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Editorial Foreword

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The Romanian Journal for Baltic and Nordic Studies marks its tenth anniversary with a special issue devoted mainly to *100 Years since Modern Independence and Unification in Baltic Sea Region and East-Central Europe*, which was the theme of the Ninth Annual International Conference on Baltic and Nordic Studies in Romania held at Valahia University of Târgoviște on November 15-16, 2018. The event focused on the historical, cultural, social and economic processes which led to the independence of Finland, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and Poland in the Baltic Sea Region, to the unification of Romania and the independence of Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary and Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Yugoslavia) in East-Central Europe and the consequences of the reshaping of the entire region from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea and Adriatic Sea. Several other political entities created at the end of World War I such as Ukraine, Georgia or Litbel succumbed after barely living for a few months or years of existence. How did the changes of borders and belonging affect the human communities living in the area and what impact did they have beyond the region on the short, medium and long-run? How were war and peace-making experienced in this region and how did they influence the changes of political geography? How did the processes of independence and unification reverberate throughout the region and how did state and non-state actors reflect, echo and react to this structural transformation of the area? How does this metamorphosis resonate in historical memory, the politics of memory and cultural identity, in historical narratives, including competing narratives, and in the use of history in identity politics a century after the guns were silenced? How does literature permeate the changes occurring at the end of the war to end all wars in the region? How do art, architecture, patrimony, in general, capture the message of those tremendous transformations? Places of commemoration, autobiographies, biographies and memoirs, empiric or theoretical research relevant to the conference topic stood also at the core of the conference.

This issue opens with an article dealing with the staging of the celebrated Arthur Miller's version of *An Enemy of the People* by Henrik Ibsen at the "Vasile Alecsandri" National Theatre in Iași in 2016. The author concludes that alterations of original texts lead to "a new piece of work".

Crina Leon also explores the reception of this theatrical performance by the Romanian public.

Enikő Molnár Bodrogi approaches in her contribution the influence of borders on identity building of the Hungarian minority of Transylvania. The postmodern concept of border is used in order to seek explanations of the attachment of communities to certain landscapes and the sacralisation and desecration of borders as they are depicted in Transylvanian Hungarian literary texts.

Adél Furu concisely tackles the recognition of Finland's independence especially by Russia and the Scandinavians and the use and readapting of symbols in the drive towards nationhood and independence since the 19th century.

Two articles focus on the First World War in Romania and Central Europe. Mihaela Mehedinţi-Beiean undertakes a study of four newspapers *Biserica şi Şcoala*, *Drapelul*, *Transilvania* and *Unirea* in order to explain the media perception of Romanian officers' in the preparation and aftermath of Transylvania's unification with Romania both as fighters within the National Guards and defence auxiliaries during the Alba Iulia National Assembly of December 1, 1918. The sources of the second article bearing the signature of Costel Coroban are the diaries of the Scottish nurses witnessing the war traumas and their effects on flesh and blood human beings on the Dobrujan front. The article approaches the experience of the Scottish women at a time of defeat of Romanian and Russian armies camped in Dobruja and the de-heroization of war in the perception of the nurses.

The journal ends with the text of the discourse of His Excellency Mr. Arvydas Pocius, The Ambassador of Lithuania to Romania, held at the opening of the Ninth Annual International Conference on Baltic and Nordic Studies in Romania highlighting the significance of the 1918 re-enactment of independence to the Lithuanian nation. The Embassy of Lithuania was a key partner of the conference and His Excellency held the opening speech of the event.

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AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE ON THE STAGE OF THE IAȘI NATIONAL THEATRE IN 2016

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An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 14th International Ibsen Conference "Ibsen and Power", organized by the Centre for Ibsen Studies in co-operation with Skien Municipality, held at the Ibsenhuset Concert Hall, Skien, Norway, 5-8 September 2018.

Abstract:
Originally written by Henrik Ibsen in 1882, An Enemy of the People *was adapted in 1950 by the American playwright Arthur Miller, and this adaptation was the one taken into consideration by the director Claudiu Goga when staging the play at the "Vasile Alecsandri" National Theatre in Iași in 2016. In this paper, we aim to analyze the reception of the play in Iași by also pointing out the differences between Henrik Ibsen's original, Arthur Miller's adaptation and Claudiu Goga's staging and showing that any adaptation of a text leads in fact to a new piece of work. Goga's staging enjoyed favorable reviews, probably also due to the possible identification of the audience with the social-political realities in Romania.*

Rezumat:
Scrisă inițial de Henrik Ibsen în 1882, piesa Un dușman al poporului *a fost adaptată în 1950 de dramaturgul american Arthur Miller, iar această adaptare a fost cea luată în considerare de regizorul Claudiu Goga, când a pus în scenă piesa la Teatrul Național „Vasile Alecsandri" din Iași, în 2016. În această lucrare, ne propunem să analizăm receptarea piesei în Iași, subliniind, de asemenea, diferențele dintre versiunea originală a lui Henrik Ibsen, adaptarea lui Arthur Miller și punerea în scenă a lui Claudiu Goga și arătând că orice adaptare a unui text duce de fapt la o nouă operă. Punerea în scenă a lui Goga s-a bucurat de recenzii favorabile, probabil și datorită posibilei identificări a publicului cu realitățile social-politice din România.*

Keywords: Henrik Ibsen, *An Enemy of the People*, reception, adaptation, Arthur Miller, "Vasile Alecsandri" National Theatre in Iași

Introduction

Henrik Ibsen's plays still seem quite popular in Romania nowadays. If we were to refer, for instance, to recent stagings in Iași, the first Romanian city which had a national theatre, we could mention a staging of *The Lady from the Sea* (2014) at the "Vasile Alecsandri" National Theatre, two productions made by the Odeon Theatre (*Me. A Doll's House*) and the Comedy Theatre (*Ibsen Incorporated*) from Bucharest within the International Theatre Festival for Young Audience in Iași in 2015 and last but not least, *An Enemy of the People* staged in 2016, even if the version considered by the director Claudiu Goga was Arthur Miller's 1950 adaptation.

In the preface to his adaptation, the American playwright Arthur Miller confessed, "I decided to work on *An Enemy of the People* because I had a private wish to demonstrate that Ibsen is really pertinent today, that he is not 'old-fashioned' [...] And I wished also to buttress the idea that the dramatic writer has, and must again demonstrate, the right to entertain with his brains as well as his heart. It is necessary that the public understand again that the stage is the place for ideas, for philosophies, for the most intense discussion of man's fate. One of the masters of such a discussion is Henrik Ibsen, and I have presumed to point this out once again."[1]

Directing from the 'Outside'

The director of the 2016 performance in Iași was Claudiu Goga, currently a director at the "Sică Alexandrescu" Theater in Brașov, in the center of Romania. Claudiu Goga is a director known for his references to social problems, an artist who tries to take an attitude through his art against the daily injustices and against the overthrow of the value system that he notices in the surrounding society. *An Enemy of the People* is a play about principles, dignity and duty or their lack, and about manipulation at different levels (authorities, the press, common citizens).

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[1] Arthur Miller, "Adapting Ibsen's Play," in Arthur Miller, Adaptation of *An Enemy of the People* by Henrik Ibsen, Editor Geoff Barton (Harlow: Longman, 1993), VII.

This play is Goga's sixth production in Iași, after titles such as Eugène Ionesco's *Rhinoceros* and Friedrich Dürrenmatt's *The Visit*. In an interview given to the theater critic Doru Mareș, Goga said, "with every text I am interested in telling a story. A story that also has to be the author's, not one parallel to the text. I mean, the story I'm creating is the one in the text and the one in the depth of the text. I like to create the performances starting from the text, to which I add new different layers, as many as possible. Thus, every spectator - depending on his or her culture (both general and theatrical), on his or her intelligence - will be able to understand them or not, but I try that at least one level, that of the story, should be accessible to anyone"[2] [our translation].

Regarding the stagings in Iași, Goga was of the opinion that "the role of a director coming from the outside is to highlight the good aspects [...] I would not be here if I did not feel comfortable... I think that the theater in Iași, beyond its troupe, also means the public in Iași, or, from this point of view, I feel like it is quite a conservative audience. It sounds harsh, but that is what I feel [...] [But] no matter how conservative a public may be, you may bring down the house if the performance is good, if the actors and the director believe in it"[3] [our translation].

The conservative audience believes, according to the director, in certain values, "which continue to be in the pipeline [...] A true update demands a much subtler and a more difficult thing to do: to emphasize the themes and meanings of the text in such a way that they appear verisimilar to the contemporary human being and touch his or her soul and mind. No matter if they concern universal themes such as death, love, or social and economic issues. You have to help the public to make analogies very easily, to find that things that happened to people centuries before can happen to him or her as well. If you accomplish that, the costumes and the setting matter less"[4] [our translation]. And perhaps this is one reason why the characters' costumes in the present staging are gray, and the setting is quite

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[2] Doru Mareș, „Cred că un regizor trebuie să fie un om puternic," in *Teatrul azi* 1-2 (2010), http://www.claudiugoga.ro/teatrul-azi-cred-ca-un-regizor-trebuie-sa-fie-un-om-puternic.html.

[3] Călin Ciobotari, „Un timp ideal pentru artă înseamnă moartea artei," in *ArtAct Magazine* 110 (2011), http://www.claudiugoga.ro/artact-magazine-un-timp-ideal-pentru-arta-inseamna-moartea-artei.html.

[4] Ibid.

simple and also gray in color. Moreover, this color renders a feeling of coldness. "There is a strange contrast between the characters' inner tensions and the glacial appearance of the geometric setting, between the incandescence of certain beliefs and the straight lines that dominate the scene [...] the 'predominant' gray prevails, so intensely and overwhelmingly that the blue and red colors of a ball seem purely chromatic explosions"[5] [our translation].

Beside the simple furniture, half transparent walls are used so that it should be easier to notice what happens behind them (e.g. Petra or Mrs. Stockmann eavesdropping at times or characters entering the scene). The video projections help moreover the audience to know the precise moment when the action takes place as in a documentary (e.g. "the same day, after 70 minutes", or "the next day, at 9:06 am"). Suggestive objects are also being projected (e.g. a typing machine, a broken window). Goga considers that "Every text shows and imposes its own approach boundaries. Everything depends on the director's culture, intention and real interest. The chosen form depends on the troupe, on himself or herself, on the translation [...] The game is lost from the very beginning if it is more important to put yourself, the director, in the center and not the author [...] I am interested in the story being richer in meaning than it would be at a first reading of the text by a potential spectator. The great quality of a director is to dig into the text and to reveal as many meanings as possible"[6] [our translation].

Goga versus Miller versus Ibsen

The 2016 staging of *An Enemy of the People* in Iași had two parts with a break after Arthur Miller's Act 2 scene 1. As compared to Ibsen, who divided his play into five acts with no scenes, Miller's adaptation consists of three acts out of which the first two include two scenes each. While with Miller, the action takes place in a Norwegian town, Ibsen is more specific with the location, namely a coastal town in southern Norway. "I believed

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[5] Călin Ciobotari, „Cronica lui Călin: un spectacol de care aveam nevoie…," April 23, 2016, http://www.jurnalvirtual.ro/2016/04/23/cronica-lui-calin-un-spectacol-de-care-aveam-nevoie%E2%80%A6/.

[6] Monica Andronescu, „Nu cred în teatrul care nu emoționează," in *Yorick - Revistă săptămânală de teatru*, 176 (2012), http://www.claudiugoga.ro/nu-cred-in-teatrul-care-nu-emotioneaza.html.

this play could be alive for us because its central theme is, in my opinion, the central theme of our social life today. Simply, it is the question of whether the democratic guarantees protecting political minorities ought to be set aside in time of crisis. More personally, it is the question of whether one's vision of the truth ought to be a source of guilt at a time when the mass of men condemn it as a dangerous and devilish lie."[7] Later in the preface, Miller explains that "I have taken as justification for removing those examples which no longer prove the theme – examples I believe Ibsen would have removed were he alive today"[8]. Instead, Miller chooses some words and expressions which were just starting to be used in Norway in the second half of the 19th century or were even not used at all at that time: "Peter: you blindly, spitefully, stubbornly go ahead trying to cut off our most important *industry*?"[9], "The *corporation* built Kirsten Springs out of its own money. If the people want them changed, the people naturally must *pay the bill*"[10], "our *Health Institute*"[11] etc.

From the very beginning, the audience in Iași is being reminded different contexts in which the title expression "an enemy of the people" was previously used, from Roman times, to the French revolution in 1793 and including the communist period or contemporary references to Julian Assange, the WikiLeaks founder. This is done through video projections, and the audience may read the facts while the actors enter the stage. After these projections, a window descends so as to separate the audience from the actors. The German director Thomas Ostermeier considers that in Ibsen's plays, "it is as if there were two dramas happening: the drama which took place 5, 10, 15 years before the play starts and the drama in the second half of the play. And to create this passage, this sequence at the beginning of the play until the drama can really happen, to make this interesting – this is the true challenge for everybody directing Ibsen's plays."[12] And Goga successfully succeeds in finding a solution to this challenge.

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[7] Miller, "Adapting Ibsen's Play", VII.
[8] Ibid., IX.
[9] Arthur Miller, Adaptation of *An Enemy of the People* by Henrik Ibsen, editor Geoff Barton (Harlow: Longman, 1993), 39.
[10] Ibid., 52.
[11] Ibid., 65.
[12] Thomas Ostermeier, "Reading and Staging Ibsen," in *Ibsen Studies*, 10:2 (2010): 73-74.

Ibsen's world is updated on stage to the present times through the actors' behavior, habits, gender relations, clothing or language (the use of some contemporary Romanian expressions). Thus, Doctor Stockmann's boys play with a basketball, the characters drink beer from beer cans or coffee from cardboard glasses, they eat pizza, hug one another, use recording cameras or a speaking-tube to make themselves heard, while Petra seems to ride a motorcycle given the helmet she wears. The actress "Andreea Boboc (Petra) manages to give consistency to a character that initially seemed to be an inconsistent projection of the father, a rather superficial young woman than a being in herself. But the gradual experience accumulations are rendered with nuances, without forcing Petra to grow up in a direction that would have canceled her authenticity but individualizing her"[13] [our translation]. Miller refers to Petra as "Ibsen's clear-eyed hope for the future – and probably ours. She is forthright, determined, and knows the meaning of work, which to her is the creation of good on the earth."[14]

The gray color of the clothes and furniture could also refer to the somber surrounding reality or to the fact that it is easier to control a society when it is standardized. This could be a reminiscence of the communist period Romania underwent from 1947 to 1989. Moreover, the audience cannot but shudder when Doctor Stockmann tells his brother on the stage, "People are fed up with corruption, Peter! Corruption kills!" This statement was largely used in Romania in the past years, initially in the context of a nightclub fire in Bucharest in October 2015, which led to the death of 64 people attending a concert in a location which did not have fire authorization. The same words were used when discovering in 2016 that disinfectants supplied to hospitals by the medical company Hexi Pharma were diluted, which led to hospitalized people getting infected with bacteria. The reference to bacteria is also present in Miller's adaptation, when Mrs. Stockmann says for instance, "you don't understand, Father. Nobody can actually see bacteria, but that doesn't mean they're not there"[15]. Besides,

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[13] Nicoleta Munteanu, „Când toți suntem oameni cumsecade sau *Un dușman al poporului*, în regia lui Claudiu Goga (TNI)," in *Cronici de teatru*, April 22, 2016, https://alecart.ro/cand-toti-suntem-oameni-cumsecade-sau-un-dusman-al-poporului-in-regia-lui-claudiu-goga-tni/.

[14] Miller, *An Enemy*, 12.

[15] Ibid., 23.

Miller himself lets Doctor Stockmann use such words as 'corruption' or 'to blackmail': "The people are going to get the full stink of this *corruption*"[16], "the children are poisoned, the people are poisoned! If the only way I can be a friend of the people is to take charge of that *corruption*, then I am an enemy!"[17], "He actually tried to *blackmail* me"[18] (to Hovstad, referring to Peter) or "You are looking for someone to *blackmail* into paying your printing bill"[19] (to Hovstad and Aslaksen).

