munich, Kiel et Berlin, obtient le titre de docteur en 1904 et l'habilitation en 1907 à l'Université de Berlin. À partir de 1915 il est professeur à l'Université de Munich. Ayant des sympathies nazies, en 1933 il devient membre de l'Association Nazie des Professeurs et en 1942 du NSDAP. En 1945 il est éloigné de l'enseignement supérieur et en 1951 il prend sa retraite. En 1958 il reçoit la décoration ouest-allemande La Grande Croix du Mérite.

Lapedatu, Alexandru (1876, Cernatu Săcelelor, Braşov – 1950, pénitencier de Sighetul Marmaţiei), historien médiéviste roumain, homme politique, professeur d'université, membre de l'Académie Roumaine (1918), président (1935–1937) et secrétaire général (1937–1948). Il est licencié en géographie et en histoire de l'Université de Bucarest et devient chercheur à la Bibliothèque de l'Académie Roumaine (1903–1908), secrétaire de la Commission des Monuments Historiques (1904–1919), professeur d'histoire ancienne des Roumains à l'université (1919–1938). Sous le régime communiste il est emprisonné (1950) et meurt dans le pénitencier de Sighetul-Marmaţiei.

Leitner, Samuel, (n. ? – m. ?), anticaire de Sibiu, actif dans la première moitié du XX^{e} siècle, collectionneur de céramique saxonne appartenant à différentes corporations transylvaines.

Luschan, Felix von (1854–1924), médecin, anthropologue, explorateur et ethnographe autrichien. Il étudie la médecine à Vienne et l'anthropologie à Paris et en 1878 il obtient le titre de docteur. En 1886 il est nommé assistant-directeur à Königliches Muzeum für Völkerkunde à Berlin, et en 1905 il est nommé directeur du Département Afrique et Océanie. En 1909 il devient professeur titulaire à la Chaire d'anthropologie de l'Université de Berlin. Il est auteur d'une classification des humains selon la couleur de la peau, selon une échelle chromatique comme «l'Échelle von Luschan», avec 36 phénotypes. Parmi ses ouvrages, *Anthropologie, Etnographie und Urgeschichte* [Anthropologie, Ethnographie et Préhistoire] (1905, Hanover), *Völker, Rassen, Sprachen* [Peuple, Race, Langue], paru 1922 à Berlin.

Maloş, N. Ioan (4 mai 1916, Nazna, Mureş – 24 noiembrie 1942, Reghin), ethnographe roumain, chercheur, assistant universitaire du professeur Romulus Vuia, journaliste. Fils de l'archiprêtre Ioan Maloş de Reghin, il est un jeune qui promet mais qui s'éteint à la fleur de l'âge. Valer Pop[64] lui a consacré une monographie[65].

Martonne, Emmanuel de (1873–1955), géographe français, professeur d'université, membre honoraire de l'Académie Roumaine (1919) et de l'Académie Française des Sciences (1942). Il est licencié en géographie de l'École Normale Supérieure à Paris (1882–1885) et docteur en géographie avec la thèse *La Valachie*. Il est professeur aux universités de Rennes (à partir de 1889), Lyon (à partir de 1905) et Sorbonne (à partir de 1909). Il est coopté expert à la Conférence de Paix de Paris à l'issue de la Première Guerre mondiale, pour tracer les frontières de la Roumanie et de la Pologne. Il soutient activement la fondation et le développement de l'Institut de Géographie à Cluj[66].

[64] Pop 2009.
[65] Cătană 2016: www.bjmures.ro/sectii/metodica/info/calendar aniversari culturale2016.pdf.
[66] Bowd 2012.

Mehedinți, Simion (1868, Soveja, Vrancea – 1962, Bucarest), géographe, savant roumain reconnu sur le plan international, membre de l'Académie Roumaine (1915). Formé à l'école de Titu Maiorescu, il est un adepte de l'éducation des masses, des jeunes, pour l'élévation de la patrie. Il fait ses études aux universités de Bucarest, en France et en Allemagne, devient docteur en géographie à l'Université de Leipzig avec la thèse *Die Kartographische Induktion* soutenue en 1900. De retour dans le pays, il est nommé professeur à la première chaire de géographie créée à l'Université de Bucarest. Il a un rôle fondamental dans le développement de la pensée géographique et géopolitique roumaine, de ses méthodes spécifiques de recherche[67]. Il est l'auteur d'une vaste œuvre dont nous mentionnons: *Terra – introducere în geografie ca ştiinţă* [La Terre – introduction à la géographie comme science, 2 volumes, 1931, Bucarest], *Însuşirile omului de Stat* [Les qualités de l'homme d'État, 1919, Bucarest], *Vechimea poporului român şi legătura cu elementele alogene* [L'ancienneté du peuple roumain et ses liens avec les éléments allogènes, 1924, Bucarest]. Après l'instauration du régime communisme en Roumanie, il est marginalisé, évacué de sa propre maison, dans laquelle actuellement fonctionne l'Institut de Géographie de l'Académie Roumaine.

Metz, Friedrich (1890–1969), géographe allemand avec des préoccupations dans le domaine des agglomérations rurales, professeur d'université, recteur de l'Université de Freiburg im Breisgau (1936–1938). À partir de 1938 il est directeur de l'Institut Alemannique. Après le Seconde Guerre mondiale, à cause de ses sympathies nazies, il est éloigné de l'enseignement supérieur. En 1954 il devient directeur de l'Institut de Géographie fondé auprès de l'Université de Heidelberg.

Morariu, Tiberiu (1905, Salva, Bistrița – 1982, Cluj-Napoca), géographe roumain, professeur d'université, membre correspondant de l'Académie Roumaine (1955). Licencié en géographie et en sciences naturelles de la Faculté de Géographie de l'Université de Cluj, il fait une spécialisation à Paris avec Emmanuel de Martonne (1930). En 1935 il obtient le titre de docteur en géographie à l'Université de Cluj.

Mugur, D. Gheorghe (1876, Bucarest – 1946, Bucarest), journaliste roumain, compositeur, président de la Fondation Culturelle Royale Principele Carol, inspecteur général des Cultes et des Arts, président de la Radiodiffusion (1940). Il fait ses études à l'École Normale Supérieure à Bucarest et a été un adepte fervent du scoutisme en Roumanie. Dans sa qualité de président de la Fondation Culturelle Royale Principele Carol, il a soutenu la fondation du Musée Éthnographique de la Transylvanie à Cluj.

***Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*,** quotidien qui paraît à Munich entre 1848–1954, devenant pendant les années 1930 le plus grand quotidien du sud de l'Allemagne. Fondé par Charles Robert Schurich, il paraît au début en un tirage de 15 000 exemplaires. En 1852 il entre en propriété de Julius Knorr, en 1911 il est acheté par la Société SRL Thomas Knorr et Georg et Elise Hirth, et après 1920 par l'industriel Haniel. Avant 1930 il a une orientation monarchique et catholique et après 1935 il commence à avoir des sympathies nazies.

National-Zeitung, quotidien national suisse qui paraît à Bâle à partir de 1842, de facture bourgeoise. À partir de 1877 il s'appelle *National-Zeitung*, et en 1977 il fusionne avec *Basler Nachrichten*, formant *Basler Zeitung*. Entre 1934–1945 il est interdit en Reich allemand par les hauts responsables nazis.

[67] Idem 2012: 140–153.

Netoliczka, Luise, mariée **Treiber**, (29 juillet 1893, Braşov – 7 juillet 1974, Gundelsheim am Neckar, Allemagne), ethnographe, folkloriste roumaine de notoriété, d'ethnie allemande, fille du recteur du Gymnase Honterus de Braşov, dr. Oskar Netoliczka. Elle fait des études humaines au Gymnase Honterus, et en 1916 elle s'inscrit à Eötvöskollegium à Budapest, où elle fait des études supérieures d'histoire, d'arts et de lettres. De retour dans le pays, elle devient d'une des collaboratrices de Romulus Vuia au Musée Ethnographique de la Transylvanie. Entre 1936–1958 elle travaille à Braşov et 1963 elle émigre en Allemagne avec son époux. Elle a été un nom de référence en ce qui concerne les costumes et les artefacts saxons de Transylvanie, publiant un ouvrage essentiel dans le domaine, *Die Trachtenlandschaften der Siebenbürger Sachsen* [Les paysages de costumes des saxons de Transylvanie] (1968, Marburg).

Oberhummer, Eugen (1859–1944), géographe allemand-autrichien, professeur d'université, membre de l'Académie des Sciences d'Autriche (1920). Il fait des études de philologie classique à l'Université de Munich et en parallèle des études de géographie et de géologie (1877–1882), pour étudier ensuite l'histoire antique de l'Égypte à Munich et l'antiquité romaine à Berlin. Entre 1886–1892 il est lecteur, puis professeur associé à l'Université de Munich. De 1902 à 19830 il est professeur de géographie politique à l'Université de Vienne, et en 1933 il est élu président honoraire de la Société Autrichienne de Géographie.

Onişor, Teodor (1913, Zagra, Bistriţa-Năsăud – 1973, Cluj), géographe et ethnologue roumain, directeur du Musée Ethnographique de la Transylvanie (1956–1959), maître de conférences à l'Université de Cluj. Licencié en géographie et en histoire de l'Université de Cluj (1938), docteur en ethnographie (1946) avec la thèse *Etnograful Teodor Burada. Vieaţa şi opera lui* [L'ethnographe Teodor Burada. Sa vie et son oeuvre]. Il a été l'assistant de Romulus Vuia. Dans sa qualité de directeur du Musée ethnographique de la Transylvanie, il a redigé un rapport détaillé sur les étapes du développement des collections du musée[68]. En tant qu'assistant et proche collaborateur du professeur Romulus Vuia, **O.T.** lui a dedié après sa mort, dans les conditions idéologiques extrêmement restrictives du temps, un ample étude très bien documentée[69].

Oprescu, George (1881, Câmpulung Muscel – 1969, Bucarest), historien roumain, critique d'art, professeur d'université, collectionneur d'art, membre honoraire de l'Académie Roumaine (1948). Licencie en lettres en philosophie de l'Université de Bucarest (1905). Professeur associé à l'Université de Cluj et, à partir de 1931, professeur titulaire à l'Université de Bucarest. Entre 1932–1942 il est directeur du Musée Toma Stelian et entre 1949–1969 directeur de l'Institut d'Histoire de l'Art. De 1923 à 1930 il est secrétaire de la Ligue des Nations à Genève, ce qui lui permet de constituer une grande collection d'art et une impressionnante bibliothèque dont il fera don à l'Académie Roumaine.

Orosz, Andrei, instituteur à Apahida, Cluj, ethnographe passionné, affilié au groupe formé autour du Musée Transylvain de Cluj, dont la collection d'artefacts d'environ 35 000 exemplaires est acquise par le Musée Ethnographique de la Transylvanie, qui est fondé en 1922 et inauguré une année plus tard, sous la direction de Romulus Vuia. Ionel Bejenaru écrit à propos de lui: *le 21 juillet 1943, la section de Botoşani de l'Association Générale*

[68] Onişor 1958: 15-78.
[69] Onişor 1966: 269-306.

des Instituteurs de Roumanie, sous la signature de M. Apostol, président, et I. D. Marin, secrétaire, lançait un Appel aux Instituteurs de Botoşani en vue de l'organisation d'un musée ethnographique, en suivant l'exemple de l'instituteur Andrei Oros d'Apahida, Cluj, qui avait réussi à collecter 35 000 objets, constituant «le trésor le plus précieux du Musée Ethnographique de la Transylvanie»[70].

Panaitescu, Emil (1891, Cudalbi, Covurlui [Galați] – 1958, Rome), historien roumain, professeur d'université, directeur de l'École Roumaine de Rome (1929–1940), député dans le Parlement de la Roumanie (1920–1922, 1927–1928, 1933–1937). Licencié ès lettres à l'Université de Bucarest (1908), il fait des spécialisations en histoire antique aux universités de Munich, Leipzig et Bonn (1910–1913). En 1919 il est nommé maître de conférences à l'Université de Cluj. Entre 1922–1924 il est élève à l'École Roumaine de Rome, en 1924 il devient docteur en philosophie et, à partir de 1925, il est professeur à l'Université de Cluj.

Pavelescu, Gheorghe (1915, Pianu, Alba – 2008, Sibiu), ethnologue et folkloriste roumain, professeur d'université. Il étudie la philosophie et la sociologie rurale aux universités de Cluj et Bucarest. Il est l'assistant de Romulus Vuia à l'Université de Cluj. Il obtient trois doctorats, en sociologie et esthétique (1942), en philosophie de la culture (1942) et en ethnographie et folklore (1945). Sous le régime communiste, il est éloigné de l'enseignement supérieur et devient professeur d'école générale. En 1972 il est réhabilité, revient dans l'enseignement supérieur à l'Université de Sibiu. Il prend sa retraite en 1980 mais revient à l'Université de Sibiu en 1992.

Pella, V. Vespasian, (1897, Bucarest–1960, New York), juriste roumain, professeur d'université, diplomate, membre correspondant de l'Académie Roumaine (1941). Il étudie le droit à l'Université de Iaşi, devient docteur en histoire à Paris (1920), avec la thèse *Des incapacités résultant des condamnations pénales en droit international*. Il est professeur agrégé (1921–1924) et titulaire (1924–1935) à l'Université de Iaşi et ensuite à l'Université de Bucarest (1935–1948). Il est haut fonctionnaire de la Roumanie en plusieurs organismes internationaux et ministre plénipotentiaire aux Légations Royales de la Roumanie à la Haye (1936–1939) et Berne (1er septembre 1943- 1er octobre 1944)[71].

Pernkopf, Eduard (1888–1955), médecin autrichien, professeur d'université, recteur de l'Université de Vienne (1943–1945). Il étudie la médecine à Vienne (1907–1912). À partir de 1926 il est professeur associé et à partir de 1933 directeur de l'Institut d'Anatomie de l'Université de Vienne, doyen de la Faculté de Médecine (à partir de 1938). Il est l'auteur d'une illustre *Topographische Anatomie des Menschen* [*Atlas d'anatomie humaine*]. Il a des sympathies nazies et en 1933 devient membre du NSDAP. En août 1945 il est arrêté par l'armée américaine et fait prisonnier de guerre pendant trois ans.

Procopovici, Alexe (1884, Tchernovtsy – 1946, Cluj), linguiste et philologue roumain, professeur d'université, membre correspondant de l'Académie Roumaine (1919). Il étudie les lettres à Tchernovtsy, où il est l'étudiant de Sextil Puşcariu et où il obtient le titre de docteur en 1919. Il est professeur agrégé à l'Université de Tchernovtsy (1919–1938), professeur titulaire à l'Université de Cluj (1938–1946), vice-recteur (1940–1944). En 1930 il remporte le prix de l'Académie Roumaine.

[70] Bejenaru 2013.
[71] Giurescu et alii 2011: 321.

Puşcariu, Sextil (1877, Braşov – 1948, Bran), philologue et linguiste roumain, professeur d'université, recteur de l'Université de Cluj (1919–1920, 1940–1941). Il étudie la philologie aux universités de Leipzig (1895–1899), où il obtient le doctorat, Paris (1899–1901) et Vienne (1902–1904). Il est professeur d'université à Tchernovtsy (1906–1918) et à Cluj (à partir de 1919).

Racoviță, Emil (1868, Iaşi – 1947, Cluj), biologiste, savant roumain, spéléologue, explorateur, professeur d'université, recteur de l'Université de Cluj (1929–1930), membre de l'Académie Roumaine (1920) et président (1926–1929). Il fait des études juridiques à Paris (1886–1889) et devient licencié en droit, ensuite il fait des études de biologie à la Sorbonne. En 1896 il obtient le titre de docteur en biologie avec la thèse *Le lobe céphalique et l'encéphale des Annélides polychètes* et, l'année suivante, il participe à l'expédition organisée par le baron belge Adrien de Gerlache (1866–1934) en Antarctique, avec le bateau Belgique (1897–1899). Spécialiste des écosystèmes souterrains, il fonde avec Jules Guiart, René Jeannel et Alfred Chappuis l'Institut de Spéléologie de Cluj (1920), dont il est directeur jusqu'à sa mort.

Le Roi Charles II (1893, Sinaïa – 1953, Estoril), roi de Roumanie (1930–1940). Il suit les cours de l'Académie militaire à Postdam. Sous son règne, la Roumanie a connu un essor sans précédent sur le plan économique, social et culturel.

Rohlfs, Gerhard (1892–1986), linguiste allemand, romaniste, professeur d'université. En 1913 il commence ses études de philologie romane aux universités de Berlin et Grenoble, obtient le titre de docteur en philologie en 1920 et l'habilitation avec la thèse *Das romanische "habeo"-Futurum und konditionalis* [Le roman "habeo" Futurum et conditionalis: (une carte de langue)], il devient ensuite professeur d'université à Berlin. Entre 1926–1938, il est professeur aux universités de Tübingen et Munich, en 1957 il prend sa retraite et en 1958 il devient professeur honoraire. Il est co-rédacteur de la revue *Archivs für das Studium der neuern Sprachen und Literaturen* (1930–1954) et membre de plusieurs académies.

Schilli, Hermann (1896–1981), architecte, professeur d'université, historien avec des préoccupations d'ethnographie, fondateur et directeur du Musée des Monts Schwarzwald. Il défend la préservation des métiers artisanaux autochtones et fondé une école de menuiserie (1931) qu'il dirige jusqu'à la retraite (1962).

Schuchardt, Walter-Herwig (1900–1976), historien, archéologue allemand, spécialiste de la sculpture grecque ancienne, professeur d'université. Il étudie l'archéologie aux universités de Tübingen, Göttingen et Heidelberg, obtient le titre de docteur en 1923 avec la thèse *Die Meister des grossen Frieses von Pergamon* [Le maître du grand Frieses de Pergamon] et en 1929 l'habilitation avec l'ouvrage *Die Entstehung des Parthenonfrieses* [La création des Frieses de Parthenon]. Il est professeur aux universités de Giessen (1934–1936) et de Freiburg (1936–1968). Au moment ou Romulus Vuia soutenait sa conférence à Freiburg im Br. (le 16 décembre 1943), il était doyen de la Faculté de Philosophie.

Sofronie, George (1901, Timişeşti, Neamț – 1961, Bucarest), avocat roumain, professeur d'université, haut fonctionnaire d'État. Il fait le lycée et l'université à Iaşi, est licencié en droit (1922) et en histoire (1923), obtient le titre de docteur à l'Université de Bucarest (1926) avec la thèse *Principiul naționalităților în dreptul internațional public* [Le principe des nationalités dans le droit international public]. Il est boursier de la Fondation Rockefeller et suit plusieurs spécialisations à l'Institut de Hautes Études internationales de Genève et à l'Institut de Droit international de Paris (1926–1927). Il est professeur aux universités d'Oradea (1931–1934), Cluj (1934–1946), à l'Académie de l'École commerciale (1946–1948) et à l'Académie des Sciences Économiques (1952–1961) de Bucarest. Il est l'auteur d'une vaste œuvre juridique de droit international.

Spiess, Karl von (1880–1957), folkloriste autrichien, professeur d'université. Il étudie les sciences de la nature et obtient le titre de docteur en botanique. Avant 1925 il est professeur à plusieurs lycées prestigieux de Vienne et ensuite devient secrétaire du directeur du Musée Ethnographique de Vienne, le professeur Arthur Haberlandt.

Spitteler, Carl (1845–1924), écrivain suisse, journaliste, lauréat du prix Nobel de littérature en 1919. Son œuvre poétique lui a valu le titre de docteur honoraire de l'Université de Zürich en 1905 et de l'Université de Lausanne en 1915, ainsi que plusieurs prix littéraires dont le Grand Prix Schiller.

Ștefănescu-Goangă, Florian (1881, Curtea de Argeș – 1958, Bucarest), psychologue roumain, professeur d'université, recteur de l'Université Regele Ferdinand I de Cluj (1932–1940), membre correspondant de l'Académie Roumaine (1937). Licencié en droit et en philosophie de l'Université de Bucarest, il fait une spécialisation en psychologie à l'Université de Leipzig (1909–1911), où il obtient le titre de docteur avec la thèse *Experimentelle Untersuchungen zur Gefühlsbetonung der Farben* [Des études expérimentales sur le ton émotionnel des couleurs]. Après la Seconde Guerre mondiale et l'instauration du régime communiste en Roumanie, il est arrêté et emprisonné à Sighetul Marmației (1950–1955).

Vâlsan, George (1885, Bucarest – 1935, Carmen Sylva), géographe roumain, ethnographe, professeur d'université, membre de l'Académie Roumaine (1920), fondateur de l'Institut de Géographie à l'Université de Cluj. Disciple de Simion Mehedinți, il étudie la géographie à l'Université de Bucarest, obtient sa licence en 1908, suit plusieurs spécialisations aux universités de Berlin (1911–1912) et Paris (1913–1914). De retour dans le pays, il soutient sa thèse de doctorat en géographie (1916) intitulée *Câmpia Română* [La plaine roumaine]. Il devient professeur d'université à Iași (1916–1919). En 1919 il est invité à jeter les bases de l'enseignement géographique supérieur roumain à Cluj, où il est directeur fondateur de l'Institut de Géographie et chef de la chaire de Géographie générale et humaine (1919–1929)[72]. Il se transfère à l'Université de Bucarest (1930–1935). À Cluj il fonde la Société ethnographique roumaine dont il est président (1923–1927).

Völkischer Beobachter, l'organe de presse du Parti National Socialiste Allemand (NSDAP) à partir de 1920. Il est le continuateur de l'hebdomadaire *Münchener Beobachter* fondé en 1887 dans la capitale de la Bavière, Munich, qui en 1918 sera acheté par la Société Thule. Le 17 décembre 1920, le journal est acheté par le NSDAP et, à partir du 8 février 1923 il devient quotidien, interrompant sa parution entre 1923 et 1925. Il réapparaît le 26 février 1925, son tirage augmente, parvenant à 120 000 exemplaires en 1931, 336 000 en 1934 et 1,7 millions exemplaires en 1944, ayant un caractère officiel. À partir de 1931, il a deux éditions régionales, *Reichausgabe* (Édition impériale), qui paraît à Berlin, et *Bayernasgabe* (Édition bavaroise), qui paraît à Munich. Après l'Anschluss (1938), il a aussi une édition viennoise, *Wiennerausgabe*. Son dernier numéro paraît le 10 avril 1945[73,74].

Vulcan, Th. Constantin, (n.? – m.?), juriste roumain, haut fonctionnaire d'État. Boursier de l'Institut de Hautes Études Internationales de Genève (ISI), docteur en droit (Paris, 1932). Maître de conférences à l'ISI à Genève (1935), ensuite collaborateur du Secrétariat de la Société des Nations (1936). De retour dans le pays, en janvier 1938, il est chargé de l'organisation et l'administration du Centre de Hautes Études Internationales de

[72] Bowd 2012: 85–117,140–153.
[73] www./ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Völkischer_Beobachter.
[74] Mühlberger 2004.

Bucarest, fondé auprès de l'Institut Social Roumain. Conseiller de presse au Ministère de la Propagande à partir du 15 février 1942, conseiller de presse principal à partir du 1er avril 1942, conseiller culturel de IIe classe au Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (MAS, 1er juin – 1er novembre 1944). Entre le 1er novembre 1942 et le 10 septembre 1944 il est consiller culturel principal à la Légation Royale de la Roumanie à Berne. Selon la dernière mention de son dossier de cadres, il est secrétaire culturel de Ire classe au MAS (15 février – 22 octobre 1945), et à partir du 4 avril 1946 il est transféré au Ministère des Renseignements[75] (nous remercions dr. Stelian Obiziuc, chef de service aux Archives diplomatiques dans le cadre du MAS, pour les informations qu'il nous a fournies).

Wolfram, Richard (1901–1995), folkloriste autrichien, professeur d'université, membre de l'Académie des Sciences d'Autriche (1971). Entre 1920–1926 il étudie la langue allemande et les langues scandinaves, ainsi que l'histoire de l'art à l'Université de Vienne. En 1926 il obtient le titre de docteur avec la thèse *Ernst Moritz Arndt und Schweden. Zur Geschichte der deutschen Nordsehsucht* [Ernst Moritz Arndt et la Suède, l'histoire de la nostalgie allemande du nord], et en 1934 l'habilitation avec une thèse sur le folklore allemand et scandinave à l'Université de Vienne. Entre 1928–1938 il est lecteur de langue suédoise à l'Université de Vienne, et entre 1939–1945 il est professeur de folklore à l'université. En 1945 il est éloigné de l'université par l'armée américaine, à cause de sa collaboration avec le nazisme en tant que membre du parti nazi. Entre 1945–1954 il travaille comme folkloriste indépendant, étant réhabilité et admis comme lecteur à l'Université de Vienne, ensuite comme professeur associé (1959) et titulaire (1963) jusqu'à sa retraite (1973).

Wüst, Walther (1901–1993), orientaliste allemand, professeur d'université, recteur de l'Université de Munich (1941–1945). Il a des sympathies nazies, il est membre du parti nazi, officier (Oberführer).

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[75]AMAE, F. *Problema 77. Dosare personale 1837–1950*, d. V 72, f.n.

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VARIATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF THE JAPANESE RELIGIOUS FOLK BALLAD, *SANSHŌ-DAYU*, OR "PRINCESS ANJU AND PRINCE ZUSHIŌ" (2): THE THEATRICAL TRADITION IN NINGYŌ-JŌRURI (PUPPET PLAYS) AND KABUKI (CLASSICAL DANCE-AND-MUSIC-DRAMA)

KEIKO WELLS

SYNOPSIS

The Japanese religious folk ballad, *Sanshō-Dayu* 『山椒大夫』(*Sanshō, the Bailiff* or commonly known as *Princess Anju and Prince Zushiō*), is a combination of two legends, one of a young princess and another of her brother, a prince. The princess sacrifices her life for the prince, while he endures trials to become a man of status. It is a religious story, and describes the origins of the Kanayaki Jizō Bodhisattva statue. Older versions are miracle tales, in which the tortured princess dies and becomes a Bodhisattva, or Buddhist saint. Though no complete original text remains, it is said that the ballad appeared in the 14th century. It belongs to a genre called "sekkyō-bushi", which was sung and chanted by traveling singers, who were almost always visually impaired. Sekkyō-bushi became popular in medieval Japan and was passed down as a form of religiously-themed entertainment, especially in rural areas. During the 17th and 18th centuries, *Sanshō-Dayu* was arranged in folk drama forms such as "gidayu" (a chanted theatrical narrative) or "ningyō-jōruri" (puppet plays) and Kabuki (classical dance-and-music drama). This paper consists of three sections: Part One, "The Narrative Tradition Kept by Visually Impaired People" (REF/JEF 1-2/2015: 5-27); Part Two, "The Theatrical Tradition in the Puppet Show and Kabuki" (published hereby); Part Three, "Re-Creation in Modern Fiction, Film and Children's Literature" (to come out in REF/JEF 1-2/2018). All sections focus on how the heroine and hero are depicted while using Buddhist folklore effectively for character development. The heroine, Anju, is a sacrificial lamb, a virgin mother to her brother Zushiō, and a symbol of compassion. Zushiō, an archetypal hero of a patriarchal feudal society, becomes an orphan, wanders in the wilderness, and finally finds restoration of his royal status by virtue of his courage and divine intervention. The narrative tradition emphasizes the more mythical story of Anju, while the theatrical tradition is more interested in the adventure and human drama of Zushiō's tale, depicting Anju a powerless human maiden tossed about by a masculine warrior society. Modern fiction and film re-create the tale while emphasizing themes of social equality. They bring the evils of slavery and social oppression to the fore, and propose philosophical solutions. Modern children's literature emphasizes the

REF/JEF, 1–2, p. 102–118, Bucureşti, 2017

tribulations of sister and brother as well as their love and respect for their parents. In conclusion, after close examination of adaptations and changes in the *Sanshō-Dayu* ballad, this paper attempts to explore Japanese religious sentiments and gender value matrices as well as the nature of narrative traditions in Japan.

Keywords: Japanese literature, Japanese culture, Oral literature, Narrative performance, Religious narrative, Religious literature, Buddhist folklore, Visually impaired singers, Transformation of narrative text, Sanshō-Dayu, Sekkyō-bushi, Goze-uta, Itako-saimon, Ningyō-joruri, Kabuki, Mori Ōgai, Mizoguchi Kenji, Children's literature.

1. THE SURVIVING LEGEND AND THEME VARIATIONS

The Japanese folk ballad cycle *Sanshō-Dayu* (hereafter *SD*) or *Princess Anju and Prince Zushiō* was already popular in the early 16th century and formed a cycle of chanted ballads. This simple narrative tradition was preserved by traveling monks and troubadours, and barely survived into the 20th century. At the same time, the legend was expanded into a dynamic drama in puppet shows (ningyō-jōruri), in which a skillful narrator also voiced all of the characters. This drama tradition made the *SD* story very well-known all over Japan. *SD* puppet shows were most loved in the large cities of western Japan such as Osaka and Kyoto, and also in Edo (Tokyo) in the east. Kabuki plays began as a variation of the puppet shows in the 18th century. Meanwhile, other cities in the countryside had theaters as well. Even farming communities enjoyed their own theaters, often set outside for a day, and traveling actors also occasionally performed.

As *Sanshō-Dayu* has been variously re-created and performed in homes, on streets, in public spaces such as temple plots, and in theaters over the centuries (cf. the table cited in Part 1[1]), the details of the story have also changed. The changes reflect differences in performance style as well as their respective societal contexts. When the ballad was only narrated by travelling chanters in the Middle Ages, the plot was simpler. The number of active characters were few and the climactic scenes were mystical and emotionally appealing. The chanter focused on themes of religious salvation rather than secular success. *SD* chanting was a manifestation legend/myth of a Kannon, Bodhisattva of Compassion, and no human love story was involved.

In the early modern era, society developed into a mature feudal system ruled by a warrior class, and this was reflected in the puppet shows. Of the two parts of the Buddhist chanting story[2] that were the basis of the puppet shows, the story of Zushiō became more emphasized than that of Anju. In the more elaborate urban

[1] See page 8 of Wells (the same paper Part 1) in the *Revista de etnografie și folclor / Journal of Ethnography and Folklore* 1-2 (2015): 5-27.

[2] See pages 9-18 of Wells, Part 1.

puppet theater, additional characters such as vassals and servants mirrored the feudal class structure, and betrayal and royalty became the center of interest.

Another thing to note is that complex male-female relationships were inserted. In kabuki, actors performed *SD* on stage for the first time. This made for a much more potent drama, compared to the puppet show's lone narrator voicing all of the characters. With these additional voices, kabuki plots became more complicated in terms of human relationships, expressing the dilemmas of life. So by the 18th century, *Sanshō-Dayu* had evolved into a vibrant, completely human drama, while the traditional religious themes of the medieval *SD* faded into the background. Along with this shift, the significance of the main female character, Anju, changes in relation to the story's themes.

2. THE THEATRICAL TRADITION IN THE 18TH CENTURY

PUPPET SHOWS (17th–21st centuries)

In the 17th century, the *Sanshō-Dayu* ballad became very popular in puppet shows. They were called ningyō-jōruri: "ningyō" meaning dolls, and "jōruri" a long narrative ballad chanted with dramatic variations of intonation and pitch. Jōruri is also called "ayatsuri", which originally means manipulating (dolls). A single narrator voiced the entire show, without separate voice actors for each puppet. Instead, the skilled cantor performed all dialogues and narrations, changing accents, inflections, and timbres, to create a convincing multitude of characters for the audience in a feat of highly stylized storytelling.

By the late 20th century, there were broadly two kinds of ningyō-jōruri to be observed: one from country towns in the North (ko-jōruri) and the other from central cities in the West and East (gidayu/gidayu-bushi/bunraku). In Northern Japan, the rural puppet shows kept the basic form of medieval sekkyō-bushi, which I introduced and analyzed in Part 1 of this paper. Sekkyō-bushi (説教節 preaching song narrative) is religious oral literature entertainment with music, which started probably in the 14th century. Sekkyō-bushi text is narrated or chanted with certain rhythms and formalized intonations accompanied by simple musical instruments. Puppet dramas using the sekkyō-bushi story line are called "ko-jōruri" (old style jōruri). These were first seen in the 17th century, but have barely survived to modern times. In ko-jōruri one person handles one doll and the stage is modestly set. The narrative is a mix of a miracle play and a warrior epic. In contrast, highly dramatized ningyō-jōruri flourished in big cities such as Osaka and Kyoto in the western part of Japan, and Edo (Tokyo) in the east. Highly dramatized type of show is now called "gidayu", "gidayu-bushi" or "bunraku". "Gidayu-bushi" refers to a specific narration style ("-bushi") established by TAKEMOTO Gidayu in the late 17th century, while "bunraku" became the term for puppet theater. In this elaborate style, three men handle each doll for greater expressiveness. There are more

characters (puppets) in gidayu than in ko-jōruri, and the plot is more complex, realistic, and sophisticated. The stage is set extravagantly for these professional shows.

KO-JŌRURI: *SANSHŌ-DAYU*

Sanshō-Dayu has been transmitted in print as well as orally. Woodblock printed texts circulated amongst various levels of performers. There were, of course, those who learned the orally transmitted texts exclusively by ear. The oldest text of sekkyō-bushi *SD* was written down in 1639[3], while the text of a ko-jōruri version of *SD*, which is believed to be the oldest and best remaining text, was first printed in 1850. The ko-jōruri tradition survived long in Sado Island, an island North of Echigo[4]; in 1964, Hans Eckardt, a German scholar of traditional Japanese music, visited Sado for field research on puppet plays. According to *The Puppet Play in Sado*『佐渡の人形芝居』by Shūnosuke YAMAMOTO, there were at least 51 theatres with their own respective traditions until roughly the mid-twentieth century[5].

The most notable change of the ko-jōruri text from sekkyō-bushi is that it puts more emphasis on Zushiō's triumph over adversity rather than on Anju's tragic destiny, making it an epic of the young hero. Zushiō leaves his home for a rewarding life, experiences misfortune, has adventures, and finally becomes lord of a large territory. The drama powerfully describes the sufferings of Anju and Zushiō while making the torture scenes more gruesome. Emphasis is placed as well on the scene of Zushiō's return as triumphant hero. For example, having become a high-ranking feudal lord, the puppet of Zushiō enters the stage wearing a splendid silk outfit mounted on a gallant horse.

Ko-jōruri also introduces a new and important character in a young samurai named Kohachirō. Ko-jōruri is, in fact, a story of his adventures as well. Kohachirō is described as a high-spirited 16-year-old lad, said to be "at least five times stronger than an ordinary man"[6]. He is the son of Uwataki, maidservant to Lady Iwaki, who is mother of Anju and Zushiō. Early in the play, Lord Iwaki was betrayed by his vassal SHIRAKAWA Heizo Tokimura, and is exiled to a faraway land. Discovering Heizo's treachery, Kohachirō kills him and helps Zushiō and Anju, their mother Lady Iwaki, and his own mother Uwataki escape to the countryside. Kohachirō, however, is tricked by wicked boatmen and loses hold of his companions. He is left behind while the two women (Lady Iwaki and Uwataki) and the children (Anju and Zushiō) are separated into boats heading in opposite

[3] See page 9 of Wells, Part 1.
[4] See the map on page 7 of Wells, Part 1.
[5] Shūnosuke YAMAMOTO, *Puppet Plays in Sado*, 189-212. The map of theaters is on page 190.
[6] YAMAMOTO, *Sanshō-Dayu* cited in *Puppet Plays in Sado*, 144.

directions. Kohachirō disappears from the stage during the scenes of Anju's and Zushiō's ordeals, but later returns to save Anju from Sanshō-Dayu's torture, taking her to Sado Island to reunite with her mother.[7]

The reunion of Lady Iwaki and Anju is one of the two most poignant scenes of the play ---- the other being the earlier boat separation on the sea. In sekkyō-bushi Anju is tortured to death while still a slave to Sanshō-Dayu, while Zushiō escapes to find his mother and save her from misery. On the other hand, in ko-jōruri, it is Anju who finds Lady Iwaki with the help of Kohachirō. He saves Anju from Sanshō-Dayu's and Saburō's brutal torture, and takes the critically wounded girl to Sado Island. When he leaves her for a moment to fetch some water for her, Anju hears an old blind woman singing a song that indicates the singer to be her lost mother, Lady Iwaki. Anju is overjoyed but too weak to stand and walk, and so crawls toward her and grabs the end of her robe. Lady Iwaki, however, cannot see Anju as she now is completely blind, and takes Anju for one of mischievous neighboring children who habitually tease her by pretending to be her lost children and ridiculing her sorrow. Mistaking her for one of her tormentors, Lady Iwaki strikes Anju with her staff and ultimately kills her daughter.

小鳥のあさるあはなれば。いたはしやはゝうへはかくとはしらせ給はずし。
又又立ちあがりなるこを引。ほうやれほう。あんじゆ恋しやつし王みたや

[7] A flyer of a *Sanshō-Dayu* puppet show in the ko-jōruri style, performed by Saruhachiza on April 26 and 27. From the left, the wicked boatman who kidnaps and sells the family as slaves, Lady Iwaki, the big sister Anju (front left), Kohachirō, the little brother Zushiō (front right), and Uwataki.



ほうやれほう。子共(かんふし)はいつくにうられけんと。なげき給ふ其のこゑ。さすがをや子のちぐうにや。かたゑふせしあんじゆのひめ。見ゝにいるよりこはいかにとおもきまくらをかろくあげみれば恋しき母うへの。御めはしいてつゑをたよりに。小鳥をおはせ給ふてい。母うへにておはせぬと。たゝんとすれと身のいたみに。あしたゝされはやうにやうにはいより。もすそに取付て。母うへ様。あんじゆにてさむらふ也。母は御目のしいたるうへの。なげきをいつもしづ共が。なぶるぞと心へて。又さいぜんのやつばらがゆかでわらはをもてあそぶか。めくらのつゑはとがならじ。はなさぬかのかぬかと。わが子としらぬおいのやみ。見へずうたるゝ此つゑにきうしよをうたれあんじゆのひめ。のきもやらずうごきもせず。たへ入給ふそかなしけれ。かかる所へ小八郎。水をむすんでかえりしが。此ていをみるやいなやはしりついてみればみだいさま。[8]

> Birds eat millet corn and the honorable mother, without knowing [that Anju is laying on the ground near her], stands up again and makes noise with a bird rattle. [She sings along with rattling] "Ho-yare-ho, I miss you Anju, I miss you Zushiō. Ho-yare-ho. Where are you? To where are you sold off?" At the moment of hearing this, Anju recognizes her mother and moves her head weakly from her sick bed of hard ground to make sure. She sees her beloved mother has now lost her eyesight completely and shooing birds while standing weakly with the help of a staff. Anju wishes to stand up and ask, "Are you my mother?" but dreadful pain prevents her from standing up. Anju slowly crawls toward her, and holds the bottom of her mother's robe. "Mother, I am Anju". Lady Iwaki mistakes her for a mean child who teases the blind woman. "You, again. Why do you take pleasure in toying with my grief? A blow from the staff of the blind cannot be sinful. Get away, you. Let me go". The old mother is so blind that she cannot see it is her own daughter that her staff strikes in the vitals. Anju cannot move, cannot avoid the blow, and alas she dies. At this moment Kohachirō sees his young lady in trouble and dashes back, only to find out it was Lady Iwaki [who has just killed the princess].

When Kohachirō returns too late, the truth is revealed and Lady Iwaki almost goes insane from regret and grief. What does this terrible scene indicate? Why had the plot been changed this way?

In the medieval legend Anju is a sacred figure; it tells us how she becomes a deity. Namely, after she dies from torture she becomes a Bodhisattva in the sekkyō-

[8] Yamamoto, *Puppet Plays in Sado*, 173. English translations from Japanese texts are by Wells unless otherwise noted.

bushi narrative, or a mountain goddess in the saimon narrative. Both narratives are folk-religious and mythical. On the other hand, in the ko-jōruri narrative both Anju and Lady Iwaki are simply victims of human cruelty. Consistent with the values of the feudal era, female characters are described as weak and more oppressed than men, while male characters are strong and steadfast, much more so than those of the medieval legends. In 17th to mid-19th century Japan, samurai warriors ruled the country, so naturally people were more interested in power and worldly success than religious miracles. Kohachirō represents the loyal samurai servant, and Zushiō embodies the young hero who overcomes treachery and disgrace of his father to become a righteous ruler. The folk-religious themes of medieval sekkyō-bushi narratives, i.e. Anju's resurrection as Bodhisattva, have faded away. Anju in ko-jōruri puppet theater is a pathetic human character, who needs Kohachirō's help to escape misfortune, only to be senselessly killed by her own mother's error.

This shift highlights two aspects of the theatrical tradition as developed in the feudal era: one is that people had moved to faith in human strength rather than supernatural powers; the other is that the puppet play had become more interested in social issues than in spiritual contemplation. These two characteristics of the theatrical tradition of the *SD* cycle can be observed even more clearly in gidayu and kabuki.

GIDAYU/ BUNRAKU: *SANSHŌ-DAYU RENBO NO MINATO* (1711)

The sophisticated urban puppet play narrated with gidayu style recitation was very popular in the early 18th century, and the tradition is still alive in modern-day Japan. The surviving text of *Sanshō-Dayu Renbo No Minato* (Sanshō-Dayu, or A Harbor of Love) by KINO Kaion紀海音(1663-1742) was published in 1711, and its popular variation, *Sanshō-Dayu Gonin Musume* (Sanshō-Dayu and his Five Daughters) revised by TAKEDA Izumo竹田出雲 (1690-1756), was published in 1727. In these variations, more vassals of the Iwaki clan (family of Anju and Zushiō) have been added, and Sanshō-Dayu has as many as five daughters. Gidayu versions of *SD* reflect the sentimentality and popular values of the feudal era. Of the two gidayu play-narration scenarios, the original *Sanshō-Dayu Renbo No Minato* is the one I will analyze to trace the development of the tradition in comparison to ko-jōruri. There are three major changes in *SD Renbo No Minato* from ko-jōruri: (1) the frequency of death motif, (2) the addition of romantic subplots, and (3) the replacement of folk-religious themes with the redemption tale of a wicked man.

Sanshō-Dayu Renbo No Minato opens with political unrest in the Iwaki domain. In the first act, Lord Iwaki loses his authority after being denounced as disrespectful to the Emperor's messenger, whom he happened to encounter on a highway. This scene illustrates the sensitive power balance between the old guard of the imperial aristocracy, and the rising class of high-ranking samurai. Lord Iwaki was one of these samurai warriors who governed his territory more justly than the entrenched nobility. While the play is sympathetic towards the burgeoning rule of the officer caste, this theme of power struggle between nobility and the warrior

class is not developed further except that the slave owner Sanshō-Dayu belongs to the established power structure.

In the second act the women and children of the Iwaki house are in turmoil over their future as their lord has lost his position and is exiled from the land. They are helpless in their confusion and cannot decide what to do. In desperation Lady Iwaki and her children throw themselves from a bridge into the river. Ironically, they do not fall into the water but into slave merchant boats. Thus, they are taken away and sold to the plantation of the Sanshō-Dayu.

なげきを重ねせんもなしへんしもさいごを急がんと。あたりの小石を袖に入レいさみ給へはあね姫も。ともにいさみてひらぶいしいたいてふちに入月の。西にむかいて手を合わせなぬあみだ仏みだ仏と。思ひきれ共うしろがみさすが光るゝちしごの塩。今ぞさいごと手を取りくみ橋よりかつはととび給へば。下にもやしの船の中どうどおつれはこはいかに。[9]

[9] 紀海音「山椒大夫恋慕湊」KINO Kaion, *Sanshō-Dayu Renbo No Minato*, cited in *KINO Kaion Zenshu* [Collected Works of KINO Kaion] vol. 2: 262. The woodblock illustration below, taken from a kabuki text, *Yura Minato Sengen Choja*, shows well the discussed scene (竹田出雲「由良湊千軒長者」TAKEDA Izumo. *Yura Minato Sengen Choja* [The Rich Man With A Thousand Houses, Who Lived Near Yura Harbor] in: *Zoku Gidayu Jidaimono-shu* [The Second Series of Gidayu Historical Play Collection]: 343).



> He [Zushiō] grieved deeply their sad fate. Eagerly he puts pebbles in his sleeves saying, "there is no other way but death". This inspires his older sister Anju, and she picks up a rock. She holds it to her bosom, then puts her palms together in prayer looking towards the west, "Namu-amida-butsu, save my soul". She tries to surrender her life, but the sinking moon shines, holds the high tide, holds her hair, pulls it back to land and life. They tear off the lingering thoughts, jump from the bridge to the river, hand and hand. But to their great surprise, they have dropped themselves into a boat: a boat of slave merchants.

There are originally three suicide scenes in the gidayu puppet play. The suicide attempt above is the first, and the second is in Act four. Preceding this second suicide scene, a new subplot is inserted: Saburō, the third son of Sanshō-Dayu and the cruelest of all, falls in love with Anju when she is brought to his father's plantation as a slave. Anju, on the other hand, was engaged to a nobleman when her father was in power, and naturally refuses Saburō's advances. Humiliated, he becomes even more cruel to Anju and Zushiō. Sister and brother endure ordeals and torture. They are imprisoned in a hut, when Anju persuades her brother to escape. Unlike the medieval legend and the ko-jōruri narrative, in the gidayu puppet scenario, Saburō, still obsessed with Anju, sneaks to the hut to eavesdrop, not knowing Zushiō has just run away. Anju, noticing him outside, invites Saburō into the hut. Not wanting to expose her brother's escape, she shrewdly seduces Saburō. Shortly afterwards, Saburō hears people rushing outside, shouting that Zushiō has escaped and they must capture him. Without losing a moment Anju stabs herself in front of Saburō, and tells him that she is from a family of high rank. She beseeches him to be good to Zushiō and help him for her, and collapses. With her last breath she whispers that she is already engaged and thus cannot live after losing her chastity. Saburō sheds tears for the first time in his life.

This shocking scene of Anju's suicide is the climax of this version of the story, and its theme becomes clear. Saburō, touched by Anju's virtue and love for her brother, decides to mend his ways and begins a new life as a benevolent man. When she stabs herself, he says,

> かしこへかつばとふし給へは三郎是はとだきおこし。よをうらみてのせつがいかむねんと思ふじがいかや。それ程いやな心ともしらでむたいのれんぼをし。扨こうくはいやふびんやとしほしほとせし三郎が目より涙のはじめなる。[10]

[10] KINO Kaion: 291.

> Anju crumpled to the ground. Saburō cradled her in his arms. "Have you killed yourself in horror of our tryst? I have never dreamed of you hating me. Why have I so unreasonably asked you to love me? I am so sorry, you poor thing". Tears fell from heartbroken Saburō's eyes for the first time in his life.

After Anju's death, Saburō becomes a good man and assists Zushiō's escape. When Zushiō recovers his high status he punishes Sanshō-Dayu and his sons, but offers to let Saburō become his servant. Saburō, however, declines this offer, insisting that he should not survive his father and brothers. Instead he asks the monk who protected Zushiō to let him marry Anju in the next life. As soon as he says this, he kills his cruel father and then with the same sword kills himself. This is the third of the three suicide scenes. The protagonist of *SD Renbo No Minato* is, in fact, Saburō. He falls in love with his family's slave, Anju, causes her death, finally realizes his wrongdoings, and becomes a virtuous man of spiritual love. This is the tragic tale of Saburō's redemption, so the play closes with his dramatic death.

These three suicide scenes, which are new in the gidayu *SD*, significantly reflect the reality and values of the feudal era. First, the women and children are helpless without the protection of men; second, worldly love and attachment is deeply sinful; third, a woman's chastity is more important than her life; and fourth, killing oneself is the ultimate resolution for life's conflicts. Whether people actually lived according to these extreme values or not, it certainly was true that in an era dominated by a samurai warrior culture, life was worth little in comparison to one's honor and that of one's family.

