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Editorial Foreword

Silviu Miloiu

President of the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies, E-mail: silviu.miloiu@arsbn.ro

Revista Română pentru Studii Baltice și Nordice / The Romanian Journal of Baltic and Nordic Studies (RRSBN) gathers in this issue contributions based on new documentary sources and interpretations concerning the area it investigates, i.e. the Baltic and Nordic Sea area, and the relations and contacts between this region and its Black Sea match. The fascinating ethnic and cultural diversity of the area, the contacts between distant European lands, the perceptions of “the other” are topics approached from different angles and brought before the judgment of the public and the community of fellow researchers.

Diversity is, indeed, one of the characteristics of an area with a distinctive cultural richness understood in the largest meaning. To this accounts the article which opens this issue of the journal bearing the signature of Ádám Németh and Guntis Šolks. The article tackles diversity by an innovative use of probability theory which stood behind the Simpson’s Diversity Index processed by modern GIS software in order to meet its main research question: where, when, why and how has the Ethnic Diversity and Ethnic Segregation Index changed in Latvia during the first and second independence periods. The outcome of the study is revealing for the importance of the theme: Latvia has one of the most diverse population in Europe, and while homogenization occurred during the two periods of Latvian independence, Riga and the towns of Latgale showed throughout the entire period a high degree of ethnic heterogeneity. While the segregation indexes of the ethnic groups altered slightly during periods of independence, it undertook dramatic changes at the time of Soviet occupation.

The following article included in this issue evokes an episode of the earliest contacts between Sweden and Romania, namely the Swedish attempts to appoint a vice-consul in the capital of Valahia, Bucharest. This occurred at a time when Swedish and Norwegian commercial fleet was registering a remarkable upswing and Sweden sought to pave the way to
trade expansion by concluding commercial conventions with the European nations. The Romanian Principalities had economic potential and a strategic position which an expanding commercial nation could not ignore, and as Professor Veniamin Ciobanu argues, this stood behind the Swedish attempts of 1834-1835 to appoint a vice-consul in Bucharest. The cultural clash and the lack of mutual knowledge made what seemed a banal search for a person possessing the moral and intellectual qualities to represent Sweden in Valahia into an Odyssey.

Although the article dedicated to the Scottish Women’s Hospitals organization in the Balkans during World War I exceeds the geographical area this journal encompasses, we have included it in this issue in order to better understanding the complexity of human contacts between the North, understood in a wider sense, and the Balkans. Moreover, the activity of Scottish Women’s Hospitals in the Balkans represents a meaningful page in the development of an international mindset of the relief activities: help must be provided not only to compatriots, but according to the Hippocrates principles to all those in need, was the philosophy of Dr. Elsie Inglis and her followers.

The last study included in this issue deals with the Nobel Prizes for Science and Literature and the Romanian relatively low degree of success in winning such outstanding international recognition. Although the author does not undertake an in-depth analysis of some of the most prestigious Romanian candidates for the Noble Prize which failed to be awarded the honor, it provides a valuable overview and raises some fundamental questions regarding the reasons of this failure.

The Norwegian Film Days in Iași (May 27-29, 2012) coordinated by Dr. Crina Leon represented a significant cultural event designed to make Norwegian cinema better accessible to the Romanian public. While the domination of American cinema seems bound to continue, Scandinavian cinematography proves to be capable to fill a vital niche of public interest based as it is on the rich cultural and social heritage of the North while also showing the vitality and capacity to constantly renewing with fresh themes and ways of transmitting the message its capacity of expression. The interview with Mr. Jan Erik Holst, executive editor at the Norwegian Film Institute, is a gripping insight into the new wave of Norwegian cinema.

*
The first half of 2012 witnessed an expansion of the activities of the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies. One of the most important for the future development of the programs and activities of the Association is the opening of the RoBaltNord, the Small Library for Baltic and Nordic Studies. The library was opened on 25 May 2012 with the occasion of the start of the third international conference on Baltic and Nordic studies in a location endowed by the Royal Court Museums Complex of Targoviste. It enjoyed the generous support of Niro Investment Group and Microsoft Corporation and benefitted from donations from the embassies of Finland, Lithuania and Norway, the Historical Association of Northern Finland, the University of Oulu, the Cetatea de Scaun Publishing House and of private persons. The goal of the association is to achieve a number of 1,000 titles by 2021, and it is hoped that the system of acquisitions, exchanges and donations will ensure that readers will enjoy the access to a rich resource of knowledge essential in bridging Romania and the Baltic Sea region.
ALTERATION OF THE ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND ETHNIC SEGREGATION INDEX IN LATVIA DURING THE FIRST AND SECOND INDEPENDENCE PERIODS

Ádám Németh, Guntis Šolks

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Guntis, Šolks: University of Latvia, Faculty of Geography and Earth Sciences / Latvia, E-mail: guntis.solks@inbox.lv

Acknowledgments
This paper has been presented at the Third International Conference on Nordic and Baltic Studies: European networks: the Balkans, Scandinavia and the Baltic world in a time of economic and ideological crisis hosted by the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies, Târgoviste, May 25-27, 2012.