When Mrs. Stockmann says about the mayor, "He has no scruples!", the audience cannot but think of the present political class in Romania, lacking scruples. The reference to politicians is also made by Miller: "Doctor Stockmann: When they started the damned thing I told them not to build it down there! But who am I, a mere scientist, to tell politicians where to build a health institute[20]" or "Horster: the ship will sail. But I won't be aboard [...] I'll get another ship. It's just that the owner, Mr. Vik, happens to belong to the same party as the Mayor, and I suppose when you belong to a party, and the party takes a certain position..."[21]

After the theatrical break, Act II, scene 2 from Miller's adaptation is staged with the help of live projections to render the public meeting where Doctor Stockmann is not allowed to read his report and of projections of quotations from the play. In Goga's staging Doctor Stockmann, the one who has the proof that the water of the baths (Kirsten springs in Miller's adaptation) was infested and who demanded that they be repaired, is shot at the end after telling Mrs. Stockmann that they were all alone. Afterwards the baths are repaired in a period of two years despite the high costs. The ending is thus similar to the ending of the play *The Visit* by Friedrich Dürrenmatt, previously staged by Goga in Iași. It is therefore more than obvious that corruption does kill. The above-mentioned fire in Bucharest killed people because of corruption, people got infected and some of them died because of hospital bacteria caused again by corruption. On the other hand, Miller's version ends with Doctor Stockmann's words addressed to his

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16 Ibid., 39.
17 Ibid., 96.
18 Ibid., 43.
19 Ibid., 93.
20 Ibid., 18.
21 Ibid., 80.

family and Horster: "You are fighting for the truth, and that's why you're alone. And that makes you strong. We're the strongest people in the world [...] and the strong must learn to be lonely!"[22]

At the public meeting organized at Captain Horster's house, the only person who seems to oppose the majority besides the captain, is the drunken man. The drunken man is a well-known figure to the Romanian audience from the play "A Lost Letter", written by Ibsen's contemporary, the Romanian playwright Ion Luca Caragiale. According to Miller, "Captain Horster is one of the longest silent roles in dramatic literature, but he is not to be thought of as characterless therefor. It is not a bad thing to have a courageous, quiet man for a friend, even if it has gone out of fashion."[23]

As far as the actors from Iași are concerned, Goga's Doctor Stockmann, Constantin Pușcașu, is the embodiment of resistance despite his apparently fragile character. "It is not a principle he embodies, but feelings within a consciousness, for he knows what is at stake, he knows what he can lose, he discovers the consequences of his decision and assumes them. With every interaction with the others, he's getting more and more lonely and burdened. In his desperate gestures, in his increasingly bent body, in his tired movements, Constantin Pușcașu renders verticality"[24] [our translation]. On the other hand, the Mayor Peter Stockmann, interpreted by the experimented actor Teodor Corban, is an unscrupulous person, a manipulator. "A very good interpretation, an extraordinary movement and voice mastery, a minimum of gestures, because Peter is above all the embodiment of a mechanism that has borrowed a human face"[25] [our translation]. For Teodor Corban, the professional year 2014-2015 had been an exceptional one, also given his nomination at the Berlin International Film Festival in 2015, for his role in the film *Aferim*. "The actor plays his role with genuineness; everything that Corban does, seems so simple and natural that you simply forget that you are at the theater"[26] [our translation].

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[22] Ibid., 98.
[23] Ibid., 12.
[24] Munteanu, „Când toți suntem...".
[25] Ibid.
[26] Călin Ciobotari, "Cronica lui Călin...".

Another key character, Morten Kiil, "the Badger" ("People call me 'badger' and that's an animal that roots out things"[27]), interpreted by Adi Carauleanu, makes the audience laugh more than once due to his replies, gestures and his chuckling. However, the character remains an embodiment of slyness and contempt, with a grotesque note attached to it. With Miller he is present on stage from the very beginning of the play, eating with Billing, and then having a short conversation with his daughter, Catherine Stockmann. "He is the archetype of the little twinkle-eyed man who sneaks into so much of Ibsen's work. He will chuckle you right over the precipice. He is the dealer, the man with the rat's finely tuned brain. But he is sometimes likable because he is without morals and announces the fact by laughing."[28]

Miller makes use of much longer stage directions than Ibsen in order to introduce the characters, for instance the American playwright writes about Peter Stockmann, "he is a bachelor, nearing sixty. He has always been one of those men who make it their life work to stand in the center of the ship to keep it from overturning. He probably envies the family life and warmth of this house, but when he comes he never wants to admit he came and often sits with his coat on"[29]. What is mentioned in the original is that "PETER STOCKMANN comes in. He wears an overcoat and his official hat, and carries a stick."[30] Thus, Miller uses a very direct style, without leaving the audience ask questions as with Ibsen, who is a representative of the theater of ideas.

The premiere of the play *An Enemy of the People* took place on 21 April 2016, after previous successes of the director Claudiu Goga on the stage of the "Vasile Alecsandri Theatre" in Iași. Goga also authors the translation of Miller's version, adapted for the theatre. With a view to Ibsen's adaptation, Miller confessed, "I set out to transform his language into contemporary English. Working from a pidgin-English, word-for-word rendering of the Norwegian, done by Mr. Lars Nordenson, I was able to

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[27] Miller, *An Enemy*, 86.
[28] Ibid., 22.
[29] Ibid., 2.
[30] Henrik Ibsen, *En folkefiende*, translated into English by R. Farquharson Sharp. The Project Gutenberg EBook of *An Enemy of the People*, by Henrik Ibsen, http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2446/2446-h/2446-h.htm.

gather the meaning of each speech and scene without the obstruction of any kind of English construction [...] There were no English sentences to correct and rewrite, only the bare literalness of the original. This version of the play, then, is really in the nature of a new translation into spoken English."[31] More precisely American English spelling and colloquial speech. Miller's adaptation uses a more pragmatic language: for instance when Peter refers to Tom, he says, "he gets his salary from the springs[32]" versus Ibsen's "he is the Medical Officer to the Baths"[33].

In general, Miller's adaptation is quite faithful to Ibsen's play (in terms of background and characters), but with a stress on democratic ideas (Peter: "I think the democratic thing to do is to elect a chairman"[34], "After all, we are a democratic country"[35], "Has any one of us the right, the 'democratic right...'"[36]) and on the fact that the majority is not necessarily right: "Doctor Stockmann: I tell you now that the majority is always wrong [...] Was the majority right when they stood by while Jesus was crucified? *Silence*. Was the majority right when they refused to believe that the earth moved around the sun and let Galileo be driven to his knees like a dog? [...] The majority is never right until it *does* right."[37] Moreover, the staging stresses the illusion of a democratic society in which one's interest is all that matters. This aspect is quite familiar to the Romanian audience. Arthur Miller had written in the preface to his adaptation, "I have attempted to make *An Enemy of the People* as alive to Americans as it undoubtedly was to Norwegians, while keeping it intact"[38]. And Goga attempted to make it alive to Romanians. Doctor Stockmann stands up to "a whole system touched by a disease that does not have a single face, a single form of manifestation, but multiple faces, each one more smiling and seductive than the other. Against the common sense, the public interest, the obvious necessity, you cannot be a winner. And the public good has on its side both the raw force and the word carefully chosen

[31] Miller, "Adapting Ibsen's Play", IX-X.
[32] Miller, *An Enemy*, 5.
[33] Ibsen, *En folkefiende*.
[34] Miller, *An Enemy*, 63.
[35] Ibid., 65.
[36] Ibid., 66.
[37] Ibid., 70.
[38] Miller, "Adapting Ibsen's Play", VII.

as well as the empty form and the power of the demos. The word and the stone, and at the end the gun"[39] [our translation].

Miller himself admits that "although as little as possible of the original construction has been changed and the play is exactly as it was, scene for scene, I have made each act seem of one piece, instead of separate scenes [...] Structurally the largest change is in the third act – Ibsen's fifth. In the original the actual dramatic end comes a little past the middle of the act, but it is followed by a wind-up that keeps winding endlessly to the curtain [...] in this act, I have brought out the meaning of the play in terms of dramatic action, action which was already there and didn't need to be newly invented, but which was separated by tendentious speeches spoken into the blue."[40]

With a view to the director Claudiu Goga, he is well-known for his work with the actors: when working with the actors, "I try to explain as much as I can, as well nuanced as possible. I am always open; I always leave an invitation for their proposals, which may be related to both interpretation and construction. I try to adapt to each individual actor [...] I am alive, the actor is alive, and the possibilities of a creative negotiation are created between us [...] the rehearsals for the performances in the province take less time. The people are more serious, the theater program is clearer [...] This feeling of success or failure much derives from the way in which you, the director, feel that the relationship with the actors works"[41] [our translation].

Conclusions

Although it is generally believed that a contemporary text is better enjoyed by the audience, the performance in Iași, based on a text from 1882, revisited in 1950, gathered favorable reviews. Even if "there are thousands of ways of interpreting a character"[42] [our translation], the success of the staging is largely due to the fact that the audience can recognize their own world on the stage, can identify with the social-political reality in Romania, can understand what is being performed. The staging of *An Enemy of the People* at the "Vasile Alecsandri" National Theatre in Iași seems to want to

[39] Munteanu, „Când toți suntem...".
[40] Miller, "Adapting Ibsen's Play", X.
[41] Călin Ciobotari, "Un timp ideal...".
[42] Thomas Ostermeier, *Teatrul şi frica*, translated by Vlad Russo (București: Nemira, 2016), 32.

make the audience become more active from a civic point of view since it is, as the critic Călin Ciobotari also notices, "one of the rare moments when our audience, whom I have come to know fairly well, understood that this time they did not come to the theater to laugh or feel good, but to witness an impeccable lesson of morality, dignity and 'burnt offering' in the name of a conviction, of a personal truth"[43] [our translation].

Ciobotari simply calls it "a performance that we needed"[44] [our translation], while the critic Nicoleta Munteanu refers to it as "a powerful, carefully adapted performance [...] a not-at-all comfortable play at a moment in which nothing seems to really change around us"[45] [our translation]. The director Claudiu Goga seems to have a good relationship both with the playwright, by finding an equilibrium between Miller's adaptation and the contemporary world, and with the cast that he chooses to render Ibsen's well-defined characters. On the other hand, the audience seems really interested in this text adaptation related to justice, corruption, manipulation, the consequences the fear of poverty may have on a certain part of the population. We cannot but agree with Miller when writing that "Any act of adaptation is bound to be an act of creation. The adaptor is faced with continuous decisions about choices of vocabulary, reordering dialogue and scenes, what to cut and what to keep. In making such decisions, the adaptor creates a new text, however subtly different from the original version."[46]

[43] Călin Ciobotari, „Cronica lui Călin...".
[44] Ibid.
[45] Munteanu, „Când toți suntem...".
[46] Geoff Barton (editor), "Introduction" to *An Enemy of the People* by Henrik Ibsen, adapted by Arthur Miller (Harlow: Longman, 1993), XV.

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THE EFFECT OF BORDERS ON IDENTITY BUILDING IN MINORITY LIFE

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Abstract:
In my research, I have used the postmodern concept of border to analyze the influence of borders on identity building of a national minority, namely that of the Hungarians in Transylvania in the interwar period. According to recent border studies, borders can be dealt with as zones and as cultural and mental landscapes, which serve to make contacts between different entities (in the case of this research between different linguistic and ethnic groups).
The aim of this study is to seek possible answers to questions such as why and how people produce borders through symbols and narratives. How does the human perception of a landscape influence the shaping of a landscape and the way people treat that landscape? In a narrower sense, it analyzes topics like the interpretation of national minority existence, the bidirectional attempt to construct and deconstruct virtual borders and the symbolic value of the mother tongue for a minority. The basic materials of my present study are Transylvanian Hungarian literary texts.
As far as the theoretical basis of the study is concerned, I analyze the topic from the perspective of border studies, cultural and mental landscape studies and identity studies.

Rezumat:
În acest studiu am folosit conceptul postmodern de frontieră pentru a analiza influenţa frontierelor asupra dezvoltării identităţii unei minorităţi naţionale, în speţă a maghiarilor din Transilvania în perioada interbelică. În conformitate cu studiile recente de limologie (border studies), frontierele pot fi abordate ca zone sau peisaje culturale şi mentale, care fac legătura între entităţi diferite (în cazul de faţă, dintre diferite grupuri lingvistice şi etnice).

Acest articol îşi propune să caute răspunsuri la următoarele întrebări: de ce şi în ce fel construiesc oamenii frontiere folosind diferite simboluri şi relatări? În ce fel influenţează percepţia umană a unui peisaj modelarea acestuia şi modul în care oamenii îl tratează? În sens mai limitat, articolul analizează teme ca interpretarea existenţei unei minorităţi naţionale, încercarea bidirecţională de a construi şi a deconstrui frontiere virtuale precum şi valoarea simbolică a limbii materne pentru o minoritate. Articolul se bazează pe texte din literatura maghiară transilvăneană. Din punct de vedere teoretic, articolul are la bază studii de limologie, studii ale peisajului cultural şi mental, precum şi studii psihologice de identitate.

Keywords: Transylvanism; border; identity building; cultural and mental landscape

"Border" as a Concept

Borders can be considered the most palpable political and geographical phenomena[1]. From a geo-political point of view, a border is an imaginary line which hardly bears any information about the area it divides, about its history and culture. It is only a testimony of the region being divided and ignores historical differences, continuity and overlaps which, on the other hand, are quite important for the inhabitants who experience the practical existence of the frontier[2].

Let us briefly see what exactly borders mean for the individuals. In a classical sense we may speak about natural and non-natural borders. From the beginning of the 20th century, this meaning was connected with another classical sense, namely good and bad ones. Although there were exceptions, generally the natural borders (e.g. mountain, sea, desert) were considered good borders and those drawn by people – bad, artificial ones[3]. These are, for instance, the state borders, language and cultural borders. As a result of all these, also psychological borders are formed, both at intrapersonal and interpersonal levels.

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[1] Henk van Houtum, 'The Geopolitics of Borders and Boundaries.' *Geopolitics* 10 (2005): 672. Routledge. Taylor & Francis Group. [ONLINE]: http://www.unice.fr/crookall-cours/iup_geopoli/docs/geopoliticsborders2005.pdf, accessed on 8.11.2018.

[2] Helena Ruotsala, 'Kaksi kukkaroa ja kaksi kelloa. Ylirajaisuutta ja monipaikkaisuutta Tornion – Haaparannan kaksoiskaupungissa.' *Sananjalka* 53 (2011): 202.

[3] Ibid.

It is the way how borders were created and which stands at the center of today's border researches. That is, with the help of which symbols, signs, identifications, representations and narratives are borders created?[4]

In this study, I do not only and not mainly use the concept of border in its meaning concerning territory. I rather use it with the meaning of a virtual territory through which communication can be achieved among groups of people, with social and space differences[5]. If we accept that borders are in fact the products of our knowledge and interpretation, as such, they will serve us as lenses to help us imagine and understand the world[6].

So, it is only worth interpreting the borders as dynamic phenomena, social (and constructed) institutions, as well as symbols that are malleable and able to dynamically change. The borders (borders among groups of people, among languages and cultures, in our case) control the social sphere and we consider their construction – in agreement with Ruotsala – one of the ways to exercise power[7].

From an anthropological point of view, the border generally means the differences constructed in society and space between cultures, meaning also a demarcation line in space[8]. Along it, identity and group identities are formulated and the narratives serving their differentiating are of very different kinds.

"Identity" as a Concept

I consider it important – from the point of view of this study – to give a clear definition of "identity" as a concept. It is generally characteristic of narratives concerning identity to amply use metaphors. Let us mention expressions like "losing" or "searching" or "finding" identity. These words create the illusion that identity could be a palpable "thing", the object of the above-mentioned actions. Erik H. Erikson, one of the most influential identity researchers uses the metaphor rocky-bed in his work about Martin Luther's identity crisis and his finding a new identity[9]. He states that when somebody gets into identity crises, they need to sink as deeply as possible, to reach a safe ground, from where they are able to push themselves up to

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[4] van Houtum 2005: 675.
[5] Ibid. 672.
[6] Ibid. 674.
[7] Ruotsala 2011: 202.
[8] van Houtum 2005: 672.
[9] Erik H. Erikson, *A fiatal Luther és más írások*. (Budapest: Gondolat, 1991).

the surface and find who they really are. This means that in order to be able to find our own self, we need to go back to our ancient source. And many a time this road leads through the hell[10]. Psychologist Mérei Ferenc talks about the "labyrinth" of identity, which is the synonym of Erikson's "slough"[11] in the sense that walking on the road leading to ourselves requires both effort and facing painful experience from the given individual.

In describing identity processes, it is worth keeping in mind Assmann's ascertainment that identity – being *pluralia tantum* – presumes the existence of further identities[12]. So, whenever we examine identity, we may take into consideration identity components like ethnic, linguistic, religious affiliations, political views, sex and age. They may have different intensities in each case and sometimes, depending on the given case, also their meaning can differ. Some of them are acquired at an early age, have deep roots in us and strong emotional feelings. Others change much more easily since they are more superficial.

In this study, I am going to use as operative definition the presumption which considers identity one of the most important premises of social life. According to it, personal ego is socially constructed from the very beginning, the individuals need to redefine themselves again and again and also others along their whole life. In order to define myself, I need to contrast myself with what I am not. And this is true both for individual and collective identities.

One of the key questions of the narrative concerning identity is just the determination of the differences among the different groups. This is a necessary venture, on the one hand, and a dangerous one, on the other. It is first of all necessary because the identity awareness of "us" can be created and known in relation with the "other". Difference also means power resource, since being conscious of the given group particularities gives a good basis for building one's identity and formulates the aims of the community, as well as determines the actions leading to their fulfillment. On

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[10] Ferenc Erős, *Az identitás labirintusai. Narratív konstrukciók és identitás-stratégiák*. (Budapest: Janus/Osiris, 2001), 13–14.