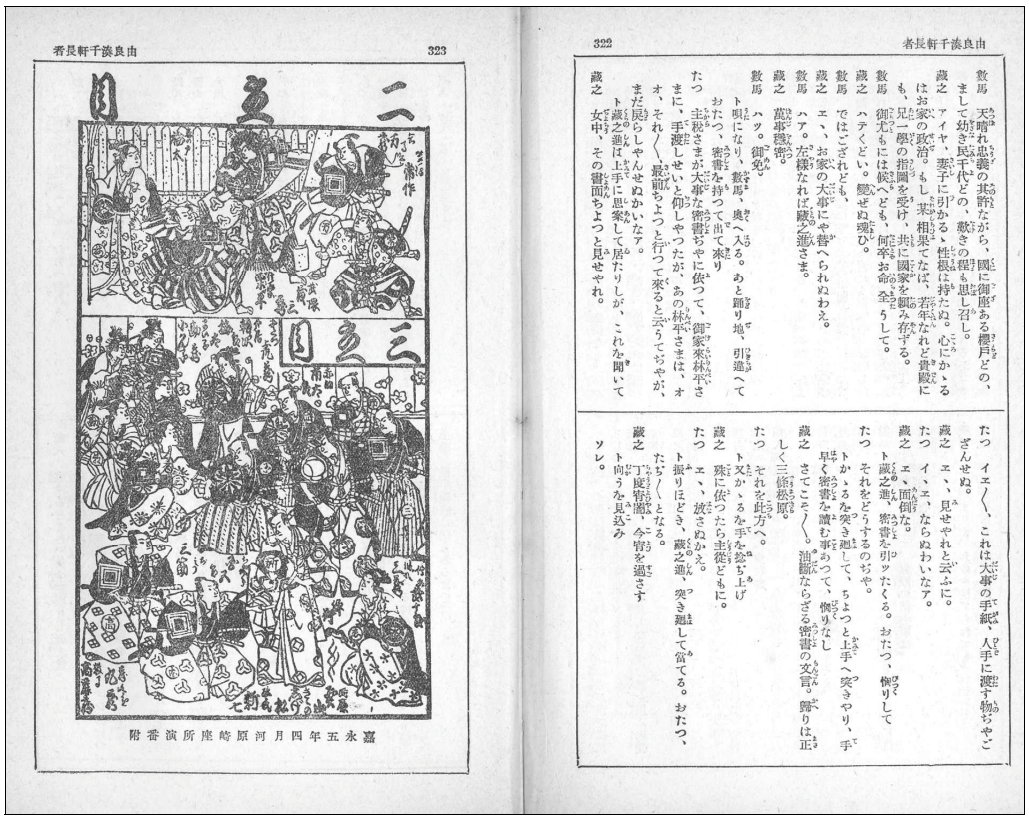
KABUKI: *YURA MINATO SENGEN CHOJA* (1761)

By the mid 18th century, the ancient *Sanshō-Dayu* religious folk narrative had evolved considerably. We have examined how the development of the puppet theater tradition allowed for greater complexity of plots and characters, reflecting the changing values of feudal times. The adaptation of the *SD* story cycle into the kabuki stage tradition facilitated even further expansion and addition of characters and narrative. As we saw in the previous section, in puppet shows all narration and character voices were performed by a single narrator. On the other hand, the multiple stage actors of kabuki theater allowed for greater development and complexity. Each actor voiced his[11] character as in modern plays, and this was a significant change from older performance styles of the *SD* cycle. With added personalities and plot details, kabuki was better able to present the emotional dramas of people living in another difficult society of early modern Japan.

[11] All characters, male and female, were performed by men in kabuki.

The play, *Yura Minato Sengen Choja* [The Rich Man With A Thousand Houses, Who Lived Near Yura Harbor][12] is well known as a variation of *SD*. It was a very popular play, and there are records of performances, mostly in Osaka as well as in several other cities of the western part of Japan and Edo (Tokyo), during a hundred-year period between the mid 18th to the mid 19th century[13]. The first performance took place in 1761 by the Takemoto-za Theatre Company of Osaka. The main playwright was TAKEDA Izumo, with a few others. The 1761 text that I am using here is his. There were variations of this version as well, but this is the best known and the only complete surviving text.

[12] An illustration from *Yura Minato Sengen Choja*, showing the actors for the play. The many samurai warriors indicate the play's interest in the human dramas of feudal society. 竹田出雲「由良湊千軒長者」TAKEDA. *Yura Minato Sengen Choja* [The Rich Man With A Thousand Houses, Who Lived Near Yura Harbor] in: *Zoku Gidayu Jidaimono-shu* [The Second Series of Gidayu Historical Play Collection]: 322-23.



[13] *Gidayu Nenpyo* [The Chronological Table of Gidayu]: 340-41.

The most important difference in the kabuki text from the gidayu text (1711) discussed in the above section is that the slave owner Sanshō-Dayu has a daughter named O-San. She is beautiful but doomed to shape shift uncontrollably into a rooster, because her father's evil soul is cursed.[14] The theme of indirectly cursed daughters had appeared in the second major variation of gidayu puppet plays, *Sanshō-Dayu Gonin Musume* [Sanshō-Dayu's Five Daughters] (1727), and was written by the same TAKEDA prior to the kabuki version. In it, Sanshō has five daughters and they are all disabled in one way or another: the eldest is seriously delayed in intellectual development, the second daughter is lame, the third is O-San and she is adopted. O-san is beautiful but at dawn she cries like a rooster. The forth daughter is deaf, and the youngest is blind. The kabuki play, *Yura Minato Sengen Choja* (1761), was a reworking of *Gonin Musume*. Before exploring the theme of the rooster daughter, we shall look at the kabuki plot below.

The play opens when the rich and wicked Sanshō-Dayu notices one day that a young woman and a boy (Anju and Zushiō) among his slaves are the children of Lord Iwaki, who he had assassinated by command of Ooe Tokikado. Ooe was Iwaki's half-brother who had plotted to take over the Iwaki's position after the assassination. Into the household of Sanshō a young samurai named Kanamenosuke is brought to be executed for a crime he did not commit. Kanamenosuke used to be a vassal of Iwaki and is searching for his lord's children, Anju and Zushiō. O-San recognizes Kanamenosuke, whom she had seen in town and with whom she had fallen in love. She learns that he will be executed at dawn, and panics when morning approaches and the roosters begin to crow. She tries furiously to catch the roosters and stop their morning cry, lest they signal the time of execution. In a frenzy, she suddenly realizes that she is crowing as one of the roosters, and jumping and flying as well. This is the climactic scene in which O-San sings passionately and pitifully.

She is dressed in a red kimono, which reminds the audience of a rooster's red comb. In this act she is almost insane with the despair of losing her love by her own father's torture, and the color red symbolizes the madness of worldly passion. It snows. Despondent over her affliction, O-san cuts her own throat, in the desperate hope that her suicide might save Kanamenosuke from execution. Thus, the color red symbolizes O-san's tragic love, insanity, and bloodshed, while also associating her with a rooster[15].

[14] It used to be a very common belief in Japan, which obviously is a derogation of Buddhist Karma theory, that the evil deeds of a parent would bring grave misfortune upon their child.

[15] Chickens were a popular domestic bird for eggs and were often the subject of Japanese paintings. One of the most admired artists, ITO Jakucho, created a series of paintings in which roosters were the main motif. Sjisai-Sokei-zu (Rooster and Hen with Hydrangeas), for example, was

It contrasts beautifully on stage against the white snow. [16]

painted in mid-18th century, about the time the *SD* kabuki was very popular. It expresses the similarity in passion and beauty of red with above quoted kabuki ukiyo-e (woodblock print).





伊藤若冲「紫陽花双鶏図」ITO Chakuchu, "Rooster and Hen with Hydrangeas", 18th century (Etsuko & Joe Price Collection).

[16] 三世豊国「三荘太夫」「娘おさん」「元吉要之助」1852（所蔵：舞鶴市糸井文庫）Sansei Toyokuni (Toyokuni the third). (From the right) "Sanshō-Dayu, Maiden O-San, Motoyoshi Kanamenosuke", 1852 (with permission from Itoi Bunko, Maizuru City).

コレコレ鶏よ、今宵一夜は、例へ夜が明けても、必ず時を諷うてたもるなや。

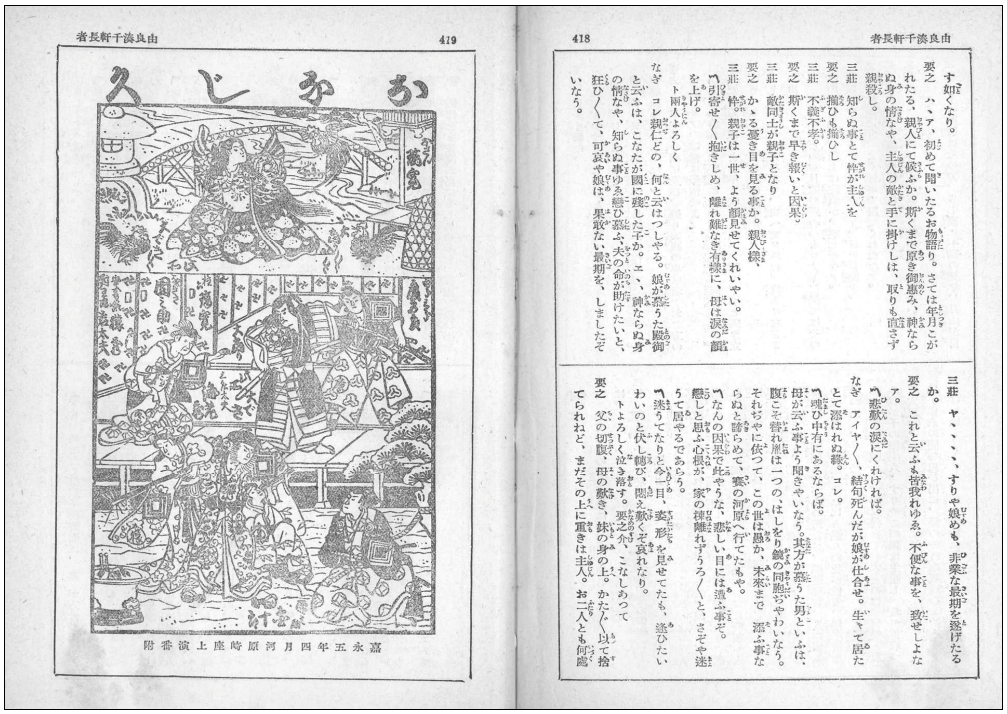
一番鶏がいとしいいとしい殿御のお命。鶏も心があるならば、必ず諷うてたもるなや。・・・

あゝ、浅ましや、親の因果が身に報い、この姿となったれば、所詮この世に生き存らへる心はなし。オゝそれよ。この身を殺して夫に代わり、殿御の命を、助けいで置かうか。

念力凝っては髪逆立ち、とさかを怒らし白雪を、蹴立てて踏み立て待合に、掛けたる一腰逆手に取り、鶏の報いを目前に、咽喉笛さけば血は紅、恐ろしなんども。[17]

"Oh, cockerel, please don't cry for the dawn, but just for night. The first crowing announces my lover's last minute of life. If you have a heart,

[17]「由良湊千軒長者」『続義太夫時代物集』TAKEDA. *Yura Minato Sengen Choja* [The Rich Man with A Thousand Houses, Who Lived Near Yura Harbor] in: *Zoku Gidayu Jidaimono-shu* [The Second Series of Gidayu Historical Play Collection]: 412-13. In the top illustration, O-san has her kimono sleeves like wings of a rooster. She is trying to catch birds as the dawn approaches.



> rooster, please, please don't crow. ... How wretched am I, cursed rooster-maiden because of my father's evil! I have no hope to stay in this world. Oh, yes, why don't I kill myself and help my lover instead". Her hair swells with passion, crest rigid in anger. She scatters white snowflakes careening about in the snow, and grasps a sword from its stand, clutching it to herself; at the very moment of her transformation she cuts her maiden throat deeply to shed blood, red blood. Words cannot describe the horror.

In the next act, Kanamenosuke, Anju and Zushiō are brought to Sanshō's court. When Sanshō is about to kill Kanamenosuke, the young man naturally defends himself and strikes Sanshō in turn, but not fatally. During their struggle, Sanshō notices Kanamenosuke's sword; it is a family heirloom, the same that he left to his infant son upon impetuously deserting his first wife. Thus Sanshō realizes that Kanamenosuke is his son, whom he hasn't seen since he was an infant. Recognizing that he was about to kill his own son, Sanshō is overwhelmed with regret and kills himself with the same sword. With his dying breath Sanshō reveals his secret and the implications become clear to the audience. So great was Sanshō's sinfulness that his Karma condemned his daughter O-San to unknowingly fall desperately in love with her own half-brother, Kanamenosuke.

TAKEDA created O-San in the kabuki play, a new victim of the vicious Sanshō. She is half human and half bird, and so is placed lower in the hierarchy of Buddhist Karma. The kabuki scenario emphasizes punishment of evil but does not describe the salvation of O-san, who suffers the most of all. This is in contrast to the medieval versions of *SD* where Anju becomes a Bodhisattva and Zushiō a hero. Their fates were consistent with the medieval perspective that suffering should be rewarded in one way or the other. The evil side of human nature and society is taken for granted, and the storyteller as well as audience does not resist or try to change it, but is instead interested in religious salvation via miracles. Anju was a victim but resurrected as a deity in the legend. She was real to the people of medieval Japan as Bodhisattvas were considered real in their lives. On the other hand, kabuki was secular entertainment for people of the mid 18th century, so Sanshō's unhappy family was accordingly perceived as more fictional than realistic to the religious mind. Even so, the helpless O-San is too sad to see; she is powerless against the raging currents of a male dominated society.

3. CONCLUSION

It is quite striking to see the change in the primary female character from that described in the religious narrative of the medieval *SD* versions that I discussed in Part 1 of this paper, to the female protagonist of the theatrical versions. In the religious narrative Anju becomes a demi-goddess Bodhisattva even though she has not yet reached womanhood. She is determined to keep her dignity and saves her

brother's life and her family's honor. She also does not give up her life out of despair. In contrast, the main female character of the theatrical *SD* is totally dependent upon men for her destiny. Anju of the ko-jōruri puppet play is tortured for nothing and must be saved by the samurai warrior Kohachirō, only to be killed accidentally by her beloved and long-lost mother. Anju in the gidayu puppet play is even more specifically buffeted by a man's desire. She sleeps with the man she hates above all others in order to allow her brother to escape. Though this act can be paralleled with the severe torture she receives in the medieval narrative, using sexuality in this way prevents her from becoming a sacred figure after death in the gidayu *SD*. On the other hand, the fierce torture she bravely endures in the religious narrative uplifts her to become a sacrificial lamb.

The change of the main female character in the kabuki version of *SD* is even more drastic. O-san is now the main female character, rather than Anju. She is cursed by the evil of her father Sanshō-Dayu, and cannot control her life at all. She unknowingly commits the sin of loving her half-brother, and is condemned to a lower hierarchy of Buddhist Karma for being half-woman, half-bird. Her situation, that a daughter suffers for the sins of her parent is not unique to the kabuki play. Anju in the itako-saimon version (examined in Part 1 of this article) is forced to suffer because her mother's suspected extramarital affair and, of course, her father is outrageously cruel in punishment. But the significant difference is that O-San is a total victim of destiny and cannot save herself, while Anju in itako-saimon survives torture, escapes to reunite her family, and ultimately becomes a mountain goddess. It is worth noting, too, that in the kabuki it is not Anju who becomes the bird-woman. TAKEDA, the scenario writer, created the new character of O-San, instead of changing Anju. The reason for this is not certain; it may have been because complicated human drama was popular at that time and because the evil of Sanshō-Dayu and his secret had to be spotlighted. At the same time, I believe that TAKEDA dared not contaminate the character of Anju, knowing she was a representative of the sacred female personality in the long oral tradition.

The *Sanshō-Dayu* story became a drama reflecting the lives of men and women in a warrior-dominated society. There, Anju is a helpless human figure and Zushiō is an idealized hero. The male characters such as Heizo, Kohachiro and Saburō are important characters who experience adventures and character development. Was there any element, then, that continued from the old narrative to the theatrical versions? The answer is yes: the compassion of the main female character. Whether she is Anju or O-San, and either in a sacred or worldly way, the major female character sacrifices herself for the other. She is a victim, as well as a stepping-stone for the life of whoever she believes is more important than herself. She is the one whose love appeals to the audience most. She is the most unfortunate, but also the most compassionate, as if her spiritual power rewards her lack of fortune. This kind of superhuman compassion in women is an enduring

trait, powerful motivator, and through line in Japanese culture. I shall examine this point further in Part 3 of this paper.[18]

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[18] I am very grateful to Mr. Jun Ohnuki for suggestions on making my English sound natural, and Ms. Yuko Kawauchi who gave me useful information about gidayu and kabuki. Jun is an independent editor and graphic designer living in Los Angeles and Yuko is a doctoral student in early modern Japanese literature at Ritsumeikan University in Kyoto.

MEANING OF DEATH IN TRAGIC LOVE SONGS: COMPARISON BETWEEN KOREAN NARRATIVE SONGS AND ANGLO-AMERICAN BALLADS

YOUNGSOOK SUH

ABSTRACT

In this paper, I investigate how the meaning of death is presented in tragic love songs by comparing Korean narrative songs and Anglo-American ballads. I explore tragic love songs in which couples could only make a real marriage after their deaths. Particularly, I shed light on how the circumstances of marriage and a sequence of events appear in the songs by looking at the structures and metaphors of the songs and singers' perceptions of the songs. In the Korean narrative song *Mr. Lee's first daughter*, for example, a man cannot accept a woman due to their different social classes. A similar case appears in the Anglo-American ballad *Lord Thomas and fair Annet* (Child #73). A man abandons his lover and chooses another girl due to her large dowry. In both contexts, those marriages without love were common in the middle ages. The marriages, however, were broken up by death in these songs. This means that the couple can escape from reality only through death. Furthermore, singers expressed their desires to make their love come true in songs with these unbelievable, mysterious motifs such as transmigration to butterflies in Korean songs or the roses and briars in Anglo-American ballads. This can be interpreted as people wanting to be united with their love even after death and wishing for their love not to be forbidden by anyone.

Keywords: Korean Narrative Song, Anglo-American Ballad, Tragic Love Song, death, transformation, butterflies, the roses and briars.

1. INTRODUCTION

There are plenty of love songs represented in the collection of Korean narrative songs and Anglo-American ballads.[1] However, they are mostly tragic; one of the lovers or both of them die because their love cannot be requited. Moreover, it is

[1] Korean narrative songs and Anglo-American ballads are orally transmitted folksongs and tell stories which include specific characters, events and settings. The genre names are used conventionally in this paper without discussing generic differentiation. Anglo-American ballads means English, Scottish and American ballads transmitted in English.

worthy of note that the dead lovers are revived as other living things in these love songs. The songs show the primitive beliefs of the women who have mainly transmitted them. I will investigate the meaning of death and revival in the tragic love songs. "Mr. Lee's first daughter"[2] of the Korean narrative songs and "Lord Thomas and fair Annet" (Child #73) of the Anglo-American ballads will be exemplified as the representative types. Each of these types is amongst the most popular narrative songs in the Korean and Anglo-American traditions.

In addition, I will explore not only the commonalities and differences of two types formed in different cultures, but also the status and circumstances of women since the middle ages. The comparison between Korean narrative songs and Anglo-American songs will shed light on how women in distant countries have expressed their own feelings and situations either similarly or differently through these songs. It will show the cultural features and the common or different methods of women's expression during the middle ages in Western and Eastern societies.[3] The materials of Korean narrative songs are selected mainly from *The Comprehensive Collection of Korean Folklore* (85 volumes, the Academy of Korean Studies 1980-1989) and other collections of traditional folksongs, the materials of Anglo-American ballads are chosen from *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (5 volumes, F. J. Child 1882-1898).[4]

2. MEANING AND NARRATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF "MR. LEE'S FIRST DAUGHTER"

The Korean narrative song "Mr. Lee's first daughter" is a type about the tragic love between an elite man and a common, but beautiful, woman.[5] This type

[2] This is my translation of the Korean song title "이사원네 맏딸애기 (Leesaweonne Mattalaegi)" into English. I am going to use the English title translated as the representative title of this type in this paper.

[3] Dongil Cho (1970) examined the generic features and functions of Korean narrative songs as the weaving songs of common women. I (Youngsook Suh 2009) have surveyed and researched the type structure and meaning of these songs after type classification of these narrative songs. Comparison between Korean narrative songs and English ballads was explored by Cheondeuk Pi and Myeongho Sim (1971), Gyuman Han (1988), and me (Youngsook Suh 2014a, 2014b, 2015a, 2015b). These were all published in Korean, so this paper would be the first work of Korean narrative songs written in English. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 46th Kommission für Volksdichtung International Ballad Conference (27th June – 1st July 2016, University of Limerick).

[4] The Academy of Korean Studies surveyed and collected over 21,000 materials of oral literature. These materials have been digitized and serviced on the Jangseogak Royal Archives (http://yoksa.aks.ac.kr/main.jsp). I could find 1,667 narrative songs and classified them into 64 types. The five volume series edited by F.J. Child include 305 types and their variants (there are 1,212 versions in total). These have been the groundwork for English language ballad scholarship.

[5] This type is one of the most popular narrative song types along with "a daughter-in-law who becomes a Buddhist nun", "a wife who kills herself due to her husband's affair" and "a woman who weaves her husband's cloth". I could find 67 versions of "Mr. Lee's first daughter" in *The Comprehensive Collection of Korean Folklore* and other collections.

consists of a shocking story, where a woman calls down a curse upon a man who is going to marry another woman. As a result of the curse, he dies on his wedding day. It deals with the most important and substantial subjects of humanity such as love, marriage and death, and it shows the various aspects of social reality and women's perceptions related to marriage.

The story of "Mr. Lee's first daughter" is as follows:

1) A man falls in love with Mr. Lee's first daughter. He tries to see her several times, but fails.

2) Mr. Lee's first daughter tempts him to come into her room, but he rejects her invitation because he has to study hard for the examination to become an official.

3) She curses him to die on his wedding day.

4) On the day of his wedding, which was prearranged by his parents, he dies. His bride laments his death and her miserable fate.

5) His bier clings to the ground in front of the Mr. Lee's house and is detached when Mr. Lee's first daughter puts her underwear on his coffin.

6) He is buried in a place where Mr. Lee's first daughter will pass through on her wedding day. When she goes to marry, she rests beside his grave.

7) His grave opens suddenly and she enters into his grave. After a while, a couple of butterflies come out of his grave and fly up to heaven.

"Mr. Lee's first daughter" is composed of core events and many auxiliary events.[6] The core events of this type are; 1) a woman tempting a man to come into her room, and 2) the woman cursing him to die as the man refuses it. These events are the specific ones that are fixed in this type. Many variants are formed according to how the auxiliary events are combined with the core events. The auxiliary events appear not only in this type but also in the other types and other narrative genres. The auxiliary events of "Mr. Lee's first daughter" are as follows; a man loses his parents in his childhood, a woman adorns herself and a man tries to see her, a man remarries a concubine and his wife curses him, a bride laments over the groom's death and her misfortune, a woman and her beloved are transmigrated into butterflies after death.

어제아래 왔는 새선보가 숨이깔딱 넘어갔다

The new bridegroom who came yesterday breathed his last breath.

천동걸이 올러와가 머리로 짚어보니 숨이깔딱 넘어 죽었구나

[6] A narrative song consists of several events. They can be divided into core events and auxiliary events. Core events are fixed ones to a certain type, while auxiliary events are floating ones common to several types and other narrative genres. Therefore, core events are essential elements for a certain type, while the auxiliary events are attached to core events to make a rich story. Many variants of a type are formed according to how the auxiliary events are combined with the core events. Youngsook Suh (2011) analyzed the structure and transmission aspects of "Mr. Lee's first daughter". The term core events are similar to 'Plot Gist' (G. List 1968) or 'Narrative Unit' (D.K. Wilgus 1970).

The bride comes like thunder and touches his forehead, “He breathed his last breath.”

이웬일고 이웬일고

What’s happened? What’s happened?

걸머슴아 사방을 댕기메여 상두꾼을 구해바라

Servants outside, go around and bring bier-carriers.

큰머슴아 짚동한동 풀어씰어 행상방을 씰케하라

Servants inside, cut straws and spread them down in the bier room.

서른둘이 상두군이 발을맞차 신체실고 간다간다 나는간다

Thirty two bier-carriers march in step carrying the body, “go, go, I go.”

이선달네 맏딸애기 시집가는 갈림질에 묻어노니

He is buried under the road Mr. Lee’s daughter takes to go to her wedding,

이선달네 맏딸애기 시집을 가다가보니

Mr. Lee’s daughter is on the way to her wedding,

거게서니 시집을 가다가 거게서니

Her palanquin stops on the way to her wedding,

가매채가 닐앉고 꿈적도 아니하니

Her palanquin is stuck in the ground and doesn’t move,

거게 니라노니 미대가리 벌어지디

The top of the grave cracks all of a sudden,

새파란 나부 나오더니 치매 검어지고가고

A blue butterfly comes out and takes her skirt into the grave,

붉은 나부 나오더니 저구리 검어지고

A red butterfly comes out and takes her coat into the grave,

푸른 나부 나오더니 허리 담삭안고 미속으로 드까부고

A blue butterfly comes out and clasps her waist into the grave,

이세상에 원한지고 시원지거 후세상에 만내가주

The resentment and hatred we had in this world,

원한풀고 시원실고 다시한분 살아보자

Let’s cast off the resentment and live again in the other world. (Dongil Cho 1970, G30, translated by Youngsook Suh)

This is the ending part of a version of “Mr. Lee’s first daughter”. In this part, the bridegroom dying on his wedding day is the core event; while his burial under the road Mr. Lee’s daughter takes to her wedding, the butterflies coming out of his

grave, and taking Mr. Lee's first daughter being taken into the grave are the auxiliary events. These auxiliary events make this song not only rich and beautiful but also more fantastic and romantic.

This type, "Mr. Lee's first daughter", can be classified into two main subtypes according to who curses the bridegroom; the subtype 'death caused by a maiden's curse' and the subtype 'death caused by a wife's curse'. These subtypes have in common the desire for love and frustration with it. Moreover, they also express the hope of a true relationship between husband and wife tied with love. On the other hand, each subtype expresses different narrative characteristics and perceptions of reality.

The subtype 'death caused by a maiden's curse' expresses the maiden's desire for love and focuses on the frustration of hopeless love as the most simple, basic one of this type. This subtype has supernatural motifs – i.e., the transmigration to butterflies or birds – and illustrates the paradoxical realization of hopeless love.[7] On the contrary, the subtype 'death caused by a wife's curse' focuses on the legal wife's criticism of the husband getting a concubine. In this subtype, the hero is a married man and is cursed by his wife because he remarries another woman. In this case, Mr. Lee's first daughter is the other woman who becomes a second wife, or concubine. Moreover, the supernatural transformation motif does not appear in this subtype, so it becomes more realistic than the subtype 'death caused by a maiden's curse'. This subtype 'death caused by a wife's curse' could have been changed by the perspective of the first wives who were the main audience of this type.

The various subtypes have been formed by a sense of criticism of the society in which love and marriage by free will was impossible. The suppressed desire for love in reality changed to hatred for a man (or husband) who betrayed her, so the hatred was expressed with the curse for the man in these songs. Moreover, "Mr. Lee's first daughter" revealed the compassion and sense of camaraderie between women who lived unfortunately because of the absence of love. As a result of that, "Mr. Lee's first daughter" could have been transmitted not only by maidens who had the desire for love, but also by married women who had critical perceptions of irrational reality.

3. MEANING AND NARRATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF "LORD THOMAS AND FAIR ANNET"

The Anglo-American ballad "Lord Thomas and fair Annet" (Child #73) is a type known as the most widely distributed in Britain as well as in America, with the exception of "Bonny Barbara Allan" (Child #84). This type tells the shocking,

[7] Some versions concentrate on the bride's sorrow and frustration with her deprived life as a widow. It could be classified into another subtype, 'a bride's lament over her groom's death', but I assume that it is a variation of the subtype 'death caused by a maiden's curse'.

tragic story of a bride who kills her bridegroom's former lover, and, as the result of it, the three main characters – the bride, bridegroom and his lover – all die on the wedding day. Moreover, the narrative aspects that this type has, the supernatural motifs, and the transmissions into many subtypes are worthy of note.

The story of "Lord Thomas and fair Annet" is as follows:

1) Lord Thomas and Annet love each other, but they do not express their feelings well.

2) The mother (and other relatives except a sister) of Thomas compels him to marry the 'brown girl' for her dowry.

3) Lord Thomas makes up his mind to get married to the brown girl and lets Annet know about his wedding.

4) Fair Annet adorns herself and appears at the wedding.

5) The bride, brown girl, is jealous of Annet and kills her. So, Lord Thomas kills the bride and himself.

6) Thomas and Annet are buried side by side in the churchyard. Roses and briars grow from their graves and become entwined.

"Lord Thomas and fair Annet" is composed of core events and many auxiliary events. The core events are specific ones that are fixed in this type. These are as follows; 1) a man consults his mother as to whether he should marry his lover or the brown girl with large dowry, 2) the forsaken lover goes to his wedding, 3) the lover and the bride confront each other and the bride is jealous of the lover, 4) the lover and the bridegroom die and are buried.

Plenty of versions are formed according to how the auxiliary events combine with the core events. The auxiliary events are not essential to this type, but describe details of the story. These are as follows; A man and a woman have a quarrel, a woman adorns herself and prepares to go to her beloved's wedding, the bride kills the groom's former lover, the bridegroom kills the bride and himself, the forsaken woman dies at home and appears at the foot of bride & groom's bed, the groom dreams of his lover's death, the groom goes to his dead lover's bower and dies by kissing her corpse, roses and briars which grow from the lovers' graves are entwined.

These auxiliary events are not fixed in this type, but are combined in other types, for example, in "Fair Margaret and Sweet William" (Child #74) and "Lord Lovel" (Child #75), the forsaken woman is not murdered by the bride, but dies from her own frustration and grief. However, "Lord Thomas and fair Annet" and these types have a correlative relation owing to the shared motifs of the protagonist man dying due to his beloved's death and the love of the man and his beloved proven by the roses and briars growing from their graves.[8]

[8] Barre Toelken and D. K. Wilgus (1986:130) argued, "This image appears only at the end of ballads in which lovers have been separated by such negative factors as bad parental advice, war, or travel. The reuniting of the plants over the graves of the young couple provides a physical union not allowed them in the action of the story."

"Lord Thomas and fair Annet" can be classified into two main subtypes according to the reason of the lover's death: the subtype 'death caused by murder' and the subtype 'death caused by grief'. The subtype 'death caused by murder' consists of the following auxiliary events: the bride killing the former lover and the bridegroom killing himself and the bride. On the contrary, the auxiliary events of the subtype 'death caused by grief' are that the forsaken woman dies at home and appears at the foot of the bride and groom's bed; that the groom dreams of his lover's death; and that the groom goes to his dead lover's bower and dies because he kisses her corpse.

73A.25 The bride she drew a long bodkin
Frae out her gay head-gear,
And strake Fair Annet unto the heart,
That word spak nevir mair.
73A.26 Lord Thomas he saw Fair Annet wex pale,
And marvelit what mote bee;
But whan he saw her dear heart's blude,
A' wood-wroth wexed hee.
73A.27 He drew his dagger, that was sae sharp,
That was sae sharp and meet,
And drave it into the nut-browne bride,
That fell deid at his feit.
73A.28 'Now stay for me, dear Annet,' he sed,
'Now stay, my dear,' he cry'd;
Then strake the dagger untill his heart,
And fell deid by her side.
73A.29 Lord Thomas was buried without kirk-wa,
Fair Annet within the quiere,
And o the tane thair grew a birk,
The other a bonny briere.
73A.30 And ay they grew, and ay they threw,
As they wad faine be neare;
And by this ye may ken right weil
They were twa luvers deare. (Child #73A)

This is the ending part of "Lord Thomas and fair Annet" (Child #73A). The core event in this part is that the bridegroom and his lover die and are buried. The auxiliary events combined with the core event are that the bride kills the groom's former lover, that the bridegroom kills the bride and himself, and that the roses and briars grow out of their grave. Therefore, the A version is included in the subtype 'death caused by murder', because the cause of death in this version is murder.

The subtype ‘death caused by murder’ expresses the forsaken woman’s resentment directly and extremely. The heroine’s pride and self-esteem are revealed through her attitude and adornment, while the murder convinces the groom of his love for the heroine. This subtype shows the common reality of middle ages, that love marriages were impossible, and emphasizes that marriages should not be made up by financial interest, but by the love.

73F.32 Her father was at her heed, her heed,
Her mother at her feet,
Her sister she was at her side,
Puttin on her winding sheet.
73F.33 ‘It’s kiss will I yer cheek, Annie,
And kiss will I your chin,
And I will kiss your wan, wan lips,
Tho there be no breath within.
73F.34 ‘Ye birl, ye birle at my luve’s wake
The white bread and the wine,
And or the morn at this same time
Ye’ll brile the same at mine.’
73F.35 They birled, they birled at Annies wake
The white bread and the wine,
And ere the morn at that same time
At his they birled the same.
73F.36 The one was buried at Mary’s kirk,
The other at Mary’s quire,
And throw the one there sprang a birk,
And throw the other a brier.
73F.37 And ay at every year’s ane
They grew them near and near,
And every one that passed them by
Said, They be lovers dear. (Child #73 F)

This is another ending part of “Lord Thomas and fair Annet” (Child #73F). The core event in this part is the same as version A, but the auxiliary events are absolutely different. Either the forsaken woman dies at home and appears at the foot of the bride and groom’s bed, or the groom dreams of his lover’s death; then the groom goes to his dead lover’s bower and dies by kissing her corpse. Therefore, the version F is included in the subtype ‘death caused by grief’.

The subtype ‘death caused by grief’ does not show a big difference compared to the former subtype ‘death caused by murder’. However, this subtype becomes more moral through deleting the violent murder motifs. Instead, it carries

supernatural motifs such as the revenant of a dead woman,[9] the dream of the beloved's death, and the prophecy of one's own death. These motifs effectively emphasize the couple's tragic, sincere love through phenomena transcending reality. It shows the paradoxical reality that such a love marriage cannot be accomplished in reality.

4. COMMONALITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN KOREAN NARRATIVE SONGS AND ANGLO-AMERICAN BALLADS

I examined the meaning and characteristics of the Korean narrative song "Mr. Lee's first daughter" and the Anglo-American ballad "Lord Thomas and fair Annet". These songs both deal with subjects of love, marriage and death. I could find commonalities between these two types of narrative songs transmitted in different cultures. These are as follows:

1) A man and a woman fall in love. However, their love is not completed because of their status differences such as class and wealth.

2) A man is going to get married to another woman.

3) The wedding is broken up because of the groom's death.

4) The woman who loved the groom also dies.

5) After the lovers' deaths, their love is accomplished through transmigration.

However, these types have some differences:

1) The reason of death. In the Korean type "Mr. Lee's first daughter", the woman curses the man to die when he gets married to another woman. The curse is realized through his death. However, in the Anglo-American type "Lord Thomas and fair Annet", specifically in the subtype 'death caused by murder', the woman is killed by the bride and then the bridegroom kills his bride and himself. In the end, the main characters - bride, bridegroom and the forsaken woman - all die. However, in the subtype 'death caused by grief', the killing does not happen, but the forsaken woman's revenant appears in front of the groom and, like the forsaken woman, he dies of grief instead.

The cause of death in one is the curse, in the other murder (or grief). It is supernatural for a human to die by a curse. Korean people have believed in the power of curse and, moreover, that the power of a woman's curse is much stronger. Therefore, curses were considered to be indirect murder. We can find many historical examples where black magic was used to harm someone in the middle ages.

On the contrary, in "Lord Thomas and fair Annet", the cause of death is murder. Unwanted marriage calls for killing the rival or himself (or herself). The

[9] It can be considered a 'revenant'. David Buchan (1986: 145) explained, "The term 'revenant' is employed rather than 'ghost' since it connotes a corporeal creature, a substantial person acting like a human being because he or she is to all appearances a human being, though one returned from the Otherworld." Lowry C. Wimberly (1928, rpt. 1965) and Hugh Shields (1972) also researched the revenant in ballad traditions.

forsaken woman goes to her beloved's wedding, even though everybody around her opposed it. This Anglo-American type is more realistic than the Korean type "Mr. Lee's first daughter". In "Lord Thomas and fair Annet", the grief of the main characters is emphasized more strongly by the realness of the situation. However, it is interesting that the case becomes similar to "Mr. Lee's first daughter" in the subtype 'the death caused by grief' by increasing the supernatural motifs.

2) The method of reunion after death. In both the Korean type and the Anglo-American type, these miserable couples are reunited after death. They show the paradox of reality that it was impossible for common people to accomplish their desire for love in life. However, the methods of reunion are different. In the Korean type, the man's grave opens and the woman goes into the grave, then they are transmigrated into a couple of butterflies. In the Anglo-American type, roses and briars grow from the lovers' graves and become entwined.

Korean people have believed humans are reborn as other living things after death. Butterflies are creatures which fly free and seem very close together in a couple. Singers who have sung this type might desire to fly out from oppressed circumstances. Breaking up the grave and changing into butterflies signifies the hidden, strong desire to break up the social system.

Anglo-American people seem to have similar beliefs as Korean people. They also believed in transmigration; however, it is less apparent compared to the Korean type. This Anglo-American type seems influenced by Christianity, although transmigration is a sort of ancient, pagan belief. The fact that the roses and briars grow to the top of church indicates the mixture of folk beliefs and Christianity.[10] Moreover, it symbolizes that their love transcends all sorts of authorities and should not be forbidden by any kind of obstacles.

5. CONCLUSION: MEANING AND FUNCTION OF TRAGIC LOVE SONGS

Korean narrative songs and Anglo-American ballads have very similar motifs and ideas, even though these two genres have been transmitted in different cultures. However, they also show distinct features in the details of the types. In this paper, I investigated how the narrative characteristics are presented in tragic love songs by comparing the Korean narrative songs and Anglo-American ballads. I specifically explored the meaning of love songs about tragedies in which couples could only have real marriages after their deaths.

In the middle ages, all decisions regarding marriage, even who to be married to, were decided by parents and other family members, not the couple themselves.

[10] Evelyn Kendrick Wells (1950: 176) argued, "Ballad matter is largely secular, embodying themes not limited to Christian times or moral attitudes; and for many reasons traditional song has absorbed very little, either in theme or allusion, that may be attributed to Christian influences." Youngsook Suh and Pori Park (2017) investigated the mixture of folk beliefs and the official religion (Buddhism or Christianity) in Korean narrative songs and Anglo-American ballads.

From the groom's family's perspective, getting married has been considered a way of increasing assets as the bride had to bring a dowry to her family-in-law. Marriage was not considered a union between a male and a female, but rather a union of families. These circumstances are well reflected in the traditional narrative songs and ballads.

In the Korean narrative song "Mr. Lee's first daughter", a man cannot accept a woman due to their different social classes. A similar case appears in the Anglo-American ballad "Lord Thomas and fair Annet" (Child #73). A man abandons his lover and chooses another girl due to her large dowry. In both social contexts, those marriages without love were common in the middle ages. The marriages, however, were broken up by death in these songs. This means that the couple can escape reality only through death.

Furthermore, singers expressed their desires to make their love come true through songs with unbelievable, mysterious motifs such as the transmigration to butterflies in Korean narrative songs or to roses and briars in Anglo-American ballads. It can be interpreted that these motifs showed that women wanted to be united with their lovers even after death and that love could not be forbidden by anyone. They could break the social customs prohibiting free love marriages in their imagination.

Therefore, the tragic love songs have functioned not only as healers of pain from unwanted marriages, but also as the apparatus to overcome the patriarchal marriage system. We cannot deny the fact that women could have recognized their circumstances as suppression which could be removed through singing these songs, and this recognition has been the basis of gender equality oriented society.

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TOURIST ANIMATION – A CHANCE FOR ADDING VALUE TO TRADITIONAL HERITAGE: CASE STUDIES IN THE LAND OF MARAMUREŞ (ROMANIA)

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ABSTRACT

The majesty and the imagination of the rural population, of its singers and artisans, are obvious in each of the villages of the Land of Maramureş. This value seems to flourish and grow each and every time there is a traditional – and more recently, Christian – celebration; each of these celebrations being, in fact, opportunities and occasions to revive and animate the Maramureş village. Within this scientific endeavour we present three case studies, three tourism animation best practices organised on the occasion of, or at the same time as, traditional Christian celebrations: *Easter* and *St. George's Day* (in the *Museum of the Maramureş Village* in Sighetu Marmaţiei)*, the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin (în the village Săpânţa)* and *Christmas* (in the city of Sighetu Marmaţiei). These three manifestations of different ages delve into important tangible and intangible heritage values. They remain deeply connected to the religious celebrations that inspired them, celebrations of utmost importance in the life and minds of Maramureş' inhabitants. At the same time, these events being a promotion of local values, through related tourism activities are and can increasingly be an important source of income for the local population. Taking place in different seasons of the year (spring, summer, winter) the three cultural events constructed around these celebrations are known as *Easter in Maramureş* (since 2013), *The Long Road to the Merry Cemetery* (since 2010) and the *The Marmaţia Winter Festival of Rituals and Traditions* (since 1969). These are three (3) occasions when a part of the local inhabitants wears the so-called *popular* or traditional folk costumes, ancient *outfits* that vary from village to village, times when local craftsmen expose their unique creations. The three case studies are examples of good practices through which the tangible and intangible heritage values, be they ancient or more recent, of an authentic and well-documented specific geographical space, are valued by *local actors*.

Keywords: The Land of Maramureş, tangible and intangible heritage, Easter in Maramureş, Marmaţia festival, Săpânţa, Sighetu Marmaţiei.

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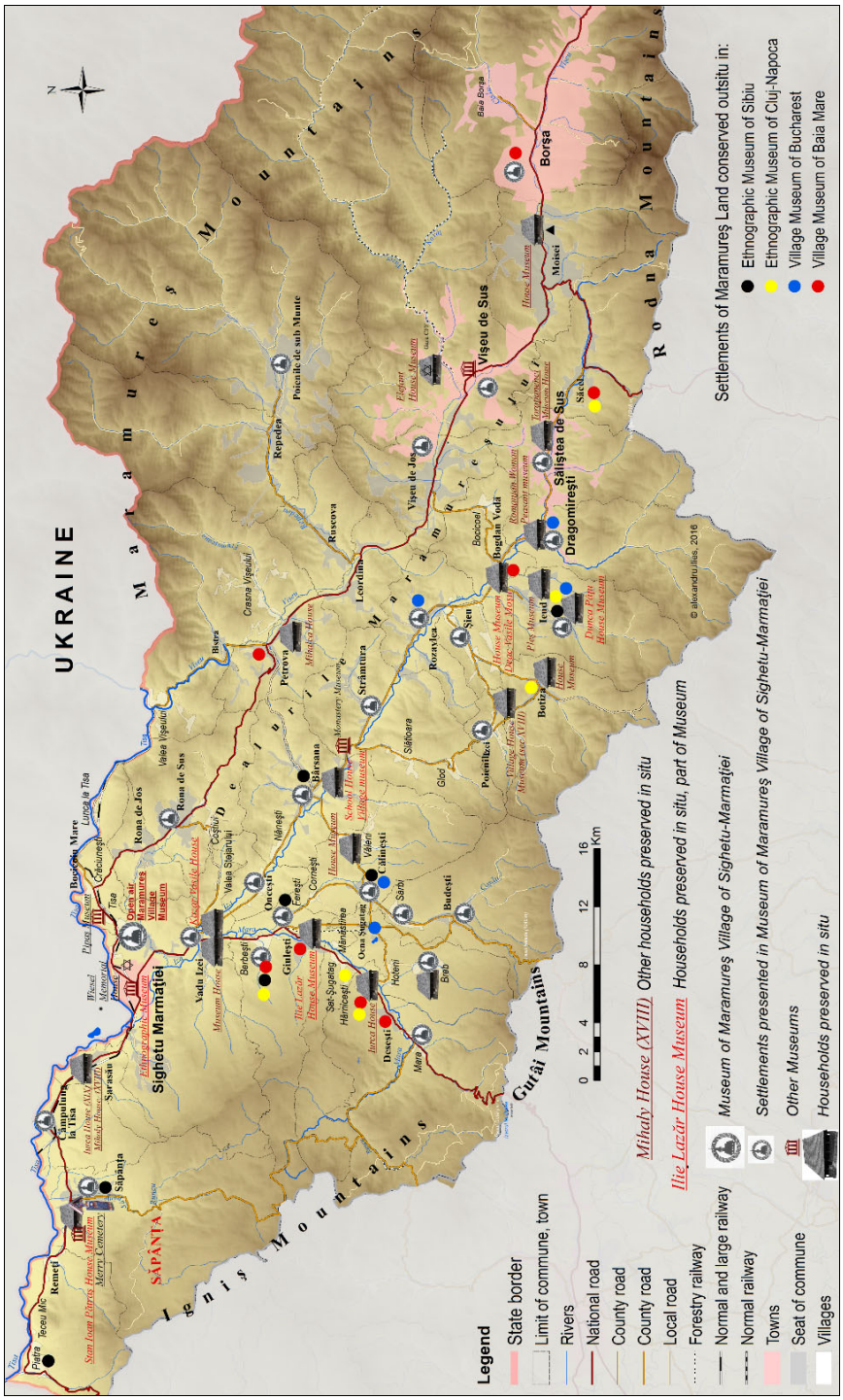


Fig. 1 – Maramureș Land. The Museums and house museum preserved *in situ* (in village) and *out situ* in Maramureș Village Museum from Sighetu Marmației and other ethnographic museums from Romania.

1. INTRODUCTION

The geographic area of the Land of Maramureş covers 3,351 sqkm and comprises around 204,645 inhabitants[1]. From the administrative point of view, the population is distributed across municipium Sighetu Marmației, 4 towns (Borșa, Dragomirești, Vișeu de Sus and Săliștea de Sus) and 31 communes made of one or more villages. In total there are 60 settlements (municipailities, towns and villages). The diverse heterogenity from both the ethnical[1] (Romanians 78.4%, Ukrainians 15.9%, Hungarians 4.32%, Germans, Jews, Roma etc) and confessional perspectives[1] (the majority are Romanian Othodox, there is a significant Greek-Catholic presence and a smaller number of Protestants and Roman-Catholics) has over time grafted a great variety of specific elements onto what was already an important ancient tangible and intangible traditional culture. For each religious feast or each calendaristic moment marking specific traditional activities, the local population of the Land of Maramureş created just as many occasions for celebration, for family and community reunion. More recently the joy of these events has become accessible to friends and visitors from outside the province's historical borders. In the year 2016, we identified, within the analysed space, no less than 70 traditional celebrations and specific manifestations or events[2], unfolding according to seasons, more or less connected to feasts in the religious calendar. As international migration accelerates, through which a large number of the young people of Maramureş leave to work abroad, religious celebrations such as *Christmas, St. John the Baptist's Day, Palm Sunday, Easter, Saint George's Day, Whit Sunday* and the *Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin* have become temporal milestones for the so-called *the village sons* to have homecoming gatherings with family and friends during these celebrations, and therefore step by step these feasts become occasions for (re)animating the Maramureș villages (Fig. 1).

There is a large and diversified range of religious and lay events taking place in almost all villages and towns in Maramureş[3], events that are so diversified and individual that they impose themselves as being truly local tourism attractions[4]. Deserving special mention are the *Christmas/New Years Eve* and *Easter* celebrations which have a very interesting peculiarity worthy of mention in that they are celebrated twice per year according to the population's religious and ethnical affiliation. Thus, while Romanians, Hungarians and Germans, being Orthodox, Greek Catholic and Roman-Catholic, celebrate *Christmas* on 25th December according to the *new* Gregorian calendar, the Ukrainians (of mainly Orthodox religion) and the Romanians from some villages celebrate Christmas 13 days later, on 6th January, according to the *old* Julian religious calendar. *Easter* is also celebrated on two dates: *Easter* for the Orthodox, both Romanians and Ukrainians,

[1] Romanian census (2011): www.insee.ro (retrived in december 2016).
[2] Ilieș-Baias-Deac 2014a:132-135.
[3] Ilieș-Baias-Deac 2014a: 131.
[4] Ilieș-Ilieș-Tătar-Ilieș 2016a.

and for the Greek-Catholics usually falls on a different day/month than *Easter* for the Roman-Catholics and Protestants who are typically of Hungarian and German ethnic origin. Some villages can be almost described as living museums, esspecialy those villages who have also wooden churches[5]. They can only be fully appreciated touristically *in situ*, offering a direct channel for the promotion of tangible and intangible local heritage.