Abstract:
It is a well-known fact that the Baltic area is traditionally one of the most diverse regions of Europe in terms of ethnic concerns; we can observe in many settlements that four or even five religions have their own churches, cemeteries and at least as many ethnic groups are having their schools etc. Regarding geography literature, no generally accepted method has been applied yet to measure the population’s diversity and spatial segregation; in most cases only the number and ratio of ethnic groups were described. This research paper proposes a different approach: the adaptation of the so-called Simpson’s Diversity Index, based on probability theory and originally used by ecologists to measure biodiversity, to human geography. The study seeks the answers to: where, when, why and how has the Ethnic Diversity and Ethnic Segregation Index changed in Latvia during the first and second independence periods? What kind of spatial patterns are possible to observe on the basis of the transformation? The enormous data is processed by modern GIS software products and projected on thematic maps.
Rezumat:
Este binecunoscut faptul că arealul Baltic reprezintă în mod tradițional una dintre cele mai diverse regiuni ale Europei în materie de provocări etnice; putem observa în numeroase așezări că nu mai puțin de patru sau chiar cinci religii ș i-au propriile biserici, cimitire ș i cel puțin tot atâtea grupuri etnice au propriile școli etc. În ceea ce privește literatura științifică geografică, nu s-a reușit încă aplicarea unei metode general acceptate capabile să măsoare diversitatea populației și segregarea spațială; în cele mai multe cazuri sunt descrise doar numărul ș i proporția minorităților etnice. Această lucrare științifică își propune o abordare diferită: adaptarea așa-numitului Indice Simpson al Diversității – bazat pe teoria probabilității ș i folosit inițial de științe pentru a măsura biodiversitatea – la domeniul geografiei umane. Studiul caută un răspuns la întrebările unde, când, de ce ș i cum s-a schimbat Indicele Diversității ș i Segregării Etnice în Letonia în timpul primei ș i al celei de-a doua perioade a independenței? Ce fel de trăsături spațiale sunt posibile a fi observate pe baza acestei transformări? Datele foarte bogate sunt procesare prin produse software GIS moderne ș i proiectate pe mape tematice.

Keywords: Latvia, ethnic, diversity, segregation, isolation, 20th century

1. Introduction
The Baltic region plays the role of a special macro-region in our continent: it constitutes a natural bridge (and sometimes a wall and fortress) between Northern and Central and also between Western and Eastern Europe. For hundreds of years this peculiar geostrategic position has been determining the everyday life of the area’s inhabitants, thus it is not accidental that one of the oldest and most classical buffer zones of our continent is located here. By proving that there are no sharp, straight line-like borders in the geographic space, it is an excellent example of the definition of ethnic contact zone as well: during the 19th-20th centuries an exceptional mixture of nations (Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Russians, Belarusians, Poles, Germans, Swedes, Jews, Tatars, etc.) lived in this area. In spite of the small size of the territory and the relative small numbers of the residents of Latvia, there are significant regional differences in ethnic structure as well as in the degree of ethnic diversity and/or segregation.
2. Aims and methods

Homogeneous, heterogeneous, mixed, segregated: in everyday and academic life these notions are used so often that we do not even wonder if we can define them at all and whether we have an idea about when a particular community can be considered homogeneous or heterogeneous. If we cannot attach objective parameters to these expressions, they will surely remain vague, elusive abstractions. The authors believe that besides the traditional descriptive methods there is a strong need for additional indices which clarify the above mentioned expressions. This paper does not aim to fully analyse the metamorphosis of Latvia’s ethnic structure during the 20th century; what our study attempts to answer are:

- How can we define ethnic diversity and ethnic segregation?
- Where, when, why and how has the EDI and ESI evolved in Latvia during the first and second independence periods and what kind of general trends and spatial patterns can be observed as the result of transformation?

2.1. Ethnic Diversity Index (EDI)

Regarding geography literature, no generally accepted method has been applied yet to measure the population’s diversity; in most cases only the number and ratio of the ethnic groups were described. This research paper proposes a fundamentally different approach: the adaptation of the so-called Simpson’s Diversity Index (Simpson 1949), based on probability theory and originally used by ecologists to measure biodiversity, to human geography. A number of similar indicators have been developed internationally, for example: Greenberg 1956; Meyer & Overberg 2001; Ray 2008. Its extensive use has recently begun in Central Europe by Péter Bajmócy and Péter Reményi. Although a number of similar indicators have been developed internationally, in case of Latvia they were rarely applied previously; e.g. Pēteris Zvidriņš and Ilmārs Mežs used similar indexes