[11] Ferenc Mérei, *A pszichológiai labirintus. Fondorlatok és kerülőutak a lelki életben*. (Budapest: Pszichoteam, 1989), 10.

[12] Jan Assmann, *A kulturális emlékezet. Írás, emlékezés és politikai identitás a korai magaskultúrákban*. (Budapest: Atlantisz, 1999), 134.

the other hand, there is danger in the fact that we may easily misjudge or de-emphasize those people who are different from "us"[13].

Summarizing all these, I interpret identity as such a dynamic phenomenon that changes under the influence of different objective or subjective influences or, putting it in other words, as constancy in the midst of perpetual change.

Borders and Identities

There are two quotations I'm starting this chapter of my article with. The author of one of them is K. Lengyel Zsolt, a Hungarian born in Transylvania, a political, social, and cultural historian, the other one's author is Anne Heith, a Swedish cultural and media researcher at the Umeå University. Both of them have accomplished a significant research work on the minority theme.

I have specifically chosen these two texts because they resume in a nutshell the basic issues concerning the relation between the ethnic majority and minorities living on bordering geographical territories. Cooperation between the different groups is not always easy, as the following quotation states:

> "People frequently crossing borders need to compromise. They live at the bounds of territories jutting into one another, where different national communities live, and they have deeper roots in one culture than in the other. They know, out of their own experience, that a rational cooperation between individuals and groups of different origin depends on the mutual concession of those politically in charge. Such an inter-ethnic agreement is never perfect, as it only comes into being and lasts, if the protagonists keep decreasing in a balanced and indefatigable way their real or suspected demands."[14]

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[13] Sari Pietikäinen, Hannele Dufva, Sirkka Laihiala-Kankainen, "Kieli, kulttuuri ja identiteetti – ääniä Suomenniemeltä". in *Moniääninen Suomi. Kieli, kulttuuri ja identiteetti*, ed. Sirkka Laihiala-Kankainen–Sari Pietikäinen–Hannele Dufva (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto. Soveltavan kielentutkimuksen keskus, 2002), 16–17.

[14] Zsolt K. Lengyel, "Az alternatívától a kompromisszumig. Pillanatkép a 20. század eleji politikai erdélyiség hangulatvilágáról", in, *A kompromisszum keresése. Tanulmányok a 20. századi transzszilvanizmus korai történetéhez*, Zsolt K. Lengyel (Csíkszereda: Pro-Print Könyvkiadó, 2007), 5. [ONLINE]: http://adatbank.transindex.ro/html/alcim_pdf2899.pdf, accessed on 7.11.2018.

The citation above speaks about the dynamic process of negotiating identities. It is just natural for an ethnic minority whose mother tongue is different from the majority's to have deeper roots in its own culture than in the culture of the other. On the other hand, identification with a culture different from the majority's does not exclude their loyalty to the country they are living in. Both groups have demands towards one another, but they both need to find a balance in negotiating their mutual relations.

According to Heith, cultural and political borders have often been in conflict:

> "Permeable and symbolic cultural borders have often been in conflict with borders constructed by the state in order to define its territory and the content of national culture and identity."[15]

As opposed to the fiction of mono-lingual and mono-cultural state nation, historians differentiate the notions of ethnic nation (Kulturnation) and civic nation (Staatsnation). The former one means language, ethnic and cultural community, while the other means political formation built on public administration, legal system, armed forces, and the unity of the infrastructure[16].

Minority life form is simply a given historical-social state, with no value in itself. On the other hand, as Cs. Gyímesi Éva points out, minority status offers value-creating possibilities as well. It offers the ethnicities living together the possibility of coining a fruitful connection from a moral and cultural point of view. Bi- or multilingualism of those living in such a situation, enriches the humanism of those who know one another's cultural heritage and literature[17]. In case of Transylvanian Hungarians self-reliance strengthened the need for linguistic and cultural independence.

Cultural and Mental Landscape

In his article about the relationship between landscape and literature in the 18th century, Bending states that

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[15] Anne Heith, 'An Arctic Melting-Pot: the Byzantine Legacy and Bengt Pohjanen's Construction of a Tornedalian Aesthetic', *Acta Borealia* 1 (2010): 25.

[16] László Cseresnyési, *Nyelvek és stratégiák avagy a nyelv antropológája* (Budapest: Tinta Könyvkiadó, 2004), 137.

[17] Cs. Éva Gyímesi, *Gyöngy és homok. Ideológiai értékjelképek az erdélyi magyar irodalomban* (Bukarest: Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1992), 29.

> "landscape is the co-modification of nature, that nature itself is always already a construct, that it is produced in contingent ways at different moments in cultural different societies"[18].

Landscapes are thus created by a point of view, which is physical, ideological, intellectual and emotional[19].

Landscape was defined in the 18th century by the geographer, scientist and explorer Alexander von Humboldt as the "totality of all aspects of a region, as perceived by man"[20]. According to this, the defining element of the landscape is the human perception and the landscape is the sum of all aspects people can think of, natural, cultural, geographic, geologic, biologic, artistic etc. The human element, the way people think, has a key role in shaping, treating and reacting upon the landscape[21]. Without the human element, we cannot speak about landscape, only about (natural) environment.

Landscape, thus, is never something independent of the eye of the viewer, and it is focused on the viewer's sense of him/herself. What Bending tells about painted landscapes, namely that a landscape is never merely the record of what someone can see, but also an invitation to think about the act of seeing and the acts of judgment that this implies[22], holds true also for literary landscapes.

In the context of this study, it is right to speak about the mental and cultural landscape Transylvanist writers present.

On the other hand, the point of view enables the viewer to construct landscape from the physical terrain, but, at the same time, allows the viewer to see beyond the physical limits of that terrain. Landscape is as much moral and political as it is visual and aesthetic[23]. Later on, I am going to examine how view point and eye movement are asserted in Transylvanist writers's works. A good example is Áprily's poem, *Tetőn (On Mountaintop),* in which

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[18] Stephan Bending, "Literature and Landscape in the Eighteenth Century", 2, http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935338-e-133?print=pdf, accessed on 8.11.2018.
[19] Ibid. 1.
[20] Quoted by Gerhard Ermischer, "Mental Landscape. Landscape as Idea and Concept", 2003. [ONLINE]: http://www.pcl-eu.de/project/agenda/mental.php, accessed on 21.09.2018.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Bending, 3.
[23] Ibid.

the poet invites his audience to see besides the physical world, the moral and the metaphysical one, as well.

Transylvanism

Transylvanism has generally been viewed as the main regional ideology of the Transylvanian cultural and spiritual life in the interwar period. It was elaborated by Hungarian writers, historians and journalists in Romania immediately after 1919. However, its roots can be traced back to the Hungarian national movement of the 19th century.

This ideology aimed to reinforce the collective identity of the ethnic and linguistic minority of Hungarians in Romania. As some recent researches point out, Transylvanism (as regionalism) has not been exclusively a Hungarian brand. There were also Romanian and Saxon Transylvanists, forming their own groups and elaborating their own views upon Transylvania[24].

In my article, I will focus on the main characteristics of the Transylvanist ideology as elaborated by the Hungarian intellectuals from Transylvania. The representatives of Transylvanism have not advocated a well-defined or systematic ideology. There are different variants of Transylvanism, which have implied contradictory thoughts. Transylvanism was a flexible idea, adjustable to the personal convictions of its representatives[25]. The main issue for them was the political self-determination as an ethnic-national entity in Romania.

Transylvanism has mainly been considered a political ideology, but the phenomenon is more than that. According to Láng[26], it was meant to give answers to the questions raised by the identity crisis that Hungarians in Transylvania encountered in their new, minority situation. The only means of preserving their identity as a community was their own culture, based on

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[24] Zsuzsanna Török, "Transylvanism: A Politics of Wise Balance? Minority Regionalism in Interwar Romania. (1918–1940)", in *Regionale Bewegungen und Regionalismen in europäischen Zwischenräumen seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Philipp Ther and Holm Sundhaussen (Marburg: Verlag Herder-Institut, 2003), 128. [ONLINE]: https://www.herder-institut.de/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf/vergriffene_Publikationen/Herder_Institut_Tagungen_Band18.pdf, accessed on 19.03. 2016; Imola Katalin Nagy, 'Transylvanianism as Identity Discourse.' *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, Philologica*, 3 (2014), 318. [ONLINE]: http://www.diacronia.ro/ro/indexing/details/A16880/pdf, accessed on 9.11.2018.

[25] Béla Pomogáts, *A transzilvánizmus. Az Erdélyi Helikon ideológiája* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1983), 8.

[26] Gusztáv Láng, *Kivándorló irodalom. Kísérletek* (Kolozsvár: Korunk Baráti Társaság, 1998), 5.

their mother tongue and their national traditions, all these adjusted to the new situation.

"Transylvanism was characterized by a strong regional note, linked to the democratic ideal of cultural pluralism."[27] According to this ideology Transylvania had a specific and particular spirituality which has been shaped throughout the centuries and was rooted in landscape, history, and cultural diversity. Tolerance towards otherness, differentness was considered to be the basic feature of this spirituality.

The core of Transylvanism lies in the fact that it postulates a certain historical predestination that all the nations (ethnic groups) in Transylvania could live together in peace and harmony and have equal rights.

The minority identity did not manifest itself as an ideology but rather as a collective feeling. The stability of the natural environment compensated for the fragile and unstable political status of the Hungarians in Transylvania.

Symbols of Moral Values

In the Hungarian literature of the time, Transylvanian nature appears as the bearer of moral values: those of steadiness, loyalty and invincibility (see the works of Tompa László, Reményik Sándor, Áprily Lajos, Dsida Jenő, Tamási Áron, Berde Mária, Kuncz Aladár). At the same time, Transylvanism was seeking the basis of national unity of Hungarians in cultural values and these values had a strong moral charge. A nation was, according to this concept, a moral community that manifested itself in its collective culture and demanded from all its members the assumption of a common mission. This messianism constituted one of the central themes of Hungarian literature in Transylvania.

Messianism

Kós Károly (1883–1977), a Hungarian architect, writer, ethnologist and politician, was the most notable advocate of the Transylvanist ideology. He and two contemporary intellectuals of the time, Zágoni István and Paál Árpád, wrote the first document on Transylvanism, a pamphlet entitled *Kiáltó szó Erdély, Bánság, Kőrösvidék és Máramaros magyarságához!*[28] (*Calling*

[27] Török, 128.

[28] *Kiáltó szó Erdély, Bánság, Kőrösvidék és Máramaros magyarságához!* [ONLINE]: http://adatbank.transindex.ro/html/cim_pdf1374.pdf, accessed on 9.11.2018.

Voice to the Hungarians in Transylvania, Banat, Crishana, and Maramures). Its motto is a quotation from the Bible, John 1: 21–23. These verses were translated in different ways into English, the result of different interpretations of the text. I focused on Verse 21, which includes the phrase: "I am the voice of one calling in the wilderness"/ "I am a voice crying in the wilderness"/ "I am the voice shouting in the wilderness"[29]. The difference between these translations reflects the fact that an ideology can be received in different ways by different people and groups. The "voice" of an ideologist can either be an echo-less cry or a call to which the audience answers, depending on the many historical and social circumstances which influence their lives.

The main feature of Transylvanism – which is the activism its representatives promoted – is embedded in the title of the pamphlet. The Transylvanists have striven to inspire the members of their communities to build a future for themselves.

> "We have woken up. We want to see clearly. We want to face Life and be clear about our own situation. We want to know ourselves. We have to consider our forces, organize our work and we have to know the goal we want to achieve."[30]

In this pamphlet and in his earlier work, such as the weekly review *Kalotaszeg*, Kós suggested that there had always existed a particular Transylvanian identity, which had sufficient self-definition and which might offer possibility for the Hungarians in Transylvania to raise this identity to the status of national identity in the context of an ethnic autonomy.

Another Transylvanist of the time, Dsida Jenő, combined in his poem *Nagycsütörtök (Maundy Thursday)* a religious topic (the suffering of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane) with the topic of the loneliness and spiritual distress of an individual belonging to the Hungarian community in Romania. The parallelism between Jesus and the member of an ethnic minority group is composed tangibly:

> "it would have been so good to speak a little
> to close friends, a few words to men you trust,

[29] *Bible Hub*, [ONLINE]: http://biblehub.com/john/1-23.htm, accessed on 9.11.2018.
[30] *Kiáltó szó...*, 3. Transl. by Enikő Molnár Bodrogi.

but there was only damp night, dark and chill,
Peter was now asleep, and James and John
asleep, and Matthew, all of them asleep…"[31].

The ambiguity and the iterative passage between the concrete and the symbolic situation make the poem so rich in meaning.

Making virtue out of necessity was a common aim of the representatives of Transylvanism. To replace the negatively charged minority status with positive options that are true to Transylvanian values. Beginning with the 1920s, the symbol of the oyster (the pearl and sand) has become very common in Transylvanian Hungarian literature. It is the symbol of the "productive pain" caused to Hungarians by the change in their social status (becoming a national minority), a kind of moral answer to the historical and psychological shock they had experienced[32]. Thus, it is used as a moral symbol, involving a disharmony between a negative cause and a positive effect.

This perception is quite close to the Christian cult of suffering. It is not by mere chance that Christian references and intertexts are frequent in the interwar Transylvanian literature. In Tamási Áron's grotesque short story, *Himnusz egy szamárral*[33] (*Hymn with a Donkey*), two opposite systems of values crash, symbolizing two alternatives of a certain historical situation at any kind of border[34]. The protagonist of the text, Demeter Gábor, is in a double border situation. He arrives home from the war, full of hopes and immediately falls in a crisis in his private life (his wife has left him). He gives an irregular answer to his challenges: "I'll buy a donkey and start a new life"[35]. The village community has not recovered yet from the shock of social and political changes following the World War and they reject, even rule out as a collective individual the "prophet" who wants to lead his life according to his own notions. In the context of the short story, the donkey is the symbol

[31] George Gömöri, 'Introduction to Jenő Dsida's Poems. Poems translated by George Gömöri and Clive Wilmer', *Hungarian Review* 4 (2013) [ONLINE]: http://www.hungarianreview.com/article/introduction_to_jeno_dsidas_poems_poems_translated_by_george_gomori_and_clive_wilmer, accessed on 8.11.2018.
[32] Cs. Gyímesi 1992, 10.
[33] Áron Tamási, "Himnusz egy szamárral", in *Tamási Áron válogatott novellái*, 76–83. [ONLINE]: http://mek.oszk.hu/01000/01093/01093.pdf, accessed on 29.10.2018.
[34] Cs. Éva Gyímesi, *Teremtett világ. Rendhagyó bevezetés az irodalomba* (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1983), 145.
[35] Tamási, 78.

of undemandingness and stubborn working, referring to the life of Jesus, at the same time.

The tiff between Demeter Gábor and the village community may also be interpreted as an ideological conflict: the protagonist offers solutions to undertaking minority life and urges his fellows to constructive action. At the same time, the others – not seeing any way out of their situation – receive his ideas scoffing at the beginning and with complete incomprehension and hostile feelings later on.

At the end of the short story, the protagonist is glorified in a grotesquely fantastic way. He is accused of murder and sentenced to leave the village on donkey-back. This is exactly the opposite of Christ's glorious entry to Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. Demeter Gábor mounts his donkey and it whirls away with him like a fairy-tale steed "towards the future"[36].

The short-story finishes with a mythic turn, when the symbol of the archetypical Antichrist is evoked in the dumbstruck villagers.

> 'On that day, at dusk, four Sekler old men are talking on the road.
>
> "That was no donkey at all, it must have been a huge rabbit." – said one of them.
>
> "And the mounted man was not DEMETER Gábor, as he died in the war."
>
> "Who could that have been then?" – asked the third one.
>
> "That surely was the Antichrist himself."'[37]

The theme of Reményik Sándor's poem *Az ige* (*The Word*) is the collectivity protecting role of the mother tongue and, as such, the language is canonized as holy. The poem is built on enhancement and it sounds on the voice of the prophet. In the first stanza, the poet compares the mother tongue with a sanctuary, with a catacomb. Then it is worded as a request:

> "Everybody should speak Hungarian
> As if in pray,
> As if carrying gold, incense, myrrh."[38]

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[36] Ibid. 82.

[37] Ibid. 83.

[38] Sándor Reményik, "Az ige", in *Reményik Sándor összes versei* [ONLINE]: http://mek.oszk.hu/01000/01052/html/vers0503.htm#70, accessed on 29.10.2018. Transl. by Betty Léb.

Nursing one's mother tongue means adoration and its professional users are ministers in the eyes of the poet and he also draws attention upon the seriousness and solemnity of their task.

In the forth and last stanza he uses a metaphor that leaves no doubt about the language holiness:

> "Take care: language now is a holy grail.
> You drink its wine: you drink the wine of life."[39]

In the dimensions of the poem's world (and in society by transference) it is the mother tongue that determines a collectivity's outside borders which separate them of others, at the same time assuring life and future for those who cannot find a way out while in identity crisis.