2. METHODOLOGICAL AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

By breathing new life into and dynamizing the people and places of the rural world, touristic animation can represent, through concrete examples and good practices, a viable mechanism for valuing the touristic heritage, particularly that of the Romanian rural world.

According to the specialist scientific literature on the subject, "animation is a method and animation activities are instruments at the hand of the animator, employed in order to create animation"[6]. Through specific methodology and using well-chosen instruments, by involving specialists in the area[7] and by promoting an interdisciplinary approach (geography, etnography, folklore, sociology, history, architecture, economy etc.)[8], through tourism animation, the tangible and intangible rural heritage of a location is identified, re-evaluated, developed and promoted: traditional architecture and rural installations, wooden churches[9], artisans, traditional singers and musicians, heretofore largely anonymous craftsmen or recognized living treasures, even the rural community as an entity in its entirety[10]. Regardless of whether we are talking about a manifestation *in situ* in a specific locality/place, or whether we make use of an authentic framework such as an open-air ethnographic museum, in both cases the number of beneficiaries is constantly increasing. Thus, within the local and regional development strategies of the Land of Maramureș, alongside the numerous active peasant households that can still be found in situ, and that together form the phenomenon that can be collectively referred to as the villages of Maramureș[11], an important part is played by the Museum of the Maramureș Village located in the outskirts of the Sighetu Marmației municipality.

[5] Ilieș-Wendt-Ilieș-Herman-Ilieș-Deac 2016b.

[6] Stănciulescu-Jugănaru 2006: 66.

[7] Godea 1972; Cazelais-Nadeau-Beaudet 2000; Dăncuș-Cristea, 2000; Porumb, 2005; Dăncuș, 2010; Ilieș-Ilieș-Hodor 2014b.

[8] Rotar-Câmpeanu-Sonea-Ilieș-Ilieș, 2006; Stănciulescu-Jugănaru 2006; Ilieș-Ilieș-Josan-Ilieș-Ilieș 2010; Constantin 2012; Godea 2012; Ilieș-Wendt 2014; Ilieș-Ilieș-Hodor 2014b.

[9] Bârcă-Dinescu 1997; Patterson 2001; Man 2005; Porumb 2005; Ilieș-Wendt-Ilieș-Herman-Ilieș-Deac 2016b.

[10] Stahl-Stahl, 1968; Voiculescu-Crețan 2005; Ilieș-Wendt-Ilieș-Josan-Herman 2011; Hurley 2013; Ilieș-Ilieș-Hodor 2014b; Osaci-Costache-Cocoș-Cocoș 2015.

[11] Ilieș-Ilieș-Josan-Grama-Herman-Gozner-Stupariu-Gaceu-Stașac 2009; Ilieș-Wendt-Ilieș-Josan-Herman 2011.

The basis of documentation is represented by a sustained field research activity undertaken on the occasion of each edition of the new events and during the last 10 editions of *The Marmația Winter Festival of Rituals and Traditions*. The information thus obtained is used within strategies for tourism planning and in particular territorial organization[12] elaborating models that can be adapted and applied to other types of local or regional territorial systems.[13] At the same time, this complex and consistent database employs statistical and cartographical models[14]; it can be easily interrogated and is backed up by useful graphic and cartographic representations[15]. Using communication[16] and tourism animation[17] as main pillars for this scientific approach, we integrate the wide range of a comprehensive approach that generates models with multiplier effects for the benefit of the community. The quality and the economic impact of the animation upon a tourism destination is in direct proportion with the value of the area's tourism potential and the level of involvement of the local human resources (directly as much as indirectly), with which, thankfully, the Land of Maramureş is well-endowed.

Thus, the processing of the information gathered from the field, the documentatrion of the bibliography, the employment of a specific methodology and of specific analytical instruments that are oriented on the identification, evaluation, promotion and systemic integration are backed up by a rich and adapted graphical and cartographical representation.

The interdisciplinary character of such a scientific endeavor is to be found in specific literature based on different approaches: having a historical character[18]; on policies for planning, territorial organization and systemic integration[19]; on communication techniques and mechanisms[20]; on regional and local impact[21]; all the aforementioned supporting argument in favour of a scientific approach that benefits society.

3. REALITIES AND BEST PRACTICES

The capitalization *in situ* of the Maramureş village heritage, the animation of the open-air museum and of the museum's houses in various Maramureş villages, during limited periods of time superimposed upon traditional celebrations, may

[12] Murphy 1994; Williams 1998; Ciangă-Dezsi 2007; Gunn-Var 2007; Ilieș 2007; Hall 2009; Ilieș-Dehoorne-Ilieș 2012.

[13] Ianoș 2000; Ilieș-Dehoorne-Ilieș 2012; Opriș-Duțu-Antonescu-Roșu-Mihăilescu-Mihai-Știucă 2012.

[14] Nițulescu 2008.

[15] Ghinoiu 2005; Ilieș-Ilieș-Hotea 2013; Ilieș-Ilieș-Deac 2015; Ilieș-Wendt-Ilieș-Herman-Ilieș-Deac 2016b.

[16] Rotar-Câmpeanu-Sonea-Ilieș-Ilieș, 2006.

[17] Stănciulescu-Jugănaru 2006; Ilieș-Ilieș-Hodor 2014b.

[18] Filipașcu 2002; Ilieș-Ilieș-Josan-Ilieș-Ilieș 2010; Neagotă 2012; Ilieș-Wendt 2014.

[19] Cunha 1998; Ianoș 2000, Ilieș 2006; Ilieș-Wendt-Ilieș-Josan-Herman 2011; Ilieș-Dehoorne-Ilieș 2012; Ilieș-Ilieș-Hotea 2013.

[20] Rotar-Câmpeanu-Sonea-Ilieș-Ilieș, 2006.

[21] Vlad-Ilieș 2014; Hotea-Simion 2015.

generate added value from the economic point of view, may represent a livelihood for the local population, and may satisfy the curiosity of visitors. This phenolmenon, taking on an increasingly prominent role in the life of the Romanian village, be it in situ, in open-air museums or in specially landscaped zones, takes place by transforming both the animator and the visitor into "locals", actively participating in the life of the household, implicitly in the life of the village.[22]

In order to have a success story we need to discover Lucian Blaga's *village-idea* concept, "the village that considers itself to be center of the universe, a sort of *imago mundi*, which lives under cosmic horizons, the place where myth itself has its origins."[23] The village of Săpânța, as indeed all Maramureș villages, identifies itself inherently and passionately with Lucian Blaga's core concept of the *village-idea*.

In this study we will present three models of multiplication and intense promotion of local heritage resources that have had an impact on local community and visitors. They are three successful actions but they differ in many aspects. They have different ages, happen at different times of the year, celebrate different religious feasts and take place in different locations (Fig. 1–2).

A.) *Easter in Maramureș* – since 2014, taking place in springtime, on the second day of Easter (Resurrection), in the municipality Sighetu Marmației, in the grounds of the open-air Museum of the Maramureș Village.

B.) *The Long Road to the Merry Cemetery* – since 2010, taking place in summertime, coinciding with the *Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin* (Saint Mary's Day – 15th August), in Săpânța Village;

C.) *The Marmația Winter Festival of Rituals and Traditions* – since 1965, taking place in wintertime, on the third day after Christmas, in the centre of the municipality of Sighetu Marmației. Its confessional heterogeneity is reflected by a replica to this festival (organised since 2010), according to the Old Christian Calendar (Christmas Day is 6th January) for the Ukrainians, taking place also in Sighetu Marmației and bearing the name *The Ukrainian Winter Festival of Rituals and Traditions*.



Fig. 2 – The banners of the tree events for promoting local heritage resources.

[22] Ispas 2003; Ilieș-Ilieș-Hodor 2014b: 286.
[23] Blaga 1937: 2.

In these three situations we find Lucian Blaga's idea that "Major culture does not repeat minor culture but rather takes it to the sublime…"[24], multiplying and positioning it in her natural resting place, preserving it for eternity.[25]

A. *Easter in Maramureș* in the open-air Museum of the Maramureș Village in Sighetu Marmației: Multiplication of the cultural and tangible value of open air museums and re-connection of the organic relationships between the museum object and its village of origin

Starting from the idea that an open-air museum concentrates in a smaller area the most representative masterpieces that symbolise the tangible and intangible heritage of that cultural space, the multiplication of the economic and cultural potential of this value can be realized through touristic animation, by leveraging the connection between the museum piece itself and the residents of the village from which it originated. A recent cultural manifestation, from 2014, was founded on the second day of Easter in the Museum of the Maramureș Village, on the Doboieș Hill, situated in the Eastern outskirts of the municipality of Sighetu Marmației. For one day, a large part of the museum's houses came to life, thanks to thousands of *villagers* who brought with them traditional decorative elements from the specific villages of origin of the respective houses (Fig. 3),



Fig. 3 - Animators, artists, visitors and *living flame* in the hauseholds of Maramureș Village Museum at St George religious feast during the events *Easter in Maramureș* (photos: A. Ilieș).

[24] Blaga 1937.
[25] Hurley 2014: 294.

supplemented by tourists who had come from all over Romania and abroad in order to get acquainted with Maramureş' customs and traditions.

This approach to valuing the tangible and intangible treasure of the Land of Maramureş is based on the relationship between the household as museum piece and its village of origin, not only in terms of its geographical and historical location but also (indeed moreso), in terms of its native spirit, it's own individual *village-idea.*[26]

If the first component offers the venue, the framework upon which the manifestation unfolds, the second component delivers the animation and the animators, thereby re-generating an organic relation between the authentic tangible values found within the museum and the contemporary intangible values and the human resources that can still be found in the native village of origin. We take this opportunity to launch the idea that *each preserved house within an open-air museum (conserved out-situ) should be, at least partially, considered as part of the tangible cultural heritage of its village of origin, and that those local communities, in partnership with the museum management should participate in the administration and capitalization of this heritage* (Fig. 1).

Alongside the venue where *the manifestation takes place* (inside the open-air museum itself) and the *actors* involved (locals from the villages of origin, visiting tourists), an important role in the construction of such a project involving integrated planning and territorial touristic animation is played by *an organizing committee* who, not unlike theatre directors, bring to the stage the pre-agreed screenplay. This committee role is fulfilled by a partnership of local actors: members of the local authorities from the participating localities; the staff of the host museum; and the management team responsible for the planning and implementing of the action, comprising teaching staff and students of the Faculty of Geography of Tourism from the municipality.

The quadrangle is closed by a fourth element, the *promotion* component implemented by an active and aggressive partnership with local mass media. This *success formula* combined with an efficient cooperation and a correct positioning of each entity involved, assures the success of such an action, generating an applicative and multiplicable model, reaching its established objectives:[27]

"– reinforcing and valuing of local brands and of the specific peculiarities of each human settlement in the Land of Maramureş;

– consolidation of regional identity and the stimulation of economic, educational and cultural activities at the level of each represented community;

– setting up a favorable context (the event) for transmitting specific valuable elements of identity from each of the participating Maramureş villages and the intelligent transfer, inside the museum, directly to the target public (especially the local inhabitants of the villages in question) and through mass media to local, regional and national audiences;

[26] Blaga 1937.
[27] Ilieş-Ilieş-Hodor 2014b: 187.

– an animated, attractive, dynamic museum… generating positive emotions, through which the participating public in a very short time period, are infused with the essential values of Maramureş against the backdrop of its consacrated traditional architecture, based on a truly wooden civilization (houses, gates, craftsmen's workshops, churches, farm buildings, etc.);

– the production of an event based on authenticity, generating extremely valuable audiovisual material for the promotion of the Maramureş brand."[28]

For a day, within the confines of the museum, the event promoted and transferred important elements of branding for the villages and their populations. Through this manifestation, from the Museum's 30 exhibits, each comprising farmhouses, other farm buildings and technical installations, originating from 24 different villages, over three editions of Easter in Maramureș more than half of the farmyards were animated (Fig. 3) representing as many local communities of the Land of Maramureș. Besides a representative number of villagers of all ages, who ensured animation from a numeric perspective, each village was supported by its representative traditional craftsmen: sculptors and wood carvers Toader Pop and Toader Bârsan from Bârsana, Săpânța's cross-maker Dumitru Pop Tincu and weaver Maria Zapca, Sârbi's straw hat maker Ioan Borodi, etc. The fruits of their great craftsmanship were complemented by the promoters of authentic traditional music from Maramureș through the instruments and voices of Ioan Pop and *The Iza Group*, Cornelia and Lupu Rednic, Gheorghe Turda, the *Mara* Ensemble, the *Maramația Group* from Sighetu Marmatiei, the *Izvorul Izei Group* from Săcel, Ileana Matus, Ion and Ionuc Ivanciuc from Glod, etc. Every village assured its own musical soundtrack with singers and instrumentalists, some well known personalities, others unknown outside the frontiers of their own villages, treasures nonetheless, the only mandatory factor being their local origin. During the 2015 edition, a high point was the lighting of the so-called *living flame* (Fig.3) and the blessing with splashes of holy water over the heads of all those present named *Gheorghe*, in honour of *Saint George's Day*, occouring in the same period. Thus, an impressive number of craftsmen, personalities, musicians and singers helped to create a great village festive atmosphere, animated by thousands of *Sunday villagers*, many of them re-living happy memories from a long ago childhood.

Another of the advantages of this type of tourism animation activity, valuing traditional heritage, is its numeric impact. Thus, if the first edition attracted in a single day about 5,000 *Maramureșeni-for-a-day* enthusiasts, the editions from 2015 and 2016 each attracted about 8,000 visitors, in the context where the annual number of visitors to the museum is approximately 40,000[28]. From these three editions (2014, 2015 and 2016), the map of animations in the museum (Fig. 3) was thus re-drawn to include representatives from all of the "ethnographic valleys of the Land of Maramureș."[29]

[28] Source: the Museum of the Maramureș Village in Sighetu Marmației.

[29] Ilieș-Ilieș-Josan-Grama-Herman-Gozner-Stupariu-Gaceu-Stașac 2009; Ilieș-Ilieș-Hodor 2014b.

Under the banner *Easter in Maramureș* (Fig. 2), practically a new success story was born, an event that immediately became a model for awareness raising and the integrated valorification of heritage treasures conserved off-site, achieved by rebuilding the organic connections between the local communities and the tangible heritage conserved off-site in the museum and its visitors.

B. *The Long Road to the Merry Cemetery* in Săpânța village: on-site valorification and multiplication of heritage values in the *village-idea concept*[30]

Săpânța is a settlement made famous (Fig. 4): by the highly individualistic character of its inhabitants; through its extraordinarily beautiful and instantly recognisable traditional costumes, unique in the Maramureș territory; for the processing and manual working of wool into blankets and clothing; for the tallest wooden church structure in Europe (75m) inside the Peri Monastery[31]; and last but not least, for its celebrated *Merry Cemetery*, whose identity is characterised by unique crosses, each carved with a rhymed epitaph and painted naive-art wood carvings depicting the life and death of the deceased, all set against the backdrop of a unique Săpânța-blue, a distinctive shade that has more recently been used even on the wooden gates of some households. For these reasons, Săpânța might deserve to be top of the list in Lucian Blaga's *village-idea* concept.[31]

The ritual of a visit to Săpânța, including one or more of the aforementioned *highlights* and often connected to a religious feast (Fig. 5), such as the *Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin*, locally referred to as *The Great Saint Maria* (15th August) brings to this well-known village busloads of tourists from all over the world, on average several thousand per day during summertime. However, despite such an extraordinary footfall, up to 200,000 visitors per year, the average length of a visit is 45 minutes. Visitors typically undertake a superficial tour of the *Merry Cemetery* and depart with a largely unchanged understanding of traditional Maramureș village life. This is a pity, from all points of view, but especially for the visitor. Whilst over the years there have probably been various attempts to multiplicate the heritage value and to improve the economic efficiency of the tourism trade such that it might have positive economic benefits on the day to day lives of a greater number of the local inhabitants, starting from 2010 a new concept with this goal in mind was applied. Hurley, a promoter of traditional Romanian values in general and of Maramureș values in particular, *invented* and launched a new concept that after 7 years does show signs of having positive multiplier effects for the local community. Using a novel method to intensively value the local resources, the project places the highest possible value on the rhymed epitaphs themselves, thus

[30] Blaga: 1937.
[31] Ilieș-Wendt-Ilieș-Herman-Ilieș-Deac 2016b.

focusing attention on the most valuable touristic resource of the village, the largely ignored core messages of the *Merry Cemetery*. In parallel, this core idea was packaged by coagulating all the elements specific to this particular village, co-opting the village musicians and craftsmen and women, some of them well known, most of them completely unknown, with invited musicians and craftsmen from other comparable Maramureș villages in order to offer differing points of view and giving each the opportunity to to highlight his/her specific characteristics, and last but not least supported by a consistent promotion in mass media.

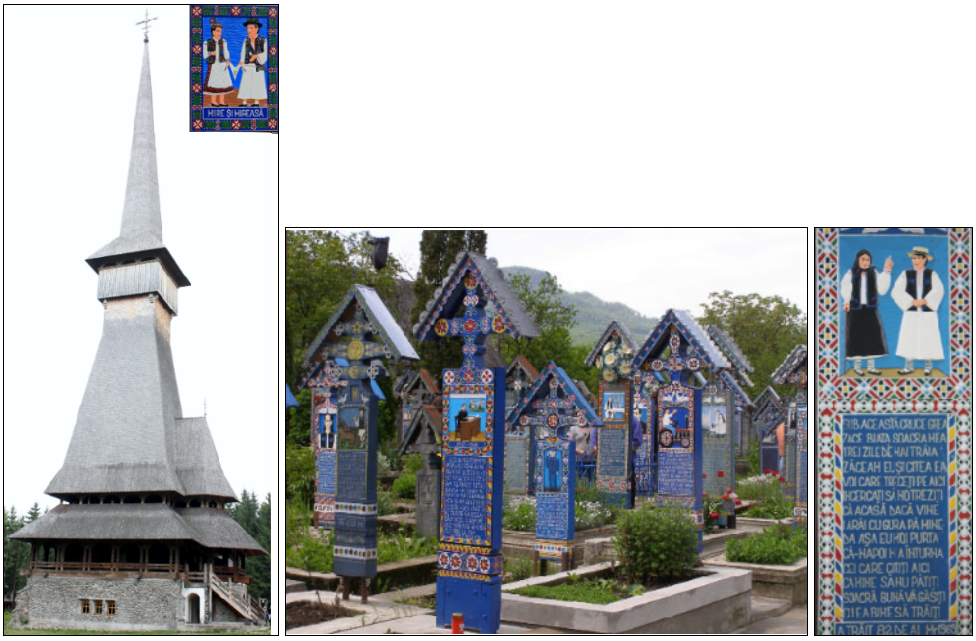


Fig. 4 – Symbols of Săpânța village-idea concept: Wooden church (75 m high) from Peri monastery; Merry Cemetry by unique crosses, each carved with a rhymed epitaph and painted in Săpânța-blue color; wool carpets and artisans Maria Zapca (traditional clothes and carpets) and Pop Dumitru Tincu (naive-art painter and wood carver) (Photos: A. Ilieș)

Thus, Hurley staged the intercultural festival for the promotion of traditions titled *The Long Road to the Merry Cemetery*[32]. "For Saint Mary's Day we're do something very interesting. We chose Săpânța because it's a symbolic place, representative for all 12.000 villages of Romania. We're doing this now because an Irish composer has created a symphony about village life, taking inspiration from the epitaphs of the Merry Cemetery, and this masterpiece will be staged in the Merry Cemetery itself in Săpânța on the night of the *Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.*"[33]

[32] Hurley 2014.
[33] Hurley 2016: www.traditia.ro.

The seeds for the project were sown in June 2009, when Hurley attended the world premiere in the Sibiu International Theatre Festival of a new creation called *Voices from the Merry Cemetery* by Irish composer Shaun Davey. "Digging into the epitaphs (selected by Davey) I found myself experiencing the essence of the lives of the villagers, brought to life by the music of this great composer."[34]

By bringing a team of 10 of Ireland's greatest traditional musicians (composer Shaun Davey, soprano Rita Connolly, conductor David Brophy and others) and another 40 traditional musicians from all over Romania, hand-picked by Grigore Leșe, to Săpânța, during the *Feast of the Assumption*, the third most important feast in the Orthodox calendar after Easter and Christmas and a moment of great devotion throughout Maramureș in particular, by developing and applying the concept of touristic animation, the value of the pre-existing resources was increased through: the candlelight concert in the Merry Cemetery, filmed and broadcast the following day on TVR Cultural, the concert in a meadow at the edge of the village the second day with Irish music, with Grigore Leșe and his guests, all supported by numerous traditional workshops hosted by the leading craftsmen and women of Maramureș, including Dumitru Pop Tincu-the master craftsman of the Săpânța crosses, the weavers of Săpânța, Pătru Godja Moș Pupăză- the renowned wood carver from Valea Stejarului and Tănase Burnar- the last Maramureș potter from Sacel.[35]

Building on the experience of the first edition in 2010, the concept took shape in every successive year, each time focusing on different aspects of the living traditional culture and highlighting in stages its contemporary drama. Every edition, in order to promote a correct understanding of the difference between *popular* music and *traditional* music, gives pride of place to those invited musicians from the Land of Maramureş who really do uphold the unaltered musical tradition, such as Ioan Pop and Iza Group. Many of the artists featured over the years had been largely unknown outside of their own villages until the festival promoted them.

In contrast to almost every other traditional music manifestation in Maramureș, *the Long Road to the Merry Cemetery* specifically prohibits the phenomenon known as *playback* whereby musicians mime on stage to pre-recorded studio renditions of their music. Only live music is permitted. Dancing to pre-recorded music is also prohibited. The festival also has a policy regarding traditional craftsmen, the focus being on practical workshops and demonstrations, not "exhibition of goods for sale". In order to be loyal to this intention, the festival is remarkable for its policy of providing a daily fee for attending craftsmen.

The 2012 edition titled *Return to the Sheepfold* focused on policy, bringing a thematic working group from the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development to see that the traditional village needs a strategy that cannot be found in an off-the-shelf EU policy paper, that it needs a specific strategy to secure its future based on three key elements: a cultural, an economic and an educational solution.

[34] www.traditia.ro.
[35] www.traditia.ro

In 2013, in partnership with the local council and the National Tourism Authority, the festival launched the first edition of the *Stan Ioan Pătraş festival of traditional music and dance*, in memory of Stan Ioan Pătraş the poet and artist who founded the Merry Cemetery. During the festival, the project titled *Roots Revival Romania* was launched, coordinated by Iranian musician Mehdi Aminian, whereby 7 traditional musicians from 7 different countries, met for the first time on the night train to Maramureş. After 7 days of exploration into the authentic traditional music of Maramureş they demonstrated with a powerful concert in premiere on stage during the last day of the Săpânța festival that "the living Romanian village is a powerful source of inspiration for creative spirits".[37]

During the 2014 edition, added value was again brought by Irish composer Shaun Davey, who returned to Săpânța for a re-staging of the *Voices from the Merry Cemetery* suite (Fig. 5), this time integrated into a full-scale symphonic presentation involving over 150 musicians and singers on stage, with 12 traditional solists from Romania, Ireland, Scotland and Spain, a 60-strong symphony orchestra, 60 priests from the Sibiu Faculty of Theology male choir, and the female choir from the village of Săpânța who over the course of several weeks of preparation, learned to sing their village's epitaphs to the music of Shaun Davey. The Project included a documentary film about this extraordinary musical journey, which was subsequently broadcasted several times on national television.



Fig. 5 – Voices from the Merry Cemetery (Edition 6, August 2014)[36].

In 2015 the manifestation was titled *In the shadow of the great spindle* positioning seven specially constructed wooden pavilions (Fig. 7), each housing

[36] Hurley-Ionescu 2016: 25.

different village crafts, in a circle around a giant 7m spindle created by *Pătru Godja "Mos Pupăză*" (Fig. 6) in a creation known locally as "fus cu zurgălăi" (a spindle incorporating a baby's rattle). As if in premonition, it was the last public appearance of the great *Moș Pupăză* from Valea Stejarului (who passed away in January 2016).



Fig. 6 – The images from edition *In the shadow of the great spindle* and its creator artisan *Pătru Godja – Moș Pupăză* from Valea Stejarului village (Edition 6, August 2014) (Photos: A. Ilieș).

In August 2016, Hurley went a step further developing and multiplying this concept to all villages in the Land of Maramureș, under the banner *United Villages of Maramureș* which included the founding of a summer school for the traditions in memory of *Moș Pupăză* in his home village.

As in the other case studies described in this paper, for this type of manifestation, the systematic functionality is based on the same four key pillars. Thus, through the applied activities, the following objectives were acheived:

– an active participation of the local population;

– the promotion of the specific values of the village of Săpânța, starting with the *Merry Cemetery* but also demonstrating from the outset that the value of Săpânța is much greater than its cemetery, and proposing that theoretically each Romanian village possesses a similar treasure-house (a village-idea) of knowledge and joy awaiting discovery and activation;

– the promotion of the local village brand and the consolidation of the regioal and national identity;

– the stimulation of economic, educational and cultural activities within the village by actively engaging the entire community to participate in the process of preparing and implementing all aspects of the manifestation;

– focusing attention on the representative elements of the Săpânța heritage, specifically the universal lessons of life encapsulated in the epitaphs, repositioning Săpânța a profound moral Messenger for a Europe in crisis;

– the creation of a new set of standards in the promotion of traditional culture, offering a "new stage" for authentic live music and dance, one that encourages participation and evaporates the barrier between performer and spectator, encouraging interaction and stationary tourism whereby tourists stay for longer periods and engage in specific learning activities;

– communicating local identity values directly to visiting tourists and participants and indirectly to national and international audiences through internet and mass media;

– a famous village becomes more visible through animation and multiplication through the superior valorification of local touristic resources alongside guest artists who are inspired by the local reality. Just as the construction of the new wooden church in the monastery of Peri extended the range of Săpânța's tourism resource, so does the concept promoted by Hurley intensively value and with multiplier effects the pre-existing perennial resources, i.e., the local population and their individual stories that together provided the creative "raw material" for the *Merry Cemetery*;

– the generation of a novel event using the most representative element of the traditional local resources, providing useful traction for the promotion and consolidation of the Maramureș brand;

– the elaboration of the concept *United Villages of Maramureș* by multiplying the Săpânța model simultaneously in all Maramureş villages (Fig. 8).

This third event, invented, promoted and implemented, represents a model for the intensive and integrated valorification of elements of pre-existing tangible and intangible heritage at village level. Its success suggests it can be promoted as a tested and useful model that can be applied in strategies for the valorification of local heritage and which, based on its tools and functional structure, can be easily "borrowed" by other communities.

C. *The Marmația Winter Festival of Rituals and Traditions* in the municipality of Sighetu Marmației: Transferring to the urban stage the lives and traditions of rural Maramureș

Starting from the idea that the municipality of Sighetu Marmatiei is in fact a creation of the Maramureş villages themselves, we can appreciate metaphorically that this festival represents a gateway "through which we can get acquainted with our own origins"[37], to know who we are.[38] For a single day, on the occasion of the winter celebrations, in the city which is the historical royal seat of the Land of Maramureș, the population of the surrounding villages invades the town centre of Sighetu Marmației with their tangible and intangible values, no better occasion to

[37] Leşe 2013; Puric 2014.
[38] Leşe 2014.

show off in front of more than 20.000 spectators the best, the most spectacular (and even the noisiest!) traditional festive winter costumes that Maramureş can conceive (Fig. 9). Some of the spectators are locals, but a significant proportion is represented by those who come from all corners of the world. It is the period when all accommodation space is operating at maximum capacity. It is the period when local families reunite with those who left for work "in foreign lands". The profile of the spectators for this manifestation include: *foreign tourists, Romanian tourists, a part of the city's population, a part of the population from the represented villages*, and last but not least, *the "Maramureșeni" living and working overseas"*, returned for Christmas. From field observations during the most recent editions, this final category, present in increasing numbers, demonstrate a constant dedication to this annual phenomenon and to the traditional values presented by their native villages.

The 48 editions (in 2016) which took place under the banner of *The Marmația Winter Festival of Rituals and Traditions*[39] (Fig. 9) brought every year thousands of admirers, and with the last three editions taking place in a new format and under the slogan *December in Maramureş*, the number of spectators has grown significantly. For example, the editions from 2015 and 2016 attracted more than 20,000 participants in a single day, in a city with a total population of less than 40,000 inhabitants.

Also in this type of manifestation, the systemic functional structure is built on the same four obligatory pillars: *the venue, the actors, the executive committee* and *the promotion*. Thus, with integrated activities the following objectives were attained:

– a representative participation from the quantitative point of view (number of groups, age categories and villages represented);

– promotion of the peculiarities of each of the Maramureş villages using elements of their authentic traditional costumes;

– promotion of each individual villages' brand, consolidating local and regional identity;

– stimulation of economic, educational and cultural activity in the host municipality and in the invited villages during the preparation period;

– the accurate transfer of representative elements from a significant number of settlements in the Land of Maramureş by transforming the city of Sighetu Marmației into an *axis mundi* for this particular folk manifestation.

– by concentrating a significant number of representative villages into an urban space capable of accommodating an ever-increasing number of "admirers of the beautiful and authentic", a favourable context was created for communicating valuable identity codes to the target public, those directly present (external tourists and local spectators) and indirectly to a national audience through the intermediary of mass media;

[39] Ilieș-Baias-Deac 2014a:126-127.

– a regional municipality, that is also traditionally a royal seat, becomes animated, attractive and dynamic, culturally asserting itself at the end and start of every year. Along the course of the parade, a viewing area of approximately 2km helps the public enjoy the parading troupes, which becomes a generator of positive emotions, such that the public cand absorb in a short time some of the essential values of Maramureş, against the backdrop of traditional costumes and the very dynamic specific winter customs;

– ensuring the continuity of an authentic element in the annual spectrum of traditional activities, which also provides valuable promotional audio and visual material, consolidating the Maramureş brand's position.

This model for the continuous transfer of heritage values from the *original village* to the *urban centre* by re-configuring the conceptual framework, has proven itself to be an intensive mechanism for valuing the touristic resources and heritage elements, bringing a significant increase in the number of participants, both actors and vizitors.

CONCLUSIONS

In a world in which the process of globalisation and the uniformity of consumption are accelerating, there are still some oases of authenticity, whether they be on-site or off-site. We owe their existence to "the servants of that which is beautiful in life"[40] those people who refuse to accept the idea that the global bulldozer can functionally and aesthetically level the Maramureş village.[41] They continue to hope, to transmit hope to the succeeding generations, that the tangible and intangible values, through identification, re-evaluation, conservation, promotion and valorification can amplify the heritage value of the Maramureş village and implicitly the standard of living of its inhabitants. More than that, they transmit the hope that it can be part of an accessible journey wherein we will discover "who in fact we are".[42] Thus touristic animation can prove to be a way to value the cultural, touristic and scientific heritage of the Romanian rural world in general and that of Maramureş in particular.

The three examples of manifestations based on touristic animation *connected* to three religious feasts from the Orthodox calendar, can be considered as three ways towards multiplying the cultural, touristic and economic values of the tangible and intangible heritage of the Maramureş space. Thus, for the identify-cation, valorification and promotion of the tangible and intangible heritage we analysed three events whose success developed three models of valorification, certified and tested as functional and supported by scientific argumentation. The three models differ in their age, in their size, and in their conceptual framework.

[40] Marinescu-Matenoiu 2008.
[41] Dăncuş 2000; Chiriac 2014; Ciocan 2014; Godea 2014; Vârnav 2014.
[42] Leşe 2014.

The event that marks the winter celebrations in the municipality of Sighetu Marmației has a history of 49 years (48 editions-missing 1989), and the multiplier effect is provided by a refreshed conceptual implementation and intensive valorification of the existing heritage. The other two events, within the Museum of the Maramureş Village (3 editions) and from Săpânța village (6 editions), are recent "inventions", conceived to value specific pre-existing heritage. The Săpânța *village-idea model* proposes an intense valorification of specific elements of the pre-existing heritage, whereas the model of the village museum proposes the re-making of the organic connection between communities and the element of their heritage conserved off-site. Considered models of success, each type of manifestation in turn, by respecting the systematic structure of four mandatory pillars (adequate venue, actors and animators, directors with a screenplay, and mass media partnerships), being anchored temporally to a major celebration in the religious calendar, can be applied as a recipe for success in the Romanian rural space which enjoys an abundence of resources that are waiting *to be discovered*. The Museum of the Maramureş Village, the town centre of Sighetu Marmației and the village of Săpânța are venue frameworks adapted and adequate for these types of manifestations each with its unique character. By those, we learn "to love and admire the traditional culture, but, above all else, to make contact if we can, with its generative core... ."[43] In these sens "What can be more beautiful than the collective heritage of a people, of a nation, than the way in which we speak and write, in which we celebrate our forefathers, in which we wear our national dress, in which we toast at our parties, in which we mourn our dead, in which we pass through this world in our own way?!"[44]

Of course, our research may unearth a greater number of such manifestations, but each one, as well as having its own unique novelty and serving specific local needs, will need good organisation and correct positioning in time and space contexts. The map of traditional cultural manifestations throughout the Land of Maramureş[45] is eloquent in this sense.

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[43] Blaga 1936.
[44] Pop 2016: 279.
[45] Ilieș-Baias-Deac 2014a: 130-131.

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INDOOR MICROCLIMATE MONITORING FOR LONG-TERM CONSERVATION OF THE ARCHIVE OF THE INSTITUTE OF ETHNOGRAPHY AND FOLKLORE „CONSTANTIN BRĂILOIU" MULTIMEDIA COLLECTION

ROXANA RĂDVAN, LUCIAN RATOIU, ALEXANDRU CHELMUȘ

ABSTRACT

This paper presents two related aspects which reflect the interest in multimedia archive management and preventive conservation. First, an overview of the national program Folkmedia – Folkloric Multimedia Deposit is presented, in order to understand the context and the strategy developed for the Archive of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore "Constantin Brăiloiu" from Bucharest. The second aspect treated in this paper aims to highlight the importance of indoor microclimate monitoring, as an integrated and mandatory stage of the preventive conservation strategy from the Folkmedia Project. A relevant selection from the monitoring process is presented in order to outline the significance of Temperature (T) and Relative Humidity (RH) parameters in a multimedia collection deposit. As a characteristic of the project a special attention is given to the relation of complementarity established between the main activities. Gradually, all significant steps comprised in Folkmedia are treated in order to enhance the complexity of this multidisciplinary project.

Keywords: microclimate monitoring, multimedia archive, preventive conservation.

INTRODUCTION. THE CONTEXT OF FOLKMEDIA PROJECT

Folkmedia – Folkloric Multimedia Deposit is a complex multidisciplinary project, developed by the National Institute for Research and Development in Optoelectronics (INOE 2000) and the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore "Constantin Brăiloiu" of the Romanian Academy as a natural continuity of a previous research between the two institutions. The main objective of this project is to organize and to implement in the Archive of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore "Constantin Brăiloiu" from Bucharest, henceforth referred to it as AIEF,

an advanced form of management, conservation and valorization of the multimedia fund from its patrimony[1].

The challenges raised by this particular multimedia archive determined the Center of Excellence for Restoration by Optoelectronic Techniques, henceforth referred to as CERTO, from INOE 2000, to focus and to adjust its vast experience, in the science of conservation for tangible cultural heritage, to the dialogue with researchers specialized in the intangible heritage. This juxtaposition of bringing together material and immaterial cultural heritage responds to one of the most difficult issue evoked for the first time at the Nara Conference[2].

AIEF is an impressive multimedia collection, emphasized by its quantity, quality and variety of information. Overall this deposit can be divided into three main categories: an audio fund (containing phonograph cylinders, magnetophon tapes, audio cassettes, audio matrices, compact discs etc.), a photo-video fund (containing glass plate photography, photographic films, 16 mm film recordings etc.) and a manuscript collection (containing literary transcriptions, musical transcriptions, informant's sheets, catalogues etc.)[3]. Moreover, the complexity of this archive implicitly resides from the overlapping of various physical media, with different age, different environmental conditions for conservation and different degradation mechanisms[4]. All of these specified features contribute to the complexity of the case study and especially to the proposed activities such as: microclimate monitoring, identification of the risk factors and ensuring the parameters for long-term preservation of the collection. On the other hand, the process of cultural valorization of the archive which derives indirectly from the project implies, in some of the cases, direct interventions in order to restore specific parts of the collection. These practical interventions which are designed to restore the integrity of the appearance – *the image* (for written documents) and also its functionality (in the case audiovisual supports) represent the most tangible part of the conservation-restoration process. The aim of the restoration is to recover the integrity, aspect and use of an object, with respect to the original material and without removing any traces of its passing through time[5].

PREVENTIVE CONSERVATION METHODOLOGY

One of the starting points that generated the development of the project was the relocation of AIEF collections in a new space, designed for a proper storage environment, compared with other international archives. After identification of the available space in the "Academy House", building located in Bucharest, 13 September Street, No.13, planification and design of the new deposit was conducted.

[1] Rădvan and Simileanu 2013.
[2] UNESCO World Heritage Centre 1994.
[3] Ispas 2016: 22-34.
[4] Rădvan and Simileanu 2013.
[5] Brandi 1996.

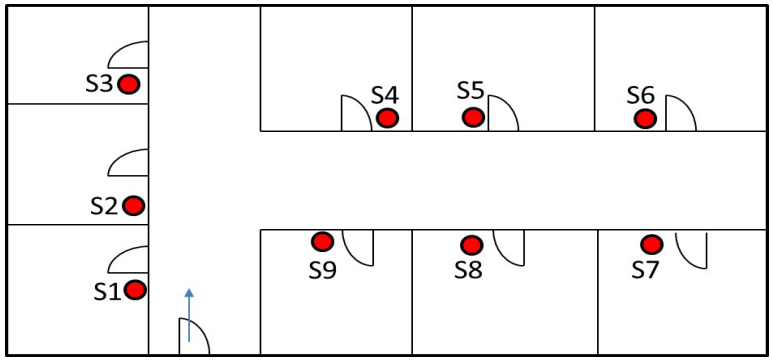


Fig. 1 – The new AIEF deposit. Location of the Relative Humidity (RH) and Temperature (T) sensors.

The rooms 1 and 5 were designated to store the full funds of the hoard which is comprised from different original funds such as: the audio and visual fond (phonograph cylinders, discs, magnetic tapes, film tape, negatives and glass plate negatives) and the paper-based collection (manuscripts, literary and musical transcriptions, photography, kinetograms and drawings). Room number 2 was dedicated to the server where all the digitize data will is stored. Room number 3 was designed for the studio of audio recordings and room number 5 was selected to contain specialized metal shelves where original magnetic tapes are stored. Room number 6 hosts the book collection of AIEF and the room number 7 was designated to be a photographic laboratory. Room number 8 contains part of the original paper-based fund (manuscripts and transcriptions) and also presents a set-up for the digitization activity (desks, scanners and computers). The last room, number 9, is the space where original discs and molds are stored.

The activities of the project closely followed two main directions: ensuring the state of conservation for the multimedia fund and performing the complex digitization process of the AIEF[6]**.** The first direction included: advanced monitoring of the microclimate conditions, identification of the risk factors and the establishment of a viable protocol for optimal preservation of the archive, while the second direction consisted in: the development of a dedicated database for this particular casuistry and the scanning campaigns for data acquisition.

In order to develop a viable conservation methodology the following related aspects were taken into consideration: standards, recommendations and good practice cases reported at the international level, classification of the risk factors according to the types of materials available in the AIEF and establishment of the appropriate limits of RH (relative humidity), T (temperature) and the recommended light levels[7]. All of these aspects which reflect the link with the international research background in the field were taken in accordance with the specific

[6] Simileanu et al. 2015
[7] Alcántara 2002

environmental conditions and the internal regulations. Hence, as a result of INOE 2000 solid experience in cultural heritage conservation and of this particular research on multimedia archival materials, a customized guide for preservation was developed.

The digitization process

Being itself a methodology for preventive conservation and a unanimously accepted stage at international level[8], digitization was implemented also within this project. Generally speaking, digitization makes the collection accessible to the public, reduces wear on the materials, supports the collection inventory, makes the collection searchable for the specialists, gives a better overview of large collection and increases public awareness of the holdings.

In particular, this intervention implies three types of approach: a). from the conservation point of view, this stage avoids contact with the original document (thus considerably reducing the usage and the material degradation produced by repeated handling procedures), b). ensures, manages and facilitates the acces of researchers to information, by including the results in a relational database (through differentiated or gradually access for users, depending on the level of information needed) and c). contributes to the current international policy regarding research and cultural heritage valorization (ensuring visibility of the archive but also a mandatory knowledge base in order to access major European research projects)[9].

For INOE 2000 the aim of digitization activity was to promote this stage as a mandatory step in order to conserve the original historical documents and also to develop a strategy for an advanced documentation. One of the most important achievements of the CERTO department was to design, develop and constantly update a digital model, able to store and to administrate specialized information. This model characterized by multiple and interconnected layers of information has at the basis of its structure a digital model, of high accuracy, which represents the first step of the documentation process. Other layers of information are further overlaid on this primary basis and generate fields of information that can be selected by the user. In this sense, one of the first developed models was conceived for a painted hypogeum, an inaccessible historical monument[10]. Thus, a restorer, historian of art or researcher in the field of cultural heritage protection can access high specialized information via this advanced digital model of documentation.

Unlike "classic" digitization, understood only as high-resolution photographic records of the documents, CERTO proposed for the AIEF casuistry another type of approach, based on the property of digital image to be overlapped and linked with other complementary information. Either is about imagistic techniques, either concerns results of analytic methods and techniques, the presentation mode enables

[8] Unesco et al. 2002
[9] Ratoiu and Rădvan 2016
[10] Ene and Rădvan 2010: 85-88.

digitization to become much more than a visual recording, highlighting its complex character.

INOE 2000 conceived the digitization program of AIEF and the dedicated database as tools to corroborate advanced information concerning: documentation, monitoring and investigation of the multimedia fund. Non-invasive multispectral imagistic technique, which reunited UV (ultraviolet), VIS (visible) and NIR (near infrared) imaging modes, was one of the applied investigation methods. Moreover, a series of other complementary non-invasive techniques, such as: Microscopy, Colorimetry, LIF (Laser Induced Fluorescence) or FTIR (Fourier Transform Infrared Spectroscopy), was also performed on a limited selection of the manuscript fund. Together they have been integrated in a dedicated data base, especially designed in order to store, manage and facilitate the access of users to digitized documents. Above all, the process of digitization is part of an access strategy than must not replace original documents and, in the same time, must not violate in any way the intellectual property rights of persons or institutions that own or administrate such cultural goods[11]. In this sense digitization of an archive must be conceived as a transition from the physical state of a cultural good to digital heritage, and not as a mere tool that can produce surrogate copies of the original documents.

For the *Folkmedia* project digitization was designed to record in digital format historical documents and to produce associative information, highlighted in the form of preliminary investigations, like multispectral imaging analysis or other type of non-invasive techniques. Thus, is outlined the complementarity of this techniques that can be associated with other research directions, focused on: microclimate and air quality monitoring, decontamination and conservation on long term of the archive.

The dedicated database

Especially developed for the AIEF, the dedicated database was designed since the beginning to function according to a certain path (logic), capable of highlighting the complementarity of the contained information.

Relational databases rely on a model of relationship between entities. Entities are in fact tables which have a unique identifier and attributes or columns. The columns are themselves made up of rows. Between these entities there are relationships characterized by optionality and cardinality. Therefore the purpose of AIEF database is to digitize a vast quantity of information which contains more than 500.000 of different materials regarding charts of phonograms, magnetophon, discs, literary and musical transcriptions, photographs, sketches etc. This huge fond of information was divided in several entities according to their functionality: audio fund, photography fund, informers, collectors, campaigns, operators, technicians and key words. Each of these entities contains a number of characteristic attributes. The

[11] Ratoiu and Neamu 2014.

graphical interface is comprised of three pages: General, Research and Technical. The first page contains information about the origin and the classification of the file, the second page contains data regarding the research activities made upon the file and the third page gathers technical information related to the file.

In this manner it can be selected and visualized specialized information regarding the documents state of conservation, including data referring to the nature of component materials.

MANAGEMENT OF PREVENTIVE CONSERVATION

One of the less obvious parts of the conservation process, at least the less spectacular one, is preventive conservation management, meaning the development and maintenance of an proper environment that limits decay of the archive collection to the absolute minimum consistent with the personal access. This preventive conservation management is, as according to May Cassar[12], comprised from two main aspects: the technical one and the organizational one. Generally speaking, the second aspect is understood as the process of organizing, planning and controlling resources within an archive, with the overall aim of achieving its objectives, in our case a long-term conservation strategy.

Along the digitization process and the dedicated database, microclimate monitoring could also be considered as being parts of the technical management. On the other hand, organizational management was to be referred as a guide who contained an ensemble of recommendations, principles, procedures and quality management measures in order to have overview regarding evidence, the circulation and the working mode with the original documents. Thus, as part of the preventive conservation strategy this guide recalls, among other basic recommendations, the necessity of UV and dust filters, periodical microbiological control, light control etc.

Significant factors in development of this guide for preventive conservation and of the organizational management plan were the experience and *know–how* of INOE 2000, who has for many years implemented the ISO 9001 quality of management standard and who also received from the Ministry of Culture accreditation as a laboratory for investigations of cultural heritage goods[13].

MONITORING THE RELATIVE HUMIDITY (RH) AND THE TEMPERATURE (T) PARAMETERS IN AIEF

Introduction to microclimate monitoring

The number of various and simultaneous types of risks which can occur when a plan of conservation is made represents one of the most important issues in the

[12] Cassar 1995.
[13] Authorization Certificate from the Ministry of Culture, Romania, No. 64/27.05.2014.

field. Theoretically the best solution should be to find a compromise between the different needs of the stored collection and the objective to reduce as far as possible these degradation mechanisms.

This particular kind of task requires a holistic approach and an optimization of the synergism between individual solutions that can be made. Such an approach always introduces a series of uncertainties inside this multidisciplinary decision system. The most clearly illustrated cases from this point of view are when: recommended values of temperature and relative humidity that are in principle suitable for types of materials are not always appropriate for individual objects or when an object has adapted to a certain RH variability, both in terms of average levels and fluctuations, it requires the respect of the previous conditions as any change, or fluctuations exceeding the historic range, might affect its durability[14].

Practically, introducing our subject, the term *microclimate* refers to the whole ensamble of factors which are necessary to study in order to know which of these factors have direct influence on the physical state of the investigated object[15]. Microclimate as Dario Camuffo noted "is the synthesis of the ambient physical conditions (e.g. time and space distributions, fluctuating values and trends, average and extreme values, space gradients and frequency of oscillations) due to either atmospheric variables (e.g. temperature, humidity, sunshine, airspeed) or exchanges with other bodies (e.g. infrared emission, heating, lighting, ventilating) over a period of time, representative of all the conditions determined by the natural and artificial forcing factors".

The microclimate is not only an accurate description of what is happening in an indoor environment but also a good base to predict what might happen in the near future. For conservation issues the study of microclimate is not just a mere collection of variables parameters but a description of the complex interactions between air, storage building and collection, "a whole" which includes humidity, air movements, light, temperature, collections and all their mutual relationships[16]. Temperature cycles are most important to monitor because they induce internal stress and accelerate fatigue failure in vulnerable materials. Component materials act as low-pass filters that attenuates the penetration of fast fluctuations: the shorter the duration of the fluctuation, the thinner the layer affected by it[17].

Changes in relative humidity and moisture content

The most common effect is that when the value of the temperature increases, the relative humidity decreases and vice versa. Relative humidity represents a key

[14] Camuffo 2014.
[15] Ibidem.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.

parameter for conservation of materials and is governed by temperature in addition to the moisture content in the air[18]. Temperature variations cause changes in the degree of saturation of water vapour, as well as moisture content in bodies. Several materials, as for example wood, parchment, ivory or plaster, change their dimension with water content, swelling or shrinking, with deformations, micro or macro fissuring etc. The effects of temperature forcing are in general very complex[19]. The content of moisture in the case of paper-based materials can increase the cellulose hydrolysis process, the oxidation and other degradation mechanisms. Therefore, the Arrhenius equation, which is frequently used to determine the rate of chemical reactions and to calculate the energy of activation, most relevant in the degradation process, should always be considered in synergism with the presence of the water. The best condition to study this relation is obtained when the thermal inertia of walls, floor and roof are similar. When the thermal inertia acts differently, then the internal stability changes seasonally[20].

Another consequence regarding humidity in the case of paper-based materials is oxidation, especially for modern paper support (i.e. after mid-nineteenth century) that is composed of wood pulp and contains several free radicals and other acidic elements. Factors such as the presence of inks, temperature, pH, humidity may be implicated in accelerating cellulose degradation[21]. Moreover, when paper is stored in a humid environment; it releases volatile organic compounds (VOC) and sulfuric acid that accelerates the degradation[22].

Altough the subject regarding the correct values for Temperature and Relative Humidity are stil under discussion by the scientific comunity in the field of conservation, general recomandations currently sugest to keep a constant Temperature which does not exceed 21°C and a Relative Humidity ranging between 30% and 50% (depending on the type of material). For several years, generally, these accepted recomandations limited the levels of visible radiation for materials wich are more sensible to light, inclusively paper-based historical documents, to the value o 5 foot-candles and to materials less sensible to a maximum of 15 foot-candles. In the last period of time these recommendations were in a constant debate due to aesthetic concerns and the variations of the discoloration rates. All of these limits for Relative Humidity, Temperature and Lightning were in accordance with the general conditions for preventive conservation ad with current the internal regulations.

[18] Cassar 1995.
[19] Camuffo 2014.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Havermans 1995.

ACQUISITION, PROCESSING AND DATA INTERPRETATION

The indoor microclimate monitoring measurements has focused in the case of AIEF on the following thermo-hygrometric parameters: temperature (T), relative humidity (RH) and their daily and monthly fluctuations (ΔT and ΔRH), but also on the minimum (T min, RH min) and maximum values (T max, RH max).

The August 2015–August 2016 interval

In 13th months of recording the Temperature were noticed variations ranging from 13.5°C to 29°C while the Relative Humidity presented variations ranging from 16.5% to 75.5%. In all the recorded data from this period there were not signaled sudden variations.

When referring to values of the measured temperature, most of the lowest values were outlined around 16°C. These measurements were recorded during the first part of the November 2015. However the minimum value for the temperature was 13.42°C, recorded in room 1 (corresponding to the hoard collection), in the morning of the 1st of November 2015. Following the data acquisition we want to stress the fact that this minimum value was recorded only for a short period of time, no longer than a few hours.

For the highest values of temperature an average of 27°C was signaled. An exception was highlighted in room 2 (the room that hosts the network server) were the maximum temperature reached the value of 29°C, in mid-August 2015. Even if this room doesn't contain any archival material, the existence of a common wall between this server room and room 1, which corresponds to the hoard collection, must be considered as a source for temperature variations.

In the monitoring interval December 2015–June 2016 we observed very small temperature variations, maintaining the values of around 20°C.

As it is shown in Fig 1 the total of 9 rooms are separated into groups, due to the presence of 2 hallways which enables the access in the archive. Thus, the new space dedicated to AIEF is divided in 3 groups as follows: rooms 1-3, rooms 4-6 and 7-9. Despite this format of the plan the recorded data shows a uniform temperature distribution, with slightly differences of only 2-3°C.

From the Relative Humidity point of view, is highlighted that the interval January-April 2016 signals the lowest temperatures, with values ranging from 20-40%. The rest of the recorded period displays recommended values ranging from 50-60%. The lowest values recorded for RH are around 20%, but the minimum value of 16.44%, was recorded in January 2016 in room 3 (room dedicated for the AIEF staff). The maximum value of 75.63% was recorded in the same room No. 3, at the end of June 2016. In the other rooms the highest recorded values were slightly above 66%.

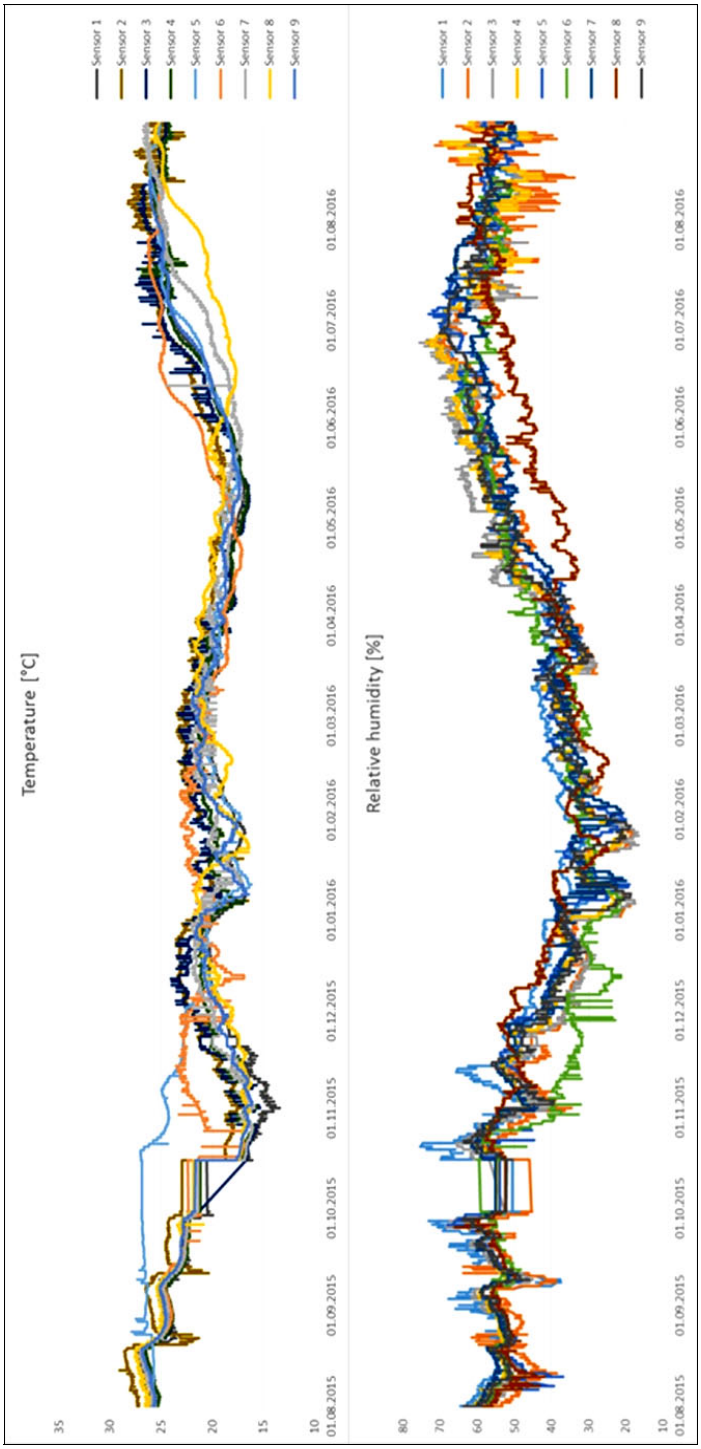


Fig. 2 – The interval August 2015-August 2016.

Table 1

The minimum and maximum values for Temperature
and Relative Humidity of the 9 sensors installed in AIEF.
August 2015-August 2016

	Sensor 1	**Sensor 2**	**Sensor 3**	**Sensor 4**	**Sensor 5**	**Sensor 6**	**Sensor 7**	**Sensor 8**	**Sensor 9**
T min°C	13,42	16,52	15,33	15,70	16,14	16,78	15,88	16,22	16,07
T max°C	26,67	29,05	27,50	27,04	27,93	27,93	27,28	27,66	26,90
RH min %	29,24	17,21	16,44	19,96	19,07	20,45	20,00	24,68	18,56
RH max %	75,45	71,72	75,63	73,78	73,28	62,73	68,74	66,19	70,40

The minimum Temperature was recorded on 01.11.2015, at 7:57 AM by sensor No. 1.

The maximum Temperature was recorded on 12.08.2015, at 2.29 PM by sensor No. 2.

The minimum Relative Humidity was recorded on 21.01.2016, at 10:04 AM by sensor No. 3.

The maximum Relative Humidity was recorded on 24.06.2016, at 10:11 AM by sensor No. 3.

Selection - August 2015

During the monitoring of August 2015 the temperature values ranged between 20-29°C, without any sudden fluctuations. The temperature presented a uniform distribution and the relative humidity took values between 36-67%.The minimum and maximum values for temperature and relative humidity are displayed for each sensor in the folowing table.

Table 2

The minimum and maximum values for temperature
and relative humidity of the 9 sensors
installed in AIEF-August 2015

	Sensor 1	**Sensor 2**	**Sensor 3**	**Sensor 4**	**Sensor 5**	**Sensor 6**	**Sensor 7***	**Sensor 8**	**Sensor 9**
T min°C	23,05	20,92	25,06	25,04	25,99	26,85	–	27,13	25,65
T max°C	26,68	29,05	27,58	26,53	27,93	27,03	–	27,81	26,89
RH min %	50,03	26,82	44,33	50,64	36,61	50,13	–	41,38	49,55
RH max %	66,59	62,63	62,66	62,84	61,76	59,65	–	61,46	63,97

* Missing data caused by technical errors

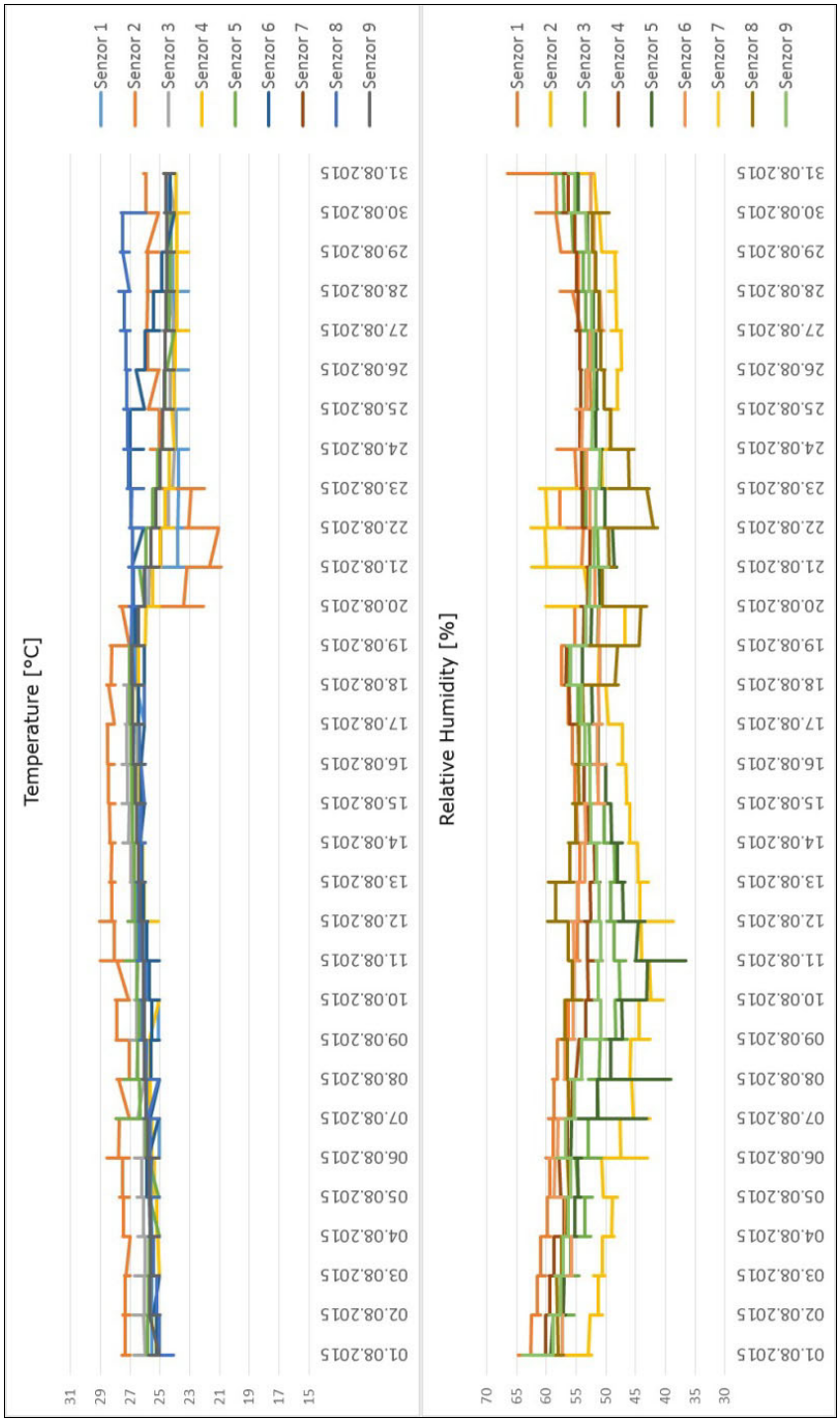


Fig. 3 – Graphics displaying Temperature and Relative Humidity variations in August 2015.

Overall, the minimum temperature was recorded by sensor No. 2, in room 2, on 21st of August 2015 at 9:31 PM, while the maximum temperature was recorded by the same sensor in 12th of August 2015 at 2:29 PM.

The minimum value for relative humidity was recorded by sensor No. 5 on 10th of August 2015 at 7:50 PM and also at 8:20 PM. While the maximum value was reached by sensor No. 1 on 31st of August 2015 at 8:23 AM.

Table 3

The Temperature values for the other sensors at the moment of recording the minimum of 20.92°C, value measured by sensor No. 2

Minimum temperature

	Sensor 1	**Sensor 2**	**Sensor 3**	**Sensor 4**	**Sensor 5**	**Sensor 6**	**Sensor 7***	**Sensor 8**	**Sensor 9**
T min°C	24,31	20,92	25,06	25,04	25,99	26,85	–	25,45	25,74

* Missing data caused by technical errors

As it can be observed in Fig 4. the values for temperature in the other rooms was around 25°C.

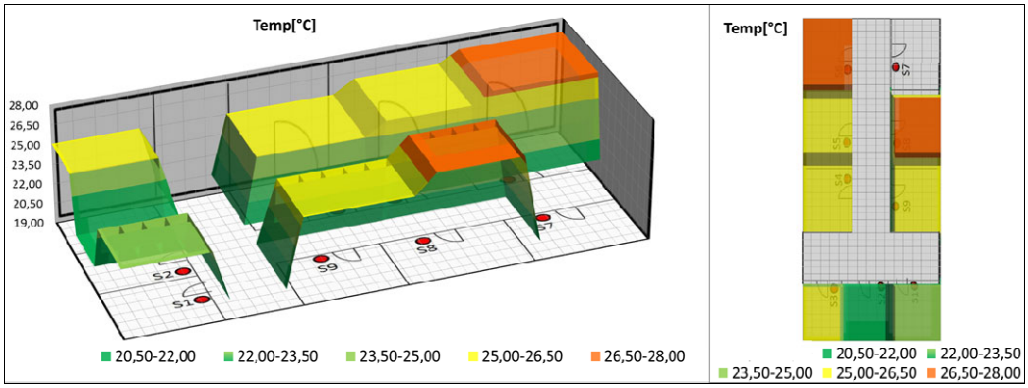


Fig. 4 – 3D graphic distribution of the Minimum Temperature in AIEF, August 2015.

Table 4

The Temperature values for the other sensors at the moment of recording the maximum of 29.05° C, value measured by sensor No. 2

Maximum temperature

	Sensor 1	**Sensor 2**	**Sensor 3**	**Sensor 4**	**Sensor 5**	**Sensor 6**	**Sensor 7***	**Sensor 8**	**Sensor 9**
T max°C	26,04	29,05	26,88	26,02	26,64	25,98	–	26,31	26,02

* Missing data caused by technical errors

As it can be observed in Fig. 5 the values for temperature in the other rooms was around 26°C.

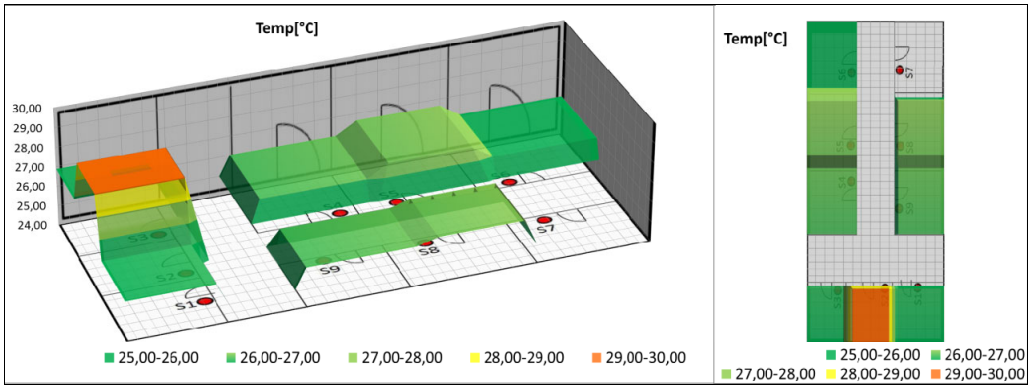


Fig. 5 – 3D graphic distribution of the Maximum Temperature in AIEF, August 2015.

Minimum Relative Humidity

Table 5

The Relative Humidity values for the other sensors
at the moment of recording the minimum of 36.61%, value measured by sensor No. 5

	Sensor 1	**Sensor 2**	**Sensor 3**	**Sensor 4**	**Sensor 5**	**Sensor 6**	**Sensor 7***	**Sensor 8**	**Sensor 9**
RH min%	55,23	43,32	47,86	52,43	36,61	55,05	–	55,86	51,51

* Missing data caused by technical errors

As it can be observed in Fig 6. the values for relative humidity variates between 36.61-55.86%.

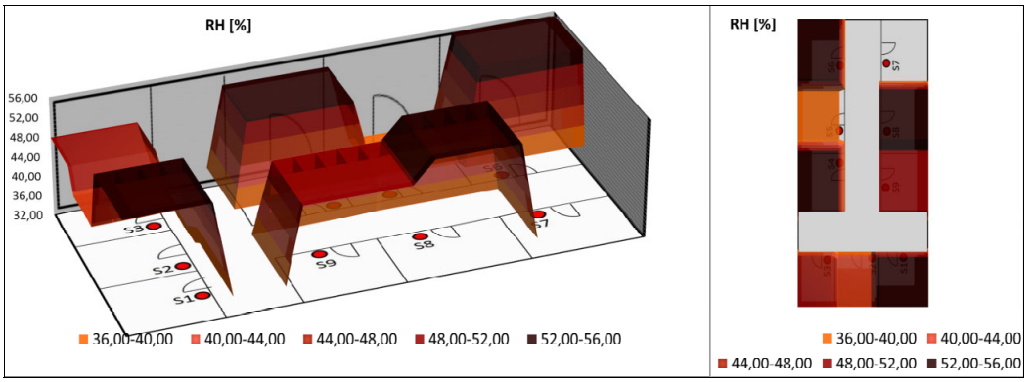


Fig. 6 – 3D graphic distribution for the Minimum Relative Humidity in AIEF, August 2015.

Maximum Relative Humidity

In the following table are presented the relative humidity values for the other sensors at the moment of recording the maximum of 66,59%, value measured by sensor No. 1.

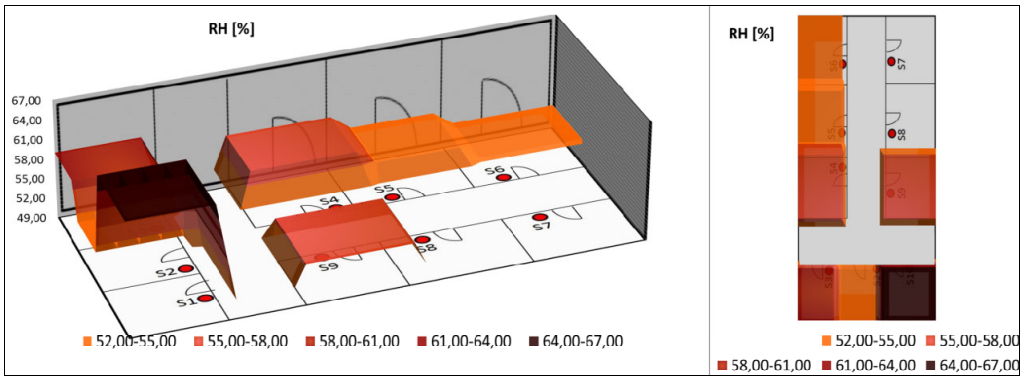
Table 6

The relative humidity values for the other sensors at the moment of recording the maximum of 66,59%, value measured by sensor No.1

	Sensor 1	**Sensor 2**	**Sensor 3**	**Sensor 4**	**Sensor 5**	**Sensor 6**	**Sensor 7***	**Sensor 8***	**Sensor 9**
RH max%	66,59	53,95	59,01	56,94	54,70	52,56	–	–	55,33

* Missing data caused by technical errors

Fig. 7 displays the slight variation of relative humidity in the deposit, which ranges between 53.95–66,59%.



Fig, 7 – 3D graphic distribution for the Maximum Relative Humidity in AIEF, August 2015.

Selection - August 2016

For this selected period the temperature displayed variations ranging from 22-28°C, while the relative humidity presented values between 34-71%. Overall, the minimum temperature was recorded by sensor No. 2, in room 2, on 27th of August 2016, at 7:17 AM, while the maximum temperature was recorded by the same sensor on 6th of August 2016, at 7:47 PM.

The minimum value for relative humidity was recorded by sensor No. 2 on 14th of August 2016, at 3:47 PM, while the maximum value was reached also by sensor No. 2 on 31st on 24th of August 2016, at 11:17 AM.

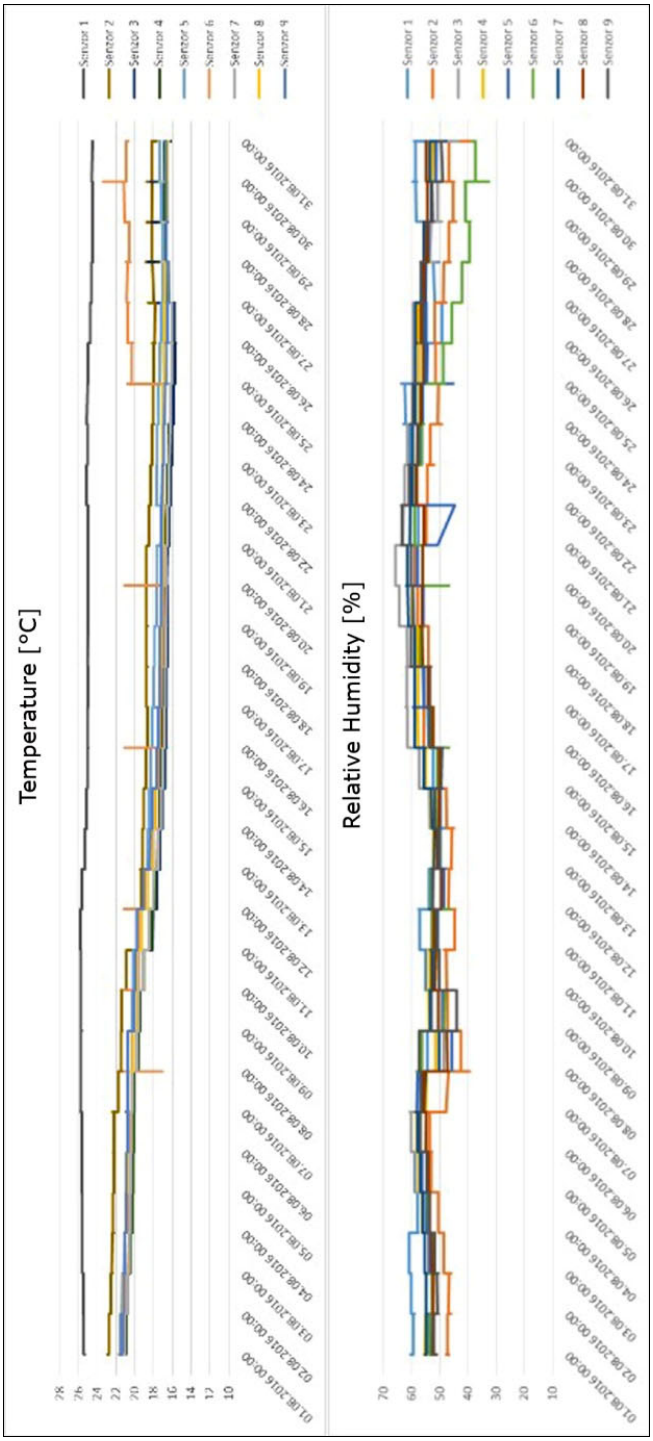


Fig. 8 – Graphics displaying Temperature and Relative Humidity variations in August 2016.

Table 7

The minimum and maximum values for Temperature
and Relative Humidity in August 2016, for each sensor

	Sensor 1	**Sensor 2**	**Sensor 3**	**Sensor 4**	**Sensor 5**	**Sensor 6**	**Sensor 7**	**Sensor 8**	**Sensor 9**
T min°C	24,46	22,66	24,39	23,85	25,09	246,64	25,90	25,45	25,74
T max°C	25,82	28,28	27,36	25,73	26,46	26,82	26,82	26,83	26,24
RH min %	74,64	33,80	46,42	42,60	47,67	50,46	49,63	46,42	60,92
RH max %	66,59	62,63	62,66	62,84	61,76	59,65	58,40	61,46	63,97

Minimum temperature

Table 8

The Temperature values for the other sensors at the moment
of recording the minimum of 22,66°C, value measured by sensor No. 2

	Sensor 1	**Sensor 2**	**Sensor 3**	**Sensor 4**	**Sensor 5**	**Sensor 6**	**Sensor 7**	**Sensor 8***	**Sensor *9**
T min°C	24,63	22,66	24,52	23,91	24,97	24,78	24,78	–	–

* Missing data caused by technical errors

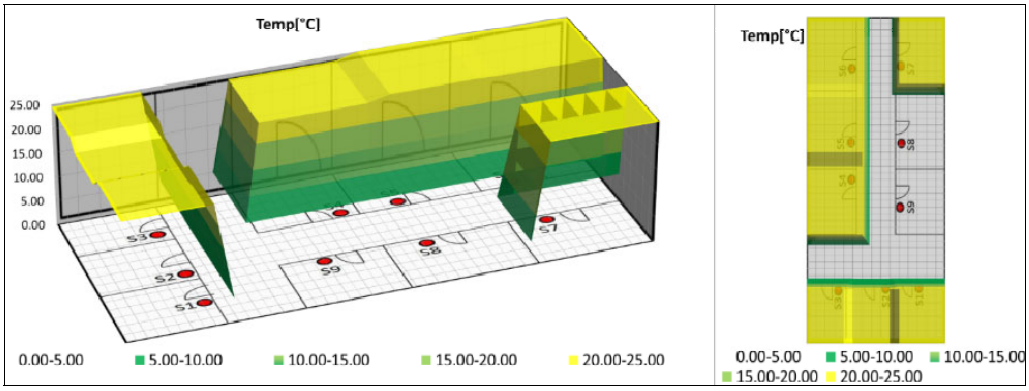


Fig. 9 – 3D graphic distribution of the Minimum Temperature in AIEF, August 2016.

Maximum temperature

Table 9

The Temperature values for the other sensors at the moment
of recording the maximum of 28,28°C, value measured by sensor No. 2

	Sensor 1	**Sensor 2**	**Sensor 3**	**Sensor 4**	**Sensor 5**	**Sensor 6**	**Sensor 7***	**Sensor 8**	**Sensor 9**
T max°C	25,68	28,28	27,36	25,57	26,15	26,22	26,35	26,66	26,07

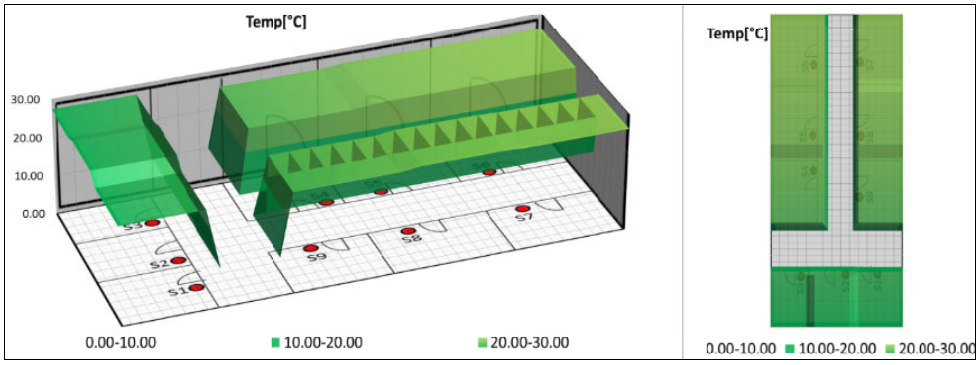


Fig. 10 – 3D graphic distribution of the Maximum Temperature in AIEF, August 2016.

Minimum Relative Humidity

Table 10

The Relative Humidity values for the other sensors at the moment of recording the minimum of 33.79 %, value measured by sensor No. 2

	Sensor 1	**Sensor 2**	**Sensor 3**	**Sensor 4**	**Sensor 5**	**Sensor 6**	**Sensor 7***	**Sensor 8***	**Sensor 9**
RH min%	47,91	33,79	48,75	42,59	47,86	50,91	42,57	47,87	–

* Missing data caused by technical errors

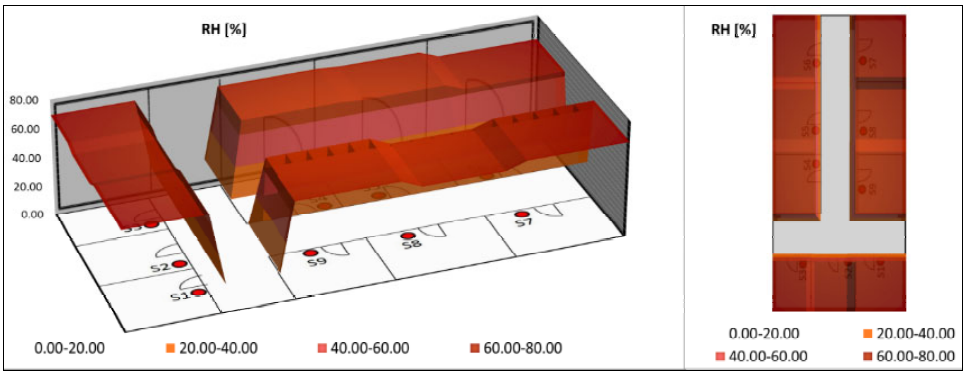


Fig. 11 – 3D graphic distribution for the Minimum Relative Humidity in AIEF, August 2016.

Maximum Relative Humidity

Table 11

The Relative Humidity values for the other sensors at the moment of recording the maximum of 71,47 %, recorded by sensor No. 2

	Sensor 1	**Sensor 2**	**Sensor 3**	**Sensor 4**	**Sensor 5**	**Sensor 6**	**Sensor 7**	**Sensor 8**	**Sensor 9***
RH max%	62,31	71,47	62,02	68,61	60,89	58,66	65,82	59,84	–

* Missing data caused by technical errors

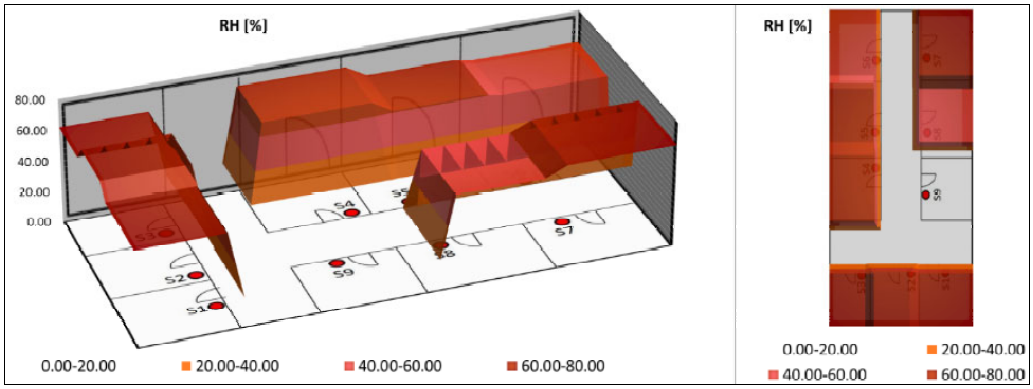


Fig. 12 – 3D graphic distribution for the Maximum Relative Humidity in AIEF, August 2016.

CONCLUSION

As a point of convergence over a multidisciplinary approach, the *Folkmedia* project was designed to organize and to implement an inteligent form of a modern archive. Based on a strategy wich was focused on: preservation of the original material, ensuring the state of conservation for the multimedia collection and valorization of the AIEF multimedia funds, as an indirect result generated by long-term conservation methodology, this particular approach aimed to offer a viable model for archive preservation in Romania.

While the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore "Constantin Brăiloiu" contributed with high specialized knowledge regarding its multimedia funds, the National Institute for Research and Development in Optoelectronics – INOE 2000 was focused on customizing its *know-how* and experience in advance studies on various cultural heritage goods. Besides the great value of the documents, given by age and by the importance of information, the complexity of this archive implicitly emerges also from the juxtaposition of different physical media, with different age and different environmental conditions for conservation.

Since the beginning of the project a dedicated program for monitoring of the environmental conditions was established. Focused on recording the thermo-hygrometric parameters such as: temperature (T), relative humidity (RH) and their daily and monthly fluctuations (ΔT and ΔRH), but also on the minimum (T min, RH min) and maximum values (T max, RH max), the monitoring process, among other stages implied in the project, is part of a strategy for preventive conservation.

The lack of sudden variations of the measured parameters for the selected time interval indicates a stable indoor microclimate which ensures a recommended preservation of the collection. As a natural continuity, long-term monitoring of the

AIEF environment must remain a key indicator in order to highlight even slight modifications that might induce further degradation.[23]

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[23] This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research, CNDI– UEFISCDI, PN-II-PT-PCCA-2011-3.1-0363.

Aleksandra Durić Milovanović, *Dvostruke manjine u Srbiji: O posebnostima u religiji i etnicitetu Rumuna u Vojvodini* [Double minorities in Serbia: the distinctive aspects of the religion and ethnicity of Romanians in Vojvodina]. Belgrade: Balkanološki institut SANU, 2015, 348 pp. English summary, bibliography, index, plates, photographs, figures. ISBN 978-86-7179-090-1[1]

The book *Double minorities in Serbia: the distinctive aspects of the religion and ethnicity of Romanians in Vojvodina* (henceforth referred to as *Double minorities*) is based on contemporary field research among the Romanian neo-Protestant communities in Vojvodina, Serbia's northern province. Its main goal is to describe and analyse the relationship between ethnic and religious identity among Serbia's Romanian neo-Protestants by using methods of historiography, ethnographic and anthropological fieldwork and description, as well as methods of discourse analysis. The specificity of these communities is found in their double marginalisation. On the one hand, they are a minority in Serbia because of their Romanian ethnicity, while on the other hand, they are a minority within the Romanian ethnic group on account of their religion, since the vast majority of Romanians are Orthodox. This specificity is theoretically conceptualized within the notion of 'double minorities', which was adopted as the title of the book.

Double minorities is divided into seven chapters, including a list of references and an index of personal names. Thus, the book covers distinct topics from the first to the last chapter, namely an introduction to the research (1), a history of Protestant and neo-Protestant communities (2), an overview of the Romanians in Vojvodina (3), an overview of the ethnographic studies into the neo-Protestant communities and their records (4), an analysis of fieldwork material focusing upon the complex relationships between religious and ethnic identity (5), a representation of contemporary theories on multiculturalism, religious pluralism and minority identity (6) and a final chapter outlining concluding remarks (7). From this brief content summary, it is apparent that various methods and approaches are combined – from historiography and anthropological theory, via ethnography, to discourse analysis – rendering this book a truly interdisciplinary study.

In the introductory chapter the author sets the scene for the emergence of new religious movements in southern and south-eastern Europe at the turn of the 20th century. On the one hand, this period saw the distancing of the state from the

[1] This review is a result of the Language, Folklore, Migrations in the Balkans project (no 178010) funded by the Ministry of Science of the Republic of Serbia and the Humboldt Research Fellowship for postdoctoral researchers 2016-2018 at the Institute for Slavic Studies, Humboldt University, Berlin.

Church and advancing secularization, while, on the other hand, it witnessed the spread of new religious movements and a religious revival. It was the period when neo-Protestant religious teachings spread through this part of Europe, like the Nazarenes, Baptists, Adventists, Methodists, and Pentecostals, changing the religious makeup of South-East Europe and contributing to its heterogeneity (p. 9-10). However, these new religious movements have borne social stigmas since they were established; they have been labeled as sects in public discourse, negatively connoted and discriminated against. Durić Milovanović hence explains that her research goal was to expand knowledge about these small religious communities and to contribute to an improved understanding of their followers and doctrines. The choice of the Romanians as subjects for the research was justified on the basis of their religious heterogeneity and the author's good command of Romanian. The introductory chapter offers an overview of previous research into small religious groups in Serbia, the theoretical and methodological framework of the research, the typology of religious organisaations and the legislative framework regarding religion in the Republic of Serbia. The author discusses in detail the 2006 Law on Churches and Religious Communities that was passed in Serbia (Sec. 1.4). This Law sparked a debate in Serbian society since it distinguished between "traditional" and "non-traditional" religious communities. The Serbian Orthodox Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the Slovak Evangelical Church, the Reformed Christian Church, the Evangelical Christian Church, the Jewish Community and the Islamic Community belong to the former categorisation. Non-traditional or confessional communities, sixteen in all, are entered into the Register of Churches and Religious Communities. Most of these non-traditional communities, however, are various neo-Protestant communities. According to this law, only traditional communities are entitled to carry out religious education in Serbian schools through the module of facultative school subjects and to make use of funds from the state budget. In the Serbian public sphere, and particularly among experts on religious matters, it was argued that this law obviously discriminates against small and new religious communities (p. 46).[2]

The second chapter explains the historical background and doctrines of Protestantism and neo-Protestantism. Durić Milovanović gives a brief overview of the European Reformation and Counter-Reformation and points at radical offshoots of the Reformation, such as Anabaptists, and Pietists, who inspired and influenced the emergence of neo-Protestant communities. Dedicated subsections present the history and doctrines of Nazarenes, Baptists, Adventists and Pentecostals and their development in the historical setting of southern Hungary (p. 70-117). The relations between neo-Protestant movements (especially Nazarenes) and the Serbian and Romanian Orthodox Churches are discussed; it is shown that the Orthodox population's stance towards the new religious trends varied from tolerance and

[2] The 2006 Law on Churches and Religious Communities can be viewed at: http://www.paragraf.rs/propisi/zakon_o_crkvama_i_verskim_zajednicama.html; last time visited on February 22, 2017.

understanding to resistance and hostility. Durić Milovanović particularly points at the Orthodox counter-movements inspired by neo-Protestants (especially Nazarenes), namely the Serbian movement of God Worshippers (Srb. *Bogomoljci*) and the Romanian Lord's Army (Rom. *Oastea Domnului*) (p. 87-94).

The third chapter brings data on the Romanian minority in Serbia. Although the Romanian presence in Vojvodina dates back to the Middle Ages, the colonisation of this region occurred during the 18th and 19th centuries, after the withdrawal of the Ottomans, when various groups of Czechs, Bulgarians, Germans, Hungarians, Romanians and Slovaks were settled in the region by the Habsburg rulers. The Romanians, predominantly cattle breeders, as Durić Milovanović describes, were colonised in their older settlements from communities drawn from across different parts of Romania, including Oltenia, Transylvania and Krishna (Crișana). That is why the Serbian Romanians can be divided into three main groups, namely Banat, Transylvanian and Oltenian Romanians, differing from each other according to their dialects and customs. The two biggest Romanian settlements were founded at the beginning of the 19th century – Uzdin (1800) and Petrovo Selo (1808) (p. 119-121). Durić Milovanović therein presents the development of the Romanian school system and cultural institutions in Vojvodina, particularly emphasising the significance of the emancipation of the Romanian Orthodox Church from the Serbian Orthodox Church (1864), the resistance to Magyarisation in Austro-Hungarian schools (1868-1918) and the establishment of Romanian cultural and musical groups and societies all over Vojvodina (1869-1885) (p. 122-123). The breaking point for the Romanian national minority came after the end of the First World War and the Treaty of Trianon (1920), when the Banat was divided and more than 60,000 Romanians remained in the Serbian part. From then onwards, the number of Romanians began to decline for a number reasons, the author listing assimilation, extreme ethnic endogamy, low birth rates, emigration to the United States, Germanisation of the Romanian Catholics and population exchange between the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Romania in the 1920s (p. 121-123). At the beginning of the 20th century, an important cultural institution for Romanians in Vojvodina was Astra. After the Second World War, the Cultural Society of the Romanians from the Yugoslav Banat was founded and stationed in Vršac. During that period, as Durić Milovanović stresses, Romanian language theatres and journals, like the political-informative *Libertatea* and the literature magazine *Lumina*, played a significant role in the cultural life of the Romanians (p. 126-127). The author also presents the present state of affairs: according to the last Serbian Population Census in 2011 there were 25,410 Romanians in Vojvodina, most of them living in the South Banat in the municipalities of Vršac, Alibunar and Pančevo. The Community of Romanians was founded in 1990 in Kuštilj encompassing more than 25 cultural and artistic societies and organising a number of cultural festivals (p. 131-132). Separate sub-sections are devoted to heterogeneous religious affiliations among the Romanians in Vojvodina, such as

the Romanian Orthodox Church, the Romanian Greek-Catholic and neo-Protestant communities (Nazarens, Baptists, Pentecostals, Adventists) (p. 144-151).

The forth chapter is ethnographic description of the neo-Protestant communities based on the author's field research, conducted from 2008 to 2011 in Vojvodina. This included participant observation and qualitative, semi-structured interviews. Durić Milovanović describes the fieldwork as a highly sensitive, having in mind the stigmatisation of the researched communities and their relatively cloistered way of life. In such precarious fieldwork everything matters: from the way a researcher initially presents his/her research to the community to the way he/she dresses, behaves, and talks. Durić Milovanović stresses that it is very important for the researcher to have a "gatekeeper", a person who introduces the researcher to the community and helps him/her during the research. However, when researching closed communities, the researcher must embrace the risk of failure and may even expect to be subjected to proselytism (p. 157-165). The ability to use the native language in interviews, exhibit elementary knowledge about the researched communities to their members and win the trust of the community members are outlined by the author as the most important criteria needed for the success in the field. In this case, the researcher was expected to partake in religious services and to introduce herself and her research after the service and sermon in front of the church's congregation (p. 164-165). The ethnographic description is organised so as to give a basic presentation of the practices and doctrines of the neo-Protestant communities, focusing on the topics that interlocutors themselves stressed, explicitly or implicitly, as important, or that the author judged to be distinctive for these communities. These are: the history of the local community, biblical themes and doctrines, eschatology, conversion, religious practices (such as language use, the singing of hymns, prayers, evangelisation and missionary work), the celebration of religious holidays and the cycle of life – including birth, marriage and burial. In the description, the voice is given to the communities' members, who describe their religious community in their own words, while the author supplements these descriptions with data and academic commentaries. Durić Milovanović emphasises evangelisation practices and missionary work, pointing to strategies of mimicry, employed in cases when religious gatherings are advertised under the alternative auspices, such as being meetings for healthy eating habits (p. 193-199). The author argues that neo-Protestants are looked upon with more tolerance and mainly spoken of neutrally in the Romanian Orthodox Church, while in the Serbian Orthodox Church they are treated with less tolerance and labeled pejoratively as *sects* (p. 216). The relation between neo-Protestant communities and the state has brought them into numerous conflicts. Namely, it is stressed that all neo-Protestant communities oblige themselves to pay taxes but reject army service. While Nazarenes also reject voting and any political engagement, Baptists and Pentecostals are politically active (p. 221-224). Conflicts with the state resulted in neo-Protestants' imprisonments, expulsions, public stigmatisation and political emigration.

Based on the interviews with interlocutors, in her fifth chapter, Durić Milovanović analyses the different discourse modalities that shed light on the multifaceted relationship between religious and ethnic identity. The author adopts Foucault's notion of doctrinal discourse which is authoritarian, highly cohesive and normative. As a special discourse genre, she analyses homily, which transmits not only quotations from the Bible but also conveys interpretations of the surrounding world. The author outlines a typical structure of homilies and stresses that it is based upon an "us / them (religious Other)" relation (p. 228-229). While homily is directed at in-group members, the other type of religious discourse, which the author names *missionary*, is directed at out-group members. Its aim is to teach and attract new believers (p. 229). The common features of all types belonging to religious discourse are eschatological and apocalyptical descriptions and the use of symbols and metaphors (p. 230). Discourses on ethnic identity are analysed with the help of Brubaker's triangular model of the minority community, its institutions, and the land of origin. As Christian Orthodoxy constitutes an important part of the modern Romanian national identity, neo-Protestants do not conform to being "ideal Romanians". Thus, they tend to establish a hierarchical supremacy of religious over ethnic identity (p. 233). Although they subordinate ethnic to religious identity, neo-Protestants still have a good command of the Romanian language, a passive knowledge of Romanian traditional culture and take pride in preserving Romanian material culture (e.g. traditional costumes). Dominant discourses in neo-Protestant communities underline community coherence and suppress internal differences based on ethnicity, age or social status. It is in this respect that these communities could be classified as non-national or supranational (p. 237). The author concludes that the strongest bond between neo-Protestants and Romanian identity lies in language, which is why special attention is devoted to the analysis of the discourse on language identity. Durić Milovanović stresses the importance of the use of the native language in religious services and sermons among neo-Protestants. She notes that several factors have contributed to the language vitality among neo-Protestants, such as: homilies in native Romanian, missionary activities from Romania, religious literature in Romanian and the media (p. 243). A special thematic unit is devoted to the narratives on conversion, since they are very important in identity construction among neo-Protestants (p. 250-255).

In the sixth chapter the author gives an overview of the contemporary theories on multiculturalism and argues that religious communities play an important role in debates on multiculturalism, although a national paradigm dominates (p. 277). She criticises negative reporting on the neo-Protestant communities within the Serbian press, and particularly the equation between neo-Protestants and satanic and other mystic cults, which is often explicitly or implicitly made in public discourse (p. 279-280). Durić Milovanović draws attention to the charity work of many neo-Protestant communities during the period of war and severe economic crises (p. 280-281). She also stresses the need to distinguished between the regular missionary work of these

communities and proselytism. If a society treats small religious communities with intolerance, the author argues, it will lead to religious ghettoisation and emergence of hidden subcultures. Although Vojvodina can boast about ethnic and religious diversity and advanced legislation in terms of individual and collective rights, Durić Milovanović points at incompatibilities between the Serbian Constitution, which guarantees equal rights to all citizens, and the 2006 Law on Churches and Religious Communities, which favours traditional religious communities (p. 288-290). The establishment of the Interreligious Council of the Ministry for Religion in the Republic of Serbia, which took place in 2010, could, according to the author, contribute to the improvement of religious dialogue and religious rights, but only if non-traditional religious communities are also included in any dialogue.

In conclusion, Durić Milovanović's book is an interdisciplinary study which expands the fund of knowledge on neo-Protestant communities, offering original fieldwork material and insights from in-group members. It also gives an historical and anthropological background for approaching these small religious communities, and contributes to our understanding of the complex relations between ethnic and religious identity. Finally, it is a book which advocates heterogeneity and calls for an open dialogue and the improvement of mutual understanding in the society. Although the book contains a 12-page summary in English, the translation of this book into Romanian would certainly be a welcome step, since it would contribute to a better understanding of Romanian-Serbian relations and the status of Romanian communities in Serbia.

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Maria Candale Grosu, *Arhivele de folclor şi memoria culturală* [Folklore Archives and the Cultural Memory]. Timişoara: Editura Universităţii de Vest, 2017, 178 p., ISBN 978-973-125-554-5.

This book[1] renders, in a modified form, the content of the author's PhD Thesis,[2] which analyses the practice of archiving field notes in the second half of the twentieth century, within two folklore archives located in Cluj. More specifically, it provides a diachronic approach to the manner in which the research and archiving methodologies undertaken by scholars in these archival repositories have given rise to a certain *discursive rhetoric* of ethnographic documents. As Maria Candale Grosu points out in the introduction, the topic of this volume gained shape in particular within the framework of a research project in which she participated: a project

[1] This volume has been awarded the ASER Prize (Ethnological Science Association of Romania) in 2016.