Natural Symbols of Steadiness

When reading the landscape literature of the Transylvanian Hungarian writers between the two World Wars, we must pay attention to the strategies used by these writers in order to establish a relationship with an imagined reading public.

As I have also noted earlier, Transylvanism is based upon the idea that space can shape the spirit, and region is a particular outcome of its intercultural relations and diversity. For the Hungarian writers Transylvania is, besides a geographical and historical place, also a cultural concept.

Identification processes imply the construction of palpable and symbolic frontiers. Hungarians in Transylvania discuss the separation of the in-group and out-group in their literature, and the main distinctive feature of the in-group is the minority language on which the culture of the group is built on.

The hierarchy of values has also played an important role: the top value being the birthplace, then the homeland followed by the universal. Local values have been believed to enrich values at the homeland level, as well as those on the largest scale (universal). According to Transylvanism, minority literature is most closely linked to universal values through the topics it deals with. The "minority humanism" often mentioned by the Transylvanists is interpreted as protecting against becoming nationalist.

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[39] Ibid.

Let us see some examples for natural symbols of steadiness and harmony seeking.

In the poetry of Áprily Lajos mountains carry moral connotations and the mountaintop is a symbol of opposing opportunism, of preserving dignity[40]. The poem *Tetőn*[41] (*On Mountaintop*) is full of nature images and one can follow the drawing of borders between real and symbolic with the help of poetic means. At the same time, eye movement also structures scenery description. The border is placed between up and down, having the role of separating two value spheres. The poem is built on oppositions. The "down" describes the sphere of endangered, as well as missing values, using nature symbols such as autumn (season of passing) or the orphan foliage. Then, the poet opposes almost in every line the "down" (cauldron circling dark foliage, valley humming of fever) and the "up" (motionless old mountain, glare, mountaintop, white cheese, sheepfold, the eternal colors of the sky). He illustrates the disrupted harmony with the help of nature images, by contrasting life and the feeling of vulnerability, reality and the ideal, values and possibilities of their becoming real. The final echo of the poem is by all means positive: homeland, Transylvania carries immutability and harmony.

As we can see, the poem is also about the perpetuity of human values. Although life and reality on the one hand, and the circle of values on the other are far from each other, the looker-on has the ability to overcome previous chaos and to notice the connecting power of language and culture above political borders.

For Áprily, the peaceful coexistence of people speaking different languages and living on the same territory also belongs to permanence. An essential element of Transylvanism is that Romanians, Hungarians, and Saxons make peace, living in brotherhood and the mutual work done together for a mutual homeland means obligation for everybody. He thinks to find the bases of this harmonious life together in the people and in nature, rather than in Transylvanian history[42].

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[40] Cs. Gyímesi 1983, 70.

[41] Lajos Áprily, "Tetőn", in *Áprily Lajos összes versei* [ONLINE]: ftp://ontologia.hu/Language/Hungarian/Crawl/MEK/mek.oszk.hu/00500/00592/00592.htm#2, accessed on 9.11.2018.

[42] Zsigmond Vita, *Áprily Lajos* (Bukarest: Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1972), 100.

It is worth examining the key poem, *Az irisórai szarvas*[43] (*The Deer of Irişoara*), in which he also starts from a landscape. During one of his trips, he saw a fawn in the Mountains of Gilău. It had been bred up among domestic animals and the poet was inspired by its story. The poem is built upon that basic rule that the place of a wild-born being should not be in a cattle pen.

The fact that each line starts repetitively with "And it has forgotten..." (the brook, the spring) leads the reader back into the woods, into nature emphasizing more and more the antagonism between the origin and the current situation of the deer. The poem is an abstract expression of the conflict between identity and situation awareness with a person closed among barriers. The dramatic end: deer rutting sounding in the autumn is nothing but a human being's inertness and outcry for liberty. There is no possibility for real outbreak but the power of voice makes their unworthy existence culminate in a kind of catharsis. Unease and revolt sound in the poem, the pain of impotence and, at the same time, this pain gets melted into music.

The main characteristic of Tompa László's poetry is absence, the absence of the fulfillment of a free person's possibilities[44]. At the same time, one can find in it the most characteristic behavior of the interwar Hungarian writers: undertaking resistance. For instance, the rock fortress is a symbolic image synonym of the pearl oyster[45]. As with Áprily, "up" also stands for peace and safety, for the dimension where values are preserved, while "down" means unease and lack of values. A synonym image for the rock fortress is the solitary pine, growing on the barren headland, stubbornly sticking to the ground and defying wind and storm.

Winter landscape is also characteristic for Tompa, where houses and trees stoop under the snow and numbness relates the poet to his fellow citizens, whom he consciously shares fate with[46].

Tompa takes suffering as one of his life tasks. In this situation awareness, the value of intellectual and artistic activity results rises high. As

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[43] Áprily, Lajos, "Az irisórai szarvas", in *Áprily Lajos összes versei* [ONLINE]: ftp://ontologia.hu/Language/Hungarian/Crawl/MEK/mek.oszk.hu/00500/00592/00592.htm#1, accessed on 9.11.2018.

[44] Cs. Gyímesi 1992, 48.

[45] László Tompa, "Sziklavár", in *Tompa László válogatott versei [ONLINE]:* http://mek.oszk.hu/10300/10302/10302.htm#1, accessed on 9.11.2018.

[46] László Tompa, "Erdélyi télben", in *Tompa László válogatott versei* [ONLINE]: http://mek.oszk.hu/10300/10302/10302.htm#45, accessed on 9.11.2018.

such, poetry means urge and comfort, able to make up for everything missing from real life. It is only poetry that is able to disengage in a cathartic way the conflicts of everyday[47].

Constructing and De-constructing Borders

Human beings are always more than the outside aptness of their so called existence and it is a matter of individual decision the way they relate to a negative situation they got into. I am going to prove with an example how much self-consciousness depends on inside urge, namely with Molter Károly's title character of his novel *Tibold Márton.*

Cs. Gyímesi says that *Tibold Márton* is a typically East-European novel, as it bears a message valid from decades before the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy until nowadays. It is an example of moral and spiritual behavior of the ones who are able to get above antagonisms and assume even the tragic consequences of the situation, if necessary[48].

> "However, *TIBOLD Márton* is much more than that. It means sensitiveness as far as identity and otherness, as well as national impatience and tolerance are concerned. It is the novel of Eastern-Europe. Because there is no other area in Europe, where the necessity of respect for otherness would be so great as here, where the ethnic and language differences begin not at the border, but practically at your neighbor's back garden or table or church."[49]

The main character of the novel, Martin, is a Swabian child, born in a Serbian-Hungarian environment, in Bácska. He first experiences the disadvantage of being different from the point of view of a German, and at the end of the novel, from the point of view of a Hungarian. The Serbian landlord does not like Martin's father, as he is a friend of Hungarians. When Martin, still a child, wants to become a *huszár* (cavalryman), the landlord admonishes him: "You piggy Swabian, do you want to be Hungarian, as well? You will get Great Serbia instead."[50] By the end of the novel, as a teacher of German language, he mentions to one of his colleagues how useful it was for him to get the opportunity of studying in Jena. This had given him

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[47] Cs. Gyímesi 1992, 52.
[48] Ibid. 35.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Károly Molter, *Tibold Márton* (Budapest: Révai, 1937), 6.

a view towards the West. His colleague reacts nervously: "Come on now, little bro' TIBOLD, you are not going to mock German here at us."[51]

Martin grows up and lives in a tolerant family environment. He learns Hungarian history from his German grandfather, who fought during the 1848 Revolution of Independence in defense of Hungary, against the Austrians.

> "My ancestors have been living here for one and a half century. The idea of captivity is alien to them; they had flown from revolutions and oppression. Now they are rich and arrogant. They did not have any opportunity to learn hating Hungarians who are poorer over here than they are. A few roistering lordlings, the officials, some hicks or servile new-Hungarians do not count. These Swabians have given their blood for their new homeland. And I feel an exception even compared to them, because I breathe together with the Hungarians."[52]

The wish for self identity in case of Molter Károly's hero does not go hand in hand with suppressing or despising the other. '"Romanian or Serbian? Better say Oláh or Rác. That's how they say it over here, scornfully..." "Well, those who say it. This narrowness is characteristic for every nation alike."'[53]

The right for self-identity and otherness is part of the human rights. It is Martin's own choice to learn and become Hungarian. He does not identify with the majority, much more with a minority he appreciates.

> '"Are you Martin or Márton?" "Both. – It were really difficult to chose." "After all, your mother delivered you as a German." "By no means. Just as a human being. Who would become whatever he wanted to. She did not talk me into being either German or Hungarian."'[54]

Even if Martin wants to become Hungarian he cherishes his mother-tongue and would never deny it.

> '"Do you forget your mother tongue here, in Kecskemét?" "Me? By no means. Only rascals or ill-fated persons would do that. I read German

[51] Ibid. 121.
[52] Ibid. 26.
[53] Ibid. 68.
[54] Ibid. 101.

> a lot. I am curious of a lot of things that can be read in this rich language. How beautiful German poems are and how much I love its poets!" "Do you love them as much as you love Hungarian poets?" "Exactly as much."'

Martin does not identify himself with a certain ethnicity in order to gain advantage, on the contrary he assumes even the biggest inconveniences to remain loyal to his decision.

Tibold Márton brings examples of the fact that in a multi-national surrounding, people are naturally open to values, irrespective of their language and cultural references. An inevitable approach of the different languages and cultures takes place, even if they do not merge.

In Molter Károly's novel, tolerance is not only characteristic for Transylvania, but also for East-Europe, in a larger sense[55].

Conclusions

In my research I sought answers to questions like why and how people produce borders through symbols and narratives. How does human perception of a landscape influence the shaping of a landscape? I also analyzed topics like the interpretation of national minority existence, the attempt to construct and deconstruct virtual borders and the symbolic value of one's minority mother tongue in the context of other languages.

The main conclusions of this study are the following:

1. If we accept identity as constancy in the midst of perpetual change, it is just natural that after World War I the Hungarian community in Transylvania sought to reinforce their collective identity as a minority in their new political situation. One of the key questions in this process was to determine the differences among the different groups living on the same territory.

2. As the political status of Hungarians in Romania proved to be unstable, the stability of the natural environment compensated for it. The top value was considered to be the birthplace, then the homeland followed by the universal. Local values have been believed to enrich values at homeland level as well as at the largest scale (universal).

3. The literary texts I have analyzed reflect an ideology according to which place can form the spirit and the region where people speak the same

[55] Cs. Gyímesi 1992, 38.

language is a historical unit with its own culture, consciousness and pride. According to this ideology Transylvania had a specific and particular spirituality which has been shaped throughout the centuries and was rooted in landscape, history and cultural diversity. Tolerance towards otherness was considered to be the basic feature of this spirituality.

4. Transylvanian landscape was one of its inhabitants' main markers. Transylvanian nature also appears as bearer of moral values: those of steadiness, loyalty and invincibility.

5. A common aim of the representatives of Transylvanism was making virtue out of necessity. The idea of messianism and sacrifice has an important role in this ideology.

6. Besides landscape, the community's own culture, based on their mother tongue was considered to be a key element in preserving their identity. Hungarians in Transylvania appear in the literary texts as a moral community that manifested itself in its collective culture and demanded from all its members the assumption of a common mission.

Borders as cultural and mental landscapes are flexible and can be transgressed, on the one hand. But on the other hand, they might be stable when it comes to the basic characteristics of a certain community.

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RECOGNITION OF FINLAND'S INDEPENDENCE: A TIME OF CONTEMPLATION

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This paper has been presented at the *Ninth Annual International Conference on Baltic and Nordic Studies in Romania: 100 Years since Modern Independence and Unification in Baltic Sea Region and East-Central Europe* held in Târgovişte, Romania, during November 15-16, 2018.

Abstract:
The article deals with the measures Finland has had to take in order to determine Russia and other states to recognize Finland as an independent republic. Independence Day in Finland is not a time of festivity but a time of contemplation. We analyze the attitude problems of other countries in recognition of Finland's independence: Nordic and Western countries but especially Russia. It is also important to investigate in what ways the Finnish government handled relations with Russia and the nature of their relation around 1917. This study also outlines how the Finnish government has acted to obtain the recognition of Finland's independence by other states.
History is explored – in addition to the great state and ideological events – also at the level of everyday life as well as the economic and living conditions. We look at the way people have experienced the period preceding the independence and the year of independence itself. The study presents how the traditions of Independence Day have already stabilized in the early years of independence and how they continued to be respected till nowadays; how the Finns have committed to the official symbols of the country and how these symbols have been rethought and changed since the 19th century.

Rezumat:
Articolul investighează măsurile pe care Finlanda a trebuit să le ia pentru a determina Rusia şi alte state să recunoască Finlanda ca o republică independentă. Ziua Independenţei în Finlanda nu este un moment festiv, ci un timp de contemplare. Analizăm problemele de atitudine ale altor ţări în recunoaşterea independenţei Finlandei: ţările nordice şi occidentale, dar mai ales Rusia. De asemenea, este important să investigăm în ce mod guvernul finlandez a gestionat

relaţiile cu Rusia şi natura relaţiei lor în jurul anului 1917. Acest studiu evidenţiază, de asemenea, modul în care guvernul finlandez a acţionat pentru a obţine recunoaşterea independenţei Finlandei de către alte state.
Istoria este explorată – pe lângă marile ideologii şi practici politice - la nivelul vieţii cotidiene, precum şi la nivelul condiţiilor economice şi de viaţă. Analizăm modul în care oamenii au experimentat perioada care precede independenţa şi anul independenţei în sine. Studiul prezintă modul în care tradiţiile Zilei Independenţei s-au stabilizat deja în primii ani de independenţă şi cum au continuat să fie respectate până în zilele noastre; modul în care finlandezii s-au angajat să onoreze simbolurile oficiale ale ţării şi modul în care aceste simboluri au fost regândite şi schimbate începând cu secolul al XIX-lea.

Keywords: independence; Finland; Russia; Sweden; Germany; memory; symbols

Although Finland nowadays has a stable border, it has not been like that a few decades ago. During its history not only the borders have been contested but also its own existence has been called in question. In the 19th century a clear notion about Finland's borders was missing. Later, during the Cold War it became evident that the powerful and big nations decided where to draw the borders, not the small ones who had lost the war[1]. However, Finland's national plan envisioned the accordance of the national borders with the state borders.

The Russian bond, Germany's furtherance and Sweden joining the German side

At the time of the Civil War and the declaration of independence Finland nurtured the idea that Russia represented the enemy. Browning (2014)[2] argues that the Finnish identity could only be understood by first considering the identity of the neighbor country in the East. Finland has been denied the national independence by the Soviets.

The Russian Empire refused to give liberty to the ethnic groups until its collapse although the Empire consisted of more than a dozen of nationalities and the Russians represented only a minority among the other

[1] Christopher S. Browning and Pertti Joenniemi, 'Karelia as a Finnish-Russian issue: re-negotiating the relationship between national identity, territory and sovereignty', *CEURUS EU-Russia Papers* 18 (2014): 1-31.
[2] Ibid.

peoples (43% of the population)[3]. The whole year of 1917 until autumn has been characterized by insecurity and hostility among the Finns, Ukrainians and Russians. Despite the dangerous situation the Empire rejected the idea of losing much of the territory it held and carried on with its national policy.

As the Russification of Finland and the Baltic region has been followed unceasingly at the end of the 19th century, Könönen (2017)[4] asserts that the detachment from Russia could not be avoided anymore, but it was not only self-imposed but also directed by external political circumstances.

The Soviets intended to show opposition to Germany but the Germans had firm peace terms according to which Russia had to permit the separation of Finland and the dissolution of the whole Baltic area. The Soviet representatives instead were not open for debates declaring that "any discussion is useless and we refuse to have any"[5]. Germany supported Finland and requested that it escaped from the Russian bond, so the decision did not arise only from Finland's own will. The offer of German help also meant a lot of requirements intended to Finland's future administration.

In the years before the declaration of Finland's independence the domestic politics of Sweden has been a struggle, however, the foreign policy of the country has not been an idyll either. The activist movement emerging two years before the independence called for joining the German side and for the restoration of autonomy in Finland. However, in the foreign policy debate Finland has been a burden for the Allies of World War I. Though England and France have declared their struggle for the democracy and the rights of small peoples. The changing events in Finland 1917 have been eagerly followed by the Swedes[6]. After Finland had been declared independent, the Russian troops continued to dominate its territory. As the new Finnish state requested recognition, it demanded the statement of the Swedish government.