[2] See Candale (Grosu) 2013.

dedicated to the Archive of the Folklore Society in Cluj[3] and was coordinated by Eleonora Sava.[4]

The research described in this book is structured into four chapters and proposes a critical revision, in accordance with the principles of the reflexive anthropology of the manuscript field notes (pertaining to the thematic area of burials) preserved in the Folklore Archive of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca, and the Archive of the Students' Folklore Society from the Faculty of Letters of "Babeș-Bolyai" University. The author's attention focuses on the process of *textualizing* the reality encountered during field research, in conjunction with the epistemological, historical, and political context of each period.

The first chapter, *Theoretical Premises and the Object of Research*, comprises the theoretical premises of the research, a general history of the two archives, a presentation of the archival funds and the researchers who contributed to setting them up. The author approaches the archives folklore from a classical perspective, understanding them as *places of memory*. In her analysis of archival records (described in the next chapter), we can identify several guiding assertions, specific to postmodern anthropology: the critique of the hegemony of realistic ethnography, the ideological dimension of ethnographic texts, their propensity towards reality (re)construction, the dialogical dimension of ethnographic documents, the researcher's situated knowledge (the last three features are used as a „contrast substance" for stressing the way in which ethnographic discourse was built through the analysed field notes).

The historical presentation of the Folklore Archive of the Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca, lays emphasis on the national identity component underlying its establishment in 1930, as well as the institutional reconfigurations through which it went after the institution of the communist regime.[5] The material fund of this archive was established by a wide array of contributors, such as the correspondents of Ion Muşlea (the founder of the archive), stipendiary trainees, experts and external collaborators: teachers, students, pupils. Following the same pattern, the Archive of the Folklore Society in Cluj was set up as a result of the field research carried out by the students of the Faculty of Letters, under the guidance of their professors (Dumitru Pop, Nicolae Bot, Ion Şeuleanu), within the framework of the Students' Scientific Folklore Society (founded in 1955).

The most significant part of this chapter encompasses a macro-level quantitative and qualitative analysis of the collected materials (complying with the methodo-

[3] Project IDEAS 942/2009, CNCSIS code: 2424, *New Perspectives on Ethno-Folkloric Documents*, financed by the National Research Council of Romania, developed in the period 2009-2011.

[4] For the studies written by the two authors, resulting from the above-mentioned project, see Sava 2011a (the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the documents in the Archive of the Folklore Society in Cluj) and Sava 2011b (corpus of texts).

[5] The Folklore Archive of the Romanian Academy was included in the Institute of Linguistics in 1948; then, in 1949 was taken over by the Cluj branch of the Folklore Institute in Bucharest. Since 1971, it has been included in the Centre of Social Sciences from the Academy of Social and Political Sciences.

logical, thematic and contextual criteria, as well as in keeping with the indexing manner), which highlights the chronological trajectory of the two archives. Against the general background featuring the presentation of field research practices in Communist Romania, outlined by Otilia Hedeşan,[6] Maria Candale Grosu identifies two stages in the postwar activity of the Folklore Archive of the Romanian Academy in Cluj-Napoca: the stage of folklore studies (1951-1965) and the transitional stage, from folklore studies to modern ethnology (1966-1995), in which she further distinguishes three periods: 1966-1977, 1978-1989, 1989-1995. With regard to the Archive of the Folklore Society, the author uses the taxonomy of Eleonora Sava,[7] which delineates three stages of research: the *stage of folklore studies* (1958-1973), the *stage of transition from the collection of folklore towards research on traditional culture* (1973-1992), and the *ethnological stage* (after 1992).

In the second chapter, *Ethnographic Writing*, the author focuses on a micro analysis: she examines the way in which field notes were drafted, the writing and archiving conventions that gave them shape and the implications of the field textualization process. Thus, the analyse is based on the correlation between the following variables: the model of structuring the information in the field notes (narrative, descriptive), the content (ritual-ceremonial texts and descriptions of customs with/without contextual elements), the research methods (questionnaire, direct observation), the indexing methods. The author's synthesis effort is considerable, because the analysis targets each individual archive, highlighting their development in time, in relation to every research stage identified in the previous chapter.

The observations regarding the fieldnotes included in the Folklore Archive of the Romanian Academy in Cluj-Napoca describe, for the stage of folklore studies, a manuscript fund in which versified texts prevail (written mostly in Hungarian). In the transitional stage, to these was added the identification of the communicational, situational or ritualistic context. Also in the second period, the content of field notes diversified and there appeared frequent descriptions of rituals, characterized by: "the presentation in chronological order of the unfolding of events; the use of impersonal verbal and pronominal structures; the description of the ideational springs of human behaviour in ritualistic situations, based on generalizations; the use of the present tense" (p. 68). In addition to this model of note taking, there are identified small exceptions: notes recording the interlocutor's attitude towards the discursive subject or the researcher's remarks concerning his or her interlocutor. The field notes resulting from the questionnaire include schematic answers, which retain only data of a general nature. During the stage of folklore studies direct observation was not resorted to. Later on, when this method came to be used, researchers continued to focus on the description of ritual behaviours and investigated related matters only exceptionally.

[6] Hedeşan 2008.
[7] Sava 2011.

The author dedicates a much more detailed analysis to the Archive of the Folklore Society in Cluj. She highlights the following characteristics of the period of folklore studies: the lack of research tools explicitly evoked by the students (aside from the academic folklore textbook and the indications of the supervising professor), the fragmented content of the ritualistic description in several field notes (associated with a theme, a motif, a ritual moment), the lack of a temporal contextualization of observed events and of the observer's location. In the second period, of transition towards ethnology some vague changes are highlighted. Firstly, the students made a brief (ritual) contextualization of the versified texts. By contrast, the contents of the field notes which describe rituals betray, according to the author, an emphasis on the "correlation between the cultural aspects that can be associated with a subject" (p. 85). Secondly, even though the method of direct observation remained faithful to the principles of completeness, objectivity and veracity, promoted in the interwar period, some elements of subjectivity are indeed identifiable in the analysed materials. Moreover, although researchers did not explicitly target social aspects, they captured them involuntarily. Such was the case of information on the biography of the deceased or the mourner, when they are the subject of public exposure through dirges. Finally, the author's observations related to the field notes, resulting from the application of the questionnaires stressed the levelling character of this research tools (in accordance with the *systematization* and *consolidation* objectives pursued): the field notes resulting from the application of the same questionnaire, compiled in the 1930s by C. Brăiloiu and Henri H. Stahl, but in different spaces and periods (at a distance of 40 years) contain texts of a striking similarity.

The fieldnotes analysed by Maria Candale Grosu show that, in the early postwar decades, researchers were guided after the classical principles of (realistic) ethnography: they selected the facts of culture considered to be representative for the community, described general and repetitive gestures and ritualistic actions, without paying attention to quotidian aspects; they complied with specific narrative conventions, which created the illusion of accuracy and objectivity: establishing an equivalence between the interlocutors' discourse and practice, inducing the illusion of the researcher's omnipresence, the nondifferentiation of authorial voices, the use of the present tense and the authorial plural, the desire for completeness, etc. Given the archiving perspective (and, implicitly, thematic mapping and typologies), field notes retained only what fit into a predetermined area of (thematic) interest. Starting from the 1980s, there were changes in the field of research: a certain interest in non-ritualistic matters and tentative clues of subjectivity; and in the finality of field notes: they were no longer designed primarily for archiving purposes, but remained in personal funds.

An important feature in illustrating, in this chapter, the picture of ethnological research conducted in postwar Cluj is the possibility of tracing the continuities and, especially, the discontinuities of ethnological research (at the

thematic, methodological level) in comparison with the interwar period, but also with the Western theoretical paradigms of the latter half of the twentieth century. What is also worth mentioning is the author's attention to underlining, through examples, the changes – largely subtle – produced in the process of transition from the study of folklore to ethnology.

The third chapter, *The Research Methodology in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century*, includes, in the first part, an analysis of four autochthonous methodological guidelines[8] produced at that time. In light of the idea that "field notes are compiled following a dialogue between the interlocutor's culture and the researcher's culture" (p. 137), the author explores the way in which the instructions referring to: choosing the area, preparing the collection process, the stage of documentation, the choice of the interlocutors, the drafting of the archival record, the organization of the collected material have influenced the production of archival records. In the second part, the author tries to place the directions of research at national level within the framework of those undertaken at European level. Therefore, this chapter describes a native landscape marked by the methodological rift caused by the installation of communism (emphasizing the artistic side of folklore, to the detriment of social aspects), the upholding of "a national ethnology practised throughout Europe, in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, reinvigorated and specifically adapted, during Communism, in all the former Communist countries" (p. 157) and a "responsiveness[9] to the theories which dominated ethnological sciences in Europe during the first half of the twentieth century" (*Idem*).

In the last chapter, *The Folklore Archive and the Constructions of the Positivist Paradigm*, Maria Candale Grosu insists on the process by which a field note becomes an archival document and the manner in which the positivistic paradigm ensures the credibility of the source-document. The general ideas expounded upon by the author are reduced to the following assertions: the building of the documentary fund of these archives is subject to a particular *rhetoric*, being influenced by certain *specific assumptions and discursive stakes*; the archiving process involves a series of *transformations* from the "evental reality in which the researcher participates and the archived fieldnote" (p. 163); in keeping with the desideratum of the positivist epistemology, the researcher conveys the illusion of

[8] Dumitru Pop, *Folclor literar românesc. Partea I*. Notes from the lectures delivered in academic year 1956/1957, Litografia Învățământului Cluj, 1957; Mihai Pop, *Îndreptar pentru culegerea folclorului*, Casa Centrală a Creației Populare, București 1967; Ovidiu Bârlea, *Metoda de cercetare a folclorului*, Editura pentru Literatură, București, 1969; Gheorghe Vrabie, *Folclorul. Obiect – principii – metodă – categorii*, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, București, 1970.

[9] In the discussion devoted to the development of methodological models in Romanian scholarship, in relation to the European trends of the first half of the twentieth century (which we would have wished to be more extended, through the addition, in a mirror, of the debates on *textual and political criticism* in Western anthropology in the second half of the twentieth century), the author mentions two researchers: Ion Mușlea (in line with the comparative-historical theory she exposes) and Mihai Pop ("the Romanian theorist was in perfect synchrony with the European and American theories of his time, which sought to overcome the static structuralist model of the 1950s-60s," p. 158).

objectivity, of a (direct) transfer of the reality in the field into the folklore archive. In addition, the system of organizing the archive "has discursive strategies whereby the content of the documents is objectified" (*Idem*).

The chapter devoted to *Conclusions* contains – contrary to expectations concerning the consolidation/reinforcement of the analytical approach – general comments about the archiving project, seen as part of the process of building the national identity, as well as about the selection mechanisms of the archive (concerning the researched social environments, the thematic programme) and the relationship between methodological principles and the archiving practice.

I believe that the significance of the Maria Candale Grosu's approach may reside in her revisiting and analysis of the archival documents, not in terms of their value, but rather as *metadocuments*,[10] against the historical, theoretical and methodological background in which they were produced and which they illustrated. Approaches following this principle, which proposes a rereading of the "ways in which culture has been described in a particular context,"[11] are also desirable in the case of other categories of ethnographic documents, with a view to outlining a critical re-evaluation of Romanian ethnography.

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[10] The use of the syntagm refers to the *meta-ethnographic* character of reflexive ethnography, captured by Șerban Văetișı (2008: Văetișı).

[11] *Idem,* p. 139.

Cristina Bogdan, *Moartea și lumea românească premodernă. Discursuri încrucișate* [Death and the Romanian Premodern World: Crossed Speeches]. Bucureşti: Editura Universității din Bucureşti, 2016, 352 p., ISBN 978-606-16-0733-4

About a theme as old as the world, death and its symbolism, has been written much in the Romanian space and, certainly, they will be enough audacious people, but Cristina Bogdan's study, makes its mark from the very beginning in terms of research, because it manages to put together in a unitary attempt different discourses from the literary and folkloric and to the visual, resulting in a new approach, refreshed by the working tools of Western anthropology. The author penetrates both the diachronic dimension and the synchronic one of the phenomenon, being a history of *Thanatos* without abandoning for a moment the comparative perspective. But, equally, we face a multidisciplinary incursion that mixes historical, ethnographic, ethnological methods and thematic and stylistic analysis that are specific for literary criticism, so putting on balance the richness and full filtering of sources, it puts forward a comforting impression of monumental, of a built structure, accidentally or not, on seven substantial steps (chapters), of analytical probe of the representations of *passing* and adjacent instances, "I. A taboo converted to scientific discipline", "II. Romanian premodern world and the perishability show", "III. Funeral ceremony. Crossed glances", "IV. Literary speeches", "V. Faces of *Death* in the iconography of the Romanian Country", "VI. Face to face with *Death*. Meetings, dialogue, confrontations" and "VII. The accidents of a *security device*", to which are added two sections as instructive as these, a *post-scriptum* and a "Catalogue of the representations of *Death* in the iconography of the Romanian Country".

We would like to advance to the core study starting from the second chapter because, without being an opportunity of lamentation, it indicates one of the drawbacks that the author had to overcome, that is the lack of sufficient Romanian sources, especially for the period between the XVII and XIX centuries, disability improved by resorting to external sources with which the local climate behaves strikingly similar, less as we shall see, when it comes to religious prejudices of the funeral ceremony. Those few which have been retained have a message directed through time, while being escorted by formulas such as *to be known*. It is, in the first instance, about the information about the plague, which in the Romanian space appears in 1550 and arrives from Transylvania. The changes of the social and political type are interesting, at this level. Of course, the universal remedy for evil illness (as we can see in *Pravila* of Matei Basarab) is running, but in the face of the exodus, which only hastened the contamination, the authorities had to take military police measures, as is the case of Grigore Ghica, sometimes radical, such as the complete burning of dwellings without a too high real estate value. Cristina Bogdan outlines true pages of mental history in which we find that people, regardless of the place, were capable of extreme gestures to overcome the unfortunate illness, for example, committing processions and rituals through "power of attorney", that is to

say, made in an uncontaminated city on behalf of another city under the siege of the plague. In fact, they are part of a long line of actions related to the prevention and control of the disease, as we find at the signified level and in some of the folk texts where the allegorical idea of individual sacrifice in favour of the community is shared. Here also fit the taumaturgical assaults (the representations of St. Haralambie and St. Hristofor) or the practices of ridding the fear of the collective mentality.

The third chapter is a tour of force in the history of the funeral ceremony that is subjected to "crossed views" and, in particular, to the eye of the alien traveller who marvels in the varied ritual range, especially the spectacle of the lamentation, that nonsense of some talkative women that Dimitrie Cantemir also spoke about. The observance of traveller of Catholic confession traverses between the indulgent irony and the stupor justified in front of the theatrical violence of the habit of the lamentation – which does not prevent some of the congregations from participating in the rituals of the Orthodox, leaving themselves "contaminated" by their beliefs – so that they no longer fall into the Christian sphere. The wake is also ridiculed by the traveller, as well as the alms, with one exception (see p. 79), for the inefficient "banquets", despite poverty. It has to be said that such an "outward" look is not meant to capture the essence of the Romanian collective mentality, the social mechanisms that regulate the relations within the community, on the one hand, and the ones between it and the deceased, on the other. Such attentive analysis is enjoyed also by the "punitive pedagogy of the medieval world" (Ştefan Lemny), where the painful reports, forced by the people, of the individual with death. Some hypostases capture dystopies of abandoning, rotting or tearing the corpses by domestic animals.

The fourth chapter is reserved for "Literary Discourses", in this case, several writers who assured the synchronization of Romanians with the "realities of the West", Metropolitan Dosoftei and Miron Costin, in whose typology of scholars who led a hybrid habitation in culture of the *Ianus bifrons*, looking at both the old and the new world, can easily be found Dimitrie Cantemir or the steward Constantin Cantacuzino. Thus, the *Life of the World* poem is passed through the death grid, resulting in an interesting stylistic analysis with references to local and foreign sources without it being a pale copy of the weather patterns, but the baroque drama of the baron facing the *vanity of vanities*. In the case of Dosoftei, the author stops at the prologue and the summary made by the author of *Psaltirea în versuri* at processing the *Erofili* play by Cretan playwright Gheorghios Chortatzis, whose prologue is seen as an authentic "speech of death". The author also lurks on a corpus of popular texts belonging to the *ars moriendi* typology and eschatological literature, the *Legend about Adam*, or the apocryphal texts that relate to the end of Abraham, with the two extremes of feeling facing death: good death and evil death, rooted hypostases in Christian dogma, rejecting *Purgatory* type transitions. In the "passage" paradigm, there are also the "customs of the air" that have their origins in the Bible, generating a series of writings with a moralizing role as well as

iconographic representations in churches spread across almost the whole territory of Romania, recalling the technique of indictment and the permanence of the thanatic feeling.

The fifth chapter includes discussions on the "Face of Death in the Romanian Country iconography", namely "the temptation to 'domesticate'" the theatrical representations of the collective mentality. The author found a unitary and homogeneous expression, but individualized according to the level of reporting of "artists" to "passing" in the golden age of our folk art (1750-1850). "The absence" appears as an equally suggestive reason among the other symbolic representations, such as the skeleton, the scythe, the bag, the cup, time or the changing luck. The chapter is accompanied by several parable copies from the artistic picture from churches, most of them in the sub-Carpathian area, in the counties of Vâlcea and Argeş, but also in the southern part of Dolj County.

Popular thinking has not seen the confrontation of death just as an inexorable encounter without the chance of a fight (at least verbal). From the macabre – (self) ironic register, is of course, part of it the dialogue of the man with death that is the subject of the sixth chapter. The Esopian archetypes have enjoyed a wide circulation in the world's cultures and have lived in the Romanian space through folkloric processing, not missing from the iconographic representations in Vâlcea County. The funny and perspiring message to Death is part, as the author notes, of the "topos of the fooled Death". In addition to the projection mentioned above, of the chit-chat between Şubredu Bătrân and the Cruel Death, which, we must add, circulates in the area and in the form of anecdotes, there is also a variant of the meeting between a young emperor (or queen) and the *fiery Death* that finds similarities with Western macabre dances that have been linked to the context of the outbreak of the great plague epidemic, as well as the hypostasis of the "Last Knight of the *Apocalypse*", also a religious source, and the projections it generated visually.

The seventh chapter is an attempt to preserve the National Heritage seen as a (perishable) *memory place*. Unfortunately, between the premodern world and the contemporaneity, a fallacy has been created in the understanding of the surrounding world that is desired to be recodified, as with the restoration of some worship centres, not to mention their destruction by nature and, worse, by the hand of man, as the author notes, especially when we talk about the representations of Death that remind the community of the fatality of the end, awakening collective and individual fears. It is brought into discussion again, in our case, the Death-image relationship, which is also found in the introductory chapter, in the section "Death and image. Current technologies for preserving the memory of the deceased", the two texts being, in fact, a case study as an arc over time, past, and post-modernity, where, for the latter, the old representations are replaced in the ceremony of death by rituals in the virtual world, such as *post-mortem* Facebook.

Death and the Premodern Romanian World regards *the passage* as a set of reflections well articulated at the level of several speeches that do not function

separately, being the extent to which the premodern mentality knew how to monitor it. The study is definitely a reference in the Romanian thanalogical research, distinguishing itself in the new paradigm of Romanian ethnology.

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Marin Marian-Bălașa, *Muzicologii, etnologii, subiectivități, politici* [Musicologies, Ethnologies, Subjectivities, Politics]. București: EdituraMuzicală, 2011, 349 p., ISBN 978-973-42-0648-3

The title of the Marin Marian-Bălașa's latest book anticipates fairly the problematic and the intellectual attitude that will be displayed throughout the entire work. In terms of problematic, it announces an exploration of the idea of plurality (present in the desinence of the terms and in the enumeration itself), the concern for the role of subjectivity within the scientific discourse, and for the importance of the political/ideological dimension which marks every research activity. In terms of attitude, the title reveals – at least for the Romanian reader – an author animated by a vigorous polemic spirit. This is suggested in the idea of *plurality*, that challenges the claims of objectivity and scientific rigor of the univocal dominant national ethnology, as well as in the emphasis on subjectivity and ideology, dimensions still systematically omitted from almost everywhere in the Romanian ethnological studies (Vintilă Mihăilescu and Nicolae Panea are among the very few exceptions).

We are looking at a highly interdisciplinary enterprise, fully assumed by Marin Marian-Bălașa in Roland Barthes' terms: „Interdisciplinary work (…) is not about confronting already constituted disciplines (…). In order to do something interdisciplinary it's not enough to choose a subject (a theme) and gather around it two or three sciences. *Interdisciplinarity consists in creating a new object that belongs to no one*" (p. 168). This is why, although the book contains close analysis of various ethnological practices (folklore collections and monographic productions, visual anthropology and graphic representation problems or programmatic down-looking of several cultural phenomena), Marian-Bălașa always goes beyond the results and the methodologies *per s*e to the level of profound motivations, of fragile subjective determinations and hidden ideological implications of his "subjects" – the academics from the field of Romanian ethnology. It is fair to say that his hermeneutics aims at revealing the hidden mechanisms, contexts and determinations that lie behind methodological options and conceptual preferences. The interpretative solutions proposed here make the best of subjectivity and imagination – but paradoxical (maybe) these elements add credibility and solidity to the demonstrations, unlike many others who praise the liberties suggested by *Writing Culture* (Clifford & Marcus 1986), but with poor results. So, to put it briefly, this book describes and analyses the production of the Romanian ethnologic knowledge; it offers an anthropology of the ethnological intellectual practice.

The volume is divided into three large sections. The first, titled *Folklore – why should it be (re)collected*, revisits Romanian ethnology in some of its most significant moments, not for the irony's sake(even if we often find a poetics of irony at work) or time-travel pleasures (since a number of authors enjoying the reputation of leading intellectual figures are proved not to have remained insensitive to nationalism, racism and other crimes), but for the sake of studying the intellectual process in itself and the dynamics of the ethnological production. To Marin Marian-Bălașa, research activity is determined by a complicated mixture of subjective inclinations (*intrinsic subjectivities*) and political and contextual factors (*extrinsic determinations*). He suggests that these two actually determine the methodologies and conceptual choices of scholars and out of this complex derive three main intellectual styles or three paradigms: 1. "the romantic amateurism" (who celebrates localism, sentimentalism, nationalism and religious orthodoxy); 2. "the academic professionalism" (who praises rigor and displays temperate subjectivity); 3. "the engaged or politically affiliated academic orientation" (a synthesis of the two, of institutional-nationalist color). Marian-Bălașa, who deconstructs the very practice of producing typologies, creates himself this typology, although it is obvious that he finds no pleasure in it, for he feels the need to over-clarify that these paradigms are not pure and develop – when actualized – just as many hybridizations and contamination, preserving though their dominant features. Far from simple imaginative and speculative exercises, these categories are based upon solid argumentations with extensive citations from a number of key works belonging to the most important figures in the Romanian ethnological pantheon (M. Vulpescu, S. Drăgoi, T. Brediceanu, C. Brăiloiu, a.o.). The propagandistic motivation, the nationalist, racist or xenophobe impulses, expressed plainly or discretely are exposed with verve. In a simple anthology Marian-Bălașa can read many clues regarding the political agenda of the collectors; a folkloric monograph is never a genuine descriptive work, but a political selection and intellectual reconstruction of a place/community – see the systematically omission of the Rroma informants in order to provide the impression of pure ethnicity (p. 12-48). Even the apparently harmless lexicon is proven to be a political instrument, far from innocent (p. 48-73). Moreover, Marian-Bălașa brings revelatory insights on the sentimental/ideological/political dimension of the classical products of ethnological research. For instance, an anthology generates the feeling (illusion, of course) of possession of a certain territory, a monograph which popularizes a specific rural area adds an important sentimental, mental-imaginary expansion to the investigated community. Because, once entered into the scriptural ethnological domain, local values can be referred to as *national*, becoming thus part/element of the national identity complex. These activities (the production of anthologies/monographs) are in themselves expressions of political power, and consequently extremely selective compositions. But they come to give substance to the more general idea of national folklore (in fact an artificial, ideological construction). Of course, if we move further, in the name of this knowledge a discrimination becomes possible: between

the degree of Romanianness of places in Romania: Maramureș, Bucovina are imagined as highly Romanian areas, whereas the city of Galați, or Găiești village, who enjoyed less ethnological attention, have implicitly (so far) a deficit of Romanian-ness (a discrimination with huge economic implications).

Also in the first section, Marin Marian-Bălașa challenges some of the sacred concepts of the Romanian ethnology in a subchapter titled *Which village, which peasant, which folklorist?* Here, in the first paragraph, the author clarifies his position: "I refer not to that empirical, historical, «real» meaning of the concepts of village, peasant, or rurality, but to the academic perspective over the village, peasant, rurality. A perspective I identify as equally scientific and imaginary, of a hidden subconscious hibridity. In other words, I mean *that* real imposed by reflection, analysis, and academic debate, but, in the same time, imposed by instances such as ideology, nostalgia, personal attachment or phantasm. So, I have in mind a *reality of a second degree*, but nevertheless consistent up to exasperation or, maybe, to ecstasy, depending on who senses it" (p. 73). The radicalism of the iconoclastic gesture and the analytic vigor of the demonstration turn this chapter in one of the most spectacular in the book. Basically, it exposes these theoretical fictions saturated with traces and elements of ideology accumulated gradually in time, as Romanian ethnology has been traversing different political regimes, ideologies and scientific methodologies, and which produced a lent and almost complete divorce between the empirical pretext of these abstractions and their academic meanings. If these constructs have an aprioric content already, then their instrumentalization in the field is rich in consequences. The official researcher is bound to re-create the field according to his pre-concept of rurality and to operate a selection among the collected materials, one that would confirm his conceptual tool. The informants, in response, act at first surprisingly, lacking to understand the expectations of the researchers, but, latter, wisely, will adapt their responses, repertoires and behaviors so as to meet their expectations and as to please the important urban academics who prove so interested in their modest lives and communities. Marin Marian-Bălașa also shows that these ideas of village/ peasant were articulated around the investigation of a small number of life facts/contexts – mostly the seasonal and the biographical rituals, as if people themselves would live these realities only. Another problem is that while the mainstream academics remain attached to these conceptual fictions, they fail to see (and to make sense of) the changes in the Romanian society, both rural and urban, and doing so they use and re-use the same old analytic apparatus that long ago legitimated the beliefs of the forefathers of the discipline – this is why, shows the author, one could find in 2005 researchers using questionnaires and mental patterns that were designed about 60-100 years ago. In the end, this conceptual reality produces not only an object that has little to do with reality, but one that somehow returns – with the authority of some power institutions – to order and in-form the actual field, reality itself.

It is important to emphasize that, contrary to what it might seem, these analyses exposing the extremisms and the pathologies and platitudes of the local

ethnology are not retaliation acts or moral judgments – they simply display/dissect mechanisms and intellectual styles at work.

The second section of the book is titled *Visual Anthropology and Graphical Representation* and it takes to a different level and on a different basis the discussion regarding the quality of the knowledge produced by ethnology. Marin Marian-Bălașa pays attention to the ethnological visual discourse (ethnographic film and photography) to analyze "the parallel between the emancipation of the ethnological research, as a mediator agent, and the obnubilation of what could be called the *object and ethnological fact's intimacy*" (p. 137). This visual discourse, which escorts and documents field campaigns, legitimates the academic research, brings forth the authority of the "field", and proves the qualitative dimension of the enterprise, but, in the same time, holds the author, something very important seems to remain unnoticed and, because of that, unattainable: "the ontological and psycho-spiritual intimacy of the ethnological object/folkloric fact" (p. 137) that is found there, in the field, mostly in the performative/ participative context. So, this section analyses various visual narratives that display the failure to capture this intimacy/ fragile reality of the folkloric performance, while, in the same time, betrays the movements, the acts, procedures and strategies by which ethnology constitutes itself as a science. Actually, in one of the conclusions, Marian-Bălașa plainly states that in this visual narrative "in all the hundreds of photos from the archives – these long and thorough series, or the one belonging to the filmographic sequentiality of those who captured the construction of the pipes – we rather learn how something that never existed comes to life, how the ethnomusicologists create something that folklore never really was. In the documents we see we admire this very science" (p. 184).

Analyzing the famous ethnographic movie *Căluşul din Bârca* (1958), Marin Marian-Bălașa refers to what it fails to capture – the emotion of the peasants, their hopes and expectations, gratitude and joy, but also the subtle competition between the folklorists and informants, each one being interested to get as much as possible from the other: some desire folklore information, the others want advantages of various kinds (even if most of the times they just desire the attention and the relationship with the academics), and the results of the campaign depend on this competition. The author advances here another surprising idea. He writes: "we should talk of a sort of spirit, instinct or, if one prefers, of a metaphysic proper to the folklore object. It wants to communicate itself, and, doing so, most of it vanishesaway, because the essence or the true content of the ethnological object is one of high intimacy. We are looking at an intimacy impossible to perpetuate or to preserve (p. 145). Naturally, according to this logic the phonograph's cylinder, the box of the photo apparatus, the tape of the recorder who attempt to catch the immaterial folkloric object cannot do much. "The anatomy of a musical piece would be approximately the same, but its physiology (its social function), the effect of its eventfulness, the euphoria it has originally produced and its relations, imaginary, the spirit it generates precisely in the moment of its performance and the rest of its imponderabilities would differ" (p. 145).

This section also contains some excellent interpretations of field photos, taken in the years 1928-1929, capturing a number of aspects of the field work, recording sessions, gesture and postures, giving an idea about the atmosphere in the field. The protagonists are the famous C. Brăiloiu and his team. These are in fact just as many deconstructions of some of the mythical times of the Romanian ethnology. Remarkable is the interpretation of the photo which captures C. Brăiloiu and Gheorghe Mușuleac, the bagpiper (1928), on pages 146-149. The photo shows "Brăiloiu interested exclusively on the song, the sound, taken in this moment and recorded mechanically/technologically. The peasant doesn't have anywhere nearby his sheep, neither the beautiful nature, nor the audience to which he used to play and now he must adapt to a new situation. He must forget the contextual authenticity proper to his habit of playing, to ignore the inauthenticity of the present situation, and to reproduce what is expected from him, to play once again, for the sake or exclusively for and into the devilish machine's cone" (p. 146). Marin Marian-Bălașa's deconstructive exercise is very instructive, both imaginative and reasonably speculative, and it gives a hint of his capability of sensing the essential in a picture. Furthermore, this interpretation reveals a situation that would appear in different forms in the other photos as well taken in 1929 in Fundu Moldovei: although the photographs show the activity in the field, they also display the very destruction of the field, or, at least, the transformation of the field realized by the army of researchers and their extraordinary machines, the emotions and embarrassment of the informants who find themselves against the microphone, the behavior of the researchers that turned a peasant room in a folkloristic cabinet, the researchers preoccupied with their notes or their machines, exploiting the presence of the informants and so on. On the other hand, all these documents also document the limits of the positivist process of data collection, and the process of castrating the folkloric event itself. The photo 19 (p. 176), representing a peasant woman, probably a singer, in front of a huge archive shelf stocked from top to bottom with recordings, expresses metaphorically the "essential and existential" reduction on which the authority of ethnology is built upon.

Another remarkable subchapter of this section, titled *The Art of the Perfect Instrument's Construction or the Art of Perfect Organology?* caries further the discussion regarding the rise of ethnology at the expense of its object. With the exception of a short introduction, containing a hermeneutic key/proposal of how to the read a succession of images, the discourse is handed over to the powers of photography. The visual rhetoric evolves in phases of depth – from the discovery of the object (the pipe), with an idealistic look, to the activation of the specialist's eye who focalizes more and more his objective up to the almost disappearance of the human agent that performs the art and to the complete disappearance of any trace of musical suggestion (p. 184-220). However, what the ethnologist's eye captures is the exemplary re-construction of the object and the technological artificiality. It is another exemplary case in which through the visual discourse what is rendered – as actual proof and positive evidence of field research –

constitutes a triumph of ethnology, and the silent drama of the discrete disappearance of the object, as defined by Marin Marian-Bălașa.

This part of the book ends with a solid reflection on the graphical representation of music – the problem of musical transcription (p. 221-253). Although the title announces a dry and highly technicist discussion, after a most welcomed presentation of the problematic, with the clear formulation of Marian-Bălașa's position within the debate (a fascinating and most instructive journey through the distinctions, latest theories and challenges of musical transcription), the study focuses on matters of ideology, politics and philosophy of the intellectual act, exposing ideology as the ground against which ethnomusicology builds its discourse.

The section ending the book is titled *The Politics of the Popular Arts (from Pop to Manea)* and turns from theoretical issues to thematic ones. It opens with a very instructive historical-phenomenological sketching of Romanian music, from its folkloric stage up to present days, a very informed overview with regard to the way in which the state supervised the development and dissemination of music and to the conditions in which the local musical terminology settled – from *popular music* (meaning old folklore and rural) to *light music* (meaning music that is popular and accessible), *pop music* (light music of North-American influence) and the post 1989 resurrection of the *manea.* Also, it is offered here a subtle analysis of the musical field's dynamics, discussing the role of the official festivals, the institutional membership/ affiliation of artists (Internal Affairs Minister, Defense Minister, Romanian Secret Service – *Securitatea*, and so on), the importance of the only recording house, of media, the western influence and the relation between the capital, as the center, the place that provides a most wanted coverage, and the other places. The next subchapter deals with the issue of how the pop music developed into an instrument of civil irony, exposing the duplicities, pathologies and excesses of the political elites. This attitude is traced back from the '70 and '80, with courageous and risky ironies on behalf of shortcomings of the social life, through the '90, with a closer look on the songs of resistance that were created in 1990, right the middle of the demonstration, when students and intellectuals occupied the University Square in Bucharest in a failed attempt to provoke the collapse of Iliescu's neocommunist regime, installed right after the execution of Nicolae Ceaușescu. The analysis flows up to contemporary times, making subtle connections between the economic, the political atmosphere, the general themes, tensions and concerns of the public life and the poetry of the songs, with creations going from deception and irony to lexical violence and back to the intellectual joke, to the ironical exposal of the pathological – the only weapon available in the face of political cynicism.

However, the two studies dedicated to *the manea* represent the "icing on the cake" of this section, for here we have another spectacular demonstration of intelligent polemic spirit and hermeneutic virtuosity. It is a polemic work because *maneaua* has been systematically omitted by folklorists, despite its dynamic life within the Romanian space and in the Balkans as well. The methodical repudiation

of the *manea* was the initiative of cultural purification politics that begin to be implemented after 1821, and carried on later by the mainstream Romanian folklorists who prohibited them in the archives, anthologies, folklore publications and, also, avoided making academic commentaries on the *manea*. Marin Marian-Bălașa goes much further as he explains convincingly the reasons why Romanians loved and still love the *manea*, but also launching into a splendid interpretation on the textual and anthropological dimensions of the *manea*, making insightful remarks on the meaning and function of the intensity with which it is performed (mostly at parties and feasts) or enjoyed in profane contexts. The author has the courage to state that, in musical terms, *maneaua* is not far at all from the "pure"/"sacred" Romanian *doina* and in terms of poetry it explores "elements which are typical also to the Romanian folklore (enrichment, financial and erotic status, food and alcohol intake, the erotic heroism)" (p. 298). The *manea* and the genuine Romanian folklore share the same themes because both originate in the same miserable economic and social conditions. Still, says Marian-Bălașa, the *manelist* taste seems to need the bombastic element, of ostentatious and invasion, because it represents a social-demonstrative intimacy, with intrusive ingredient, even vindictive" (p. 298). Regarding the high intensity, a general characteristic of the *manea*, Marian-Bălașa concludes: "howling, the Romanian *manea* pretends and proclaims, confiscates and subordinates, conquers the space and takes revenge by subordinating the human-physical territory" (p. 299). "High volume, also, produces the sacralization of the space, fills the atmosphere with its own spirituality" (p. 299). In terms of function, "its triviality and roughness becomes charming in various social moments, and this essence of social relaxation and refreshment is the one that must be kept in mind". Besides this, it provides an expression for the domination and vindictive impulses, but also for the feelings of affirmation, emancipation. The other study on the *manea*refers to the conflict that appeared a few years ago in the Romanian society between lovers and haters of *manele* (*maneliști*/*antimaneliști*). Marian-Bălașa analyses discourses, internet sites, post ads, studies various discussions on the virtual space pro and against *manele*, newspaper articles, street protests against *manele* and the intervention of the "Noua Dreaptă" (The New Rightwing) – a local neofascist movement that carries on the xenophobe and extremist discourses from the '30. The conclusions are sad: this kind of segregation between different aesthetics reveals the presence of racist and ethnic hatred impulses, because for those who assume the *against* position, *manele* equals *Gipsy*, inferiority, lack of culture, the triumph of vulgarity. The resurrection of *manele* phenomenon appears to be just a/another trigger that wakes up the nationalistic and racist impulses, which, it is obvious, never really died. In the face of this situation, ethnologists should admit that the survival of these instincts has had a great ally in the local fascist and communist folklore scholarship.

Marin Marian-Bălașa's book is remarkably original, convincing and very stimulating, highly polemic and, because of that, terribly annoying for many

ethnologists. The writing is dense, the style is tense, sharp and ironic, and reveals an author with a special taste for solid theory, as well as with a keen sensibility for field work. Moreover, it is a very courageous book because the pathologies he aptly exposes and the myths he deconstructs are most of them still active within the Romanian ethnologic field. If I take the richness of theoretical suggestions, the pertinence and sharpness of evaluations and analyses, as well as the author's capacity to open new perspectives for the intelligent academic reader/researcher, I don't think I am mistaken if I say that we find ourselves in front of one of the most convincing intellectual products in the recent Romanian ethnological scholarship.

Mircea PĂDURARU

Nicolae Panea, *Orașul subtil* [The Subtle City], București, Editura Etnologică, 2013, 240 p., ISBN 978-973-8920-60-6

Nicolae Panea's latest book represents a very fortunate event in the Romanian ethnological studies for at least two reasons: 1. enriches the local scholarship with another significant work on the city, since – in Romania – urbanity constitutes a domain over which little ethnological attention has been paid so far; 2. advances a set of methodological challenges that are useful for the ethnological study of the city and also help the Romanian ethnologist to assess the distance, in terms of themes, research attitudes, methods, concepts, that exists between local ethnology and recent/contemporary western anthropology.

The book opens with a very instructive chapter on theory, containing a personal synthesis on the relevance of the sensorial domain for cultural anthropology, pointing out – in the tradition of Ong, C. Classen, le Breton and others – that each culture produces a particular sensorial model of reality and, because of that, perceptual activity is more than a mere biological act that opens a territory of random subjectivity and disorder, but a cultural one, of a systemic character, generating a special code which provides the basis for the cultural conditioning of the senses. Consequently, the subtle network of noises, smells, colors, and details of the local geographies represent "the gates towards the profound city" (p.25). The option for this modality of doing cultural anthropology, which focuses on what is beyond the solidity of the Maussian "total social fact", corroborated with the salutary awareness of the postmodern episteme and with the consideration of the globalist condition of the recent and contemporary cultures set the ground for a sharp critique of classical anthropology's sacred concepts (with special attention on *field*, *anthropological text*, *informant*, *researcher*), exposing their hegemonic intentions, unconfessed limitations or their fictional character in some of the most eloquent, dense and convincing pages of criticism in the recent Romanian ethnology. Nicolae Panea alsopresents fairly a number of conceptual alternatives that would fit the criteria of

a desirable, but not yet achieved "non-hegemonic anthropology". Among these alternatives – described in a real *tour de force* through contemporary anthropology – special attention deserves the author's option for the concept of "antropopoiesis", discussed, among others, by Francesco Remotti, Mondher Kilani and Claude Calame. Following the line of Kilani, Nicolae Panea clarifies: "The concept covers two layers of meaning. On the one side, it refers to the forms of elaboration and negotiation of culture by the social actors, to the way in which human beings are culturally constructed, but, on the other side, to the manner in which the anthropologist elaborates his own discourse about other people's culture and formulates his own conclusions over man's existence in society (p. 45-46).

After the introduction, which is a kind of ethnological credo of Nicolae Panea, come four chapters of "applications", also introduced by theory, that can serve as a model of how to use these "gates" of the senses in order to access the profound reality of the city. They are focused on smell, waste, noise, and sight. It is fair to point that the four chapters are written in a quite spectacular manner, at least for the Romanian, mainstream ethnological writing practices, since the author fully assumes the rigors and the liberties inspired by the concept of *anthropopoiesis* and, also, by *Writing Culture* manifesto.

In Nicolae Panea's analysis, smells talk about vicinities and relationships, signalize power relations and the presence of conflicts, since they can invade and overcome one's private space by producing the subtle presence of another. Odors and stench suggest chaos and death and therefore are interpreted as a subtle threat on life and order. On the other hand smells talk about sickness and soundness, announce life rhythms and ritual celebrations, give an idea about the ethnic identity, but communicate a lot about moral identity as well. Food aromas that invade the common habitual space (of a flat, for instance) might signify social status, education, but it can also function as job identifier. Every public space has a perfume of its own, emphasizing the precise function/ social destination of the place. The chapter on waste – waste as a synthesis of sensations – is imagined from the point of view of an abstract child who gradually discovers the space and the world around in terms of concentric spaces which have as center the garbage storage site. In this perspective, cleanness becomes a characteristic of security and soundness, while dirt brings forth insecurity, violence, vulgarity and danger. In the chapter dedicated to the activity the ear we meet a distinction between noises of the city and the ones of the village, but also an acoustic account of the city where Nicolae Panea discriminates between sounds of the morning, midday, evening and sounds of the night. Each time interval caries noises that betray the presence of certain social actors and roles (the laud mechanic machine that removes the waste, purifying the place), noises also reflect rhythms of the day (pupils' shouts with joy when they leave school mark their social reinsertion), festivities and public political demonstrations, which announce a crisis, but also the sound of the church bells, which signify a sacred moment or event. By night, when cultural/ man-made noises stop, nature discretely takes over and manifests itself as a polemical

remainder that right in the very city, the climax of artificiality, survives a natural stratum. The last chapter is dedicated to sight making sense of the network of boulevards and streets that surround and dissect the city, creating connections but also producing separations, allowing the coagulation of identity (small streets) and refusing the chance for its construction (large, impersonal boulevards), facilitating social exchange and relationships but, also, blocking human interaction.

Curiously enough, despite the modernity of the enterprise and the courage of the textual practice, the narrative flow of the book presents various syncopes that contrast with the author's theoretical preferences exposed so aptly in the first chapter: the demonstrations are strewed with remarks and allusions to the (sacred) traditional village which is turned into a landmark in relation to which Nicolae Panea measures the ontological inferiority of the city. For instance, in the author's interpretation, the communist/ post-communist city is a space where solidarity is a failure (p. 94), the urban inhabitant of this particular city, described as obsessed with surface and appearance, must be a superficial person (p. 97), the inodorous communities of the workers, which are neither city, nor village, generate a phenomena of false identity and reflect a "culture of the perfect anonymity" (p. 115), and examples could continue – the book is generous at this level. Such comments, charged with suspect value judgments, produce the impression that some reflexes and survivals of the rightfully blamed hegemonic anthropology are still at work. However, strictly anthropologically speaking, this way of applying theory and making sense of the city reflects a particular exercise/ training of perceiving the city's repertoire of facts and experiences and a clear refusal to grant discursive attention to aspects and phenomena that could prove the opposite.

For example, on pages 104 or 126 the reader finds some surprising observations on the sacred character of the *bread* within the experience of the village as opposed to its essentially profane consumption in the urban space, giving substance to an antagonism cultivated throughout the book: village equals sacred and ontological validity *versus* city equals profane, superficiality, lack of identity and so on. Also, on pages 186-196, we encounter some astonishing evaluations on the differences that separate the traditional idea and practice of the *village roadversus* the idea and practice of the *urban street* and *boulevard*. In the interpretation of the author the first facilitate solidarity, hospitability and the coagulation of identity while the latter rather block human interaction and generate superficial identities.

Some of the most problematic comments in the book are those dedicated to the problematic of the *restaurants* as symptoms of the urban modern man (p. 124-127). In the same antagonistic perspective, Nicolae Panea writes: restaurants, "through their activity, have definitively changed the practice of feeding, a most characteristic activity of the human being, by secularizing, de-ritualizing and urbanizing it. Nourishment becomes a product of the city, but it doesn't produce the city, for it only generates a superficial image, a subtle virtuality" (p. 122). And further, aphoristically: "The restaurant has become the urban temple of our loneliness, dedicated to the

asphalt gods… Here we mime solidarity" (p. 123). And further, in a conclusive statement: "for the archaic man the act of eating was a way of insertion into the ontic"(p. 124). (For the sake of the play we could read in this statement the absent, but nevertheless implied counterpoint: for the urban man, eating has become a form of celebrating the profane existence, of cheerful participation in the pseudo-reality). In restaurants – continues the author – we encounter "a semantic fracture in one of the most significant aspects of feeding: the possibility to choose amongst various kinds of food. The food becomes subject to negotiation, it is no longer already given. Its achievement, determined by financial conditions, turns it into a commodity. It may be refused, changed, set aside (p. 125). Nicolae Panea continues: "The smell imposes as a permanent element the presence of the kitchen within the dining hall. Through the mobility of the smells the two spaces invade each other and this spatial uncertainty eliminates every attempt of consecrating the dining hall because of the impossibility to separate the functions and the activities that it rooms. Another defining feature of the anti-ritual character of the modern feeding activity is the level of sonority. In contrast to the traditional dining atmosphere, where silence was mandatory, in a restaurant this criterion is impossibly to fulfill. At every table people discuss, even passionately, sometimes contradictory. The dining activity's scope seems to be exhausted by the meeting itself and by the noisy manifestation of emotions" (p. 127).

In these pages, rivaled in the book only by some parts of the fifth chapter (titled *The Boulevard*), the author seems to be taken away by a dissociative soar, by a curios passion for dichotomy. However, if we analysed the facts with more empathy, slightly different results could be achieved. For instance, the observation that the restaurant produces the de-ritualisation of the dining activity can be easily challenged both by a theoretical counterargument, as well as field observation. From a theoretical perspective, I find highly problematic the idea that the potential sacred character of an action can be deleted/blocked by the facts listed by the author (setting, sonorities, smells), which place the determinant element of the sacred experience at an instrumental level, ignoring that religious players adapt, reconfigure, appropriate the conditions of the real – sometimes radically – so as to fit their intentions. On the contrary, the consecration of an action/space depends fundamentally on the minds that meet and perform in that particular space. Theoretically, nothing can stand in their way – the sacred can be actualized everywhere. The Romanian reader remembers Nicolae Steinhardt's account of an Eucharistic ritual performed in a communist prison (see his bestseller *The Happiness Diary*). I myself remember to have witnessed a moment of space transfiguration right in the middle of a cheap restaurant by the university: in a corner of the dining hall a small group of people hold a funerary feast, with a priest alongside, in another corner a group of Adventists refuse the pork and ask for fish, emphasizing/expressing their confessional identity, right in the middle of the dining hall four evangelicals pray and bless the food with soft, yet sounding voice,

and next to this group two persons perform the sign of the cross (in the Eastern Orthodox manner) before eating. All these happenings advocate for the idea that ritual and sacred experience can be achieved also in a restaurant, which is not *apriori* a profane space, rather one which offers its structures as empty receptacles that can be charged with various meanings. Concerning the mandatory silence of the act of dining (conceived as a sacred ritual, as N. Panea puts it), field experience might contradict or at least recommend one or two bemols to that. I myself have never encoutered that pardigmatic silence on the field and it is highly possible that this idea is only a fiction of the traditionalist/conservative ethnologists, who illusionate themselves that the genuine/traditional/archaic peasant (whatever one might understand by such expressions) has any taste for silence or apophatic contemplation. On the contrary, at each and every lunch I've taken with peasants in the village and at each and every ritual feast I've participated (house consecration feast, alms feast etc.) people talk joyfully, praise loudly the qualities of the women who had made the food, talk politics, make plans etc. Community and togetherness in a religious sense are celebrated not by silence, which, by the way, is connotated negatively almost everywhere in the Romanian traditional imaginary and practice, but rather by talking. If we replace *silence* (the absence of noise) with *quietness* (easiness, leisure, rest, comfort) maybe we obtain a more acceptable statement. In the middle of such an event, even if it takes place in a restaurant, the *loneliness* N. Panea refers to is more likely a metaphysic assumption and/or skeptical speculation. Moreover, on the "semantic fracture" performed by the restaurant, I would argue that the ability to *choose* a certain food is part of the larger possibilities by which the place (slightly impersonal, if we really want that) allows personalization. As for the idea that ritual coherence cannot coagulate in such a space due (among other things) to the possible (subtle) spatial confusion generated by the instability of the smells, a field ethnologist would define the statement as a little exaggerated. Even if these elements could be in themselves obstacles for the ritual coherence, the religious players who intend to manifest themselves in such a place could solve the problem, could establish the solutions in order to facilitate the coagulation of the ritual coherence. The presence of the others, their noises, and the smells can become adjutants: they can be turned into the medium against which the ritual event delimitates itself.

This understanding of the traditional village and, consequently, the polarities it generates are not the products of genuine observation and interpretation of rurality, but the artificial and ideological construct of the idealistic, nationalist ethnology. Moreover, these observations betray a kind of methodological incoherence: while, on the one side, the author encourages a postmodern anthropological attitude towards the reality of the city, described through an alternative series of concepts, this comparison employs some of the oldest clichés, which were constructed so obvious in the spirit of the hegemonic anthropology. In other words, even if these ideas about the sacred archaic village were the product of serious field anthropology,

and not the fictions of metaphysic and conservative ethnology, Nicolae Panea of this volume would still have been obliged to show suspicion and prudence towards the results of such a methodology.

This book, however, is about theory more than it is about the city, but the problems of the applications reflect some unsolved tensions in the theory itself. In my view, the problem with the perspective on the traditional village is of secondary importance, even if it informs the reflection on structures of the city. This aspect is prudently covered and assumed by theory: the author is indeed not only a hand that writes, an incorporated point of view immersed in the city, but also an instance determined – as M. Marian-Bălașa theorizes in *Musicologies, Ethnologies, Subjectivities, Politics*, 2011 – both by *intrinsic subjectivities* (personal nostalgia, idiosyncrasies etc.) and *extrinsic subjectivities* (ideological solidarities, conceptual preferences, options that imply the author's position within the field of the discipline etc.), but also a huge ambulant library, which shelters, it seems, a significant number of scholarship which idealizes the village and demonizes urbanity. The problem, I think, is somewhere else.

There is an unsolved/ un-clarified tension in the theoretical articulation of the book between the central promise – that of constructing a subtle anthropology of the city and the postmodern crisis of the *field* (p. 49-52). To put it shortly, the main conceptual offer of the book depends essentially on the physical evidence of the object, that is on the reality of the field, but the field is precisely what this book lacks, in spite of the scholarship called to legitimate a new definition of field. It seems that what has been won by the theoretical recovery of the senses (the direct evidence/flagrance of the object) is being immediately lost in the generality and ideality that come out both from the relativization of the field and, maybe, from the fictionalization process, as the inevitable condition of the anthropological writing. In this sense, the knowledge produced by Nicolae Panea's proposal of anthropology does not seem to allow the promised dialogue between direct evidence/flagrance/ materiality of the object and the *library*, because the former element is pale and cvasi-absent and the journey of the anthropologist is a rhetorical figure for a journey inside his own, interior library. Of course the researcher is his own informer, of course the author's memory can come into play as field information, of course the postmodern criticism of the concept of field is valid, but these aspects do not explain/ resolve the desire for the physical evidence of the object (be it subjective, library mediated, ideologically and politically contextualized !) – the main target of the book, that dimension that was omitted by the epistemic hypocrisy of many generations of anthropologists. And even if the book talks about aromas (the chapter on the smell is the best), noises, sight, waste, the references to the physical data seem to be exhumed from the library, as literary motives or cultural themes, not from the field itself. I think some of the value judgments and verdicts regarding the cultural and existential condition of the city are problematical precisely because of the confused relation between these two aspects.

A comment on the concept of *anthropopoiesis*. While of the theoretical openness of the concept is salutary, it application rises certain expectations. *Anthropopoiesis*, indeed, provides more freedom from the academic stylistics – another kind of hegemony, of narrowness, that changes the immediate impression of the object through a pre-definite, procrustean formal obligation. But the potential of the concept is realized only if this liberty is used for the sake of the object, oriented towards an ever better embracement/ comprehension of the object, driven by fidelity towards the real, towards the subjective, library mediated, ideologically and politically contextualized experience of reality. The risk of many of the pages in the book is the subtle replacement of the field *per se* with a personal fiction. For instance, in the chapter dedicated to the boulevard, most of the observations are grounded on semantic distinctions and lexicographic demarcations, a sort of language philosophy of the kind Constantin Noica performed in *Cuvânt împreună despre rostirea românească* (Wording toghether about the Romanian Parlance).

Such an ambitious theoretical project that addresses the subtle reality demands an author with special writing skills, as the perceived subtle reality needs appropriate means of textual representation, privileging the use of metaphor and, generally, of the poetic language. From this point of view, Nicolae Panea's work is wonderfully written, as a breath of fresh air amongst the cacophonic multitude of texts that constitutes Romanian ethnology.

Nicolae Panea's work offers an excellent theoretical synthesis on a problematic which is anything but common or at hand in the Romanian ethnology and anthropology. The way he illustrates this theoretical model might seem unconvincing here and there, but altogether his proposal is valid and apt to inspire a new wave of Romanian ethnologists to take on the city with contemporary analytical tools, but also the village, paying special attention to the sensorial aspect of reality. Also, I would dare to say that this work speaks very eloquent about the legitimacy and opportunity of a local, post-communist, Eastern European cultural anthropology, and, because of that, it represents one of the very few Romanian contributions to a global anthropological dialogue.

Mircea PĂDURARU

Ioana Feodorov, *Tipar pentru creștinii arabi. Antim Ivireanul, Atanasie Dabbās și Slivestru al Antiohiei* [Printing for the Arab Christians: Antim the Iberian, Athanasius Dabbās, and Sylvester of Antioch]. Brăila, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei „Carol I", 2016, 400 p., ISBN 978-606-654-214-2

Though this book appears to be addressed to Romanians (for it is written in Romanian, opens up with blessings and forewords from Church officials, then explains and introduces the nationals to elementaries on the existence of Christians amidst Muslims in the Near/Middle East), it actually is of international value and

importance. Thus, it interests the specialized circles of scholars devoted to the study of Christian communities in the Arab and Muslim worlds, as well as to the Christian manuscripts and books-related missionarism inside the Muslim-dominated lands of the Middle East. I am sure, it is within such academic circles that the book will come as a surprise, a welcome, revealing and solid one, and that will set it in seminal/influential libraries, curriculum classes, doctoral and post-doc research projects, and specialized bibliographies. Only that for reaching such a goal or status, the scholarly texts of this volume must be translated in an international (idiomatically competitive) language.

I first mentioned the local, national/Romanian formal markings and readership as of less importance, but those are not to be totally refuted or minimized. On the contrary: it is important for common Romanians to learn more of the Renaissance time, contributions and human figures that "embellished" the local history, and the occasion is fruitful, for at least the 300 years anniversary since Antim Ivireanul's killing/martyrdom and his sanctification by the Orthodox Church should inspire the commoners to enrich their mind with detailed, worthy information on his cultural and religious-oriented works (as a polyglot, writer, copyist/calligrapher, carver, engraver, publisher, printer, ambassador, donor). It should also be true that – since he himself held positions of great political power and involvement, as well as of top hierarchical management – his extraordinarily extensive activities were supported and also performed by others (such as monastic laborers). Thus, he had to have just ordered and supervised many feats, so that history preserved his signature or authorship over many acts and works. Such details notwithstanding, knowing in detail what the Romanian and cosmopolitan Antim the Iberian did, not only for Christians in Romania/Eastern Europe but also for Christianity in the Oikumene of the entire post-Byzantine/Levantine and Arabian lands, both informs, specifies, and corrects. Hence, local/national consciousness or pride set aside, one should read the book of the historian and philologist Ioana Feodorov with pen, paper and notes taking. For, apart from facts that can be of rich fruits for expert philologists and particular historians worldwide, there are many data launched, expanded and corrected here for the first time, reason why they deserve to be duly inserted into the circuit of the global academic knowledge, to allow improvement and correcting of many ideas and data – that Ioana Feodorov duly mentions – which were vulnerable, if not plain wrong, in the international bibliography.

The major section of this book (p. 1-283) encloses the exceptionally/exemplary hard and minute research work of the author, who proves herself to be a competitively knowledgeable expert in the bibliography and archival/manuscript resources on the niche-field of the Arab writings for Christian-Orthodox communities in the Middle East. The *Introduction* (p. 1-31) plunges into the Ottoman dominated Middle East history, and portrays the Arab (Orthodox-) Christians as a minority of elite and progressive role, which survived under and among Muslim Arabs and various (pre- and Ottoman proper) ruling powers by wit, multilingualism, and collaborating skills. Briefly, it surveys the history of the major theme at stake,

which is that of the role and fundamental contribution of Romanian personalities, dignitaries, printers, workers and manufacturers, who were the first to print Christian literature in the Arabic language and characters, who donated printing machines or tool parts to Christian centers in Syria and Lebanon, who accommodated Syrian prelates that would bring and accommodate the printing profession into the Middle East. International bibliography is also mentioned, especially for showing some lacks and missed/unfortunate conclusions. Numerous sources are surveyed (many Western and Eastern authors who mentioned or studied matters pertaining to the first Arabic books, leaving facts, data, and gaps for Ioana Feodorov to fill in or fix up).

Chapter 2, *Access to printing in the Ottoman Empire*, presents (and documents) the history of the penetration/acceptance of mechanical printing. Namely, the reservations or ideological suspicions and obstacles that the press/printing faced before ecclesiastic powers in Western Europe, not to mention the dogmatic as well as technical-linguistic barriers that added up within East European and Ottoman/ Muslim dominated countries. If Avicenna/Ibn Sīnā was the first Arab/Muslim author to be printed, in Latin translation, in the West (1473), the first texts using the Arab alphabet came out in 1505 (liturgical texts destined to the re-Christianization of Islamized Spaniards in Andalusia). Apart from that, and as always, the Romanian scholar shows the difficulties faced by the Western/Catholic printers after 1512 (Arabic in both language and alphabet/characters are being printed since 1514), in this respect pure technical details (manufacturing press plates, spelling errors, missing accents and diacritics, different/wrong or/and unaesthetic length for alphabetic letters, different styles of carved or engraved characters) abound. Ioana Feodorov analyzes in detail the printing activities and works, from various Western press workshops, in Arab characters and translations, as well as the contents of those books – initially meant to support the Christian communities and missionaries in Islamic lands, lately also publishing non-religious book, or Qur'anic ones (for Islamic use proper). Individual connections and political interests are also noticed. A second section of this chapter is devoted to the hardships, efforts and interests of the Antiochian hierarchs to print liturgical books for Arab Orthodox Christians (67-76), though it rather presents (at length) the presence of printing presses in the Ottoman Empire (first and for a long time for the use of non-Muslim communities). Several times – throughout the entire book, but in this section in larger paragraphs and thus more convincing – the author points out to the religious considerations that were put forward by Muslims in order to avoid/ban and delay the acceptance of the press for the multiplication of religious writings. The essence of the oral origin, nature and existence of the sacred in Islamic thinking is captured, though such subtler foundation and ideology are either overcome by reasons expressed less intelligently, or by pointing to the handwriting tradition of calligraphers and manuscript copyists, miniaturists, binders and goldsmiths who feared the disappearance of their own trades or bookmaking activities. other issues

were the market and accessibility/democratization of literacy and reading, while the management and control were at stake. Eventually, printing was permitted for secular books only, later on more and more Islam-connected writings getting formal acceptance. Overall, this chapter is about the shift from traditionalism to modernization, as seen by the controversies linked to the permission and/or delaying of introducing printing in Istanbul, seen through the eyes of many medieval scholars, travelers and officials, as well as modern and contemporary scholars and commentators who watched the life and writings throughout the Ottoman history since the 16th Century on.

Ioana Fedorov also details the controversies and competition between various Christian denominations, Catholics wanting to conquer more spiritual and populated soil in the Levantine area, Orthodox clerics and hierarchy (including those of Arab expression) willing to preserve and enlarge their communities by the help of printing press machines. The latter were ordering printed books in Greek and Arabic since the beginning of the 17th century, prices were high, so that the desire to print in Constantinople/Istanbul itself was high. See the episode of the Patriarch Cyril Lukaris being accused of treason by the French ambassador, for plotting with England and Holland to receive and bring to Istanbul a press, and very soon printing Orthodox and anti-Catholic books in Greek, a charge that would result in his execution (p. 86-91). At that time the Classic Greek learning was also in high demand, and in the common effort of the Orthodox world to develop teaching, learning and writing in old Greek, Romanian kings, clergy and monasteries would play a consistent role. Coming back to the political struggles next to the High Porte, it is stressed that also France tried to persuade the Ottomans in view of preventing the use of printing machines, the author concluding that "the obstacles before the beginnings of the press in the East were often created not by the political options of the High Porte, but by Western powers" (p. 91). As another result, Catholics were the first to succeed in having a press in Constantinople (of Greek and Georgian alphabet), whereas only almost hundred years later (1727) the Ottoman Turks, writing with Arab alphabet, obtained the right to mechanically print books. Yet, the printing of non-religious books was erratic, less commercially fruitful, and only in the 19th century, when printing was no longer restricted, the real, popular success of printing was due mainly to religious works. It is worth noting that not only the Muslim hand-copyists, in the 18th century, feared the machines for threatening their trade, the Christians ones, in Damascus, did the same in the 19th century, hence delaying the modernizing process and machines. Overall, Feodorov aptly and usefully repeats that "not the financial or technical obstacles stood up against the introduction of the press in the Ottoman Empire, but the resistance towards an *imported* means, brought in from outside the *House of Islam* (Dār al-Islām), invented by non-believers (kāfirūn), alien to Islamic traditions, which gave the possibility to multiply the holy teachings of Prophet Muhammad by mechanical means without a rigorous control of clerical authorities over the dogmatic correctness of the printed text" (p. 95).

A consistent section is devoted to presenting the press of the Maronite monastery in Qozhaya, Lebanon. The story of the rise of the Syriac language to the status of a sacred language from the 16th to the 18th century, then the generalization of spoken Arabic is summarized, in parallel and subjected to the printing process that started in the 16th century in Europe (press productions for Maronite Christians, in Arabic, in locally inspired, *kāršunī* characters. Manuscript errors pushed missionaries to collect and burn many writings, whereas canonical errors in large printed books made both Rome and local priests to be dissatisfied. The settlement of the press at that important monastery in 1610 is linked to the hierarchical ascension of a learned bishop. Local printers were trained in Rome. With books hands on, Feodorov describes the contents, as well as the technical details related to fonts/letters accuracy, style, size variations and calligraphic elegance, and binding quality. The contextual details transport the reader in times and places of historical exoticism. On p. 105-107 there is a minute description on the history of ignoring or minimal mentioning of that first Lebanese press machine and production (the 1610 *Psalterion* in Syriac alphabet), an isolated essay that had no echo (press and printers went back to Rome), the communitarian trend turning to the use of both Arabic language and alphabet for the local Christians.

Chapter 3, *Arabic liturgical books printed in Țara Românească* [Wallachia] *in 1701-1702*, starts by recalling the shift of the cultic language from Greek and Syriac to Arabic – spoken by the majority Christians in the Antiochian Church (Syria, Palestine and Lebanon). Plus the fact that, in manuscript form, liturgical books were in circulation as early as the 9th and 10th centuries. Arab Christians were supported by Rome, yet they feared Catholic influence, hence the need for the Antiochian/Levantine to obtain support from Orthodox sources. Feodorov sees the similarity between the Antiochian/Levantine orthodoxy, which wanted to translate everything into the vernacular (Arabic), whereas Romanians wanted to give up Slavonic in favor of the vernacular Romanian. Common goals, making the professional and political connections possible. Since 1580, Antiochian Patriarchs traveled to Iași, Târgoviște and București in search of support. On several pages, there are details on the generosity of Wallachian and Moldovan royalties and boyars, who gave the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch consistent donations, and plenty of information during their visits (some long sojourns), sometimes with contributions to the local historiography, of numerous Levantine clerical representatives. The latter brought from the Romanian principalities many manuscripts in Greek and printed books against the Catholic faith and the Protestant reforms. Pages 119-127 offer a detailed and synthetic portrait of the Antiochian Patriarch Athanasius Dabbās, who finds protection in Wallachia and Moldova, obtains generous financial aids from prince Brâncoveanu for the Arab Christians in the Levant, settles down, translates various works (among which one of Demetrius Cantemir's most important books of wisdom). And he also prints here books for his Arab-speaking co-religionaries. Another section of the chapter presents the turmoil caused by the

penetration and taking over by Catholicism of many Orthodox churches in both the Middle East and South-East European lands. Perceived as a threat and a betrayal, all local hierarchies responded against it by writings, and especially media investments in printing and distribution. It is the context in which the intense collaboration between metropolitan Antim Ivireanul and Athanasius Dabbās takes place, the first Arab typographical stamps, characters and fonts in led being carved, cast and set up for the press by these two learned and dedicated clergymen. What exactly and how much Antim published, together with the rules he set up and established for the new profession of printer – for he really launched it and wrote down its statutes – is duly documented and presented. Together with historical facts, technical details abound. After having checked up thoroughly, Ioana Feodorov demonstrates that the two critical books that were printed in Wallachia for the Arabic-speaking Orthodox communities were not supported by state finances, but by the private wealth of prince Constantin Brâncoveanu (as Antim Ivireanul himself sponsored 10 books and arranged others to be covered by donors – see p. 144-146). The *Liturgy Book* of Snagov (1701) and the *Ceaslov* [Horologion/Hours] of Bucharest (1702) – the first Orthodox Arabic texts that were printed – are then explained and analyzed in minute details: textual, theological, linguistic, philological, transliteration, printing technicalities, engravings, ornaments, bindings (p. 148-163). Difficult translations, from the original Arabic into Romanian, are provided, and a free-form index of surviving copies (worldwide) is incorporated.

Chapter 4, *Continuing the work of Antim Ivireanul in Ottoman Syria*, follows the printing activity of the same Dabbās, in Aleppo, after he left Bucharest in 1704. Many technical signs of the original press in Aleppo show that the latter was inferior to the workshop in Wallachia (hence proving that not all materials from there were brought in by Dabbās or others). Nonetheless, it is proved here that parts and elements from the press in Wallachia were still brought in by Dabbās, and that many engraving plates still migrated from Wallachia to Syria (as they are the same in Romanian books previously printed by Antim Ivireanul), not to mention the fact that Dabbās brought with him from Wallachia at least one experienced apprentice. It was somewhat natural for Antim Ivireanul to train and send young Romanian printers to other Farther-East Orthodox countries, so that they would contribute to the development of local culture, faith, and practices. (In this respect, see on p. 174-178 the extensive biography of Mihai Iștvanovici/Mihail Stepaneshvili, re-named in Georgia). The catalogue of all (11) Arabic Orthodox books printed by Dabbās's workshop in Aleppo is then presented and analyzed in many professional details (p. 180-195).

A large section is devoted to Abdallāh Zāher (p. 196-212), who continued the work of Dabbās in Aleppo and succeeded to establish a printing workshop which lasted for 165 years (the longest working press in Levant). Also for clarifying this particular history the contribution of several Romanian old-books historians (among whom Virgil Cândea – father of Ioana Feodorov herself – stands out) was

consistent. In this respect, the author Ioana Feodorov duly points out and details. All the books printed in Aleppo are analyzed, plus the geopolitical context (Russia, the Ottoman Empire, and the Middle East altogether, in the intermingled and not always consistent tendencies of Christian denominations and missionary works), in which the local printers intervened for securing support.

Chapter 5, *Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch and his printing activity in Iași and Bucharest*, opens with other pages on the frictions between the competing religious forces in the Middle East (Catholic and Protestant missionaries conquering Orthodox territories, Orthodox clergymen trying to buy off and attract the Ottoman politics and administration to their side). A political climate which prompted the successor of Dabbās, Patriarch Sylvester of Antioch, to resume the travel and professional sojourning into the Romanian lands of Wallachia and Moldova. His two years stay in București/Bucharest and Iași/Iassy is minutely documented, in fact dug out from, at times, rare mentions (on books or church walls). The Arabic Orthodox books that were printed in these cities under his supervision were again paid for by the local princes and done with local workmanship. From the surviving and identified ones, four printed books are presented at large (p. 244-254), not before extensive additional data and reports (about the historic, international correspondence exchanged), as well as the previous researchers (who published their studies and specifics on the subject-matter over time) are accounted for.

Chapter 6 (*Beirut, 1750: the first printing workshop of the Lebanese Orthodox, with types created in Bucharest?*) relates another intriguing and less know history/story or a particular chapter of the Orthodox communities in the Middle East. After Patriarch Sylvester returned from the Romanian principalities to Damascus, the former abandoned all Arabic printing, but some said that Sylvester had brought with him workshop materials, or even imported an entire press from Moldova to his land. Ioana Feodorov details and demonstrates that the printing press and production in Beirut, where the real local book printing was established and soared up, did own very much to the Romanian-based impulse, activities, acquired skills, workmanship and handwork. Yet she proves and specifies that the production launched in Beirut was based on a parallel technical/engineering production of stamps, molds and types, and a constant refining of the physical materials took place in both Romanian and Syrian/Lebanese sides.

As *Final arguments* (Chapter 7, p. 261-270), Feodorov stresses some details of all the activities of everybody involved in book-making in the 17th and 18th centuries, the differences between the cooperating activities (in the Middle East and the Romanian principalities, between the equally enlightened and Renaissance Romanian clergymen and the Syrian or Lebanese ones). Some errors or uncertainties that were clarified/corrected by the author are briefly recollected, and some further research requirements are suggested. In an Annex (p. 270-283) are published, in Feodorov's translation, the Arabic prefaces of the Liturgy Book printed in 1701 by Antim Ivireanul and Athanasius Dabbās (truly touching texts),

then a thorough research study on *Ibrahim Müteferrika and the first Turkish books printed in Istanbul (1729)*. The book ends with a long Index of names (p. 286-305), a consistent international bibliography (320-352), and rich illustrations (353-397: some of the writings, prints and engravings that were discussed in the book).

As mentioned, the reading of this book is so fascinating that it incites the imagination, and summarizing/retelling the stories contained inside is tempting. To a large extent, not only experts in the book and printing history, or in the Middle-East printing and Christianity, can find here a compelling interest; also common readers, with an appetite for early history contexts and details, can get caught in. English and Arabic versions of Ioana Feodorov's book are a must.

Marin MARIAN-BĂLAȘA

BUCHAREST, 1969: THE 5TH CONGRESS OF THE „INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR FOLK NARRATIVE RESEARCH": FACSIMILE PAPERS (PART II)

EDITORIAL NOTES & INFOS

The present section continues the process – launched last year – of publishing some of the papers presented within the 1969 ISFNR Congress.

As already explained[1], in 1969 as in the following years everybody, from the Romanian side, that was involved in the organizing and running of the Congress tried to publish a volume comprising a selection of papers (out of the 113 delivered ones[2]). Compiled by the Bucharest team, some of the manuscripts were the original papers, as read during the Congress, others were reedited/reprocessed by authors very soonafter. Altogether they made a book format manuscript which was almost ready to go for print, was negotiated without success with several printing houses, then laid down, forgotten, for decades. Sabina Ispas, who as a junior researcher covered many administrative and stewarding tasks during the 1969 Congress, remembers that many years after the event she used to be asked, while meeting foreign colleagues in other ISFNR meetings, on the whereabouts of that 1969 planned volume. Decades had passed, and eventually she discovered the selected papers in the Archives of the „Brăiloiu" Institute (which she manages since 1997) and, as the editor-in-chief of this journal, decided on publishing them here.

There are many photographs in the Institute's Archives, documenting the presence of individual personalities while reading their papers or discussing in groups, as well as the sessions atmosphere – apparently engaging, hopeful and friendly, effective and stimulating. Alas, many of the photos did not also record the names of those portrayed, reason why we cannot make here a fully illustrated report of the entire event, and thus – similar with the last year volume (11 images published) – we will reproduce a selection of indicative photos only, going to fill the blank spaces in between articles.

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[1] See Marin Marian-Bălaşa, *Editorial Introduction, Photos, and a Formal Letter*, that forworded the same Restitution section in „Revista de etnografie şi folclor / Journal of Ethnography and Folklore" 1-2/2016: 189-192.

[2] The figure was specified in the Congress memo or chronicle that came out the next year (Constantin Eretescu, *Al V-lea congres al Societăţii internaţionale pentru cercetarea naraţiunilor populare (I.S.F.N.R.)*, in „Revista de etnografie şi folclor" 1/1970: 81-85).

Also in the Archive there is a large box containing many of the letters exchanged by foreign colleagues and Mihai Pop, director of the Institute in those years and manager of the organizing committee. Apart from formalities in concern with the presence and registering for the Congress, as well as particulars about arrivals and accommodation in Bucharest, many of them contain interesting professional and academic details, reason why we do consider finding a way to also publish some of those letters in the near future.

Apart from the times touches as well as the archival tinges left on the old paper sheets, the choice for publishing now manuscripts in facsimile format is justified, as it was noticeable one year ago, by the presence of handwritten corrections or additions in some of the mechanically typed articles.

Within the previous volume, the *Restitutio* section published:

MARIN MARIAN- BĂLAȘA, *Editorial Introduction, Photos, and a Formal Letter*, „REF/JEF" 1-2/2016: 189-192.

MIRON NICOLESCU, *Message de salut* (in French), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2016: 193-195.

KURT RANKE (*no title,* in German), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2016: 196.

MIHAI POP, *La poétique du conte populaire* (in French), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2016: 197-213.

KURT RANKE, *Assoziationsphänomene der Volksprosa* (in German), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2016: 214-223.

LAURI HONKO, *On the Principles of Genre Analysis* (in English), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2016: 224-232.

ALAN DUNDES, *On the Laws of Folk Narrative* (in English), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2016: 233-245.

E.V. POMERANTZEVA, *Les images de la mythologie inferieure dans le conte Russe de moeurs* (in French), „REF/JEF" 1-2/2016: 246-253.

(M. Marian-Bălașa)

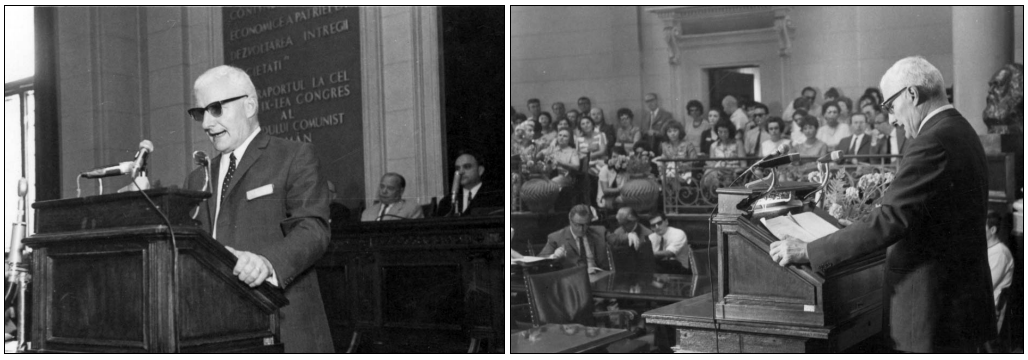


Photo 1, 2 – The institute's director, Mihai Pop, in the inaugural session of August 26th, 1969 (FL 1912/22+24, 44391+44392).

The Interrelationship of Folk Belief, Legend, and Custom in Modern American Folk Tradition

Linda Dégh, Bloomington
Wayland D. Hand, Los Angeles

At the special conference on folk legendry held in Antwerp in 1962, each of the authors of this joint paper, independently of each other, expressed similar views on the interrelationship of folk belief, legend, and custom.[1] Each of us came to the study of the subject fields at hand from different backgrounds and from different scholarly disciplines, Dégh having worked largely with functional anthropological field methods in an East-Central European peasant culture, and Hand having been trained in philological and comparative literary techniques involving predominantly German and Anglo-American source materials. At the time of the Antwerp conference we proposed an inter-genre study of folk belief, legend, and custom which was to draw mainly on European traditions. In the seven years that have intervened, however, circumstances have changed, as have our own research interests.[2] Accordingly, we

have seen fit to shift the main focus of our study from Europe to America, and to update our illustrative material, as much as possible, so that the whole relationship of legend to other genres of folklore, as well as to life itself, may be viewed in a modern context, and one extending even to the present day. The decision to do so has been prompted by Dégh's detailed examination of the first extensive corpus of legends in the United States,[3] and in Hand's resolve, despite many unsolved problems, to continue with the indexing of American folk legends, following a general conference on American Folk Legendry, held in June of this year at the University of California, Los Angeles.[4]

The time limit which has been set on papers has forced us into a further modification of plan, namely, the necessity to treat only sketchily the relationship between folk belief and legend, on the one hand, and folk belief and custom, on the other, so that we can gain the time necessary to discuss the most difficult relationship of the belief-legend-custom triad, namely, the connection between legend and custom. There have been enough important European studies on the two aforementioned relationships in recent years to allow us this economy.[5] Looking back to

some of the classic works of folklore during the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth, we note also that several well-known European scholars were aware of these same interrelationships. In compiling regional collections of folklore they often concentrated on two or more of these related fields in a single volume, with the title itself indicating where the emphasis lay.[6]

With regard to America where legend stocks are generally not thought to be as plentiful (as) in Europe--mainly, we suspect, because of highly inadequate collecting--one must nevertheless be aware of changing and newly developing legend types, and must reckon with adaptations and combined forms of all kinds. In new guise, American legends are still very much alive, thriving, mirabile dictu, often more among young people than older folk, as we shall discover later. This process of disintegration and recombination of which we have spoken seems to occur often in times of rapid industrial growth and expansion. Concomitant cultural changes are often more readily grasped and adjusted to by the young, and the folklorist should be alert to the way these cultural

changes are reflected in the folklore of young people, and even children. Adapted and transitional forms (Mischformen) are particularly noticeable in times of social stress and flux.[7] In the light of the sweeping social changes of the twentieth century, European scholars have been pleased to learn of the new creation of legends in America, particularly with regard to the way that old and stable elements of legend and folk belief have been adapted to present-day conditions.[8] The fluidity of the new legend traditions, of course, has rendered indexing difficult, always raising the question as to whether legends might not somehow be classified under their constituent parts. One of the most important of these is the so-called Glaubensvorstellung, or basic folk belief. Although this basic unit does not itself constitute a narrative, it nevertheless forms a stable core of the legend with which people can readily identify. This basic unit of belief, in turn, can be manipulated in various ways to satisfy the narrative demands of the legend as well as other less formal kinds of verbalization. It is precisely this factor of variability and of inter-genre involvement

that provoked Leopold Schmidt, no doubt, and others as well, to question the feasibility of trying to compile an international legend index at all.[9]

In the three brief examples of legends arising from a basic folk belief which we propose to give, it is the belief itself which is the stable and recurrent element, and not the narrative into which it is fitted. In American examples of legends and stories dealing with the supposed affinity and friendship between children and snakes, accounts range from a simple statement of this proposition as a belief to actual stories and more extended legendary accounts.[10] It is the same with so-called witch riding. Here again the numerous American accounts range from the simplest of beliefs of witches saddling and bridling humans and riding them over hill and dale to the most detailed kinds of stories which are remembered and repeated as local legends.[11] The well-known taboo of silence in the raising of buried treasure, encountered in many parts of the world, is also found in America, often with peculiar twists that can not be dealt with here. Once more,

there is considerable variation in the narrative matrix in which the basic folk belief is embedded, ranging from short and simple statements to more extended narratives.[12]

In the relationship between folk belief and custom the belief still functions as a nuclear idea or motivating force, but the working out of the belief is not subject to the same whims, as is legend, with regard to the conversion of the belief into an actual custom or ritual. Here certain prescribed things must be carried out more or less ritually. In the rituals of "passing through" for the curing of the sick, for example, the actual passing through, whether through a natural cleft in a tree, a split sapling, through a loop in a re-rooted bramble, through a horse collar, a rung of a ladder, or through a hesp of yarn, the act of passing through itself is always a stable element, and this coincides with the underlying belief itself.[13] The same general pattern is evident in the practice of invultuation for the destruction of witches. The belief is well known in parts of America that a witch can be seriously injured or killed if the intended victim,

or others, make a picture, a figurine, or some other physical symbol of the witch, and then abuse these representations by shooting, piercing, scourging, or burning.[14] Within these general beliefs there is some local latitude as to how the vicarious destruction is accomplished. The means may vary, but not the intention and purpose.

Now we can come to the main part of the paper, namely, the connection between legend and custom. Let us begin by showing how an historical event, memorialized in a legend, is later reënacted in a pageant or some other suitable dramatic way. The Mormon legend of the seagulls which swooped down in countless hordes to devour the crickets that threatened the pioneers' first crop in Salt Lake Valley in 1847 is a good example of a legend with religious cast.[15] From early times until the present, this event has been memorialized all over the West in suitable pageants and tableaux and even in stage presentations. Even though details vary, community by community, the essential features of the legend have been translated into a customary folk observance on Pioneer Day (July 24) that displays a general unity from one end of Mormondom to the other.

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American outlawry has provided some spectacular examples of the connection between legend and popular reënactments of legendary events. The most celebrated case known to us is the reliving of the Robbing of the Northfield Bank by the James and Younger bandits in 1873. This event, long since fabled in ballad as well as in story, is now annually reënacted in the small Minnesota town of Northfield, and has been for about twenty years, every August. In this same connection, a more or less composite portrayal of a western shoot-out can be viewed twice daily in the summer months at Knott's Berry Farm, a simulated ghost town on the outskirts of Los Angeles.

Another clear example of a legend leading to a later customary observance is the reënactment of a famous hanging which took place in Pennsylvania in the year 1809. For about ten years now, as a feature of the famous Kutztown Festival, a Pennsylvania-Dutch fair, there has been an annual reliving of the hanging of Susanna Cox for infanticide. This ordeal now takes place with a dummy on a gallows erected for the purpose. The observance is different from some of the others discussed,

of course, in the sense that well over a hundred and fifty years had elapsed between the historical event and the portrayal of it in a mock-legal observance. Such time lags are likely to occur when historical reconstructions are undertaken rather than where there is a generic folk development from legend to custom.

Let us come now, finally, to modern "scare stories" and adventures that stem from various kinds of legends dealing with tragedy, or other unusual events. Legends of this kind are well known in America, but they have been studied with care only in the State of Indiana.[17] The best of these Schrecksagen is "The House of Blue Lights," which has been in existence about twenty years and circulates in numerous texts and fragments. The mysterious house is located on the northern outskirts of Indianapolis, and purportedly displays a coffin lined with blue lights. The casket contains the remains of a man's wife whom he sought to honor with an unusual coffin. By some accounts the wife died at her husband's hands.[18] A kindred legend dealing with a murdered wife in the Indiana Collection is "The Face on the Tombstone."[19] Here

death was by strangulation, and in some cases by a chain around the victim's neck. This detail proves important, functionally, as we shall see later. A third legend, "The Negro in Concrete,"[20] is a typical story of immuring in heavy construction work on bridges and dams.

The common denominator of interest to us in the present discussion of the connection between legend and custom is the function of these legends among the young people, high school and college students in the main, who perpetuate them. To replace the old-time tradition of legend telling in America, where older people, and younger people, too, often met to recount stories of the past, there has come into practice a whole new tradition of storytelling itself. Often such meetings are nothing more than "jam sessions" or "bull sessions" conducted by young folks alone, where rumor and gossip are exchanged. In the case of more serious stories and legends, and particularly those involving local tragedies, these sessions often lead to a validation of the legend in question, or a scarey experience by a trip to the scene of the tragedy. This same kind of youthful gossip

session may degenerate into hoaxes that excite the imagination of highly impressionable young people. Such trips are undertaken by groups of young fellows, or in mixed groups, or simply by a couple on a date. Whoever the participants are, they venture forth somewhat in the spirit of the Grimm tale of "The Story of the Young Man Who Went Forth to Learn What Fear Was."[21] Such trips usually involve seeing the physical evidence of the tragedy, or even exposing oneself to harm in some sort of a dare. Dogs guarding the House of the Blue Lights, spoken of above, were assertedly tethered there to keep out the curious. In the case of "The Face on the Tombstone," the touching of a link of the chain, which was the instrument of strangulation in some cariants of the tale, is the culminating and often fatal act of daring exacted of the neophyte as he approaches the gravestone where the chain had mysteriously appeared along with the face of the victim. In the final legend, "The Negro in Concrete," the test involves either hearing the supposed noise emitted by the crushed workman in the concrete, or catching a glimpse of his saw protruding from a bridge or railway trestle.

In this same cycle of Indiana scare legends, one may note one further observance that closely links custom with legend. It is the unusual custom, hitherto not reported in folklore literature elsewhere in the country, of going to a haunted house itself for the telling of ghost stories on All Hallow's Eve. In this complex of customs connected with legends of haunted houses is the similar visit to haunted bridges, also on Halloween.[22]

Dégh has written perceptibly on the various functions of this kind of a legend quest, but I can only adumbrate her conclusions here as I bring this paper to a close. In the first place, these trips to verify horror stories making the rounds provide natural outlets for feelings of fear and constitute a sort of shock therapy. Moreover, they provide an initiation into the peer group, testing courage and vouchsafing the rights of those initiated. In other related exploits, not represented in this paper, trips to the scene of automobile accidents and other kinds of tragedies constitute warnings to drivers of cars to beware, and warning to girls to avoid trips to lover's lane and other forbidden spots frequented by sex maniacs. This is

particularly the case with such stories as "The Hook," "The Boy Friend's Death," and "The Killer in the Back Seat," which have already been published,[23] and with a spate of similar stories. Some of these are floating legends, known elsewhere in the United States. Dark or foggy nights are chosen for these trips as well as moonlit nights so that the sensation of shock at the scene of horror may be heightened. The natural fear and apprehension of the girl under these circumstances, of course, invites a manly show of protection on the fellow's part.

These various kinds of quests and trials are a logical result of present-day American family life. In rural America where certain categories of legends treated above are encountered, there are natural phenomena--forests, desert land, marshland, wide-open spaces, etc.--which stimulate the imagination of impressionable young people. In the motor car age it is an easy matter to reach these out-of-the-way spots almost in a matter of minutes. Finally, and most importantly, the disruption of family life sets in somewhat earlier in America than elsewhere, with youngsters often going away to school or leaving home

in their early teens. This severance from family life means, in many cases, that they must face the crucial rites of passage from youth to adulthood wholly on their own, as the saying goes. Under these circumstances, the pastime of tracking down a legend, as it were, often means more than a lark. It provides a real test of manhood and womanhood, and the successful quest may be regarded as a badge of having proved out to the satisfaction of one's peers.

Motivations for the other kinds of legends presented in the last part of the paper would be, in the case of the Mormon seagull legend, and its reënactment in a pageant, a reaffirmation of the trust in God evinced by the earliest settlers. In the case of the reliving of the outlaw legends, and the hanging of Susanna Cox, the experience may be simply a way to evoke fear and pity in the Aristotelian sense. In commercial ventures of this kind, however, one must be on guard against burlesque and mock ritual.[24] Whatever the function of these reënactments of history and of legend, and however they are construed by people who either actively participate in putting them on, or those who are merely witnesses, the reconstruction of a legend serves the

purpose of commemorating an event or a legendary happening that has found permanent lodgement in the minds and in the imagination of the people of a given community. As we have seen, a dramatic portrayal serves perhaps better than anything else to reinforce and validate the original historical event or legend. In this sense, then, custom bears out and elucidates legend.

In the light of these facts, one must always take into account the basic relationship of both folk belief and custom to legend, and the integral way in which all three forms bear upon each other. In these important aspects of legend study, as well as in others, American folk legend is truly relevant to international legend research. It is therefore all the more important that American legends be noted in a formal index of legend types, so that the extent of the common stock of international legendry in America can be determined, as well as the newly emerging and unique forms which we have brought to the attention of fellow workers in this exploratory paper.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Tagung der "International Society for Folk-Narrative Research" in Antwerp (6.-8 Sept. 1962): L. Dégh, "A Systematic Ordering of Hungarian Legends," pp. 66-74, esp. p. 70; Wayland D. Hand, "Ein Katalog der Amerikanischen Sagen," pp. 43-48, esp. p. 44.

[2] In the years following the second special conference on legend study, Budapest, 1963, both authors have made major statements on problems connected with legendry, Dégh writing on "Processes of Legend Formation," Laographia, XXII (1965), 77-87, and Hand making a survey of the "Status of European and American Legend Study," Current Anthropology, VI (1966), 439-446. On taking up her career in the United States, Dégh has brought her European training to bear on American folklore, continuing to work, not only in legendry, but also in American urban folklore and in the folklore of ethnic groups. Hand's work has led him into folk medical studies, including medical rituals.

[3] Indiana Folklore, I (1968), 9-109.

[4] Proceedings of the conference, which drew fifteen of the country's leading legend scholars, will be published in 1970 as Vol. II of the Publications of the Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology, University of California, Los Angeles.

[5] Leopold Schmidt, Volksglaube und Volksbrauch: Gestalten, Gebilde, Gebärden (Berlin, 1966); idem., Das deutsche Volksschauspiel. Ein Handbuch (Berlin, 1962), esp. pp. 35-59; Joachim Schwebe, Volksglaube und Volksbrauch im Hannoverischen Wendland (Mitteldeutsche Forschungen,

19, Köln und Graz, 1960); Reidar Th. Christiansen, The Dead and the Living (Studia Norvegica, No. 2, Oslo, 1946); Lauri Honko, Geisterglaube in Ingermanland (FFC, No. 185, Helsinki, 1962; Leopold Kretzenbacher, Santa Lucia und die Lutzelfrau: Volksglaube und Hochreligion im Spannungsfeld Mittel- und Südeuropas (Südeuropäische Arbeiten, 53, München, 1959); Lily Weiser, Altgermanische Jünglingsweihen und Männerbünde (Bausteine zur Volkskunde und Religionswissenschaft, 1, Bühl, 1927); Paul Geiger, Deutsches Volkstum in Sitte und Brauch (Berlin und Leipzig, 1936); Lutz Röhrich, :Die deutsche Volkssage: Ein methodischer Abrisse," Studium Generale, XI (1958), 664-691. Rolf Wilh. Brednich, Volkserzählungen und Volksglaube von den Schicksalsfrauen (FFC, No. 193, Helsinki, 1964). Articles dealing with these interrelationships are to be found in the proceedings of the Kiel and Athens congresses of the International Society for Folk-Narrative research, and in a special conference of the organization which was held at Liblice, near Prague, in 1966, the proceedings of which constitute Vol. 9 of Fabula. Cf. Hand, "The Status of Legend Study in Europe and America," p. 441, for detailed statements concerning the relationship between folk belief and legend, as made at the special legend conferences at Antwerp and Budapest, 1962 and 1963. Finally, the reader should consult Leopold Schmidt's article, "Vor einer neuen Ära der Sagenforschung," Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde, LXVIII (1965), 53-74.

[6]The combination of folk belief and legend: Ludwig Strackerjan, Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogtum Oldenburg (2 ed., 2 vols., Oldenburg, 1909); Anton Birlinger, Aus Schwaben. Sagen, Legenden, Aberglauben, usw. (Wiebaden, 1874). Belief and custom: Ernst Ludwig Rochholz, Deutscher Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit

(2 vols., Berlin, 1867); Julius Lippert, Christenthum, Volksglaube und Volksbrauch. Geschichtliche Entwicklung ihres Vorstellungsinhaltes (Berlin, 1882); Heinrich von Wlislocki, Volksglaube und Volksbrauch der Siebenbürger Sachsen (Berlin, 1893); Paul Drechsler, Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube in Schlesien (2 vols., Leipzig, 1903-1906); Alois John, Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube im deutschen Westböhmen (Prague, 1905). Legend and Custom: Adalbert Kuhn, Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen (Leipzig, 1859); Karl Freiherr von Leoprechting, Aus dem Lechrain. Zur deutschen Sitten- und Sagenkunde (München, 1855); Ernst Meier, Deutsche Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Schwaben (Stuttgart, 1852); Karl Bartsch, Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Meckelenburg (2 vols., Wien, 1879-1880).

[7] See the illuminating chapter on "Grenzen und Übergänge" in Hermann Bausinger, Formen der "Volkspoesie" (Grundlagen der Germanistik, 6, Berlin, 1968), pp. 212-223. The proceedings of the Liblice Conference on Folk-Narrative of 1966, as published in Fabula, IX (1967), also contain material of interest in connection with transitional forms.

[8] Letters expressing the excitement over the new finds, some of which have appeared in the first number of Indiana Folklore, have been received from such well-known European legend scholars as Lüthi, Bausinger, Wildhaber, Greverus, and Weber-Kellermann.

[9] Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 55-58, 67-74, passim. For the literature on rejoinders to Schmidt by proponents of legend indices, and those actually engaged in the compilation of them, see Deutsches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde, XIII (1967), 342-343, notes 14-16.

[10]Wayland D. Hand, "Children and Snakes: A General Inquiry based on Grimm No. 105, 'Märchen von der Unke'", in Literatura Komparatystyka Folklor Ksiega Poświecona Julianowi Krzyzanowskiemu (Warsaw: Panstwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1968), pp. 889-900. Most of the examples used in this paper have been encountered in American folklore literature. Cf. also Butler H. Waugh, "The Child and the Snake in North America (Aa-Th 285)," Norweg. Folkelivsgransking 7, Oslo, 1960, pp. 153-182.

[11]The vast bibliography on the subject is opened up in Wayland D. Hand, ed., Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from North Carolina (Vols. VI-VII, 1961-1964, of the Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore, 7 vols., Durham, North Carolina, 1952-1964), VII 115-117, No. 5606. (Hereinafter cited Brown Collection.) Cf. Emelyn Elizabeth Gardner, Folklore from the Schoharie Hills, New York (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1937), p. 65.

[12]Ernest W. Baughman, Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America (Indiana University Folklore Series, No. 20, Bloomington, Ind., 1966), p. 93 (C401.3) where five American legends are given in addition to three from the British Isles. For further literature the reader should consult also Stith Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk-Literature (2nd ed., 6 vols., Bloomington, Ind., and Copenhagen, 1955-1958), I, 515 (C401.3). Cf. also Brown Collection, I, 693, "Blackbeard's Treasure" (Version iii); pp. 694-697, "Uncle Bill Digs for Money"; Gardner, op. cit., pp. 13-15 (2 accounts); Helen Creighton, Bluenose Ghosts (Toronto, 1957), pp. 57, 63.

[13]This folk medical ritual is treated in some detail in an article that featured a great deal of American material, namely, Wayland D. Hand, "'Passing Through': Folk Medical Magic and Symbolism" Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, CXII, No. 6 (1968), 379-402.

[14]Brown Collection, VII, 132-136, Nos. 5692-5699.

[15]Austin E. Fife, "Popular Legends of the Mormons," California Folklore Quarterly, I (1942), 114-115 ("The Legend of the Gulls"). See also, Austin E. Fife and Alta S. Fife, Saints of Sage and Saddle (Bloomington, Indiana, 1956), pp. 75-77. A picture of the Seagull Monument in Salt Lake City is shown on page 81.

[16]Letter to Wayland D. Hand from R. F. Shumway, President of the First National Bank of Northfield, September 4, 1968. To placate people who disliked the emphasis of the celebration, it has latterly been renamed "The Defeat of Jesse James Days," Mr. Shumway writes.

[17]The study of these legends is a project sponsored jointly by the Folklore Institute of Indiana University and the Hoosier Folklore Society. Results of the investigation are being published in Indiana Folklore, edited by Linda Dégh, who is also in charge of the legend research.

[18]Indiana Folklore, I (1968), 82-91.

[19]Ibid., pp. 34-41.

[20]Ibid., pp. 61-67.

[21]Grimm, No. 4, Aa.Th. 326.

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[22]Accounts of visits to the notorious haunted white house on the southern outskirts of Fort Wayne will appear in the second number of Indiana Folklore, as will legends connected with the Danville and Avon bridges where similar trips were made for the purpose of telling eerie stories and otherwise evoking fear on Halloween. On these adventures a difficult climb was made to get into the inner central chamber of the bridge.