Solemnity neither for the crowds, nor for the intellectuals

In this section we expose some of the dramatic events of the period preceding and following the year of independence, the atmosphere and the inner thoughts and feelings of ordinary people in Finland and at the same

[3] Victor Serge, *Year one of the Russian revolution* (Chicago, IL.: Haymarket Books, 2015).
[4] Janne Könönen, *Punaisen leijonan maa: Suomen hullu joulukuu 1917* (Otava, 2017).
[5] Victor Serge, *Year one of the Russian revolution* (Chicago, IL.: Haymarket Books, 2015, 182).
[6] Seikko Eskola, 'Suomi 1917 Ruotsin silmin', *Tieteessä tapahtuu* 29 (4-5) (2011): 12-18.

time we show how they could reach calmness in the swirl of history. We approach the topic also from the cultural and economic point of view. Before the year of independence nobody in Finland would have thought that by 1917 a new state would emerge. Although in 1917 the war already seemed endless and peace never coming, as if it was the normal state of the world, Keskisarja (2017)[7] claims that many did not foresee or wish for the collapse of Russia.

Finland has been through a period of oppression but the Russian repression was temperate, so that Finland did not want to escape from it as soon as possible. Finnish people have been accustomed with the constant rule of the crown. The revolution of the motherland Russia in March 1917 has been the first happening in a long time that brought joy to the Finns.

Although the 6th of December 1917 is considered a turning point in the Finnish history, the Finnish population of that time did not consider the event as a decisive or festive one. This attitude was rooted in the fact that World War I was going on while ordinary people were suffering from food shortages, strikes and crimes. It became obvious that the declaration of independence could not solve all the emerging problems in Finland[8].

In the years preceding the declaration of independence labor has been stopped and the working class has been struck by famine. Serge (2015)[9] notes that it seemed that the proclamation of independence would not shape the situation in Finland since the bourgeoisie intended to extend the food shortage among the peasants.

While the period leading to the independence is examined by the public from the point of view of the 1918 war and its aftermath, the magazines of that time reflected how the world was seen by common people who did not suspect anything of the approaching disturbances: the March Revolution in Russia which returned the old autonomy to Finland, the elections in October followed by the government crisis, the great strike in November which brought a lot of turbulence and after all these Finland receiving a bourgeois senate.

The achievement of the Finnish independence was considered by the Finns an unexpected surprise which a few years before seemed impossible.

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[7] Teemu Keskisarja, "Vapauden ja vihan vuosi", in *1917*, ed. K. Häggman, T. Keskisarja, M. Kuisma (Helsinki: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, 2017), 13-73.

[8] Henrik Meinander, 'Itsenäisyys ja demokratia: parlamentaarikkojen rooli Suomen historiassa 1917-1920', *Eduskunta* 12 (2016).

[9] Victor Serge, *Year one of the Russian revolution* (Chicago, IL.: Haymarket Books, 2015).

In order to understand the change it is not enough to refer to the collapse of the Russian Empire but we have to interpret things from the point of view of the social order which is unprecedented in the Finnish history research. The news about the restoration of autonomy in Finland has been received with great joy by the western neighbor, and although Finland could have strengthened its position, the unfolding events proved that they could still not speak about a country of real progress. The Swedes have considered that "the Finns played a brave game"[10] if they thought that Russia would not adopt a nationalist discourse once more[11].

The independence day would have been considered by the crowds of those times a meaningful and solemn moment only after experiencing the consequences of it. Moreover, none of the parliamentarians "have raised their bowls or sung songs for the free Finland"[12].

In the Swedish- and Finnish-speaking Grand Duchy of Finland (1809-1917) belonging to the Tsardom of Russia the Finnish intellectuals lived in a Swedish style and acquired their education mainly in Swedish though they were emotionally attached to the Finns. With the growing Russian pressure these intellectuals were the ones who awakened that ""here is the time": we have to become Finnish – now or never!"[13]. They invisioned that the people who spoke two languages should be unified by one language and patriotism which constituted the principles of the Finnish national movement. The Finnish intellectuals' main objective became the creation of their own Finnish literature, the creation of the Finnish literary language and the introduction of a uniform spelling. As the Finnish politician, linguist and professor of Finnish language and literature, Eemil Nestor Setälä pointed out, culture does not provide superiority but provides protection for the little peoples among the great cultural nations[14]. After the Finnish state had become independent in 1917 and consolidated following the bloody Civil War of spring 1918, the politicians' goal was to create the image of an independent state and its international acceptance.

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[10] "Todettiin suomalaisten pelaavan rohkeaa peliä [...]". Seikko Eskola, 'Suomi 1917 Ruotsin silmin', *Tieteessä tapahtuu* 29 (4-5) (2011): 13.

[11] Ibid.

[12] "[...] kukaan ei nostanut maljoja tai laulanut lauluja vapaalle Suomelle." Henrik Meinander, 'Itsenäisyys ja demokratia: parlamentaarikkojen rooli Suomen historiassa 1917-1920', *Eduskunta* 12 (2016), 17.

[13] „„itt az idő": finné kell válni – most vagy soha!". Enikő Szíj, 'Arany János ismertsége a finnek körében', *Magyar Nyelv* 113 (2017): 434.

[14] Ibid.

In November 1917 the Finnish parliament felt ready to overtake the power, thus a month later Finland was declared a sovereign, independent state. Although the socialist left of the country supported the independence, they did not agree with this decision because they were waiting for the approval of the Bolshevik administration in Russia.

In fact Fingerroos (2008)[15] states that Finland's position between Eastern and Western Europe has been unstable even in the next few decades after the independence when a number of other modest countries have been deprived of their independence. During the Winter War sizable provinces next to the frontier have been taken over by the Soviet Union.

Memorization of the Civil War

For the people in the lost territories the past and present are interwoven, they preserve their heritage and they have nationalistic manifestations. Many things have been forbidden to talk about for several decades or during the period of self-government. People in Finland have carried their memories about their struggle to gain independence. The Finns have chosen to forget the disruptive episode of their history. The memorization of the Finnish Civil War (from January 1918) has shaped the personal and family histories. The conflict emerging between the working class and the landowners has not been remembered in the same way and therefore it has been emphasized that the war should be collectively dismissed from mind[16]. Even the authorities' formal approach had strengthened collective forgetting until addressing the war became a censored topic. Various generations in different areas have though divergent forgetting and remembering traditions about the war in 1918. Puuronen (2014)[17] focuses on the individual depictions and historical narratives of the most disquieting historical events and family experiences. According to his study Finnish people are interested in both authorized historical narratives and private group narratives concerning the Civil War.

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[15] Outi Fingerroos, 'Karelia: a place of memories and utopias', *Oral Tradition* 23/2 (2008): 235-254.

[16] Piotr M. Szpunar, 'Collective memory and the stranger: remembering and forgetting the 1918 Finnish Civil War', *International Journal of Communication* 6 (2012): 1200-1221.

[17] Vesa Puuronen, 'Intergenerational transmission of political heritage and historical memory (Finland)', *European Commission* (2014).

Giving way to Finnish national symbols

National symbols can represent historical events, places of memory and can also bear the historical memory. As Fingerroos (2006)[18] has pointed out, origin, past experiences and remembrance are associated concepts.

After gaining independence the Russian national symbols had to be removed from the territory of Finland. The "symbolic contest between the Finns and Russians over the past" manifested itself in planned and undisguised eradication of the Finnish past, symbols and notions of history[19].

The national symbols of Finland have undergone certain changes during the last decades. After the state flag had been approved, the crown from the coat of arms was removed in 1920. This crown coincided with the one used in the coat of arms existing in Finland as a Grand Duchy of Russia. The blue cross flag came into use after the red and yellow temporary state flag was removed in May 1918. The cross flag not only put Finland in a row with the Nordic countries but also symbolized a new beginning for the nation living in the new state.

Conclusions

When looking at the years before and after the declaration of independence, they have been not only burdensome but also the most outstanding steps in the Finnish history. After the nation being part of the neighboring countries for several centuries, the time was ripe for taking a step towards the national sovereignty. Moreover, as Meinander (2016)[20] observes, Finland's independence, parliamentary democracy and its political stability proved to be constructive also for the surrounding countries.

While the Soviet government has consistently erased the Finnish cultural history and created a foretime of their own, the Finnish authorities and families have struggled to reconstruct and memorialize the past of their

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[18] Outi Fingerroos, 'The Karelia of memories: utopias of a place', *Electronic Journal of Folklore* 33 (2006): 95-108.

[19] Petri J. Raivo, 'Karelia lost or won – materialization of a landscape of contested and commemorated memory', *Fennia* 182: 1 (2004): 62.

[20] Henrik Meinander, 'Itsenäisyys ja demokratia: parlamentaarikkojen rooli Suomen historiassa 1917-1920', *Eduskunta* 12 (2016).

country[21]. Rantala (2011)[22] believes that Independence Day's anniversaries are appropriate occasions to address war narratives and include the Civil War among the key notions of the Finnish national history. Practices related to the reconstruction of the past are not declining, moreover, parents and grandparents are willing to share memories with their offspring. Younger generations of Finns are familiar with the wars with the eastern neighbor, yet Russia is not considered nowadays an invader of their own country.

[21] Petri J. Raivo, 'Karelia lost or won – materialization of a landscape of contested and commemorated memory', *Fennia* 182: 1 (2004): 61–72.
[22] Jukka Rantala, 'Children as consumers of historical culture in Finland', *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 43:4 (2011): 493–506.

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FROM A MULTI-ETHNIC EMPIRE TO A NATIONAL STATE: THE CONTRIBUTION OF ROMANIAN OFFICERS IN THE HABSBURG ARMY TO THE CREATION OF GREATER ROMANIA AS PRESENTED BY TRANSYLVANIAN JOURNALISTS

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Abstract:

Greater Romania was created at the end of World War I as a result of both top-down and bottom-up processes that involved all social layers from Transylvania and the Old Kingdom. The present study focuses on a particular category of actors that took part in the Great Union of 1 December 1918, namely Romanian officers from the Austrian army, and on a specific set of sources, i.e. Transylvanian periodicals issued around this date. In order to answer a number of research questions centered on Romanian officers' contribution to the historical act that took place in Alba Iulia, I used articles that appeared throughout 1918 in four Transylvanian periodicals, namely Biserica şi Şcoala, Drapelul, Transilvania and Unirea. The study's chief aim is to provide a clear picture of the manner in which Romanian officers from the Austrian army were depicted by the press shortly before and after Transylvania's union with Romania was proclaimed, as well as of the nature of their participation

in the events: as delegates of the National Guards or as agents whose goal was to ensure order during the meeting.

Rezumat:
România Mare a fost fondată la sfârşitul Primului Război Mondial ca urmare a proceselor derulate de la de la vârf spre bază (top-down) şi de la bază spre vârf (bottom-up) care au implicat toate straturile sociale din Transilvania şi din Vechiul Regat. Prezentul studiu se concentrează asupra unei anumite categorii de actanţi care au luat parte la Marea Unire din 1 decembrie 1918, şi anume ofiţerii români din armata austriacă, şi se bazează pe un tip bine definit de surse, periodice transilvănene emise în jurul acestei date. Pentru a răspunde la o serie de întrebări de cercetare referitoare la contribuţia ofiţerilor români la actul istoric care a avut loc la Alba Iulia am folosit articole care au apărut în 1918 în patru periodice transilvănene: „Biserica şi Şcoala", „Drapelul", „Transilvania" şi „Unirea". Scopul principal al studiului este de a oferi o imagine clară a modului în care ofiţerii români din armata austriacă au fost reprezentaţi în presă în prezilele şi în zilele de după unirea Transilvaniei cu România, precum şi a naturii participării lor la evenimente: ca delegaţi ai Gărzilor Naţionale sau ca agenţi al căror scop era să asigure ordinea în timpul adunării.

Keywords: Romanian officers; Greater Romania; Austro-Hungarian Empire; Transylvanian periodicals; World War I

Romania's national day was not randomly picked, as the Great Union that was achieved on 1 December one hundred years ago undoubtedly represents the most important event in Romanians' history. The union of all provinces inhabited by a Romanian majority within the borders of a single national state could not have been possible in the absence of certain key factors, such as the dissolution of large empires at the end of World War I, an ever stronger nationalist ideology discernible all over Europe and an extremely favorable twist of fate that occurred towards the end of 1918.

It is common knowledge that Romania entered World War I with the hope of obtaining Transylvania, a desire widespread in all political circles and throughout Romanian society. Fortunately, this aim was achieved, although with tremendous sacrifices.

Transylvanians as well gravitated towards Romania, particularly after Emperor Franz Josef I died and Romania entered the war in 1916. Already strongly affected by their participation in the war and with a

confused sense of loyalty, Romanians serving in the Habsburgs' army represent a very interesting category from the viewpoint of their involvement in the events that marked the last two years of the conflagration. Understandably, not all of their actions reached the general public, but, as the following pages will reveal, Romanian officers from the Austro-Hungarian army were relatively visible and Transylvanian periodicals issued in 1918 mentioned them in several contexts, the most important of these being the recognition of merits attained on the battlefield, their charitable and/or cultural activity and particularly the role they played in the events that unfolded towards the end of the year.

Recognition of military merits

Bravery deeds of Romanian officers from the Habsburg army were frequently mentioned by Romanian periodicals issued in Transylvania in 1918. Relevant articles habitually included a number of elements, such as the name of the officer who was decorated, the decoration(s) he received, the reasons which motivated this distinction and/or other relevant details: whom granted the decoration, if the officer was also advanced alongside being decorated, if he was decorated post-mortem, the context in which the decoration was received, etc. Interestingly enough, such information is also commonly found within the pages of religious publications, the most obvious reason for this being the fact that such articles had the potential to boost loyalty towards the Habsburgs' dynasty and to demonstrate that the sacrifices Transylvanian Romanians made were not in vain.

The most frequently mentioned orders granted to Romanians for deeds of bravery were the Military Order of Maria Theresa, the Empire's highest military honor, the Austrian Imperial Order of the Iron Crown, the Military Merit Cross, the Military Merit Medal or *Signum Laudis*, as it was also known, and the Medal for Bravery.

Examples of this recognition of military merits include such cases as the one of "Major Constantin Popoviciu, who also served at Regiment 33 from Arad, [who] was advanced as a reward for his bravery to the rank of vice-colonel and distinguished with the Austrian Imperial Order of Leopold. In the last fights from the Italian front he accomplished an extraordinary act of bravery right in front of the king, for which he was promoted to earn from the highest places the highest military decoration: the Order of Maria

Theresa"[1]. Another recipient of the highest insignia was "Mr. Ioan Boieriu, retired Imperial and Royal General, also well-known within Romanian circles from Arad since the times he served Reg.[iment] 33, [who] obtained [the Military Order of Maria Theresa] for the extraordinary service done for the throne and motherland on the honor field"[2].

Another highly decorated Romanian officer was Lieutenant Brutus Păcurariu, pertaining to the same Regiment 33 of Arad, who received four insignia, including the Austrian Imperial Order of the Iron Crown Class III and the Medal for Bravery Class I. Noteworthy, in civil life Brutus Păcurariu was a functionary of the "Victoria" Bank from Arad[3]. In a similar vein, Captain Victor Muntean, chief accountant of the "Patria" Bank from Blaj, "was decorated *for the second time* with *Signum Laudis* with the insignia of the swords, for his brave behavior and for eminent services rendered in front of the enemy"[4].

Some press articles gave the impression that Romanian officers were fearless, as the next example demonstrates. Within a time frame of twelve months, Petru Florea, conscripted as sergeant, was promoted three times, attaining the rank of *Offizier Stellvertreter*, and decorated on five different occasions, receiving the Carol Cross, the Bronze Decoration twice, the Silver Medal Class I and the Silver Medal Class II[5].

Particular cases were those of reservists, who could also be decorated, as was, for example, Lieutenant Dr. Virgil Besan, a lawyer from Lugoj, who received the *Signum Laudis*[6], and of prisoners of war, a situation in which the decorations granted to them were sometimes sent to their families. This happened to infantry Lieutenant Dr. Iulius Ionescu who had bravely served on the battlefields of Serbia, Montenegro, Italy and France, receiving seven decorations, namely the Red Cross Medal for Humanity, the Bravery Medal, the Bronze *Signum Laudis* Medal, the Silver *Signum Laudis* Medal, the Carol

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[1] *Biserica şi Şcoala,* No. 2, 7/20 January 1918, p. 2, article entitled "The Order of Maria Theresa for a Romanian".
[2] *Biserica şi Şcoala,* No. 33, 12/25 August 1918, p. 2, "Information" rubric, article entitled "A knight of the Order of Maria Theresa".
[3] *Biserica şi Şcoala,* No. 9, 25 February/10 March 1918, p. 3, "Information" rubric, article entitled "Decorated Romanian officers".
[4] *Unirea*, No. 33, 30 May 1918, p. 4, "Information" rubric, article entitled "Decoration", original emphasis.
[5] *Drapelul*, No. 41, 14/27 April 1918, p. 3, "Information" rubric, article entitled "Decorated".
[6] *Drapelul*, No. 43, 21 April/4 May 1918, p. 3, "Information" rubric, article entitled "Decorated".

Cross, the Military Merit Cross Class III with swords and the Iron Cross Class III with swords[7].

It seems that each periodical was interested in promoting local officers, such information probably best serving their readers' interests. Consequently, *Drapelul* wrote about Captain Alexandru Micu from Lugoj who had been repeatedly decorated for acts of bravery with the Military Merit Cross, the Carol Cross, the Imperial Austrian Franz Joseph Order and even with foreign decorations, such as the Bulgarian Grand Cross with crown[8].