[23]Indiana Folklore, I (1968), 92-109.

[24]On this point the reader would do well to consult Lutz Mackensen, "Sitte und Brauch," in Adolf Spamer, Deutsche Volkskunde (2 ed., Leipzig and Berlin (1934-1935), I, 112-114.



Photo 3: In the Romanian Academy's courtyard.

Propp's Morphology and the Medieval Exemplum: comments on narrative structure

by

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I propose to make some general remarks relevant to a structural analysis of the medieval exemplum, a historical narrative type. The exemplum varies greatly in its narrative content and historical origin. Christian legends, oriental fables, classical stories, social anecdotes, miracles, observations from lapidaries and bestiaries ... all were transposed into a Christian context for the purpose of edification and entertainment. The narrative exemplum may be defined as a short story, generally used by medieval preachers in sermons for the purpose of illustrating a moral or religious point or for the purpose of delineating a social situation or human characteristic. In terms of content, the exemplum shows a polar tension between the dogmatically religious and the secular anecdotal, with a shift towards the latter during the later Middle Ages.

In assessing the structure of the exemplum, it seems at this stage of my investigation futile to start with the isolation of micro-units as quantitative entities. In order

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to do so, we would first have to ascertain clearly what principles of organising the exemplum into collections were used and how these principles shaped the content of the tale as recorded. Second, we would have to know to what extent the exemplum as Gebrauchsform managed to transform various traditional narrative genres, such as legends, classical memorabilia, fables, etc. Nevertheless, the morphological approach as outlined originally by Vladimir Propp[1] can be applied to the medieval exemplum, with some rather important modifications.

First of all, the basic structural design of Propp's morphology of the Russian folktale lies in the relationship that exists between Aa-K (Villainy, Lack--Initial Misfortune or Lack is liquidated). In the exemplum, whenever this structure is discernible at all, the structure encompassed by Aa-K is merely introductory. The narrative progression is an expression of the vita terrena, with an incomplete or unsatisfactory conclusion, while the second part (Propp's functions XX through XXXI) represents either a narrative with a revelatory purpose in terms of Christian dogma or it repeats the first part in terms of an allegorical exposition of its meaning. Medievalists may recognize this structure in the large court epics, for instance, in Wolfram's von Eschenbach Parzival, in which the hero is given a second chance to obtain the grail.

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Furthermore, the Initial Lack or Misfortune is very often not found in the exemplum at all, since the dramatis persona, as he makes his initial appearance is already a "fallen man", a man without grace within the Christian context. This needs no explicit narrative elaboration. However, it could be argued that this is merely a Christian adaptation or an allegorical interpretation and therefore no deviation from Propp's basic structure. The Spielmannsepos, for example, such as König Rother, can be interpreted quite effectively in terms of Propp's functions without basic modifications.

A closer look at some representative examples may give us insights into the structure of the exemplum:

> A rich and beautiful princess reigned over a kingdom. She resisted a powerful suitor and was consequently banned from her kingdom. She spent her life as a beggar. A prince, who saw her in misery, vowed to fight her oppressor. He was victorious in the battle, but died of his wounds. The girl hung his bloody armor (shirt) in her bedroom to remind herself of him and to strengthen her resistance to all further suitors.[2]

If we were interested in discussing the historical and geographical distribution of motifs, we would consider this exemplum a variant of the motif of the "Bloody Shirt". In medieval handbooks, however, this exemplum appears either under the general heading of Passio Christi i.e. as allegory, or it appears under the heading of constantia. In the latter case, we have a shift of perspective from the allegorical interpretation of the narrative to the dramatis persona, the

princess, who resists all further suitors. Occasionally, this exemplum was recognized in the Middle Ages by the initial narrative situation: "the rich princess who ruled over a kingdom." Its use within this religious narrative tradition manifests a constant shift of perspective. The extant versions of this exemplum show an interaction of narrative and allegory: the girl is the human soul, the oppressor who chases her from her land, represents the devil, the liberating prince stands for Christ. In some versions, the girl becomes the daughter of a powerful king, allegorically interpreted as God.[3]

The progression of the narrative is determined by the interaction of two distinct planes, the narrative plane and its allegorical referents. Accordingly, the dramatis persona elicits two types of action, one on the narrative plane and one on the allegorical plane. The allegorical plane -- and this is important -- does not only have an interpretative purpose within the narrative, but it may possess sufficient autonomy to elicit actions of its own. In its extreme form, the narrative is essentially a psychomachia of the hero.

In short, the isolation of the smallest operative unit whether we speak of motifemes (Dundes)[4] or functions (Propp)[5] is insufficient in itself. The two planes, briefly alluded to here, the narrative and the allegorical, and their

interdependence is the basis upon which the underlying structure of the exemplum must be sought. In the broadest sense, the exemplum attempts "la traduction du langage mythologique dans le langage ideologique" (Greimas).[6] This means, we do not look for mediating symbols as in myths, but for a system of rational relationships as principles of mediation between the religious and secular, between the narrative and its allegorical referent. We are not dealing with myths, but with the interaction of dogmatic beliefs and a narrative tradition. In methodological terms, then, we do not isolate mediating symbols, a "semiotique connotative".[7] We define instead the kinds of transformations that result from the interaction of the two planes. That is to say, each narrative act has two distinct contexts in which it must be explained. Therefore the coherence of an exemplum often does not rest on a predictable progression from one event to another, or on the motivational consistency of a character, but rather on the moral inference or religious correspondence that can be adduced from seperate and sometimes disparate events, acts or characters. In other words, the "grammar of the religious imagination", if such a term can be coined, serves as an important normative factor in establishing the coherence of an exemplum.

Let me suggest some further exempla to illustrate the dual level upon which its structure rests (I have dealt with

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these exempla elsewhere more fully):[86]

> A man wants to open a money chest, but finds an ape sitting on it. The ape tells him: "I don't want to touch the money, because it is Colewyn's, that is, the devils.

We have a narrative unit (Erzähldominante): "An ape sits on a money chest." This narrative unit consists of interchangeable narrative components: "Ape" and "Money chest". These can be replaced without changing the narrative unit itself. "Ape" can be replaced by "toad", for instance, or "snake", the "money chest" by "hidden treasure" or "the grave of a usurer." The narrative unit is imbedded in a frame of reference, or to put it in another way, it has a referential aspect to it. This frame of reference is here "the greed of man". It has its own components. I describe them as referential components, as distinct from narrative components. In our exemplum, such a referential component would be "the devil." These referential components have an integrative function between the frame of reference (Bezugsrahmen) and the narrative unit (Erzähldominante). The relationship between the frame of reference and the narrative unit determines the structure of the exemplum. If the frame of reference is missing, the exemplum becomes a Schwank, Memorabile or Märchen.

A further example:

> A devil removes a wheel from a carriage that is taking St. Theobald to a place where he is to mediate in a quarrel between knights. The saint forces the devil to serve as a carriage wheel and so the saint continues on his journey undisturbed.

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The frame of reference here is "the power of the saint". It determines what I have called the referential components: i.e. "he undertakes a trip to promote peace" and "he forces the devil to serve as a wheel for his carriage." The narrative unit (Erzähldominante) is so memorably profiled here, namely "the devil serving as a carriage wheel", that the frame of reference, "the power of the saint", loses some of its effectiveness. In fact, the strong narrative unit may transform the frame of reference fundamentally. The "power of the saint" can be replaced by the "ability of any man to cheat the devil." In nuce, we have the autonomous devil's anecdote:

> The devil appears to a man as a spider. The man chops off a leg of the spider, whereupon the devil complains to the Pope in the form of a one-legged man.

Here, the referential sign, the frame of reference, is lacking altogether, and the narrative unit of the chopped-off spider leg and the devil as a one-legged man becomes autonomous. The frame of reference becomes external to the exemplum, it no longer functions as an integrated normative principle. There is no way of describing a character, object, action or situation as either a narrative or referential component on the basis of content. That is to say, the "devil" does not operate as a matter of course, in the frame of reference. Content provides us with insufficient criteria for assessing the structural relationships in any given exemplum.

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On the basis of these brief observations, some general and tentative conclusions may be drawn. Inspite of the great variety in content, the exemplum as narrative showed a remarkably uniform structural pattern during the Middle Ages. The question then arises: What creates this uniformity in the structure of the exemplum? It possesses, to speak with Cistov an "Einheit der grundlegenden Gestaltungsprinzipien der Wirklichkeit."[9] This Wirklichkeit, reality that is both evoked and reflected in the religious narrative exemplum is sustained by the principle of relatio between the concrete manifestation of things, acts and human characters and a collectively accepted system of religious values and ideas. The religious set of beliefs and the narrative interact and create the cohesion of the exemplum.

A structural analysis will, in short, have to work within the historical context of the material analyzed. For this reason alone -- and for many others -- it seems premature to this investigator to see the conflict between the historically oriented school of analysis and the structuralists as ultimately irreconcilable. The exemplum, like any other form of human expression, is the result of a dialectical interaction between the patterns that are universal to the human mind and its mode of expression and the shifting historical and social condition within which man finds himself. For the Middle Ages this condition was in part determined by the language and world of the Christian faith.

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FOOTNOTES

1. cf. Vladimir Propp, Morfologija skazki (Moscow:Nauka, 1969)

2. Frederic C. Tubach, Index Exemplorum, FFC 204, tale no. 4020 annotations.

3. ibid.

4. Alan Dundes, "From Etic to Emic Units in the Structural Study of Folktales", JAF 75 (1962) 45-105.

5. op. cit.

6. Frederic C. Tubach., "Strukturanalytische Probleme--Das mittelalterliche Exemplum", Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde 59 (1968).



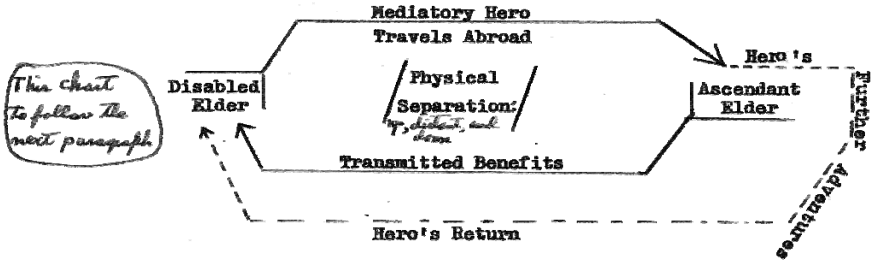
Photo 4: Registering for the Congress (FL 1913, 44383).

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Creatures of Mixed Form

in Slavic Folktale

A common pattern of oral traditional narrative everywhere involves three kinds of character -- a hero, disabled parent or affinal elder, and an ascendant, non-parental elder -- arranged in the following manner:



To compensate the first elder's disability, a mediatory younger relative as hero travels across

> a geographic or spatial separation to another elder, who is however not disabled and not the hero's parent. The second, ascendant elder furnishes benefits to the first, disabled one. The hero then returns home across the separation between the two elders, but through a different sequence of events distinct from the transmission of the benefits.

This is the main pattern of such folktales as the classic Grimm No. 97, "Das Wasser des Lebens", and more generally, of Aarne-Thompson types 550 and 551. Moreover, this pattern is a common denominator of many other ostensibly unrelated tale-types, for example 300, 325, 935, and 1525, to name only a few at random. But the paradigm of logic in this ~~folk-narrative~~ pattern is far more revealing about the history of oral narrative than is any of the particular tale-types to which the pattern happens to correspond.

The disability of the parental or affinal elder in stories ~~following~~ that ~~the~~ this pattern is often due to some obvious natural hazard of being an elder: poverty, old age, or sickness, as in Grimm Nos. 60, 6, and 97, to use familiar examples once again. ~~It~~ the disability may also result from ~~a departure by~~ one or another of the character's breaching ~~from~~ what is understood to be customary or proper behaviour. Thus a father is sometimes disabled in

his parental rôle by a stupid son, or a prodigy, whose abnormal behaviour the father cannot correct nor control. An interesting and familiar example of this form of parental disability is in the ancient Greek legend of Laïos and his son Oidipos; an oracle informed Laïos of his evil destiny as a father, whereupon Laïos undertook promptly to end his elder's parenthood.

But sometimes the nature of the disability is more subtle than in any of the foregoing examples. Consider the case of His Imperial Majesty Bel Beljanin,[1] whose very name bespeaks a perfect, blameless and holy ruler in the Great Russian tale "Tri carstva -- médnoe, serébrjanoe i zolotóe", No. 71b in Afanas'ev's collection, (renumbered No. 129 in Vladimir' Propp's edition). In synopsis, the Tale begins thus:

> Emperor Beljanin has an empress, Nastas'ja of the Golden Tresses, and three princely sons, Pëtr, Vasilij, and Ivan. A preternatural named Vixr' (Whirlwind) discovers Nastas'ja in a garden with her suite of female attendants, and abducts her, thus reducing the imperial family to only its male members. The emperor grieves for his wife, but does nothing himself to find and recover her. Instead, he waits until his three sons come of age, when he sets them the task of locating and bringing home their absent mother.

Marital ennui and royal self-indulgence would be surely inadequate an amusing but ~~wrong~~ explanation of Beljanin's failure

to seek his missing wife. In fact, it is a convention of oral narrative that emperors, kings, and other rulers do not themselves undertake to restore the losses of persons or property which alien powers inflict on their realms, but send instead various of their subjects or clients to do it. Beljanin's strict immobility and his dependence on others to mend any breaches of his authority in the Russian story are simply the inevitable concommitents of his rôle as ruler in a folktale. Indeed, his immobility is so strict that while every one of the story's dozen other characters moves from one kingdom to (or from one social class to another) another at least once, Beljanin will not so much as leave his castle until the very end of the story, when he finally allows himself to be borne in a golden carriage over a short distance from his own castle to a new and better one which his son has built adjoining it. It is as though the sum of all his subjects' extensive and often painful movements were equal to or ~~could~~ should produce only a small and undisturbing dislocation for the better in the life of their sovereign. Moreover, all the events of the story begin and come to fulfillment in Beljanin's fixed presence, making him the dominant symbol of not only fixity but also centripedence in this 19th-century Russian folktale.

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When they came of age,

The two elder princes, Pëtr and Vasilij, set forth without impediment in quest of their mother; The emperor allows them to depart without hesitation. But Ivan, is another Benjamin -- his father the emperor releases him to join in the search only after Ivan's energetic entreaty. When at last he is free to go, Ivan then travels deep into a forest, where he finds another elder who and who is not his relative, residing in a magnificent court surrounded by various tokens of well-being. This later elder provides instruments and counsel which enable Ivan ~~eventually~~ to find his mother and send her home to his father. Leaving this ascendant elder and benefactor, Ivan next meets his brothers encamped with a mighty army on an open plain, midway as it were between his mother and father. He dislodges his brothers separated them from this limbo, and then proceeds to a cave at the foot of a mountain, which is closed with a great iron door. Bursting through the door, Ivan finds a range of mountains inside the cave, and climbs them. On the mountain-tops he encounters four empires in succession: one of copper, one of silver, one of gold, and one of sparkling jewels. The four realms are possessions of Whirlwind, but Whirlwind he is not present in any of them when Ivan arrives. Instead, Ivan finds four empresses, who tell him that Whirlwind visits them only for reasons of lust at intervals of three months, two months, one month, and once a week, respectively. All these women beg Ivan to liberate them. The last queen, Whirlwind's favorite and mistress of the jewelled empire, is Ivan's mother. She instructs her son how he may overcome whirlwind.

The youngest prince,

Unlike the emperor Benjamin, who never relaxes his hold of his sons,

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When Whirlwind appears, Ivan is to grasp ~~Whirlwind's~~ his battle-mace and cling to it no matter what Whirlwind does to loosen his grip, until Whirlwind is exhausted. Vixr' ~~duly~~ then ~~appears~~ arrives as a black storm-cloud, flies in at the palace window, and assumes the form of a handsome youth as he touches the earth. Ivan ~~clutches his~~ lays hold of Whirlwind's mace, and Whirlwind flies away with him into the sky, where he successively threatens to eat, crush, and drown Ivan. But Ivan overcomes him in the manner his mother prescribed.

Bel Beljanin's logical opposite is the personified whirlwind-- Vixr'-- and not only because it was Vixr' who abducted the empress Nastas'ja. Beljanin is immobile, centripedal, and unitary in his rule; he has a single empire and never leaves it. But Whirlwind reigns over four separate subterranean empires and is seldom present in any of them. As his name implies, Vixr''s habit is to roam at large without regard for his own boundaries or anyone else's. He passes freely between the terrestrial and subterranean worlds, and flies through the sky with equal facility. He is a denizen of the whole cosmos, but not a regular citizen anywhere. Moreover, he is unconcerned about the family ties and obligations that govern men; he is polygamous, with a separate wife in each of his four

empires, although he is more a transitory, seasonal lover than a proper husband to any of them. Like Ivan's mother Nastas'ja, who is Whirlwind's head-wife and empress of his jewel-empire, all of Whirlwind's queens are stolen women and unwilling captives who beseech Ivan to free them and take them back to the terrestrial world whence they came. When the immobile, centripedal Beljanin is bereft of his wife, he remains a widower until he can find the means for a remedy whithin his own kin and progeny. But Beljanin's opposite, the utterly mobile, centrifugal Whirlwind takes his several wives whence he pleases and holds them away from their proper homes not by contract or affection but by force. Beljanin is a man and remains one, but Whirlwind is a creature of mixed forms, a shapeshifter who is sometimes man and sometimes wind-storm. Physically, morally, socially, and territorially, Whirlwind is a lawless wanderer, a polluted violator who darkens earth and sky where he passes in absolute opposition to Bel Beljanin, the stable, lawabiding, and blameless white emperor.

The task of mediating between these two personifications of centripedence at home and centrifugence abroad is a test of manhood and a first stage of initiation for Beljanin's three sons. The mediation is not truly an Hegelian or

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Straussian reconciliation of binary opposites in a new, superior form of being. The three sons face a dilemma: in order to find their mother and bring her home they must abandon their father's strict fixity and assume at least some of Whirlwind's character. They must leave home and wander through the terrestrial world, the underworld, and across the mountain-tops, like Whirlwind without any fixed goal until they discover by luck where their mother is. Then, like Whirlwind again, they must ravage her away from her master and carry her off to another kingdom. In order to restore their own family and the integrity of their father's empire, they must at least temporarily assume the unholy rôle of polluter, violator, and centrifugal power in logical opposition to the character of their pure, immobile, and consequently disabled father. The three princes' dilemma is to be like their authoritarian father, and hence weak, or ~~utterly~~ unlike him, and hence strong. For their father's most essential qualities as a folktale sovereign -- his fixity and centripedence -- are the very qualities which render him helpless against the depredations of his foe, the Wind. Those qualities are the disability which his sons must overcome or compensate.

The two elder princes find movement away from their home

and their father ~~effortless~~ easy. On the other hand, they accomplish little by their mobility, and it is not so great in the end as their younger brother's. They remain in the terrestrial world and do not enter the cave nor climb the mountains with their younger brother Ivan. They make an impressive display of force with their great army, but accomplish nothing at all by that; Whirlwind is under no compulsion to come to them and do battle on their terms. The princes Pëtr and Vasilij are too easily mobile at home where fixity and centripedance reign, and too stationary abroad, where mobility and centrifugence are the rule.

In contrast to his brothers, Ivan feels the full force of his father's centripedence. The emperor detains him at home and yields only reluctantly to his youngest son's wanderlust. But when at last he is released from home, Ivan forces his way by craft and main strength into Whirlwind's presence and obliges him to accept a contest by seizing his war-mace and thus threatening to disarm him. Then, having been more centrifugal than his brothers both in escaping his father's detention and in penetrating the distant boundaries of Whirlwind's estate, Ivan suddenly asserts an opposite, centripedal tendency like his father's. He clings unflinching to the Wind's war-mace until the wind falls to earth exhausted and stationary at last. Then he slays the wind, laying it to rest permanently. Gathering together all the defeated wind's women and moveable property,

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Ivan sends them home to his father in the care of his brothers.

As a mediating term between his centripedal father and the centrifugal Whirlwind, Ivan-tsarévič is a study in antithesis. He asserts mobility where immobility is paramount, and fixity where unrestraint rules. The conclusion to this piece of logic seems plain: the contrast between culture (the emperor Beljanin) and nature (the Whirlwind) can be understood entirely within the frame of culture. The opposite of cultural normality symbolized in Beljanin is not disorder but only another order, and a any disfunction of normality is an intrusion of one order upon another. Normality may be restored in the same way it is disrupted; Ivan does precisely what his opponent has done and gains the same advantage -- an opportunity to impose his order on his opponent. In the final analysis, normality is what endures, and the most enduring thing in culture is the succession of generations. Through the succession of Bel Beljanin and Prince Ivan, culture can do what nature cannot. It can both maintain normality and exploit abnormality, because it possesses both staid fathers and prodigal sons.

The character-types exemplified in this Russian

folktale are, of course, widespread in oral narrative, not only in Slavic but in many other local traditions as well, and in the mythologies those traditions have created in the past. A nice analogue to the three male principals of the Russian tale discussed here is the ancient Greek set of Zeus Herkeios, Apollo Patroos, and Hermes Psychopomps or Polytropos. One may understand from ~~the~~ with the Slavic tale analogy why Hermes' place in the Olympian pantheon was so insecure; he was the antithesis of the primary male authority in the Olympian family. In Slavic tradition, the tragedy of the Russian epic hero Dunai is plainly a consequence of his polytropic nature. He serves well his centripedal sovereign Vladimir of Kiev, ~~well~~, but cannot overcome the innate centrifugence implied in his name, which is ~~the~~ a Slavic name for the Danube, a well-known violator of ~~boundaries~~ national boundaries. The Serbocroatian epic hero Mujo, a centripedal ruler, and his mobile, often polluted brother Halil are other examples of centripedence and centrifugence in Slavic folk-narrative.

~~But the most immediate~~ another useful application of the contrast between mobility and fixity in the characters of oral narrative tradition is in the analysis of preternaturals -- creatures of mixed form --, for it is the mixing of disparate forms and qualities and not merely an unusual form that denotes dangerous preternaturals. Consider for

a moment more the dragon in Afanas'ev's tale No. 71a, i.e. No. 128 in V. Ja. Propp's edition, another variant of the tale of the three empires; copper, silver, and gold.

> Three brothers seek brides and meet a three-headed dragon who offers them an extraordinary girl if they can move the great stone from the mouth of a tunnel leading into the underworld where she lives. The two eldest cannot, but the youngest, Ivaško Zapečnyj, succeeds, and the dragon helps him descend into the open hole.

Despite his three heads and draco-form appearance, this preternatural is a stationary, non-parental elder and benefactor, the equivalent of the wealthy old man in the woods in the story of Bel Beljanin's son Iván. The form of dragon is a highly effective device for expressing that he is not the hero's relative, parental or otherwise. He never changes shape, crosses no boundaries, steals nothing, and remains stubbornly posted at the open entrance to the tunnel. Once again, the old moral of comparative studies in oral narrative is driven home. The nominal identities of motifs mean scarcely anything, while what they do, and what they symbolize are all-important. Dragons are as dragons do.

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1 Literally Translated: "He who is White and Dwells in Whiteness"

THE NARREMIC STRUCTURE OF FOLK NARRATIVE

Paul V. Vehvilainen (USA)

This paper deals with a method for describing folk narrative as organized structure with identifiable constituent elements. The functional incidents are considered as the basic components of a Märchen, making up the inner narrative structure. The analysis consisted of both Swedish[1] and Romanian folktales[2] in order to establish the fact that the narremic patterning is constant and does not vary from culture area to culture area.

A tale consists, by definition, of a series of events, told in linear or successive fashion. All incidents, however, do not function on the same level of importance in the total story. Any incident which can be omitted from the inventory without altering the story line is not organically related. If the omission forces a change in the story as it unfolds, the incident involved takes on a functional character. This type of analysis resulted in two classes of incidents: the functional and the non-functional. All of the events occurring in a tale make up an external structure; the functionally related incidents—narremes, defined as "minimal units of relevant narrative"[3]—form an internal structure. Anything that happens in a folktale is important to the external structure; the incidents which cannot be omitted without distorting the plot are relevant for the narremic structure and make up an inner story line.

According to linguistics, any utterance is analyzable on the basis of three minimal units: the phoneme, which has no semiotic value in itself, but which serves to distinguish linguistic signs; the morpheme, the minimal combination of phonemes with a semantic referent, either lexical or grammatical; and the tagmeme, a grammatical slot filled by a class of mutually substitutable items. The same principles can be extended to the description of whole texts.

Just as the phonemes, morphemes, or tagmemes have variants (allophones, allomorphs, allotagmas), each narreme consists of a number of variants. For example, a stepchild is ill-treated at home, a prince wants to find a wife, a farmer's cow disappears, a king becomes sick, a witch is deprived of her magic powers,

a princess wishes to get married, a poor family has no food, etc. Outwardly these situations seem to be completely different, but their basic meaning is identical from the viewpoint of their significance for the course of action in a folktale. In each instance something is lacking. Consequently, they become variants of one narreme and can be grouped under the same heading: Lack. Similarly, the other narremes consist of a great number of seemingly different incidents, but within the total framework of a story, they take on an identical meaning. The principle of substitution also dominates here: through variants it is possible to create an unlimited number of new plots. But all these plots will reflect the basic pattern of the narremic structure while superficially they may not resemble one another. This explains the dichotomous quality of the folktale: it is amazingly multiform and colorful on the external level and on the hand, remarkably uniform and recurrent in its internal composition.

The analyzed tales manifest the following narremic structure: The plot action begins with either lack (A_1), a misfortune (A_2), or an act of villainy (A_3), which give rise to a quest (B), during which donors are encountered and magical agents obtained (C), with whose help difficult tasks and tests are undertaken (D), followed by the punishment of the villain (E) in those tales whose plot action starts with an act of villainy, resulting in the elimination of the initial situation and attainment of the final reward (F). This type of development is termed as a move.[4] A folktale may consist of one move or several moves.

The aim of this kind of analysis was to establish a typology which would indicate the structural features shared by all the tales in the inventory. The study led to the following conclusions:

(1) A folktale consists of two types of events, the functional and the non-functional. The functional incidents constitute the basic components which make up the inner narremic structure.

(2) The number of these components is limited and recurrent. The plot development termed as a move is comprised of six narremes,

the over-all sequence of which proceeds according to the quoted scheme A → B → C → D → (E)→ F. The order of these functional units is constant and interdependent.

(3) The complex tales can also be described in terms of these six narremes. Their difference lies, not in a new choice or sequence of the narremic components, but in the fashion the moves in the complex stories are combined, creating a limited number of formal patterns based on the fundamental scheme.

Linguists have expressed the hypothesis, intuitively accepted by non-linguists, that language is, by nature, monolithic:[5] for every given language there is one structure, carved out of the common speech of the language. However weak this hypothesis may be, it would remain operationally useful in linguistic analysis, since it permits the postponement of "selection" until after a single structure is set up. In other words, the first prerequisite to a study of "selection" is a knowledge of "structure". This idea can also be extended to the area of folktale analysis. After the "monolithic" inner structure of the tales is discovered, the areas of selection can be enumerated. Thus the question arises, what features in folk narrative are obligatory or optional?

The limited number of the functional components may suggest that the creative initiative of the storyteller is highly restricted and there is very little room for artistic originality. But such a conclusion would be correct only if by originality we understood freedom from norms. Although the internal structure is constant and dictated by tradition, the raconteur is free

(1) In his choice of non-functional incidents. He may select, use, or omit freely these connective, auxiliary elements.

(2) In the choice of the manner in which the functional incidents are realized. He may substitute one variant for another with an identical function in each narreme. As it has already been pointed out, the formation of new plots (and new tales) takes place just this way.

(3) In thechoice of nomenclature, characters, as well as in his choice of linguistic means, although here, too, a canon has been worked out.

The variant possibilities within each functional unit of the basic scheme create widely diverse environments in the tales and allow variety for original use of allusive devices. For this reason, folk narratives, as any good art, always strike us by their freshness and vividness. But the internal narremic framework remains, organized and deliberate. The functional incidents form a sub-system of their own.

NOTES:

1 Cf. Paul Vebvilainen, "The Structure of Scandinavian Folktales," Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Linguists, Bucharest, 1967.

2 Ovidiu Bîrlea, Antologie de proza populara epica, 3 vols. Bucharest, 1966. My analysis consisted of the tales classified in the Aarne-Thompson Index by numbers 300 to 749.

3 "Narreme: A minimal unit of relevant narrative (Dorfman)." Mario Pei, Glossary of Linguistic Terminology, New York, 1966, p. 174.

4 I have borrowed the term from Propp, although his concept of a move is different. Cf. Vladimir Propp, Morphology of the Folktale, Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, Publication 10, Bloomington, 1958.

5 Cf. C.F. Voegelin, "Casual and Noncasual Utterances Within Unified Structure," Style in Language, Thomas A. Sebeok, ed., MIT 1960, pp. 58-59.

Taylor, Cinderella, 1.

The Study of the Cinderella Cycle

A brief review of the scholarly history of the Cinderella cycle is interesting and instructive for various reasons that will appear in the course of the following remarks. It will assemble a variety of facts that will reward interpretation and suggest tasks that are still to be undertaken. It will give some notion of the nature and purposes of recent studies in folklore and serve as a background for developments that seem to take account of Cinderella only rarely. I shall not try to discover why this is the case. Some have asserted that Cinderella is the most widely known of all märchen but I should not venture to make such an assertion. It can be safely said that perhaps no other tale has so many early, independent, and widely scattered versions. A ninth-century Chinese version was published two score years ago and duly registered in the appropriate typelists. A Japanese version published before (in 1885) was little noticed at the time, although it was caught and properly listed in 1893 and has ben identified as belonging to a sixteenth-century chapbook tradition. Other allusions or versions older than 1700 or even 1600 have been pointed out in England, France, Germany, and Sweden. They belong to independent versions of the cycle.

The first scholarly comments on tales belonging to the Cinderella cycle are perhaps those in the Household Tales of the Brothers Grimm. Neither these nor the search for similarities to Biblical story to the Latin and Greek classics proved to be rewarding. Comparisons with Germanic mythology such as were subjects of lively interest in Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century were also unprofitable. The notion that tales were first told in the Far East and were carried to the Near East and disseminated from there during the Middle Ages to Europe was much discussed around the middle of the century and has continued to be studied. In such studies Cinderella played no large part. Emmanuel Cosquin who championed such ideas in his

Contes populaires de Lorraine[1] made brief references to parallels to ~~Cinderella~~ incidents in Cinderella but not to the whole tale and ~~was~~ continued his interest in the subject to the end of his life, but few others in England or France shared it as far as Cinderella was concerned.

We may terminate a first period in the study of Cinderella with mention of French publications about the origins of tales that aroused little interest in France and less in other countries[2] and the mention of Emmanuel Cosquin's search for parallels in India that had no great success. We may find another terminus about the same time in Andrew Lang's edition of Perrault's Popular Tales (Oxford, 1888) because he dwells on details (the italics are his) that his readers did not choose to investigate, although he urged them to do so:

> the process by which the agency of a Fairy Godmother has been substituted for a friendly beast; usually the blood kindred of the hero or heroine, [and the favoritism shown, in many versions, to the youngest child, and the custom which alludes to the child's place by the hearth in the cinders.][3]

We can regard the years around 1890 as marking the end of such activities as these and the beginning of those of a more modern sort in the study of Cinderella.

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[1] 2 vols., Paris, n.d., [1887]. The individual tales had been published with annotations during the years 1876-1881 in the journal Romania. For Cinderella see Contes, I, 246-247, Nos. 23, 24. His notes were scarcely likely to attract much attention to the tale. In later writings Cosquin gave much more attention to Cinderella, but even this has been somewhat neglected (see below, n.).

[2] See Pierre Saintyves, Les contes de Perrault (Paris, 1923), p. 113 n.

[3] See especially the editorial preface, pp. lxxxvi-cii.

Taylor, Cinderella, 3.

Since I have mentioned collections containing versions of Cinderella, I may cite here those of major importance. The tales has been taken down in hundreds of texts an published in scores of collections, but only five collections seem to call for notice as contributions to scholarship: Charles Perrault's collections of versified tales (1694) and prose tales (1697), each of which contained a version belonging to the cycle (I have reckoned them as one). Perrault's texts are important because they were often translated. The Household Tales of the Brothers Grimm was a collection annotated in such a manner that it became a fundamental reference work for a century. Aurelio M. Espinosa, Cuentos populares españoles (3 vols., Madrid, 1946-1947) Spanish containing annotations dealing with the individual tales that represent the foundation of modern historical comparisons. A. Milien and Paul Delarue, Contes du Nivernais et du Morvan (Paris, [1953]) with annotations (pp. 266-270) that in the case of Cinderella were to be continued in subsequent volumes of the series but only a few of them appeared because Delarue's death stopped publication. Finally, Kurt Ranke, Schleswig-Holsteinische Volksmärchen (3 vols., Kiel, 1955-1962) with notes that bring the lists of variants of individual tales up to date. Each of these collections makes a characteristic and individual contribution to scholarship. Perrault's collections attracted attente to the cycle. The Household Tales containing three tales belonging to the cycle (the Male Cinderella was not included) brought annotations that established a continuing interest in scholarly investigation. A. M. Espinosa made a generous addition to rather little known Spanish traditions and insisted by his example on a truly international commentary. Paul Delarue in his notes to a regional French collection contributed probably the best introduction to the study of the cycle. Kurt Ranke 's brief survey of the cycle and his bibliographies of recently collected German texts gave us accounts of German tradition of remarkable accuracy and completeness.

Taylor, Cinderella, 4.

Perhaps the most noteworthy fact about collections in the scholarship of these tales is the variety of small contributions. These have been appearing for almost a century. I shall characterize them briefly without making any effort to list them completely. In 1898 Adhémar Leclere printed compared versions of a Cinderella tale in three languages of Indochina, citing where they had been published in the preceding fifteen years.[4] This is an unusual utilization of these specialized contributions. They have ordinarily received very little attention. Miss Marian Roalfe Cox published collectanea dealing with Cinderella some years after publishing a major work dealing with the tale.[5] On three occasions Reidar Th. Christiansen published in the journal Bealoideas versions of Cinderella found in the Dublin archives.[6] Another scholar brought together three versions from southern Arabia. His interest was was linguistic rather than folkloristic. I conclude with three contributions of remarkable variety: Helwig Lüdeke, "Das Aschenbrödel als griechische Volksballade," Zeitschrift für Volkskunde, XLVII (1936-37), 87-91; Arthur Waley, "The Chinese Cinderella-Story," Folklore, LVII-LVIII (1946-47), 226-238; and Donn V. Hart and Harriett C. Hart, "Cinderella in the Eastern Bisayas with a Summary of the Philippine Versions," Journal of American Folklore, LXXXIX (1966), 307-337.

Although interest in the Cinderella cycle begins at a rather early time in the history of the investigation of märchen, suggestions of studies that might be pursued, like Andrew Lang's previously mentioned hints, almost always fell on deaf ears. Important general works on the folktale either did not mention Cinderella or, when they did so, elicited no response. Thus, E. Sidney Hartland, The Science of Fairy Tales (London, 1891) mentioned Cinderella only incidentally and J. A. MacCulloch, The Childhood of Fiction (London, 1905) did not mention it at all. In contrast to such excellent English works, Gédéon Huet, Les contes populaires (Paris, [1923]) made generous mention of the tale (pp. 85-91) but awakened no interest in following up the suggestions.

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[4] Revue des traditions populaires, XIII (1898), 311-337.

[5] Folklore, XVIII (1907), 191-208.

[6] M. Bittner, Das Märchen von Aschenbrödel, in den drei Mahra-Sprachen (Soqotra, Mehri und Shauri), Sitzungsberichte der Akademie in Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse, CLXXXVI, (1918), No. 4

Taylor, Cinderella, 5.

Marian Roalfe Cox's book, Cinderella. Three hundred and Forty-Five Variants of Cinderella, Catskin, and Cap O' Rushes. Abstracted and Tabulated, with a Discussion of Mediaeval Analogues, and Notes,[7] marks the end of an era and the beginning of a modern period in the study of tales generally and of Cinderella in particular. It is a remarkably complete assembling of information about the various tales in the cycle and about details of all sorts. She defined the cycle in this fashion (p. xxv):

> The incidents characteristic of the story of "Cinderella" are interchangeable with a large proportion of the incidents of the "Catskin" and "Cap o' Rushes" stories... The essential incidents of each group may be seen as follows:
>
> | A. Cinderella | B. Catskin | C. Cap o' Rushes |
> |---|---|---|
> | Ill-treated heroine. Recognition by means of shoe. | Unnatural father. Heroine flight. | King Lear judges. Outcast heroine. |

She adds a fourth group of tales "approximating to these three types but not referable to any distinct type" and a fifth group consisting of "herotales containing incidents common to the Cinderella variants."[8] The last two groups

[7] With an introduction by Andrew Lang. Publications of the Folk-Lore Society, XXXI (London, 1893 for 1892). Pp. lxxx, 535.

[8] According to a footnote, these second tales are not medieval heroic legend nor are they to be identified with Type 511A, "The Little Red Ox," which also has a hero and not a heroine as the chief actor (unless indeed the ox is to be so considered). Miss Cox knows the latter tale (see pp. 455-456 and elsewhere) but does not include it in the cycle. Anna Birgitta Rooth also mentions tales with heroes, but does not seem to include them in the cycle (see pp. 135-147). On the other hand, Bolte and Polívka, Anmerkungen, III, 55-66 seem to include it, while Kurt Ranke apparently does not and Paul Delarue does (see A. Millien and P. Delarue, as cited, p. 368 and Gaston Maugard, Contes des Pyrénées, Paris, [1955], No. 6, which is the tale cited with a slightly different number in the previous book). We need a better summary of Type 511A than we now have and a better bibliography of of it. Both it and some lacking members of the cycle should be included in "Type" 510 (this is not correctly numbered as a type. The reference here is to two tales and should be to four or five).

Taylor, Cinderella, 6.

A brief account of the generally used manner of listing tales will clarify the notions of "type" and "cycle" that have been referred to in the course of these remarks. In the late 1880s, after he had made large collections of tales in his native Finland, Kaarle Krohn conceived a very important idea. Like Miss Cox's book of texts and related materials for the study of a tale, Krohn's idea of a classification or list as a means of indexing tales was novel enough to be regarded as marking an epoch in the study of tales. The idea was not entirely new, but none had presented it in a usable form. Some twenty years after conceiving the idea he commissioned Antti Aarne to index the tales in the archives of the Finnish Literary Society in Helsinki. Aarne published a preliminary drafts of the headings he had set up in 1910 (FF Communications No. 3) and followed it with a catalogue in the next year (FF Communications No. 4). The next major advance was made a decade later, when Reidar Th. Christiansen published a Norwegian list of tales in the archives in Oslo (Norske Eventyr, Kristiania, 1922 and an English abstract in FF Communications, No. 46, 1922). The adequate summaries of the tales that Christiansen added ensured general understanding and acceptance of the list and archivists in many countries catalogued their collections in this fashion with such added types as circumstances called for. Krohn now suggested an international compilation that should take account of additions and Stith Thompson undertook the task (FF Communications 74, 1928). In this the definition of tales to be included was restricted to märchen taken down from oral tradition. While later makers of lists did not adhere strictly to this definition, they ordinarily excluded legends, whether secular (Sagen) or religious, miracles generally and those of the Virgin Mary in particular, etiological tales or explanations of origins like Why the Bear Has No Tail, and formula tales in general (many had been included in early typelists and were retained). This typelist, a compilation of lists by many workers in many lands, is now available in Thompson's second revision (FF Communications No. 184, 1961, repr. 1964).

In its present form ths international catalogue is a landmark in the study of tales. It does not take account, except incidentally, of cycles of tales, that is to say, of tales related for various special reasons such as association with a

famous figure (Till Eulenspiegel, Faust, or Nasreddin Hodja), or other unifying concept. The typelist has been more or less drastically revised every twenty or thirty years and the time is approaching when a revision can be expected. In a new edition we should add many tales, especially those already pointed out as unclassified and not assigned numbers in the typelist by Reinhold Köhler, Johannes Bolte, Walter Anderson, Paul Delarue, and others with knowledge of many tales. In recent years a very valuable list of unclassified tales has been published annually in Fabula. In addition to such additions, Antti Aarne planned an index of all the tales in a few widely known standard collections such as the Household Tales, Afanasiev's Russian collection, Hahn's Modern Greek collection, and the like. Such an index would be a valuable enlargement of our means of identifying tales. Aarne published a somewhat hastily made list of 2 tales in a few collections, but it should be supplemented by additional titles and should be completed (see FF Communications 10, 1912). Additions of the sorts that I have suggested must await the completion and publication of the very valuable lists awaiting publication or completion such as the Japanese (complete in proof), Rumanian (complete in manuscript), Hungarian (nearly complete), French (about two-thirds complete), and so on. We can expect to learn a great deal from the two forthcoming volumes of Katherine M. Briggs, A Dictionary of British Folk-Tales in the English Language. Until such works as these are available in print, let us hope that no one undertakes a revision of the typelist.

The investigation of the Cinderella cycle that followed the publication of Miss Cox's book, the many scholarly books about tales, and the national and international typelists has been surprisingly small in quantity and inconclusive in results. As I have already said, little or nothing survives of the earliest scholarly writings about Cinderella. Although Miss Cox's book contains a surprising amount of information about tales in the Cinderella cycle and the incidents in them, it stimulated no studies and even those who have written books about these tales made rather little use of it. A mention of the book in what is perhaps the only general international bibliography of folklore of that age[9] comments on

[9] L. Scherman and F. S. Krauss, "Allgemeine Methodik der Volkskunde ... 1890-1907," Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie, IV (Erlangen, 1899), 75-66 (the pagination of the reprint). For a more generous but hardly more informative review of this period see Henri Gaidoz, Mélusine, VI (1893), cols. 211-215.

the compiler's reply to her inquiry and thus makes it clear that he saw the book, but he gave no idea of its nature or value.

The failure of Miss Cox's Cinderella to stimulate investigation is very striking. Scholars did not discuss the tale for a generation and when they did so, they made no use of her book. For example, Emmanuel Cosquin continued his investigation of possible Oriental connections during the first twenty years of this century and left it to be completed and published as Les contes indiens de l'occident (Paris 1922). This deal with incidents belonging to the cycle rather than with the tales but makes little use of what Miss Cox collected. Paul Saintyves, Les contes de Perrault (Paris, 1923) naturally gave a conspicuous place to the two versions of Cinderella that Perrault printed, but made little use of Miss Cox's book. His championing of theories about pre-Christian rituals found no hearty welcome. In sum, there is little to chronicle between 1893 and 1930 except the making of indexes, a variety of brief articles dealing with a few Cinderella tales from one region or another without much effort to integrate them with any general notions about the cycle. The two studies that were published either continued the search for parallels in India- a search that proved unrewarding in the case of our tale - or started in directions that few wished to pursue.

The event that awoke a fresh interest in Cinderella was R. D. Jameson's discovery of a ninth-century Chinese version.[10] Jameson's situation as a professor in university in China did not make it possible for him to see the books needed for an adequate commentary on the text, but it was noticed in places which brought to general knowledge. World War II interrupted the progress of investigations of this sort and nothing except the brief specialized articles we have already noted kept an interest in Cinderella alive.

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10 See Three Lectures on Chinese Folklore (Peking, 1932), pp. 51-83. The text can be found more conveniently in a French translation in the previously mentioned note in Millien and Delarue. For discussion see Wolfram Eberhard, FF Communications 120 (1937), pp. 52-54, No. 32 and Anna Birgetta Rooth, The Cinderella Cycle, pp. 194-196. The modern southern Chinese versions cited by Eberhard have yet to be made fully available in the west and to be discussed adequately.

Taylor, Cinderella, 9

Anna Birgitta Rooth, The Cinderella Cycle (Lund, [1951]) lays a foundation for further investigation. While it is primarily a study of one tale of the cycle, it deals briefly with other pertinent tales but not all of them.[11] This and books dealing with other tales are often difficult to read because the author uses designations for the tales that do not accord with those in the typelist (and it may be said that the designations in the typelist in its various editions as well as in the many national lists show considerable variation). Dr. Rooth was able to see a large proportion of the variants cited in previous investigations and to make considerable additions to them. Further study of the tale must start from it. She has generously deposited copies of her materials in the archives in Lund and in the library of the Institute for folkliterature in Copenhagen.

The problems in the study of the Cinderella cycle can now be more clearly stated than before. We can justly regard The Cinderella Cycle as marking a new period in our account of the investigation of the cycle. For example, we can now discuss whether Type 923, As Dear as Salt should be regarded as belonging to the cycle.[12] Shortly after Dr. Rooth's treatise appeared Photeine P. Bourboulis published Studies in the History of Modern Greek Story-Motifs,[13] a learned discussion of allusions to central Asiatic and

11 For the identification of of the types discussed see Rooth, p. 15. The identifications are of course according to the first revision of the typelist (1928) and do not completely agree with the descriptions in the second revision and elsewhere. Chemistry learned long ago to accomodate itself to such an erroneous term as hydrogen oxygen (it is hydrogen, not oxygen, that is essential to an acid), but folklore is still handicapped by rewriting and remembering its fundamental terminology.

12 I content myself with citing two references to it in recently published lists: Stith Thompson and Warren E. Roberts, Types of Indic Oral Tales: India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, FF Communications 180 (1960), No. 923; Heda Jason, "Types of Jewish-Oriental [in the archive in Jerusalem]," Fabula, VII (1964-1965), 184-185, No. 923. In both of these collections of variants of the tale those pertinent to the Cinderella cycle are very few.

and Byzantine customs concerning a prince's selection of a bride at a public show and her identification by a tiny slipper. This excellent piece of work illustrates well the use of historical and ethnological details in interpreting a tale. It made little stir in the scholarly world and is therefore one more example of the surprising reception or lack of reception likely to be accorded to an investigation dealing with Cinderella.

We come in conclusion to the most recent developments in our knowledge of the Cinderella cycle. There is much to tell about the rapid enlargement of our knowledge of the Japanese parallels. One such parallel was translated into German in 1885 and duly excerpted by Miss Cox in 1893. Since she classified it as "indeterminate" and neither she nor anyone else commented on it adequately, it attracted little notic. It can now be recognized as what is called an "old woman's skin tale (ubakawa)." Since this Japanese version is found in a chapbook of 1629 it is almost as old as the oldest European Cinderella tales. The version collected from modern oral tradition and cited by Miss Cox is as follows:

> A woman sends her daughter and stepdaughter out to gather acorns (or chestnuts in the forest. The stepdaughter loses her way and finally comes to a forest-woman from whom she receives an old woman's skin to use as a protection. She puts it on and when she returns home only her half-sister recognizes her. When her father returns, he perceives their stepmother's unkind intentions and punishes her.[14]

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[13] Hellenika, 2 (Saloniki, 1953), Part I, The custom of the imperial bride-show in Byzantium, its origin and its creation into a story-motif in folk-literature, pp. 1-52.

Taylor, Cinderella, II.

Keigo Seki cites this tale, which is known as "Komebaku and Awabaku" from the names of the sisters (the names vary considerably), as the Japanese equivalent of Cinderella (Type 510A). It is briefly as follows:

> A mother gives a torn bag to her stepdaughter named Komebaku and an untorn bag to her daughter named Awabaku and sends them to the woods to pick chestnuts. The girls stop at Yama-uba's house (a forest-woman) in the woods. Komebaku picks lice from Yama-uba's head and Awabaku does not. When they leave Yama-uba gives each of them a basket. The stepdaughter's basket contains pretty dresses and the daughter's basket contains frogs or dirty things. The mother takes her daughter to a play (or festival) and leaves the stepdaughter at home to carry water in a basket or to separate millet, rice, and other grains. A friend (or a priest) and a sparrow perform these tasks. The stepdaughter goes to the play with a friend. While they are looking at the play, (a) the stepdaughter is discovered by her stepsister or (b) the stepdaughter throws something at her stepmother and stepsister. A young man has seen the stepdaughter at the play and offers to marry her. The mother tries to get him to marry the daughter, but he insists on the stepdaughter. Since the daughter wants to marry, the mother goes to seek a suitor, carrying the girl on a mortar. They fall into a stream and become mud-snails.[15]

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[14] See Cox, Cinderella, pp. 107-108 and 177, No. 277. See a longer version in Fritz Rumpf, Japanische Volksmärchen (Jena, 1938), pp. 76-77 and 322, No. 24 (Rumpf cites the numbers of the tale in the notes and the index but not in the text. This procedure is very inconvenient). See also Rumpf, pp. 328, No. 59 and 329, No. 63 (I have cited here only the notes, since these contain the comments to which I draw attention).