Other officers stood out not through the number of decorations received, but through their charitable actions. For instance, Captain Gheorghe Ivaşcu, commander of the artillery station of Arad, was not only decorated with the Austrian Imperial Order of the Iron Crown Class III for his military merits, but he also received "a high and rare distinction" from his fellow townsmen due to his "social and humanitarian feelings" which motivated him to provide heating material to the destitute and as a result "his name is pronounced with veneration in the hut of the poor and with respect in the palace of the rich"[9].

Habitually, information provided by the press about officers who had lost their lives on the battlefield was detailed and the ones in question were referred to as "heroes". One such "hero" was Benedict Ciotloş, Sublieutenant in infantry Regiment 50, who had been decorated for his courage, but who unfortunately lost his life in the "horrible attacks of Monte San Gabriele" after 20 months on the Italian front[10]. Imperial and Royal Sublieutenant Virgil Lazlo was decorated with the Military Merit Cross and *Signum Laudis* for his bravery act, but died at age 21, after nine months of suffering, because of the wounds he had received[11].

Another officer deeply regretted by Transylvanian journalists was Simion Lateş, Captain of infantry Regiment 62, who died suddenly "as a towering oak struck by lightning". During his military career he had

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[7] *Drapelul*, No. 44, 26 April/9 May 1918, p. 3, "Information" rubric, article entitled "Decorated".
[8] *Drapelul*, No. 25, 8/16 March 1918, p. 3, "Information" rubric, article entitled "Decorated".
[9] *Biserica şi Şcoala,* No. 9, 25 February/10 March 1918, p. 3, "Information" rubric, article entitled "Decorated Romanian officers".
[10] *Unirea*, No. 10, 9 February 1918, p. 3, "Information" rubric, article entitled "Hero Benedict Ciotloş".
[11] *Unirea,* No. 36-37, 19 June 1918, p. 8, article entitled "Obituary".

repeatedly distinguished himself and his chest bearing the Iron Crown and eight other decorations proved this statement. Moreover, "His Majesty the King shook his hand on many occasions, as the highest sign of appreciation for his bravery". And as if this was not enough praise for this Romanian hero, the author of his obituary stressed the fact that he was a "true Christian", a "veritable apostle amidst the Romanian soldiers and people"[12].

Charitable and humanitarian acts, cultural merits, moral qualities revealed on the battlefield

Apart from the examples of high moral qualities provided above, Transylvanian journalists mentioned Romanian officers from the Habsburgs' Empire in other instances as well, particularly when it came to their contribution to various charitable actions. As a result, we now know that officers Eugen Balint, Vasile Dobre, Victor Grama, Alexandru Kerülő, Ioan Maier and Dr. Octavian Deac, Sublieutenant and physician of the 12th Honvéd Regiment, each donated 10 Korona to the fund for the Greek-Catholic Romanian Orphanage[13]. Concerts and theatrical performances were also good opportunities for various associations and organizations to raise funds for humanitarian purposes and officers usually donated money on these occasions, according to their rank and particularly when they wanted to mark certain events, such as being promoted or decorated. It seems that the sums they gave to charity usually varied between 3 and 10 Korona, but it is interesting to note that military physicians were in the habit of renouncing to larger sums, which sometimes even went as high as 20 or 25 Korona[14].

Buying felicitation cards was another manner in which money could be donated to various ends and, for example, Captain Romulus Boldea thus offered 14 Korona for the Romanian Journalists Fund[15]. The same fund also received 40 Korona as a donation made in the memory of a deceased grandfather by Captain Romulus Popa[16]. Perhaps in order to serve as an

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[12] *Unirea*, No. 36-37, 19 June 1918, p. 7, "Information" rubric, article entitled "† Captain Simion Lateș".
[13] *Unirea*, No. 4, 19 January 1918, p. 4, "Information" rubric.
[14] *Unirea*, No. 7, 31 January 1918, p. 4, No. 19, 23 March 1918, p. 3 and No. 33, 30 March 1918, p. 4, "Information" rubric, articles entitled "Public acknowledgement"; *Unirea*, No. 36-37, 19 June 1918, p. 7, "Information" rubric, article entitled "Subscriptions".
[15] *Drapelul*, No. 7, 18/31 January 1918, p. 3, "Gifts and redemptions".
[16] *Drapelul*, No. 42, 17/30 April 1918, p. 3, "Information" rubric, article entitled "Donations".

example, such donations benefiting journalists and newspapers were made public and therefore contemporary readers also found out about the "Drapelul" fund and about the fact that Lieutenant M. Grosu had donated 8 Korona to it at the beginning of 1918[17].

The sums were usually larger when it came to donations to cultural associations and in this respect the "Association for Romanian literature and the culture of the Romanian people", or ASTRA as it was called in short, probably holds the record. Retired officers afforded to give away relatively large sums of money for the advancement of Romanian culture, as the donation of 200 Korona from Imperial and Royal Captain Pantaleon Lucuța from Sibiu and that of 100 Korona made by Imperial and Royal General Alexandru Lupu reveal[18].

In fact, Romanian officers' involvement in the Transylvanian cultural movement took on multiple forms, as proven by the fact that at the end of 1918, ASTRA counted amongst its founding and lifelong members nineteen officers and, interestingly enough, two wives of officers, namely Chintoan Aurora, born Lado, a major's wife from Brașov, and Lupu Blanca, wife of a general living in Vienna[19]. It should be mentioned that some of these officers were retired and had ranks varying from captain to general, the most notorious of them being General Traian Moșoiu.

Aside from cultural endowments, some officers were also mentioned by journalists due to attributes that distinguished them as excellent commanders of their troops. One such figure repeatedly invoked by Transylvanian periodicals is the one of Colonel Victor Rusu, who apparently not only defied dangers through his bravery acts, but also motivated and inspired his subordinates to do the same. One suggestive anecdote in this respect is the one which refers to Colonel Rusu's incursion behind enemy lines, dressed in the traditional Russian costume, in order to retrieve an announcement through which a large sum was promised in gold to the one who could bring the then Sublieutenant Rusu, dead or alive, into the hands of the Russian troops. "Fortunately, this desire of the Russian command was not realized", the journalist remarked[20].

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[17] *Drapelul*, No. 19, 17 February/2 March 1918, p. 3, "Information" rubric, article entitled "Donation".
[18] *Drapelul*, No. 36, 3/16 April 1918, p. 1, "Contributions to the 'Association'".
[19] *Transilvania*, 1 December 1918, No. 1-12, pp. 3-31, "The official part" rubric.
[20] *Biserica și Școala*, No. 36, 2/15 September 1918, p. 4, "Information" rubric, article entitled "Colonel Victor Rusu".

This almost supernatural story is completed by another article in which Colonel Victor Rusu was considered an "educator" of the soldiers he commanded, who worshipped him. One revealing incident in this regard is recounted by schoolteacher L. Cioban and it refers to one particularly devastating Russian offensive from 1916[21]. On this occasion, one badly injured twice decorated Romanian foot soldier "was crying like a baby", although he was over 40 years of age. When asked why he was crying so hard he revealed that he did not want to leave Colonel Rusu's side, although this meant that he could see his wife and children for the first time after almost two years. He was crying because "for 21 months I was continuously with the Major… I was everywhere with him, in Serbia and in the Carpathians as well… for 21 months we were together!". The author of the article pondered upon this event and concluded that "Without knowing the personality of the legendary Rusu and all his charm, all the decisive force in the education received by the infantryman in the 21 months campaign, it is in fact difficult to understand his torment and crying". And, actually, all the major achievements of the redoubtable "Rusu detachment" were due to "the incomparable inventive art [through which] he knew how to enkindle aspirations into the heart of the troops". His moral consistency was "inexpugnable as a granite rock" and acted as "the driving force in the empire of common aspirations, which kept all of them in a tight cluster, so that none of them deviated to choose another path". Only after being thus educated in "the absolutely moral school of the aspirations guided by the originality of strategic talent and moral force of the able Rusu" were such soldiers capable of achieving incredible successes for the Austro-Hungarian army. And, even more important, such people were to return home open to multiple types of reform and keen to implement them, this element demonstrating why "the remarkable figure of Major Rusu stands as a model, as an edifying example", as one of the most powerful educators of the commoners.

The role of Romanian officers from the Austro-Hungarian army in the events of 1 December 1918

Romanian officers from the Habsburgs' army were involved in the Great Union in multiple manners, the most conspicuous of these being (a)

[21] *Biserica și Școala*, No. 41, 7/20 October 1918, pp. 3-4, article entitled "Colonel Victor Rusu as an educator" signed by L. Cioban, schoolteacher.

the organization of Military Councils and various actions that preceded the events, (b) their participation as delegates of the National Guards to the Great National Assembly, (c) the role they played in the unfoldment of the events of 1 December 1918 per se, and (d) the functions they fulfilled shortly after Transylvania's union with Romania was proclaimed.

Ever since the planning of the National Assembly began, people were informed about the participation of Romanian officers and soldiers in the events, as the manifesto "To the Romanian nation!" signed by the National Romanian Council demonstrated. In this important document of the Great Union it was mentioned that "Each Romanian soldier, untied of the vow given to the emperor, is allowed to enter the national Romanian military council (Romanian national guard), to bear the proud symbol of his national sovereignty, the tricolor[,] and he should exclusively obey the Romanian national council"[22]. Moreover, "Romanian brothers" were announced that "Soon, brave soldiers and officers of the Romanian national guard will appear amongst you. Join them and use your Romanian arms and hearts to help and support them". In the meantime, the manifesto also noted that "Each Romanian officer and soldier who still has not announced himself and was not dispatched, has the duty to report without delay to the office of the Romanian National Council"[23].

Fortunately, the fulfillment of this duty was supported by the Hungarian authorities, as the following message stemming from Albert Bartha, the Hungarian minister of defense, demonstrated: "I hereby announce Romanian officers, sub-officers and soldiers from Transylvania and Hungary that they can take a vow of loyalty towards the Romanian National Council. Their wage, their pay will be paid exactly as it is being paid to the ones who have sworn [loyalty] to the Hungarian National Council"[24].

The appeal of the Romanian National Council was readily put into practice in all of Transylvania's administrative-territorial units, as proven by the large number of press articles giving details about the organization of the Romanian national guards. In these announcements, today's researchers discover names, ranks, minor events and attitudes that shaped the days prior

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[22] *Biserica și Școala*, No. 44, 28 October/10 November 1918, pp. 1-2, "To the Romanian nation!", signed "For the Romanian National Council: Dr. Ștefan C. Pop".
[23] Original emphasis.
[24] *Unirea*, Propaganda No. 7, 20 November 1918, p. 1, "Notification".

to the Great Union. One such example is the national military council of Timişoara, whose leaders were Lieutenant-Colonel S. Brânduşa, Captain Dr. Ioan Popovici, Captain S. Borbaş, Captain Dr. Lucian Gheorghevici, Lieutenant Dr. Gheorghe Avram and Lieutenant Vasilie Eremiaş. And the readers of *Biserica şi Şcoala* were also informed that, even before this council had been constituted, the vast majority of Romanian officers from Timişoara had declared "that their attitude will be entirely in conformity with the decisions that will be taken by the Romanian National Council, to which they adhere with resolute faith"[25].

Similar messages were sent in Cluj as well, where citizens were informed that "The Council of the Romanian people and its legion from Cluj, all Romanian officers and soldiers, are working day and night so that the Romanian nation's peace and rights can become an accomplished fact!"[26], this occurring under the command of Captain Poruţ.

In Sibiu, the military council was headed by Major V. Liuba and "the Czech troops surrendered weapons, ammunition, automobiles and an airplane to the Romanians!"[27].

In Blaj, the events surrounding the constitution of the Romanian National Council and of the Romanian national guard were evoked in detail. The moment in which the gendarmerie was peacefully disarmed because it refused to join the Romanian national guard commanded by Captain Ioan Muntean and to wear the tricolor is proudly evoked by *Unirea.* Captain Muntean thus became one of the striking figures of the organization of the national guards, one journalist considering that whoever saw him during these events will never forget him, as "In Blaj *he* thawed out the hearts and started the avalanche!". Consequently, "Around 10 o'clock, with the melody and rhythm of the anthem 'To arms', *the first national guard of Blaj* came from the direction of the long street, on the street of the printing press, bringing in triumph the weapons of the gendarmerie that were surrendered willingly. Leading them was Captain Muntean, after him *the theologians*, with the riffles on their backs, a few students and other young men and some soldiers,

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[25] *Biserica şi Şcoala,* No. 44, 28 October/10 November 1918, p. 4, "Information" rubric, article entitled "Romanian national military council in Timişoara".
[26] *Unirea*, No. 69, 9 November 1918, p. 1, "The appeal of the National Council from Cluj", signed by the "Trustee of the Romanian National Council: Dr. Amos Frâncu, Commissioner of the people".
[27] *Unirea*, Propaganda No. 3, 15 November 1918, pp. 1-2, "Historical moments".

randomly encountered on the streets!"[28]. After the National Romanian Council was constituted, the bells of the Cathedral rang, "hundreds of chests sang the national anthem" and "Captain Muntean grabbed a tricolor flag, sat on the table and waved the flag over the heads of the gathering – as a national blessing. – Afterwards, a proud retreat of the guard, on the streets and to the 'stone of liberty'".

One interesting detail demonstrated by the text just quoted is that, at first, the guard was mostly composed of soldiers, clerics from the seminary and a few older pupils, but, with time and particularly after the arrival of Captain Virgil Pop, it became stronger as the officers and soldiers around Blaj also joined it[29]. Captain Pop, accompanied by a newly equipped detachment of 25 men, had been sent by the Romanian National Council of Cluj in order to secure the railway stations[30].

In Arad, the corps of Romanian officers swore allegiance to the Romanian national council, "took over a garrison, got equipped with the necessary weaponry and started preserving public order. Other Romanian officers were dispatched to all Transylvanian centers and to the centers of all areas inhabited by Romanians in order to form national and military councils everywhere"[31].

Similar organizational actions were carried out in rural communities as well, where, after the national councils and guards were constituted, "the peace is complete, the order – exemplary. A lot of enthusiasm"[32]. Moreover, "the representatives sent from the center are received everywhere with goodwill and love. *Passe-partout* for all the Romanian communes is: the tricolor at the buttonhole. Without this sign, no one is entitled to be amidst our villages"[33]. It seems that these rural guards took their vows in the nearest towns and in some days Blaj hosted 10 to 15 such communal guards "who listened to the speeches of our men – delivered from some table in the courtyard of the gymnasium or from the Cathedral's balusters – and then

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[28] *Unirea*, Propaganda No. 3, 15 November 1918, pp. 1-2, "Historical moments", original emphases.
[29] *Unirea*, No. 69, 9 November 1918, p. 1, "The national assembly of Blaj".
[30] *Unirea*, Propaganda No. 3, 15 November 1918, pp. 1-2, "Historical moments". Other details regarding the constitution of the military national guard in Blaj and the vows taken by rural military guards are available in *Unirea*, Propaganda No. 5, 17 November 1918, p. 1, "Historical moments".
[31] *Unirea,* No. 69, 9 November 1918, pp. 2-3, "National organization".
[32] *Unirea*, Propaganda No. 3, 15 November 1918, p. 2, "The organization of villages".
[33] *Unirea*, Propaganda No. 3, 15 November 1918, pp. 1-2, "Historical moments".

said, repeating after the duty officer, the words of the vow of the National Romanian Council. Messrs. Şt. R., Dr. C. O. H., Dr. Sz. have completely hoarsened. The guardsmen's enthusiasm and decidedness are beyond description"[34].

Romanians from the (still) capital of the dying Habsburgs' Monarchy also mobilized at the end of October 1918 and so the Central Senate of Romanian officers and soldiers in Vienna came into being. Upon returning from the battlefield, Romanian military men from Vienna launched an appeal in which they emphasized that "The peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire are becoming organized on national and democratic bases. Consequently, the Romanian officers and soldiers from Bukovina, Transylvania and Hungary, in their gathering from today, held in Vienna, chose from amongst themselves a military Senate (council), as a military section of the Romanian national committee", its purpose being that of "organizing all Romanian officers and soldiers from these countries"[35]. The instructions given to military men illustrate the purposes that lay behind the conception of this organism and how it was supposed to function:

"1. Each Romanian soldier who is currently at the depots (the cadres) from the Monarchy or who returns from the front is the soldier of the Romanian national committee and will not accept any command from foreigners, nor will he take an oath for another foreign army or under another flag than that of the Romanians from Bukovina, Transylvania and Hungary.

2. Romanian soldiers will not let themselves be enticed for foreign purposes by other Romanian nations and will not join irregular groups led by particular interests that are hostile to the Romanian people.

3. Each Romanian soldier should keep away from abusive acts of robbery and plundering, because these crimes stand under the punishment of laws.