This tale is comparable to the English, Catskin, the French Peau d'ane, the German Allerleirauh, and Type 510B (I do not cite the English title in the typelist. It seems to be an editorial invention without traditional basis). Keigo Seki classifies the tale in "Types of Japanese Folktales," Asian Folklore Studies, XXV (1966), 115, No. 215 In an earlier list in Japanese it is No. 210). The similarity to Indic versions cited in Thompson and Roberts, FF Communications, 180, No. 510B (dress of an old woman, dress of scabs) is worthy of note. In some Japanese versions the "old woman's skin" may be a catskin. It protects the girl from cannibal demons.

Taylor, Cinderella, 12.

A tale found in two collections of translated tales and in Seki's list may also be mentioned here. It has a general similarity to the Cinderella cycle, has a hero and not a heroine, and is not akin to the tales with a hero cited as versions of "The Little Red Ox" (Type 511A).[16] It is entitled "Ash-boy" (Hai-bō) and is as follows:

> A young man is (a) cast away by his stepmother or (b) is sent away from his home. He is employed by a rich man as a servant in charge heating the bath. (a) At a play a rich man's daughter sees a fine young man and discovers him to be a servant who works in her home. (b) She eventually learns that the man to whom she has been engaged is a menial servant in her home. She becomes love-sick. According to a fortuneteller's advice all the servants are led before her so that she may choose the one she likes. The hero appears as a handsome young man and marries her.[17]

The most important recent event in the study of the Cinderella cycle is the appearance in print of Kenichi Misuzawa, Echigo na Sinderera (Cinderella in Echigo), Sanjo-shi, Niigata, 1964. Pp. 17, 720.[18] Unfortunately it is now out of print and is altogether unobtainable. Misuzawa, an active collector of folktales, has limited his interest to half a dozen, of which Cinderella is one. In this book he has published the 75 versions of Type 511A and 19 versions of Type 511B that he found in the prefecture of Echigo (now called Niigata). This is clearly a work comparable in its extent and nature to Miss Cox's Cinderella, although more limited in its range. The two chapters of discussion in this book have, however, fortunately been reprinted in a recent volume by him that is still to be bought in the booktrade.

[16] See above n. 8.

[17] Seki, Asian Folklore Studies, XXV (1966), 115-116, No. 216. For translated versions of the tale see Rumpf, pp. 114-119, 324 and 326, No. 42; Seki and Adams, pp. 70-77, No. 24, "The Fire Boy."

[18] My knowledge of this book is limited to a review by Mrs. Fanny Hagin Mayer, Asian Folklore Studies, XXIV (1965), 151-153, some additional remarks in a letter from her, and comment by Professor Hiroko Ikeda. It is surprising that Seki does not mention it in his list (1966) of Japanese tales. More Japanese versions of the Cinderella cycle are to be found in Professor Ikeda's forthcoming list of Japanese tales. These scholars have given me generous help.

Taylor, Cinderella, 13.

Our excursion to Japan has been very successful indeed. We can hope to learn much from an excursion in an entirely different direction that Professor William R. Bascom has undertaken. He tells me that he is seeking for traces of Cinderella in Africa. There are such traces but they have not been collected and studied. Miss Cox, for example, cites a few tales and bibliographies add a few more. We expect to learn much from Professor Bascom's investigation. He expects to publish it soon.

This account of the study of the Cinderella cycle has taught me not to be rash in offering suggestions. For many reasons they are likely to fall on deaf ears. Andrew Lang's suggestions made more than seventy years ago were rejected because the temper of the age and its interests had changed. Let me be content to recall an old bit of advice to one who seeks information. He should ask Who? What? When? Where? and Why? His endeavors to find answers to such questions will guide him well.



Photo 5: Inside the main venue (FL 1918, 22).

Les Branches orales du *Roman de Renart* dans la tradition canadienne-française

par

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Les contes d'animaux ne représentent qu'une toute petite fraction des contes populaires recueillis dans la tradition orale du Canada français. En tout, à peine trois cents versions. Et encore ce chiffre englobe-t-il ceux que l'on a trouvés dans les ilots français des Etats-Unis. En regard des contes merveilleux et facétieux qui eux sont représentés par plusieurs milliers de versions, les contes d'animaux ne forment à peu près qu'un trentième de ceux qui sont déjà indexés dans le Catalogue manuscrit du conte populaire français d'Amérique du Nord, préparé aux Archives de Folklore de l'Université Laval, à Québec.

Si j'ai choisi de vous parler des contes d'animaux de préférence aux autres, c'est par souci de synchronisation française et canadienne dans l'élaboration du catalogue du conte populaire français. Le sujet me fut suggéré en effet par madame Marie-Louise Tenèze qui lors du congrès d'Athènes, en 1964, fit une communication sur les contes d'animaux en France. Il fut convenu que nous travaillerions parallèlement à cette partie du catalogue international, elle pour la France et moi pour le Canada. C'est le résultat de cette confrontation de nos deux traditions que je veux résumer brièvement.

2

Un pointage provisoire des types révèle que sur les 263 numéros que compte la seconde révision (en 1961) des *Types of the Folktale* de Antti Aarne et Stith Thompson, un nombre à peu près égal est attesté dans nos deux pays. Soit: 53 pour la France et 51 pour le Canada.

Mais 29 types seulement sont les mêmes, c'est-à-dire se retrouvent à la fois en France et au Canada. Pour les autres, 24 sont jusqu'ici exclusifs à la France, et 22 le sont au Canada (en incluant toujours les ilots français des Etats-Unis).

Pour les types qui sont communs aux deux pays, les plus répandus ou les plus aimés sont les mêmes: Aarne-Thompson 123 *La chèvre et les chevreaux*; 124 *La maison soufflée*; 130 *Les animaux en voyage*; 212 *La chèvre menteuse*. Il serait intéressant de montrer pour ces contes les ressemblances et les différences les plus marquantes. Mais, faute de temps, je m'en tiendrai au Cycle du Renard, c'est-à-dire en principe aux types de 1 à 99, dont les plus répandus sont: Aarne-Thompson 1 *Le vol du poisson*; 2 A, 2 B, 2 C, 2 D, *La pêche à la queue* (sous ses différentes formes); 6 *L'animal forcé à parler*; 15 *Le renard parrain*; et 41 *Le loup qui a trop mangé*.

Tous ces types existent isolément comme contes indépendants. Quelques-uns ont été traités par La Fontaine sous forme de fables, et souvent avant lui par les fabulistes latins du moyen âge, les auteurs d'Ysopets. Et avant eux encore, par les fabulistes classiques plus anciens, Babrios, Phédre et Esope. Chez eux, chaque fable

(ou conte) est ordinairement mono-épisodique et accompagnée d'une leçon morale.

On retrouve aussi plusieurs de ces contes-types dans les différentes parties du *Roman de Renart*, composées entre 1175 et 1250. Mais alors ils sont groupés en une succession d'épisodes reliés entre eux dans un ordre variable. Ils forment des chaînes de récits plus ou moins longs, allant de cent cinquante à quatre mille vers. On a conservé 27 ou 28 de ces chaînes que l'on a appelées branches. Ce mot de branche fut inventé par les copistes pour différencier ces groupes de contes mettant ordinairement en scène le renard dans son association avec le loup ou dans sa lutte contre lui.

Or c'est ce même terme de branche que j'applique à quelques versions de tradition orale canadienne pour souligner précisément le même genre d'agencement en chaîne de divers épisodes ou types.

Voici à titre d'exemple la succession des types dans une branche que j'ai enregistrée d'une conteuse acadienne, madame Benoit Benoit, de Tracadie au Nouveau-Brunswick, en 1955. La conteuse intitulait son conte, *Compère le Renard et Compère le Loup*, expression archaïque qu'elle emploie tout au long de son récit.

I Le loup menace de venir manger les petits d'un oiseau trop gai. Pour écarter le danger, l'oiseau suggère au loup de jouer un tour au renard: aller lui péter dans la face. (Type non classé dans Aarne-Thompson).

II Le loup s'approche du renard qui feint de dormir et... se fait griffer le derrière. (Aarne-Thompson 56 ?)

III Fureur du loup et menaces à l'endroit du renard. (C'est un motif de transition)

IV *Le renard parrain.* Episode très répandu où le renard va seul manger le baril de miel en faisant croire au loup qu'il est invité à servir de parrain à trois enfants successivement. Noms symboliques des enfants qui à la fin font comprendre au loup qu'il a été dupé. (Aarne-Thompson 15).

III Même motif de transition.

V *Vol du beurre dans la cave.* Le renard y entre le premier pendant que le loup fait le guet. Quand vient le tour du loup, il est surpris par des femmes et battu. Le renard s'est sauvé intact. (Aarne-Thompson 41)

III Même motif de transition.

VI *Vol du poisson* dans la charrette du pêcheur de morues. Le renard réussit, le loup se fait attraper et battre. (Aarne-Thompson 1)

III Même motif de transition.

VII *La pêche à la queue.* Le renard attache un panier rempli de cailloux à la queue du loup et le fait ainsi pêcher. Quand le loup veut retirer le panier, il perd sa queue. (Aarne-Thompson 2 B)

III Même motif de transition.

VIII *La queue de filasse.* Le renard va voler de la filasse aux brayeuses de lin et fabrique une nouvelle queue au loup. Fierté de celui-ci qui "avait la plus belle queue des bêtes de bois". (Aarne-Thompson 2 D)

IX Pour s'amuser les deux compères vont sauter par-dessus un feu. Le renard relève sa queue et réussit. Le loup laisse traîner la sienne qui prend feu. (Aarne-Thompson 2 C)

III Fureur du loup. Transition.

X Le Renard conseille au loup de se "virer au vent" pour éteindre le feu. Effet contraire. (Aarne-Thompson 2 D)

III Même motif de transition.

XI *La queue de fer.* Le renard amène le loup chez le forgeron pour lui faire fabriquer une queue de fer. Le forgeron applique un fer rouge au derrière du loup. (Aarne-Thompson 40 B*)

XII Le renard est allé se réfugier dans un cerisier. Le loup lui demande de lui jeter des cerises. Le renard lui jette des cailloux à la tête. (Aarne-Thompson 1061)

XIII *La chaîne de loup*. Pour se venger le loup va chercher d'autres loups. Ils grimpent l'un sur l'autre pour attraper le renard. Quand il se sent en danger, le renard appelle de nouveau le forgeron. Le loup déjà échaudé se sauve et tous les loups dégringolent. (Aarne-Thompson 121)

La structure de ce récit nous a paru aussi caractéristique que les motifs qu'elle enchaîne. Nous sommes véritablement en présence d'une branche d'un *Roman de Renard* de tradition orale. Cette branche se développe à la façon d'une chanson à refrain; le refrain étant le motif de transition qui sert à relier les couplets ou les épisodes.

Il est à remarquer en outre que les différents épisodes, depuis le VIe, s'enchaînent par une sorte de nécessité interne, l'un découlant de l'autre, et ne sont pas simplement juxtaposés comme la série de vols qui forment les épisodes IV, V et VI.

Naturellement cette branche orale ne reproduit aucune des branches du *Roman de Renart* du moyen âge. On ne saurait dire non plus qu'elle en découle directement. Car seulement quatre épisodes

s'y retrouvent et ils ne figurent pas dans la même branche. Ce sont les menaces du loup III, qui servent de motif de transition comme dans la Branche onze du *Roman de Renart*. L'épisode VI, *Vol du poisson* est probablement le plus répandu de tous. Type numéro 1 chez Aarne-Thompson, il figurait dans la Branche trois du *Roman de Renart*, ainsi que la *pêche à la queue* (Aarne-Thompson 2 B). Quant au vol du beurre (Aarne-Thompson 41), c'est l'épisode bien connu du Loup Primaut, dans la Branche quatorze du *Roman de Renart*.

Cet exemple d'une branche orale d'un Roman du Renard ne suffit sans doute pas à résoudre le débat sur l'origine littéraire ou populaire du célèbre cycle des Branches versifiées du moyen âge. On sait que depuis plus d'un siècle cette question a été débattue par plusieurs savants. Les Frères Grimm, vers 1825, optaient pour une origine populaire germanique. Leur théorie était renversée, vers 1845, au profit d'une origine savante par Paulin Paris. Un élève de Gaston Paris, Léopold Sudre, revenait à l'origine populaire, en 1893, cependant que Lucien Foulet, en 1914, se prononçait carrément pour une origine savante. Quant à John Flinn, dans son livre récent (1963), il ne pose pas le problème dans cette perspective puisqu'il ne considère pas les contes d'animaux de tradition orale, mais seulement les poèmes du moyen âge.

La question de l'origine et de la diffusion des contes d'animaux mérite donc d'être reprise de nouveau. Les érudits qui se sont

occupés du *Roman de Renart* l'ont fait antérieurement à la publication des *Types of the Folktale*; ou bien ils n'en ont pas tenu compte.

Il y aurait donc lieu de commencer par un index de tous les types contenus dans les 28 branches du *Roman de Renart*, d'en comparer les résultats avec les inventaires des contes d'animaux de tradition orale, à l'échelle mondiale, ou tout au moins du monde occidental. Il faudrait en plus porter une attention spéciale à la structure ou à l'enchaînement des types. Ce que *The Types of the Folktale* ne permet pas bien d'apercevoir dans son état actuel. C'est là une longue entreprise qui pourrait apporter une réponse plus satisfaisante que celle qui prévaut aujourd'hui en ce qui a trait au *Roman de Renart*.

Pour notre part, en versant au dossier des contes d'animaux une branche orale, nous avons seulement voulu indiquer un nouveau point de comparaison, basé sur la structure qui semble établir des liens fondamentaux avec les célèbres poèmes du moyen âge.

Luc Lacourcière

Mythes, contes et légendes du Compagnonnage

En marge des puissantes Corporations et de leurs privilèges qui maintenaient dans une condition plus que médiocre la masse des artisans, même les plus qualifiés dans leur métier, le "Compagnonnage du Tour de France" est une association ouvrière secrète, sans doute issue des constructeurs de cathédrales du Moyen Age, et qui émerge historiquement à Dijon (Bourgogne) en 1540.
Le Compagnonnage ne cesse de militer pour améliorer le sort des travailleurs, lui assurer du travail à travers le pays au moyen de la puissante organisation de ses sièges urbains. Il disposait d'une arme terrible "l'interdit de boutique", qui privait les maîtres de leurs ouvriers tant qu'ils n'avaient pas fait droit à leurs revendications.
Le compagnonnage a institué au XVI° siècle, et sans doute avant : le mutualisme, le coopératisme, l'assurance sociale, et il est à ces titres l'ancêtre du Syndicalisme contemporain. Il rassemble encore, de nos jours, une douzaine de métiers surtout bâtisseurs ; tailleurs de pierre, charpentiers, menuisiers, serruriers, couvreurs, plâtriers, etc..., mais aussi des cordonniers-bottiers, des maréchaux-ferrant, des forgerons et mécaniciens, des charrons, des sabotiers, des tourneurs sur bois, des vanniers, des cordiers, des tisseurs, des selliers-bourreliers, etc... et même des métiers d'alimentation : boulangers, cuisiniers et confiseurs.
Il est composé de trois branches rituelles :

Les Compagnons Etrangers du Devoir de Liberté (Enfants de Salomon)
Les Compagnons Passants du Devoir, Bons-drilles (Enfants du Père Soubise)
Les Compagnons du Devoir (Enfants de Maître Jacques.)

qui composent actuellement quatre organisations :

L'Association Ouvrière des Compagnons du Devoir,
La Fédération Compagnonnique des Métiers du Bâtiment,
Les Compagnons Menuisiers et Serruriers du Devoir de Liberté (gaveaux),
L'Union Compagnonnique des Devoirs Unis.

Sans cesse interdit et poursuivi dans le passé à la requête des Corporations, il est maintenant sorti de la clandestinité et fait partie des organismes de formation professionnelle, il compte environ 10 000 membres au total, dont la moitié ne sont plus en activité sur le Tour de France.
Chaque corps de métier possède un rituel hermétique et ses coutumes propres, ses règles particulières, ses cérémonies singulières.
Le secret avait pour les Compagnons une double nécessité : échapper aux poursuites de la police (emploi d'un surnom au lieu d'un nom, réunions dissimulées, etc..) et préserver leur savoir, les secrets du métier, les "tours de main" acquis par expérience étant transmis par les anciens aux Compagnons dignes d'être reçus.
Autre élément curieux, ces hommes virils et combatifs obéissent aveuglément à une femme : "La Mère", qui règne dans les sièges (chambres, Cayennes), remplaçant la mère que chaque Compagnon a laissée au foyer. Cette "Mère" des Compagnons préside aux cérémonies, elle est infiniment respectée et vénérée, de sorte que le Compagnonnage fait un peu figure de matriarcat.

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Laissons cette organisation touffue et fort complexe pour aborder les mythes, contes et légendes qui lui sont propres. Avant tout, et contrairement à ce qui est présentement admis, il existe véritablement un mythe compagnonnique. Celui des trois fondateurs : Maître Jacques, le Père Soubise et le roi Salomon que des récits fabuleux célèbrent et dont des chansons vantent les mérites.
En bref, d'après Agricol Perdiguier qui fixa le premier (d'après les dires des Compagnons) leurs légendes dans son "Livre du Compagnonnage" (en 1839), Jacques et Soubise sont deux maîtres d'oeuvre (comme Hiram), associés à la construction du Temple de Jérusalem et qui, à la fin des travaux, quittent le roi Salomon pour venir, naviguant à travers la Méditerranée chacun sur son bateau, aborder en France. Comme ils sont ennemis déjà, Maître Jacques débarque à Marseille et le Père Soubise à Bordeaux.
Les disciples de Soubise essayent d'assassiner Maître Jacques qui tombe dans un marais où les joncs le soutiennent l'empêchant d'être noyé (c'est l'origine des cannes en jonc). Retiré à la Sainte-Baume il fut finalement poignardé par ceux qui n'avaient cessé de le poursuivre. Ses obsèques rituelles et tous les détails de cette légende sont calqués, en grande partie, sur la Passion du Christ. Ceci a fait dire à d'aucuns que Jacques n'est que le Christ sous une autre forme humaine. D'autres avancent qu'il s'agit de Saint Jacques de Compostelle (où les "Passants" allaient en pélerinage), enfin les plus nombreux estiment qu'il s'agit du grand Maître de l'Ordre du Temple, Jacques de Molay, brûlé par Philippe le Bel. Et c'est en Templier que l'imagerie, éditée par Perdiguier en 1863, le représente.
Le Père Soubise, qui semble avoir le mauvais rôle dans ces récits, est encore plus enigmatique. On l'appelle parfois Soubise de Nogent, et Perdiguier l'a représenté en costume de moine.
Dans ce fratras de faits, plus merveilleux les uns que les autres, et parfois dramatiques et héroïques comme on l'a vu, il semble bien que ce soit en définitive une Tradition qui, sous la figure de ces allégories, fasse apparaître un grand fait historique et philosophique et c'est la définition même du mythe en général.
Expliquons-nous. Il est avéré que la Bible joua un grand rôle dans les rituels des Compagnons. Noé construisant son arche (c'est le travail) ; Moïse tenant les tables de la loi (c'est la Règle) ; l'Arche d'alliance sous les murs de Jéricho (c'est le coffre à 3 serrures) ; la Tour de Babel (ce sont les divisions intestines des Compagnons) ; la construction du Temple de Salomon surtout (qui fournit le sigle du fronton triangulaire et des deux colonnes le soutenant, emblème du Compagnonnage et de beaucoup de sociétés secrètes) ; tout cela qui est l'Ancien Testament, fournit l'essentiel des croyances et éléments cérémoniels compagnonniques.
Le Nouveau Testament y ajoute la Passion du Christ dont tous les accessoires : Saint-Suaire, roseau, lanterne, échelle, coq, etc... se retrouvent dans les rituels de Réception et c'est sur le crucifix que le Compagnon prête serment.
Le Roi Salomon figure donc les origines bibliques du Compagnonnage

le Père Soubise, habillé en moine, figure bien, de son côté les origines monastiques. La Tradition prête à Saint Bernard et à sa première croisade, ainsi qu'aux Cisterciens qui furent de grands constructeurs, le rôle d'avoir initié les Compagnons à leur art. Les frères Pontifes, autre fondation de Saint Bernard, auraient formé les premiers tailleurs de pierre.
Maître Jacques, costumé en Templier, rappelle que l'Ordre du Temple fut aussi grand constructeur et initiateur des Compagnons qu'il employa. Cette autre origine est marquante et nous avons trouvé, dans le manuscrit du Caourcin sur le siège de Rhodes par les Turcs (1480) une enluminure où le grand maître, Pierre d'Aubusson, reçoit des Compagnons et tailleurs de pierre d'une manière rituelle. Or, sur l'image, les Compagnons, debouts ou à genoux, présentent solennellement leurs outils et leur front est entouré d'un ruban flottant, coutume demeurée chez les Compagnons d'aujourd'hui qui portent une "couleur" autour de leur chapeau de cérémonie.
Les trois fondateurs ne sont donc qu'une allégorie de la triple origine du Compagnonnage : biblique, monastique et templière.
La goût de la fable et du conte merveilleux est constant dans le Compagnonnage. Frédéric Mistral a repris un de ces thèmes, celui de la "sculpture qui saigne", dans "la Grenouille de Narbonne". Les chansons très particulières des Compagnons glorifient ces légendes qui s'attachent aussi bien aux trois fondateurs qu'à des compagnons célèbres et même à des chefs d'oeuvre mémorables. Nous ajouterons qu'un pseudo-totémisme est fort en faveur chez les Compagnons. Les Devoirants sont des chiens, les "Libertins" sont des loups (l'Union des Charpentiers du Devoir avec ceux du Devoir de Liberté, a donné le *chien-loup*). Les *Compagnons Etrangers tailleurs de pierre* sont des Loups-garous. Les boulangers sont des chiens blancs à cause de la farine. Les apprentis charpentiers sont des lapins, devenus des bouquins chez les chapeliers et des gorets chez les maréchaux. L'ouvrier non reçu, rival du Compagnon, c'est le renard qu'on représente souvent sur les images avec une poule entre les dents parce qu'il s'empare souvent de la petite amie du Compagnon. Le lion symbolise la force et aussi la ville de Lyon, le serpent figure la justice, il dévore les renards. Le patron employeur c'est le singe, mot passé dans l'argot de tous les métiers.
Ce totémisme est abondamment utilisé dans les tableaux et les souvenirs des Compagnons (statuettes, pipes, etc...) Nous arrêterons là notre exposé, préférant, s'il y a lieu, répondre aux questions qui seront posées et donner tous détails complémentaires utiles.
Il nous a paru intéressant de dégager, dans ce monde bien secret du Compagnonnage, ce qui pouvait répondre aux recherches de notre Société. Il faut ajouter qu'il existe en Allemagne, très identiques, plusieurs associations de Compagnons. A Hambourg, leur émergence, d'après le professeur William Gerber (Die Bauzünfte im Alten Hamburg, 1933), est curieusement à la même date que pour les Compagnons français (1540). L'une de ces associations s'appelle "les frères de Roland", encore un personnage mythique, et l'on sait que les Bons-Cousins charbonniers vénéraient, fin du 18e siècle, un "Grand-Alexandre la Confiance".

Il reste à découvrir à quelle époque ces personnages fabuleux apparaissent dans les textes. Hélàs ceux-ci sont rarissimes, les Compagnons, à l'exception des Rôles d'inscription et des Rituels, brûlaient chaque année les archives le jour de la fête patronale et ils mélangeaient leurs cendres dans le vin bu à la ronde. Ce n'était pas une méthode de conservation comme nous l'entendons de nos jours.
Jusqu'ici il n'y a pas de références valables au delà de la fin du 18e siècle alors que les Compagnons estiment que, par tradition orale transmise, leurs trois Fondateurs étaient vénérés depuis la plus haute antiquité. Mais nous savons par expérience, la vanité de ces formules toutes faites : "la nuit des temps", "de temps immémorial", etc.., auxquelles l'Histoire et la Science savent, à l'occasion, fixer une limite.

Roger LECOTTÉ





Photo 6, 7: Inaugural, plenary session (FL 1913, 11).

LES RITES NUPTIAUX ENTRE DEUX MONDES

Le conférence du Dr. Yom-Tov LEVINSKY (Israël) au V-ème Congrès de la Société Internationale pour l'investigation des contes populaires

Une croyance erronnée est répandue parmi les peuples: lorsque l'un des fiancés meurt à la veille de son mariage, son âme ne peut trouver de répos jusqu'à ce que n'ait lieu la *cérémonie nuptiale*, dite "Mariage posthume entre le fiancé vivant et la morte", ceci soit auprès du tombeau, soit à la maison, avant les funérailles, auprès du lit de mort.

Le mariage posthume était reconnu, dans de telles circonstances, depuis les temps les plus éloignés, et il existe encore un peu partout aussi parmi les peuples civilisés.

Une telle cérémonie macabre est à la base de l'imagination populaire qui créa plusieurs contes dont le sujet est la lutte entre le mort et la vivante (ou vice-versa) et dans la plupart des cas, le mort ou la morte l'emporte sur le vivant.

Ces contes, sont généralement classées chez Aarne-Thomson, dans leurs "Types of the Folktales in World-Literature", sous le motif "The dead Bridegroom carries of his bride", ou dans "Les contes français", chez Paul Delarue, Vol.I, sous le nombre typique 365.

Et voici un modèle par excellence de conte populaire, qui est ramifié en plusieures versions: (selon Paul Sebillot: Contes populaires en Haute-Bretagne, Paris 1881) :

Un garçon et une jeune fille avaient promis de se marier et de s'être fidels même après leur mort. Quelque temps après, le jeune homme

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partis en voyage et mourut, sans que sa bonne amie fût informée de sa mort. Un soir il sortit de sa tombe, pris dans l'écurie des parents de sa fiancée une jument et monta dessus pour aller chercher sa bonne amie. Elle était dans une ferme, à quelque distance de-là.

Un soir le mort arrive à la porte et y frappa: la jeune fille reconnut la voix. "Ce sera demain nos fiançailles " - dit le jeune homme, allons"! Elle monta à croupe, derrière lui sur la jument et ils partirent. Pendant la route, le jeune homme lui disait: - "La lune t'éclaire, le mort t'accompagne, n'as tu pas peur ?"... "Non" - dit-elle, "je n'ai pas peur avec toi. Il se plaignit d'avoir mal à la tête. La jeune fille émue lui donna son mouchoir pour le nouer autour de la tête. A la porte de sa maman la fille descendit du cheval pour prendre un autre mouchoir de poche. Mais en sortant, elle ne trouva plus son fiancé et seulement la jument qui rentra à l'écurie baignée de sueur.

La jeune fille compris enfin que son amant est mort et elle mourut aussi. On déterra le corps de son fiancé pour les enterrer ensemble et on trouva sur sa tête le mouchoir blanc qui lui avait donné la fiancée.

Ces ~~légendes~~ contes servirent par soi même un vaste champ pour l'imagination créatrice des peuples anciens et modernes du monde entière. Et aussi elles furent émaner de leur esprit à des autres genres littéraires, surtout à des ballades, comme "The Suffolk Miracle en Angleterre" (Child Francis James, English and Scottish popular ballades,1697) et de "LENORA" du poète allemand Bürger(1773), "Le Timbalier de Victor Hugo " etc.

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"Léonora" du Bürger, de sa part, fût répandue dans la litterature européenne et donna aussi pas peu de créations ~~d~~ et des imaginations superstitieuses.

Et voici qui dit la celèbre femme de lettres, Mme de Staël, dans son beau livre "De l'Allemagne"" : -" Il nous reste à parler de la source inépuisable des effets poëtiques en Allemagne ~~- la terreur.~~"

La plus fameuse de toutes - c'est "Lenore". La jeune fille Lénore s'effraye de n'avoir point de nouvelles de son amant, qui est parti pour l'armée. La paix se fait, tous les soldats rétournent. Mais Lénora ne voit point son amant. Elle se désespère et rénie la Providence.

A minuit s'arrête à sa porte un chevalier. C'est son amant qui demande de le suivre à l'instant. Elle s'élance, à la place derrière lui sur son cheval, et part au gallop. Elle lui demande sans cesse la raison de la rapidité, mais il presse encore plus les pas de son cheval et prononce chaque fois ces mots:

"Wir und die Toten reiten schnell, Ich bringe Dich zur Wette,
noch heut ins Hochzeitsbette".
(Nous et les morts vont vite, je t'apporte ce nuit-là á l'envie
au lit nuptial).

En approchant de l'église près du cimetière, le chevalier perd l'apparence d'un être vivant et se change en squelette. La terre s'entreouvre pour engloutir sa fiancée et lui. "Lénora" est devenue un motive typique dans l'investigation des ~~légendes~~ contes populaires.

Autrefois, dirent les ~~légendes~~ contes, la fiancée raussit de s'arracher avec violence de sa force attractive surnaturelle et s'echappe au lie neutral(Gadips, contes et légendes brétagnes, 1886, IV, 100. Revue

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de Britagne, de Vandée et Anjou XI,1894 : "La Promesse imprúdente")

Interessante est la version dramatique russe: Un jeune homme est tombé á la guerre. Sa fiancée n'etait pas informée de sa mort, irra partout de la derchŏer . Une fois elle arriva á ses traces: il est sortie invisiblement de son tombeau , fit la monter à cheval derrière lui et l'apporte en silence au tombé. Mais elle a saisis subitement sa situation et se hâte d'échapper. Mais il la tient avec sévérité. Elle s'efforça et s'enfuit à l'autre tombé laissant là sa robe déchirée. Commence une dispute entre les deux espŏits des tombeaux: d'affranchir la jeune fille ou : la livrer à son fiancé. Entre-temps cria le chant- eclaire, et les deux esprits se tŏrent. Au matin , il a trouvé le gardien sa défeillance, toute nue, à l'autre tombeau...

Des signes, qui y donnaient lieu ce motif de légende on trouvent souvent aux inscriptions des anciens peuples,(Babylogne, Egypte, Israël, les Indes etc.), à l'égard de la croyance que l'âme continue de vivre et agir à l'autre monde, à propos de la métempsycose et de la transmigration des âmes.

Citons par-là des traces de cette croyance erronée dans l'ancienne tradition juive, du Talmud babylonien du V-me siècle à peu près.

Dans le traité "Avel-Rabbati" ("Le grand deuil"), il s'agit, entre autre,de coutumes et rites nuptiaux entre morts et vivants, quoique cela soit une pratique payenne; ceci, afin d"Intensifier la douleur", on prépare un baldaquin nuptial, on accroche au lieu

d'un fruit mûr (symbole du vivant) un fruit vert(symbole du fiancé qui passa de la vie au trepas). On coiffe les cheveux de la fiancée morte, on lui fait des frictions, on la pare et la parfume comme si on préparait une vivante pour la noce. On découvre le visage du fiancé mort pour l'honorer. "S'il était instruit ou savant on met à côté de lui son encrière et plume "pour qu'il puisse continuer ses études et recherches dans la vie d'outre-monde (Moëd Katan 27a).

La coutume qui s'appel "baldaquin noir" a persisté jusqu'á la moitié de ce siècle (j'en fus un témoin oculaire en l'année 1906 au cimetière de ma ville natale en Pologne). Ce rite est encore pratiqué jusqu'à présent chez les juifs de Courdistan.

M. Ben Yehezkiël, dans son "Sepher Hamaassiyot" ("le livre de légendes,"Vol. III, p.412) nous raconte d'un homme qui avait violé sa parole à son aimée et se maria avec une autre. Mais il n'avait pas de chance dans sa vie familiale et resta sans postefité. Le saint le conseilla d'aller á la grande foire de la ville Balta; là il va trouver sa première fiancée et de la demander pardon. Elle s'apaisera et sa chance s'améliorera. A Balta il la trouvera. Elle le pardonnera. Mais il s'informa après que cette ancienne fiancée n'est déjà depuis 15 ans entre les vivants. Dans l"Archiv fuer Religionswissenschaft" raconte le missionaire B.Guttmann (XII,98) et M.Raum(XIV,179) que chez la tribu Vadshagga, á l'Afrique Orientale, on est sûr que le célibataire mort se venge des vivants, si on n'arrange pas à son tombe une cérémonie nuptiale, avec une jeune fille parée et coiffée comme pour vrai marriage.

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O. Schrader, dans son oeuvre "Toten-Hochzeit" raconte au sujet de la coutume qui existe encore quelque part à la Grèce: placer au tombeau du célibataire une cruche de l'eau, pour se laver à la veille de son mariage d'outre monde.

Il raconte aussi qu'un officier russe, célibataire, était mort. Selon l'usage on a trouvé pour lui une jeune fille, et, voilée et ornée elle entra au lit de noce, à coté du mort.

Cerviak Karny, décrit dans son " Vessilya Merciv" -(la noce des morts, Kharkov, édit. Proletary,1930) le rite ukraïnien :

Lorsque l'un des fiancés meurt á la veille de son mariage, on habille le mort des habits de cafémonie, on met de guirlande de fleurs, et on célèbre avec solennité le mariage. Les invités offrent des dons près du mort. Le recenseur de ce livre, Eugen Kagarow, (Zeitschrift fuer Volkskunde, Neue Folge III, 1931, 188), ajoute qu'il a vu tels mariages en région de Volga, dans les colonies allemandes, et aussi aux environs de Leningrad.

En France donna le General De-Gaule un décret exceptionnel du 18 Juillet 1960, pour un mariage posthume, à la mairie de Melun. La jeune fille, Raymonde Souris, devait se marier le 14 Mai. Mais son fiancé Jean Parachey, agent de police, fut blessé mortellement par l'un de F.L.N. Raymonde, qui était enceinte, a épousé le mort officiellement à la mairie, pour y recevoir l'assistance du gouvernement comme veuve et comme mère future.

Un nombre de Légendes circulent le monde, en conséquence des differentes traditions et rites concernant les actes posthumes des fiancés, qui disparaissaient de ce monde avant d'y trouver leur satisfaction terrestre, comme dit le cantique funèbre de roi David, à la mort de Saoul et Jonathan :

" Si aimables et si agréables pendant leur vie, n'ont point etaient séparés dans leur mort" (II Samuël I, 23)

Corneliu BĂRBULESCU
-Bucarest-

Quelques constances dans la structure du conte populaire roumain.

Au cours des dernières années, la recherche structuraliste a remporté d'imporants succès dans les sciences mathématiques linguistiques, de sociologie, d'anthropologie, et de littérature. Toutefois, ce même terme de structure est employé pour définir des méthodes et des procédés de recherche differents; ainsi, en est-il de l'analyse de la structure de la parenté en anthropologie, de la strucutre de l'accentuation en phonologie ou du "structurofonctionalisme".

Dans le domaine de la littérature, la notion de structure pourrait être définie par l'association de certains synonymes, qui sauraient lui conférer un vaste champ d'application. La structure serait donc le système de relations de certains motifs narratifs, groupés dans un contexte logique, dont chaque partie est interdépendante des autres, séparément ou dans l'ensemble, afin de transmettre clairement un message.

En ce qui concerne le conte populaire, cette notion de structure d'adapte aux traits caractéristiques de celui-ci, ainsi qu'elle s'est moulée dans d'autres nombreuses disciplines scientifique, suivant leur caractere phenomenal. Ceci este normal, pour la bonne raison que l'application mécanique de certains schémas oppérationnels (de travail) d'une discipline scientifique à l'autre, pourrait annuler le résultat de la recherche par l'omission même du principe fondamental, a savoir: tout changement d'éléments implique un changement de la totalité, principe verifié de nombreuses experiences variées.

J'ai mentionné ce fait, afin de souligner dès le début, notre conviction qu'entre la recherche de la littérature

livresque et la recherche de la littérature orale, il existe des différences qui ne permettent à la théorie de la littérature de n'agir que partiellement sur les narrations populaires.

Il est incontestable que dans le fond, le phénomène "littéraire" est le même pour la création des écrivains, que pour la création orale populaire; celle-ci est, en dernière analyse, le point d'origine de la première, mais laquelle le long des siècles a changé de telle façon quant aux procédés de la réalisation artistique, ainsi que du caractère fonctionnel, que ce serait une erreur de les placer dans la même cathégorie. Bien entendu, il ne s'agit point d'une différence de niveau, ou de qualité. La littérature orale de chaque peuple connaît des chefs d'oeuvres de la pensée et de la sensibilité artistique, humaine qui sont capables d'être comparés aux chefs d'oeuvres de la littérature écrite universelle. La discussion ne se rapporte qu'au développement phénoménologique de chacune des deux cathégories, et ce développement, du reste, jaillit du mécanisme - même de la perception du fait littéraire: "lire c'est nommer; écouter ce n'est pas seulement percevoir un langage, c'est aussi le construire". Les différences se dessinent dès le départ de la communication vivante - directe, entre le narrateur populaire et ses auditeurs; cette relation, l'écrivain ne peut la réaliser avec son lecteur. Un permanent processus de stimulation réciproque de l'idée créatrice narrative, se développe entre le narrateur et celui qui l'écoute.

Le conteur présente une version personnelle d'une narration que les sujets récepteurs prennent à leur compte, pour la relancer simultanément, dans la sphère de raisonnement et de représentation concrète de chacun d'eux. De cette manière parallèlement avec la narration contée, une ou plusieurs variantes sont créées; celles-ci, une fois retransmises, vont engendrer à

leur tour, de nouvelles formes narratives du même schéma. C'est un processus qui ne peut se développer aussi fortement dans le cas du document écrit, qui limite le dynamisme de la création artistique collective. Ainsi, il maintient de façon permanente le lecteur au stade la perception indirecte et isolée d'un fait artistique particulier. Du reste, le conteur populaire n'emploie pas comme les écrivains des situations et des personnages correspondants à une réalité circonscrite, dont il surveille les relations et les comportements, et qu'il dirige de façon consciente, car le conte ne se rapporte pas directement à la réalité. Il ne rend que les équivalences de certains faits qui gagnent une valeur déterminante dans la suggestion de la réalité, quand même les motifs narratifs n'ont-ils gardé que leur signification métaphorique et perdu totalement leur historicité.

Le conteur évoque quelques tableaux, qui sont des images complexes semblables à la scène du théâtre que nous regardons tout a coup avec tout ce qu'elle contient, avec des décors parfois à peine ébauchées, et des acteurs auxquels nous rapportons simultanément le contexte dramatique. Goethe fait une remarque éxemplaire touchant à la peinture, mais qui s'applique aussi à la création populaire orale, comme d'ailleurs, toutes les grandes vérités concernant l'essence de la culture et de l'esprit humain: "Mais la région supérieure de l'art, où le tableau devient à proprement parler un tableau, l'artiste a un jeu plus libre, et même recourir aux fictions ... l'artiste veut parler au monde par le moyen d'un tout ..., mais si c'est contre la nature, je dis en même temps que c'est plus que la nature."(4)

Pour ce qui est de la narration populaire "le jeu" entre les idées suggérées par le conteur et les idées que chaque auditeur s'en fait, est très sensible à la suite de la relation vivante-simultanée: message - conteur, conteur - auditeurs, auditeurs -

message, relation qui engendre l'image artistique subtile différenciée par la force émotive esthétique de chaque participant individuellement, au fait artistique collectif. C'est du reste la source de la richesse variée des contes que, pour des raisons de recherche scientifique, le professeur V.M.Propp a cernée dans un "code" à l'aide duquel il détermine certains éléments constants dans la structure du conte. Il s'agit d'une "typologie simple, fondée non pas sur la psychologie, mais sur l'unité des actions que le récit leur impartit".

Pour l'année 1928 quand cette étude a été publiée, elle a ouvert de nouvelles perspectives grâce à cette brillante démonstration de l'application de la méthode formaliste à l'analyse du conte.

Le professeur Vladimir Propp a établi, d'ailleurs, un nombre de situations majeurs (56) et de situations complémentaires (15o), un nombre de fonctions majeurs (31) et un nombre de fonctions complémentaires (15o) qu'il a d'abord codifiées et qu'ensuite, à l'aide de ce code, il a exemplifié sur quelques contes de la collection Afanasieff, la manière suivant laquelle on peut effectuer une analyse structurale.

La démonstration s'appuie sur quatre observations fondamentales:

1. Les composants du conte, sont: les fonctions, éléments stables, constants, indépendants de ceux qui les exécutent, et dramatis personae qui accomplissent ces fonctions.

2 Le nombre des fonctions connues dans le conte est limité.

3. La succession des fonctions est toujours identique.

4. Par leur structure-même, tous les contes appartiennent à un seul et même type.

L'étude a donc fixé quelques supports pour le

développement ultérieur de l'analyse structurale du conte. Les observations ont, sans doute, une valeur scientifique générale, et par adaptation peuvent être appliquées, aussi, aux recherches touchant les contes roumains.

Et maintenant, pour revenir à la discussion antérieure, nous devons souligner que la recherche de la structure du conte est, en fait, un acte intentionnel, intellectuel, extérieur au phénomène étudié, à l'aide duquel l'investigateur spécialiste organise la connaissance scientifique. Celui-ci, après avoir morcelé l'entier, combine quelques schémas, et exécute donc une opération contraire à celle du créateur; il établit des points communs permanents qu'il classifie, et par juxtaposition, il définit la structure de l'espèce littéraire respective. Il est exact que les "actants" figurant dans les contes sont chacun l'image d'une conception caractérologique qui - quoi qu'ils puissent avoir de noms différents - chacun peut être designé par un signe conventionnel. Les fonctions et les actions des actants, peuvent, pareillement, être groupées en catégories limitées, et les categories - à leur tour - peuvent être converties en symboles mathématiques. Ces symboles, qui indiquent les caractéristiques permanentes des parties déterminées, peuvent être combinés dans des formules logiques, par lesquelles est impliquée la structure du conte dans le processus de l'acte de connaissance. Le mode de concevoir ce fait, dérivé de la manière dont nous considérons l'acte de connaissance, est pourtant très important.

Si le conte populaire est traité comme une narration écrite par certain écrivain, il perd justement son essence phénoménologique. Il est évident que tout message est "codifié" par le sujet émetteur, et "décodifié" par le sujet récepteur; mais, une multitude de facteurs interviennent au cours de cette opération, tant au point de vue l'intérieur humain, qu'au point de vue

extérieur, c'est-à-dire social culturel. Nous ne pouvons ignorer que dans le système de communication du message, on relève deux axes dynamiques: l'un horizontal - syntagmatique, l'autre vertical - associatif. Entre ceux-ci il existe un rapport d'équivalence, rapport déterminé dans le conte folklorique par différentes "couleurs" de raisonnement: fonctionnelle, poétique, éthique, parfois mythique, et qui sont dosées par la nature du message transmis.

A l'encontre de l'investigateur, le conteur populaire se trouve au coeur même du processus de création artistique orale. Dans le déploiement complexe du phénomène narratif, le narrateur commence à se confondre avec les héros de la narration et, se substituant aux différents personnages, il situe spontanément au premier plan, sa propre manière de juger et d'agir dans les situations données; il entraine, de ce fait, l'auditeur lui-même dans un égal processus de participation. Cela permet de circonscrire dans les contes certaines sphères de mentalité et de préoccupation sociales-culturelles, étant donné que l'individu est un produit de la spiritualité du milieu dans lequel il s'est développé. Un trait caractéristique du conte oral est le fait que dans l'acte de narration, deux plans se détachent: premièrement le plan contemporain, c'est-à-dire le plan du moment présent, où la narration a lieu - plan déterminé par le langage, par la présence physique contemporaine des auditeurs, par la réalité environnante. Secondement le plan historique, déterminé par la nature des motifs narratifs, par le schéma dramatique, par l'historicité des éléments constitutifs. La relation de ces deux plans permet la réalisation du caractère non-temporel du conte en donnant du même coup plus de force à la généralisation du message communiqué. Cet aspect apparait bien plus pâle pendant la lecture d'un conte recueilli à une certaine date, à cause de la concrétisation historique de la forme devenue invariable par sa notation

écrite ou son impression; sa force d'actualité contemporaine, sa force de généralisation dans la réalite immédiate, s'efface et même disparait. Par un subtil processus psychologique, un conte écrit, devenu document daté, perd son contact direct avec l'actualité contemporaine du lecteur. Il se détache de la réalité de la vie, il devient irréel, incrédible, pure invention. Le processus a lieu beaucoup moins dans la forme orale folklorique, parce que la présence de la narration ne dépend pas du texte, mais de la "synthèse" du message, toujours actuel dans les préoccupations du groupe social.

D'un autre côté, à l'intérieur d'une narration populaire il existe une hiérarchie des éléments, des motifs, des épisodes, qui reste permanente et qui n'apparaît qu'à l'analyse, étant donné qu'en pratique, elle opère spontanément selon un critérium ordinateur qu'il soutient, et auquel il se soumet conformément à certains coordonnées qui ont conduit au dessin de la structure. Ces coordonnées qui commandent la système de relations des éléments composant le conte, donc la structure, ne dérivent point du matériel narratif, mais sont un reflet des coordonnées qui gouvernent la vie du groupe social humain dans lequel le conte se réalise. La structure du conte est, par conséquance, la projection de la structure matérielle et spirituelle de la société dans laquelle celle-ci existe; projection passée par le philtre multicolore du talent artistique du conteur populaire, qui peut réduire les éléments narratifs jusqu'à la simple suggestion, ou bien peut les amplifier hipérboliquement par rapport au plan fonctionnel spécifique de ces derniers, accordé sur la structure de la narration respective.

Il en resulte, donc, que certaines conceptions de raisonnement agissent sub la formation structurale du conte populaire, et impriment au système de relations des motifs

narratifs, des cadres permanents - au sein desquels celui-ci se développe.

Il s'agit du cadre matériel représenté par le paysage, les biens matériels et outils mentionnés dans le conte; le cadre social représenté par des institutions, des relations entre des catégories d'actants, occupations, habitudes; le cadre éthique réalisé par la description de croyances, coutumes, traditions et comportements dans les relations; le cadre psychologique qui rend la mentalité et les sentiments des mêmes dramatis personae; le cadre esthetique qui se réalise par la suggestion du son, de la couleur, du mouvement, du volume. De la relation de ces cadres on peut définir "la forme" de la culture d'une certaine société.

Dans le conte populaire roumain, qui existe intensement dans la vie orale contemporaine folklorique, qui se place à la base de notre étude et en tant que déterminant de son organisation structurale, nous trouvons la projection constante de ces cadres, qui obtiennent une certaine valeur déterminante dans la mise en relation des éléments formels pour l'énoncé du message. La notion de structure ne peut subsister "en soi". Elle doit absolument être associée dans un processus dynamique de raisonnement dans le sens de l'établissement de l'interdépendance de ses parties constitutives.

Si nous analysons le conte par strict rapport de la consistance des éléments formels, il est juste de conclure que tous les contes ont la même structure, faisant partie du même type - et on peut compléter - de la même espèce littéraire.

Mais, si dans notre analyse, nous tenons compte de tous les facteurs qui participent à l'élaboration d'un conte, de la relation multiforme des éléments, tant dans la construction des motifs narratifs, que dans leur choix, et leur coordination, nous constatons que les contes se groupent effectivement, en plusieurs types folkloriques, ayant des structures différentes, qui peuvent mettre

en relief des traits ethnologiques, caractéristiques permanentes du groupe social dans lequel se sont développés, et dans lesquels ils circulent. Considérant le conte populaire comme un fait de culture réalisé en forme spécifique, nous pouvons déclarer que par son analyse structurale, nous avons enrichi les moyend "d'étudier les phénomènes sociaux et mentaux à partir de leur manifestations objectives - sous une forme extériorisée et - pourrait-on dire - cristalisée".

Sans doute, la discussion que nous avons engagée est-elle sommaire. Nous n'avons essayé que de saisir quelques problèmes qui méritent d'être amplement explorés pour une meilleure connaissance du développement de la culture de nos peuples, ainsi que de l'histoire de leurs relations spirituelles et matérielles, pour le renforcement de l'estime réciproque et de l'amitié.

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