4. The Romanian soldier should not allow others to trample upon his national sentiments, but also he should not prevent the other cohabitant nations from the manifestation of their national will and from the exercise of national rights and he should not trample upon the national sentiments of others.

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[34] *Unirea,* Propaganda No. 5, 17 November 1918, p. 1, "Historical moments".
[35] *Unirea*, No. 69, 9 November 1918, p. 2, "The Central Senate of Romanian officers and soldiers in Vienna".

5. In each of the Empire's towns, where there are Romanian soldiers, a senate of Romanian officers and soldiers should be constituted – accepting these principles and following them to the letter. Each senate will send a delegate to the final central senate."

Towards the end of November, through the voice of its commander in chief, General Ioan Boieriu, the Central Senate announced local military senates that "in Vienna there are a number of high-ranking military men, former active officers and officers from the headquarters, whom with national liveliness place themselves at the disposal of local senates. At the same time, militia will also be sent where it is needed", in response to requests sent via telegraph to the Central Senate in Vienna[36].

In fact, some of the most important and difficult tasks performed by the National Council with the help of the national guards were those of preserving order and of preventing pillaging. This was particularly hard to accomplish given that soldiers returned armed from the front. However, due to the fact that these two organisms coordinated their activity up to the point where members of the military national council participated at the works of the Romanian National Council, they managed to avoid major incidents caused by Romanians.

One interesting event, particularly given the manner in which it was tackled in the press, is the one labeled "The first deputation". A number of consecutive articles thus refer to the flight undertaken by aeroplane from Bacău to Blaj in 23 November 1918 in order to announce Transylvanians that "the Romanian army has crossed the Carpathians – through snow higher than two meters – and that they are coming to embrace us with brotherly love and to announce the foreign inhabitants of these lands as well that they come in the name of peace and of liberty for all peoples"[37]. Interestingly enough, although the pilot, Lieutenant Nicolescu (also spelled "Niculescu"), pertained to the Romanian army, Captain Precup, i.e. the copilot, was a Transylvanian. Both of them were described in detail and considered "Two characteristic heroes. Courageous sons of our people"[38]. Given that the aircraft (and its pilots) remained overnight in Blaj, "a guard of honor" commanded by Lieutenant Aurel Caliani was formed, a guard which

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[36] *Unirea,* Propaganda No. 7, 20 November 1918, p. 2, "Information" rubric, article entitled "Communiqué from the Central Senate of Romanian soldiers in Vienna".
[37] *Unirea,* Propaganda No. 10, 24 November 1918, p. 2, "The first deputation".
[38] *Unirea*, Propaganda No. 11-12, 27 November 1918, p. 3, "The arrival of the Romanian aeroplane / 23 November n.[ew style]".

"watched over its refreshing sleep, keeping it safe from any unsettling event or unforeseen attack given current days' disorders".

As already mentioned, the participation of Romanian officers in the Great National Assembly took on several forms. The most obvious one was that they acted as delegates of the national guard, each county sending off one officer and one soldier to the assembly[39]. Another function they performed was related to the preservation of order, and, given that after 1 December 1918 the press provided details about how the Great National Assembly unfolded, one figure of a Romanian officer stands out, namely that of Lieutenant Ovid Grita, the one in charge of the Romanian national legion of Alba Iulia. The journalist only used words of praise in relation to Lieutenant Grita's actions during this historical event because "thanks to the admirable organization and to the enormous work done by Lieut. Grita as chief of police, not a single unpleasant incident disturbed and profaned the celebration's awe and greatness"[40]. Captain Medrea, commander in chief of the legion of honor from Alba Iulia during the Great Union, was also closely involved in the events' unfolding and his figure was also memorable for the gathering's participants. Together with Lieutenant Gritta, Captain Medrea received the ones who came by train to the assembly, namely Lieutenant-Colonel Gagiu, commander of Regiment 5 Chasseurs "Mihai Viteazul", other officers of the Romanian army and "the guests from Blaj"[41].

Transylvanian journalists also registered the fact that in the same glorious day of 1 December 1918, King Ferdinand entered Bucharest accompanied by a Transylvanian detachment led by Lieutenant-Colonel Bordan. The moment's symbolism went even further, as the detachment used the tricolor flag given to it in Kishinev by Bessarabians in order to be flown in Alba Iulia[42].

Even after the Great Union, national guards still played an important part in the preservation of order, as the following appeal demonstrates: "The commands of national guards, priests, schoolteachers and all intellectuals are provoked to provide detailed reports, if possible accompanied by

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[39] *Unirea*, Propaganda No. 11-12, 27 November 1918, p. 1, "Convocation", signed by the "Great Council of the Romanian nation from Hungary and Transylvania".
[40] *Biserica şi Şcoala*, No. 48, 25 November/8 December 1918, pp. 1-2, "The Great National Assembly of Alba-Iulia".
[41] *Unirea,* Propaganda No. 35-36, 27 December 1918, p. 2, article entitled "With the first Romanian troops at Alba Iulia", signed "Legionary Sandu".
[42] *Unirea,* Propaganda No. 19-20, 7 December 1918, p. 6, "Information" rubric.

documents and by the names of the witnesses, of all the atrocities that are being committed and were committed in their respective counties, mentioning the sacrifices, the names and the description of the circumstances. These reports are to be sent hurriedly, by courier, to the Romanian National Council from Arad for publication"[43]. Some incidents were in fact made public in the same number of *Unirea* in which this appeal was launched and they were signed by Sublieutenant Morariu. These reports concerned some inappropriate actions of Hungarian ethnics towards Romanians, namely some insults thrown by Hungarian gendarmes at a Romanian sergeant and the fact that a Hungarian patrol ripped out the Romanian tricolor off a peasant's chest, to which Sublieutenant Morariu ironically remarks: "Could it be that they took it for the colors' sake, so that they could have it as a memento?"[44].

The return trips from Alba Iulia to the delegates' places of origin were sometimes accompanied by incidents, but, fortunately, these were usually not grave and/or were easily defused[45]. On the other hand, tragic events were not entirely uncommon and casualties sometimes occurred, as was the case in Agnita, where a Romanian captain was killed in an exchange of fire between Romanian officers and German soldiers[46].

Order preservation measures and the involvement of military men in these operations continued for a while after 1 December 1918 and the press made it known: "Officers, aspirants for officers, military clerks and the aspirants for military clerks active in all branches, who have not already placed themselves at the disposal of the Romanian National Council, are provoked to present themselves in person the latest until 1 January 1919 new style to the chief of army and public safety in Sibiu. Those gentlemen who will not respond in a positive manner to this appeal – will not be taken into consideration. The headquarters of guards, legions, the chiefs of the Romanian bureaus need to immediately inform the chief of army and public

[43] *Unirea*, Propaganda No. 21, 8 December 1918, p. 1, "Appeal", signed by Ștefan C. Pop.
[44] *Unirea,* Propaganda No. 21, 8 December 1918, p. 2, "Information" rubric, article entitled "Vexations".
[45] One such example is available in *Unirea*, Propaganda No. 24, 12 December 1918, p. 2, article entitled "On the way to Bălgrad", signed by Ioan Sonea.
[46] *Unirea,* Propaganda No. 26, 14 December 1918, p. 2, "The latest" rubric.

safety about all the active officers, officer's clerks, aspirants for officers and aspirants for military clerks which are not indispensable to them"[47].

Finally, the press also provided details regarding the manner in which the national military guards from Transylvania coordinated their activity with the Romanian headquarters shortly after the Great Union. For example, the Romanian army dispatched Sublieutenant in reserve Liciniu Simu in order to act as its connection with the battalion from Blaj[48].

Concluding remarks

Fortunately, recent research has begun unraveling the numerous facets of the involvement of Romanians from the Habsburgs' army both in the conflagration and in the region's subsequent reshaping. Consequently, we are ever closer to understanding the metamorphoses of a socio-professional category that not only began World War I serving one of the largest multi-ethnic empires and ended it as part of a new national state, but who also represented both a creator and a beneficiary of Romania's unification process.

Within this context, it is important to mention that Romanian officers of the Austro-Hungarian army were relatively often present in the pages of the epoch's Transylvanian periodicals. Information about them refers to the recognition of their military merits through decorations, to their charitable actions, to their involvement in the cultural life of the community or to their high moral qualities that recommended them as leaders of their troops. In this respect, some distinctive figures can be remarked, particularly those of Colonel Victor Rusu or Captain Ioan Muntean, but the press carefully informed its readers about Romanian officers from all territorial and administrative units.

Officers were involved in an extremely active manner both in the events that predated the Great Union and also during this historical event, as they participated not only as delegates, but also as agents for maintaining public order. Moreover, their stabilizing role was preserved after 1 December 1918 until this popular decision could be properly put into practice within the newly created Greater Romania.

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[47] *Unirea*, Propaganda No. 35-36, 27 December 1918, p. 3, "Provocation", signed "Boeriu, m. p.".
[48] *Unirea*, Propaganda No. 21, 8 December 1918, p. 2, "Information" rubric.

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ELATED AND TRAUMATIZED SELF(VES) IN AUTOBIOGRAPHIES FROM THE ROMANIAN FRONT

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Abstract:
In the article Elated and Traumatized Self(ves)*, the focus has been on the horrific images witnessed by which the nurses changed their initially optimistic discourse on war. In his study on the memory of the Great War, Paul Fussell identifies recurring elements such as miracles and perils, rituals, magic numbers, a magical, otherworldly landscape, social arrangements that culminate in pompous ceremonies, the constant training of the protagonist to prove himself against danger, and the fact that the protagonist and his allies often constitute a group of solidarity or "community of the elect" (Fussell 1975, 135). Looking for these elements in the nurses' narratives, I have identified them in their attitude towards the war before they reached the front. The situations of shock they faced caused them to abandon the "heroic pageantry of war" (in Claire M. Tylee's terms) and to replace it with a language of trauma that desisted in intensity after witnessing bombardments and after patients with horrible injuries became ordinary events in their lives.*

Rezumat:
În articolul Sinele între euforie şi traumă *accentul este pus pe imaginile oribile la care au asistat femeile scoţiene şi care le-au determinat să îşi schimbe discursul iniţial optimist cu privire la război. În studiul său despre memoria Marelui Război, Paul Fussell identifica elemente recurente, cum ar fi: miracolele şi pericolele de la tot pasul, ritualismul, folosirea numerele magice, descrierea peisajului ireal, desprins din altă lume, existenţa unor evenimente sociale care culminează prin ceremonii pompoase, pregătirea constantă a protagonistului pentru a se confrunta cu pericolul şi faptul că protagonistul şi aliaţii săi constituie adesea un grup de solidaritate sau o "comunitate a aleşilor" (Fussell 1975, 135). Analizând naraţiunile din jurnalele asistentelor*

medicale, am identificat aceste elemente în atitudinea lor faţă de război, înainte de a ajunge pe front. Situaţiile de şoc cu care s-au confruntat le-au determinat să renunţe la "spectacolul eroic al războiului" (în termenii lui Claire M. Tylee) în discurs şi să îl înlocuiască cu un limbaj specific traumei care s-a domolit treptat după ce au fost martore la bombardamente şi după ce tratarea pacienţilor cu leziuni oribile au devenit evenimente obişnuite din vieţile lor.

Keywords: Scottish Women's Hospitals, Romania, World War I, Dobruja front, women and war

The hypothesis is that self-examination in the Scottish women's diaries was prompted by the tragedy and trauma of the violent conflict ravaging the country, and that this self-analysis resulted in the nurses changing their attitude towards the war, which they no longer saw as glorious or as an "adventure", but were able to perceive in its full horror. The failure of the Romanians and Russians on the Dobruja front – considered of secondary significance – disillusioned not only the Scottish nurses, but the entire Romanian army and the already sceptical representatives of the Russian imperial army. It is certain that the Central Powers assigned greater importance to this section of the Eastern Front. The three Romanian divisions defending Dobruja (stationed at Turtucaia, Silistra and Bazargic) plus the two Russian divisions were facing the 3rd Bulgarian Army supplied with modern German equipment and technical personnel.

Concerning the general image of the war for those at home and those on the front, Victoria Stewart observes that "Abstract ideas about war took prevalence over actual knowledge, and the clash between ideals and practicality was a difficult one to reconcile"[1]. In the seminal study *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War 1*, Eric J. Leed marks the difference between "the military way" and "militarism"[2]. The former notion refers to a discourse about war in which practical aspects are brought to the foreground, while the latter means a "system of images, symbols, and rituals designed to express the character of the 'warrior' and the character of the

[1] Victoria Stewart, *Women's Autobiography, War and Trauma* (New York: Macmillan, 2003), 36.
[2] Eric J. Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 56-57.

community in which he is at home"[3]. As we shall see, the accounts of the Scottish nurses on the Eastern Front are a mix of the two, with 'the military way' probably holding the upper ground. The nurses held the view that war is 'ennobling', especially winning the war and this is reflected in their description of the military personnel they encountered and their enthusiasm when meeting the British soldiers in the Armoured Car Division. Yet, they were more concerned with the more practical aspects relating to the army and to their own activity. To them, the generals are those who decide where the hospitals shall function, and quite often, when they should quickly pack everything and retreat in case of enemy advance.

The nurses who came to the front found themselves in an unprecedented situation. Laurie Kaplen shows that these ladies belonged to "The new generation of young women, some of whom had never seen a naked man, much less a suppurating wound or mangled body…"[4]. Many questions arise: how would these women cope with the new setting they found themselves in? What did the nurses make of this male universe, the war theatre – coupled with the operation theatre – they were suddenly admitted to? To what extent did they allow their prejudice of military affairs and war to take over in their description of the soldiers they met? Did this cultural encounter change their perspectives of themselves? Such queries will mark the present research. To give a short example, Ethel Moir, one of the orderlies and, as previously seen, a writer inclined towards highly romanticized descriptions, made the following note after experiencing military instruction on the ship that transported the SWH to Europe in 1916: "I'm writing this 'standing at attention' at my bunk, waiting for 'cabin inspection'. We have to undergo such a lot of nonsense in the way of drills, saluting, etc. – talk about soldiers!"[5]. It is a clear example of the shock we might expect of those unacquainted with military discipline, and whose military inexperience allowed a self-ironical attitude. To Ethel Moir, the

[3] Leed 1979, 57 quoted in Stewart 2003, 36.

[4] Laurie Kaplan, "When the War Was Over: The Return of the War Nurse." *Writings of Persuasion and Dissonance in the Great War*, David Owen & Cristina Pividori eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 69.

[5] Audrey Fawcett Cahill (ed.). *Between the Lines: Letters and Diaries from Elsie Inglis's Russian Unit* (Edinburgh, Cambridge: The Pentland Press, 1999), 18.

condition of the soldier is equated to that of an individual whose freedom and identity becomes lost in "drills, saluting, etc".

Vera Brittain noted in her famous war diary, *Testament of Youth*, that the nurses longed to be heroic, but the administration only permitted them a secondary role in war and concluded: "Women get all the dreariness of war, and none of its exhilaration"[6]. The assumption that, for men, war is 'exhilarating' imparts the traditionalistic/imperialistic perception of war propagated by the government(s). One of the most important pieces of literature when discussing the way women saw their relationship with the men on the front is Claire M. Tylee's *The Great War and Women's Consciousness*. *Images of Militarism and Womanhood in Women's Writings 1914-1964*, which has become one of the fundamental works on women's war writings. While Fussell, whom we have mentioned in previous studies and books, was concerned with what men wrote during the Great War, Tylee did the same but focused on women. She highlights how nurses or other women present on the front fail to see behind their government's propaganda and were 'easy victims' of it, not because of the legislation that prohibited any anti-war texts[7], but because they lacked the intellectual flexibility required to adopt a different perspective on war, even after dealing with the horrible suffering of their patients. Christine E. Hallett calls this "the mental straitjacket of their upbringing within a patriarchal and imperialistic society"[8].

Claire M. Tylee uses the phrase "the heroic pageantry of war" to refer to the spirit of adventure which captivated many young men and women – who had no idea about the horror and trauma they would witness and suffer – on the eve of the First World War. The same scholar shows that women had trouble in finding a language that was adequate to describe their experiences during the war because "The idea of war was intimately connected with many other values of Western culture. To challenge its heroic

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[6] Vera Brittain, *Testament of Youth: An Autobiographical Study of the Years 1900–1925* (London: Virago, 1978), 104.
[7] *Defence of the Realm Act*, 1914.
[8] Christine Hallett, *Veiled Warriors: Allied Nurses of the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 4.

image was to undermine ideas fundamental to their world and to their conception of history"[9].

It was not surprising that women, who up to that moment lived relatively domestic lives, would see their sojourn on the Eastern Front as an extraordinary adventure. This was coupled with the government's propaganda that aimed to persuade as many young men as possible to join the front by turning war into a righteous crusade against barbarous enemies. As a result, many of the nurses took up this rhetoric in their journals and consequently expressed their eagerness to become part of the glorified war effort. Katherine Hodges, one of the ambulance drivers, almost feels the need to justify her presence at the front, in the world of men. While on the ship that was transporting them eastwards, she recounts her joining the Scottish Women's Hospitals in the fashion of an unexpected escapade. Hodges' adhesion to the ambulance unit of the SWH as a driver is clearly outside the boundaries set by the British government that regulated the "home front". The language used in the diary expresses her astonishment at succeeding in this feat in spite of hostile odds: the driver accidentally found out about the possibility of work at the front, while performing a chore in the garage. As she had been trying to find work at the front for a long time, Hodges wasted no time. She took a cab to the SWH headquarters, where she was straightaway welcomed to join the "round table" of the Transport Unit by its leader, the "Honourable" Evelina Haverfield (an honorific form of address reserved at the beginning of the 20th century to venerable men). This fragment is one of the very few in which Mrs Haverfield is depicted in a positive light. Most of the drivers who wrote accounts of her at the front found her very difficult to deal with, which probably led her to suffer a nervous breakdown and to her returning home earlier. Katherine Hodges's enthusiasm to join the front and her being "delighted" at the prospect does not uniquely mark her excitement on that specific day. Her confession is a common description of how the rest of the drivers and the nurses saw themselves in relation to their roles within the war system and reflects the view of the general public on such matters[10].

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[9] Claire M. Tylee *The Great War and Women's Consciousness: Images of Militarism and Womanhood in Women's Writings, 1914-1964* (London: Macmillan, 1990), 20.
[10] Cahill 1999, 15-16.

In *Memoirs of First World War Nurses: Making Meaning of Traumatic Experiences*, Maxine Alterio shows that, at the beginning of the Great War there were few who foresaw the horrors and destruction caused by war and who actually envisaged the series of actions that had led to its outbreak. There were many who thought that military victory would contribute to more equality and prosperity, and who were blinded by political propaganda, by the general spirit of optimism at the time and by the comfort brought by recent industrial developments[11].

While on her way to Romania in September 1916, Elinor Rendel was writing home the following in a letter, anticipating her "adventure":

> It reminds me in some ways of the WS and WCC and our camp life at Studland. So many of the women here have belonged to semi-military organisations such as the Women's Reserve Corps, etc., in which they do a lot of saluting, that the military spirit has crept in – much to the annoyance of the sisters, who have already begun to rebel […]
>
> Some of the criticism is true, I think. Some of our leaders have been bitten with the military craze and they love saluting, giving orders, etc. without having grappled with the essentials. They rather like making us salute them for example without dreaming of returning the salute. However I think it's all been rather a game to pass the time and make us forget submarines.[12]

The famous World War 1 poster that reads "Are YOU in this?" displays, in a chain of work, what each social category should be doing to support the soldiers at the front: men and women on the "home front" are depicted working in the production of ammunition, while on the real front soldiers are first assisted by boy scouts who are passing them bullets, and only then by women nurses (*sic*!), who are described as "dispensing care rather than treatment"[13], and certainly not driving ambulance cars or using

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[11] Maxine G. Alterio, *Memoirs of First World War Nurses: Making Meaning of Traumatic Experiences*. PhD Thesis (Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 2013). on-line: http://researcharchive.vuw.ac.nz/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10063/2798/thesis.pdf?sequence=6, 8.

[12] In Cahill 1999, 21.

[13] Heather Kate MacNamara, "*Are not All Angels Ministering Spirits*": *Representations of British Military Nurses and the First World War*. Master of Arts thesis manuscript. Kingston: National Library of Canada, 1998, on-line:

X-ray devices. For the government's and the military authorities' spatial understanding of the front, the nurse is situated behind the Boy Scout, therefore closer to the "home front", so adult women were considered less fit for military experience than very young boys even. A moment of similar revelation was the decoration of the nurses in March 1917 in Bessarabia, which was recorded by Margaret Fawcett. First, the nurses were decorated after the wounded soldiers had been given their medals, the same soldiers that they regarded with pity and who were the nameless victims of the war. Second, even the nurse who described the moment admitted that they did not expect to receive the same decorations as the militaries did. This example shows how challenging it was for women to "write themselves back"[14] into the memory of the Great War. Worthiness on the front as well as access to the vault of war memory were awarded by proximity to trauma.

Elinor Rendel further marks a clear difference between herself and the other women who seem to have had previous semi-military experience. Rendel expresses a similar dislike for the masculine code of military saluting and the rest of the war panoplies that displace the nurses into the masculine universe of war. Mary Milne, the cook of the SWH unit, wrote about another step in the masculinization of the female body while the women were on the ship on their journey to the front: their hair had to be cut by the ship's barber[15]. This physical change complements the behavioural transformations required to enter the masculinized world of the front. Mary Milne is obviously not thrilled with the abolition of her womanliness, but she accepts it as an expected requirement to join the front troops.

Passages like the two above suggest that the medical women experienced certain difficulties in adopting militarism and expressed their limited revolt to have to take up a masculine attitude to war in the diaries they wrote. Dr. Elsie Inglis, the leader of the Scottish nurses remarked with certain satisfaction that, on one occasion, one of the women in the Ambulance unit had gone to the engine room of the ship they were sailing in with a greaser and when she returned covered in grease, one of the officers

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https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/s4/f2/dsk2/tape17/PQDD_0002/MQ28228.pdf, 81.

[14] Hélène Cixous, "The Laugh of the Medusa." *Signs* 1, no. 4 (1976): 875-893.

[15] Cahill 1999, 22.

stopped her and said 'Now where are you going to, my lad?'"[16]. On a different occasion, Dr. Elsie Inglis disciplines the ambulance drivers for acting too much like men, as Ysabel Birkbeck recounts on November 30, 1916: "Dr Inglis harangued the Transport after breakfast. The first part was against the nasty habits of the Transport; somebody's been swearing, it seems, as if there's not plenty to swear about"[17]. Besides the comical aspect, the Commanding Officer's observation is in line with the organisation's intention to destroy the barrier between genders and prove that women could be just as useful as men on the front[18], but the nurses and ambulance drivers felt on occasions great psychological pressure at the difficulty of fitting to the role of men while having to behave like ladies.

It seems that the status of the Ambulance unit was central in establishing the collective identity of the SWH organization. The position of nurse fitted perfectly into the traditional roles reserved for women, but not the same could be said for the position of driver. At the beginning of the 20th century, being a chauffeur was an entirely new occupation in the world of men as well, therefore the reticence of accepting women in this role that belonged to the world of men may be easily explained. Dr. Elsie Inglis's ideals were more important than what she saw as unnecessary caution. The ambulance drivers were an important part of the Scottish nurses' identity and giving it up was comparable to her to giving up the hospitals.

Before embarking on the ship that would take them to the East, Nurse Lilias Grant described the Ambulance or Transport unit of their hospital in very kind words, looking quite envious of the fascination they exercised on the public while marching, as quaint remarks came from the public, such as "Now I shouldn't mind joining that lot", or "They are not going into danger at all"[19]. The disjunction between the way one of the nurses saw the Ambulance unit and the way in which the prejudiced public reacted opens the topic of the masculinized female body. In her *Masculinity and the Wounds of the First World War: A Centenary Reflection*, Ana Carden-Coyne asserts that "masculinity underpinned imperialism and militarism, fundamentally

[16] Cahill 1999, 21.
[17] Cahill 1999, 136.
[18] Jane McDermid, "What's in a name?: The Scottish Women's Hospitals in the First World War." *Minerva Journal of Women and War* 1, no. 1 (2007): 102-114.
[19] Cahill 1999, 16.

shaping the experience of modern war as social, embodied and psychological experiences"[20]. The women desired to be seen as men in order to be able to claim the same rights, yet the Scottish nurses did not accept this masculinization without protest. The public comment, "They are not going into danger at all" excludes women from the "honour" of becoming a victim of the war, which is part of the world of men. It is also possible that Lilias Grant may not have been entirely honest in her journal and actually expressed her own doubt at the thought that the ambulance drivers – the "stars" of the SWH unit – would be more exposed to danger than the usual nurses or orderlies.

In a different account, this time from the early days of the Scottish nurses' hospital in Medgidia, Nurse Yvonne Fitzroy wrote down what an honour it was to dine with the drivers, whom she called "the ultra-exclusive Transport"[21]. The account is revelatory in establishing the identity of the SWH unit because Fitzroy marks a clear difference between her status as a nurse and the esteemed positions of the ambulance drivers and commanding officer. Even though the presence of the nurses was meant to break the social order of the time, the women were subjected to authority within their organization almost in the same way as in the society, so there was little encouragement for the usual nurse to adopt a different point of view on the war that was raging and to dispel its "heroic pageantry". Almost a week before arrival at the front in Dobruja in 1916 ambulance driver Katherine Hodge expressed her eagerness by remarking they were "not within fifty miles of the fun!"[22].

Maintaining the same high spirits, Ethel Moir was writing in November 1916, after the harrowing experience of the retreat from Dobruja, that she would not have missed it for anything in the world[23] (Cahill 104). The image Moir is describing herself in is that of an adventurous hero, and it is surprising that the other nurses were so marked by the horrors of retreat they had just been through. Some wrote in their journals that they would

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[20] Ana Carden-Coyne, "Masculinity and the Wounds of the First World War: A Centenary Reflection." *Revue Française de Civilisation Britannique,* XX, no. 1 (2015), on-line: http://journals.openedition.org/rfcb/305, 2.
[21] In Cahill 1999, 28.
[22] In Cahill 1999, 33.
[23] Cahill 1999, 104.

never forget the faces of the refugees. Ethel Moir maintains the Romantic image of the "young, wide eyed, innocent nurses and domesticated representations of the nursing space"[24] by ascribing to an image of herself as a fearless adventurer. Elinor Rendel similarly remarks how overjoyed she was to be part of the war experience: "I am now having the time of my life and enjoying myself more than I have for years. It is really great fun here"[25]. It is interesting how merely doing her job means, to the nurse, having great fun. It is also obvious that the nurse was both adventurous and passionate in doing her job.

Ambulance driver Katherine Hodges continued to express anticipation as well as wonder as the nurses were getting close to the front. She appears very excited, even "jolly glad" at the thought of getting into "the thick of fighting", at the same time expecting to face the fear successfully[26]. This defies traditional gender roles in which women are expected to adopt a passive attitude to war, and this aspect leads to what has been called "gender blurring". Such high spirits were maintained in the descriptions of Lois Grant after their retreat from Ciocârlia de Jos in October 1916. She confesses that she believed she and her friend, Ethel Moir, had been in the care of a greater power "than any earthly one"[27]. She made her statement in spite of the poor state of the car in which they were making their escape, which they expected to come to bits at any moment, and in spite of the burning line on the horizon. The bravado of Grant is inspiring and worthy of being used as an example to teach others how to behave in similar situations. The Christian ideology of the two nurses – who express faith in being protected by Providence – is included in the "Christian mythology of chivalry" regarding the war, developed by Claire M. Tylee in her book, where she argues that such descriptions of the nurses reinforce traditional nationalist discourse about war[28] because they do not challenge the legitimacy of the war or those who started it and caused so much destruction and suffering. This

[24] MacNamara 1998, 71.
[25] Cahill 1999, 55.
[26] Cahill 1999, 32.
[27] In Cahill 1999, 89.
[28] Tylee 1990, 26.

proposition can be complemented by Santanu Das's theory of the "silent witnessing" attribute to women in the Great War[29].

Elsie Bowerman displays similar unbridled enthusiasm for the adventure the nurses were on in Romania, almost mirroring the religious fervour of a crusading army:

> "…There's much to tell you about the people, much too long to write, but they are a ripping lot. It is so nice to get with a set of people who are all keen, all see the funny side of things, all prepared to face anything"[30].

In spite of this eagerness, the nurses hesitated to situate themselves in the male-only universe of war, as their lamentation against having to observe military regulations or to having to have their hair cut. In the excerpts above it is clear how eager the nurses were to travel to the front and begin their work, refraining from directly glorifying war, but showing the kind of naïve enthusiasm historians usually criticize as regards those who had little idea about the destruction the war would bring. By the end of September 1916, which was the time when the Scottish nurses arrived at the front in Dobruja, the position of the Allies on the Dobruja front had been seriously weakened by the defeat at Turtucaia following the battle between 2 and 6 September 1916. Turtucaia was defended by approximately 39,000 Romanian troops (of which 34,000 became casualties while the rest were able to flee across the Danube to Silistra). The Russian troops in Dobruja were concentrated in a more eastern position at Cobadin. In the meantime, on 3 September 1916 Brigade General Nicolae Arghirescu, the commander of the 19th Infantry Division, had decided on the evacuation of Bazargic and began retreating north of the city[31]. The lack of communication between the Russian and Romanian commands, the halting of the Salonika offensive by General Sarrail[32], the reduced sized and strength of the Russian divisions sent to help

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[29] Santanu Das, *Touch and Intimacy in First World War Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[30] In Cahill 1999, 20.

[31] Gheorghe Platon, *Istoria Românilor. Vol. VII. Tom II. De la Independență la Marea Unire (1878-1918) [The History of the Romanians. Vol. VII. Tome II. From Independence to the Great Unification (1878-1918)]* (Bucureşti: Editura Enciclopedică, 2003), 423.

[32] General Maurice Sarrail was a French general who commanded the multinational Allied force during the Salonika campaign (December 1915-December 1917), intending, but failing to prevent the Central Powers' conquest of Serbia, Wallachia and Dobruja.

Romania, coupled with the intensification of the offensive of the Central Powers' forces under Marshal von Mackensen on the Rasova – Cobadin – Topraisar – Tuzla line (repelled but with heavy casualties suffered by the defenders), were the factors that contributed towards the difficult situation found by the Scottish nurses on their arrival in Romania[33].

[33] Platon 2003, 424.

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THE MOST SIGNIFICANT DATE IN LITHUANIA'S HISTORY

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The 16 February is the most significant date in Lithuania's history. In 1918, an independent democratically-run modern civic state was established, together with the restoration of the statehood tradition cherished in the ancient Lithuania (1253-1795).

On 16 February 2018, we celebrated the birth of a modern Lithuania. This date is like a bridge between the old Lithuania born on 6 July 1253 and the new independent Lithuania restored on 11 March 1990. Had it not been for the 16 February, there would have been no events of 11 of March, nor the subsequent success story.

In the lead-up to the Centennial of the Restoration of the State (hereinafter – the Centennial), the past is seen not only as a reason to celebrate the important anniversary but also as an inspiration to reflect the historical significance of the past for today and the relevance of the issues of today for the past, i.e. the centennial achievements of the state and its people, and our ambitions for the next centennial which is fast approaching.

The Centennial of the new Lithuania is a success story. The main achievements are as follows: Lithuania has become a player of the European and world history, with its modern civil society aware of the importance of freedom and the responsibility that goes with it, and with new emerging vistas for action for the Lithuanian state and its people.

Building of the modern Lithuanian state in 1918 was based on the principles of the equality of all, as well as the freedom and prosperity, and this is why all freedom loving people of the country and Lithuanians living abroad, for the first time in the history of Lithuania, became the creators of their state, and later on, during the years of the occupation – the guardians of its tradition. The heroes of the restored Lithuania are thousands of those of different nationalities, religions and social groups having built and safeguarded the tradition of the Lithuanian statehood and national identity.

They include volunteers, farmers, teachers, architects and engineers, athletes, aviators, clergy of various denominations, Righteous among the Nations, freedom fighters, dissidents that challenged the Soviet regime, people that created the liberation movement Sąjūdis, and the Lithuanians living abroad that preserved the idea of statehood and fostered the Lithuanian traditions.

The hero of today is each individual living in Lithuania and each Lithuanian living abroad, who actively contributes to the building of Lithuania of the twenty-first century and knows that his daily efforts have an impact not only on the present but also on the future of the history of the Lithuanian state and the nation.

Apart from the most important symbol of the Centennial, the national flag, we have our state symbol Vytis, bridging the two Lithuanias – the old and the new.

The Centennial has revealed our capacity to draw the best from the depths of the past for the needs of the present; we are always ready to give our responsible and often times hard efforts for the bettering of our state and the people; we stand for our freedom, when this fundamental value is threatened; we have the vigour to build not only our own but also the European and world history. These things serve as the basis for us being proud of the achievements of the restored Lithuania, while inspiring us to work for the present and be hopeful about the future.

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- The maximum length for consideration of an article is 6,000 – 12,000 words (including footnotes), and 700 – 1,000 words for a review.
- Please submit double-spaced papers in 11-point Book Antiqua font with 2 cm margins. Footnotes should be in 9-point.
- All research articles must include a 100-200 word English language abstract (and in Romanian or one of the Nordic and Baltic languages when applicable) and at least five English language key words.
- Submissions should include complete bibliographic references (including page numbers) in footnotes.
- Final bibliography should be inserted at the end of the article.
- For general rules of grammar, form, and style, authors should refer to The Chicago Manual of Style (The University of Chicago Press).
- All manuscripts will be subject to anonymous peer review, and will be evaluated on the basis of their creativity, quality of scholarship, and contribution to advancing the understanding of the regions concerned.

Next deadlines: August 31, 2018 (Vol. 10, issue 2) and March 1, 2019 (Vol. 11, issue 1).