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earlier, but they analysed only national level data\(^2\). The probability theory, which is based on a mathematical method, shows the likelihood of an event when two arbitrarily meeting inhabitants of an area belong to different ethnic groups. The values can vary between 0 and 1, where 0.00 means a completely homogeneous population and 1.00 refers to a completely mixed population, and each member of the community belongs to a different nationality (Figure 1). The index is calculated as follows:

\[
EDI = \frac{L \times (L - 1)/2 - \sum_{i=1}^{n} e_i \times (e_i - 1)/2}{L \times (L - 1)/2}
\]

where:
L: total population of the municipality
e1, e2, ..., en: the population count of certain ethnic groups
EDI: Ethnic Diversity Index

It is important to emphasize that while in nature the change of biodiversity can be interpreted as a qualitative change (e.g. the value of biodiversity decreases due to environmental pollution), in human geography it can only be treated as a strictly quantitative category. The formula is further complicated because while in nature a certain organism can be put into a single category, identity in modern societies is the result of one’s own decision. Therefore ethnic identity is not static but rather it is a category that can be changed by family, political reasons etc. In order to ...


Despite the difficulties, however, we must see that as it is basically a mathematical method, the Ethnic Diversity Index is ideal for ethnic studies too. The authors regard EDI as a necessary “complementary” quantitative method which principally throws new light upon traditional research methods in ethnic geography. Instead of using pie charts and tables the Ethnic Diversity Index expresses in an objective way – yielding an exact numerical value – the real value of diversity in terms of mathematics.

2.2. Ethnic Segregation Index (ESI)

The Ethnic Segregation Index represents the degree of spatial segregation (isolation) or spatial dispersion of a particular ethnic group. Its value can vary between 0 and 100 where 0.0 shows the perfect mixing and 100.0 shows the perfect segregation (Figure 1). The index is calculated as follows:

$$ESI = \frac{1}{2} \times \sum |Ai - Xi|$$

where:

$Ai$: the rate of the ethnic group in percentage among all “A”-s in the “i” territorial unit,

$Xi$: the rate of all other ethnic groups (X) among all “X”-s in the “i” territorial unit.

The use of EDI and ESI has at least two significant consequences for social sciences. Firstly, the above mentioned definitions can be standardized: with the same boundary conditions any areas in the world become comparable on the basis of ethnic diversity and segregation. Secondly, by the exact nature of the method, it will no longer depend on a personal judgment as to what extent they consider a community heterogeneous or homogeneous, mixed or segregated. In terms of numbers, there is no possibility to play a trick. This way we can somehow reduce the room of particular political and ideological interest groups who like to manipulate people with half-truths lacking concrete facts.

---

2.3. Sources and GIS methods

The data used in the study were taken from the printed and electronic documents of the Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia. The authors used municipality-scale national databases from 1925, 1935, 1989 and 2000, while district-scale data were available from the censuses in 1897, 1925, 1935, 1959, 1970, 1979, 1989, 2000 and from 2009. The calculation as well as illustration of the ethnic structure’s territoriality was supported by ArcGIS 9.2 software product.

3. Results – EDI at country level

It is interesting in itself that although the superficial international media and general public often handle the Baltic region as a uniform territory, significant regional alterations can be observed concerning e.g. the transition of the ethnic diversity too. While the 20th century led Lithuania on the road of ethnic-vernacular homogenisation (the diversity index decreased from 0.59 in 1897 to 0.28 in 2009), an opposite process took place in Estonia: the index increased from 0.18 to 0.48. On the contrary, the EDI changed relatively slightly in Latvia: it increased from 0.51 in 1897 to 0.57 – however this was in 2009 one of the highest rates in whole Europe. We could find higher values only in Montenegro, in Bosnia and
Herzegovina and in Switzerland. According to the results of the latest census in 2011 EDI decreased to 0.54.

The change in the Ethnic Diversity Index showed a characteristic wave during the 20th century: its measure decreased until the World War II, then rose steadily until 1989 and then after the restored independence it showed a downward trend (Figure 2, Table 1). In the meanwhile the component parts of the society have been exchanged: the Jews and Germans have almost disappeared, but the number and ratio of the Russians, Belarusians, and Ukrainians have drastically increased. According to the aims of this study especially the data from the period 1925-1935 and 1989-2000 are relevant. It is very interesting that during the first and second independence period a very similar ethnic homogenization occurred in Latvia: the Ethnic Diversity Index decreased by 0.03 and by 0.04.

Figure 2. Changes of the ethnic composition and the Ethnic Diversity Index of Latvia (1897-2009)

1897: data by mother tongue; 1925, 1935: with Abrene district
Edited by the authors

---

Table 1. Population number by ethnicities in Latvia (1897-2009, in thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Latvians</th>
<th>Russians</th>
<th>Belarusians</th>
<th>Ukrainians</th>
<th>Poles</th>
<th>Germans</th>
<th>Jews</th>
<th>Lithuanians</th>
<th>others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>1,929</td>
<td>1,319</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>1,845</td>
<td>1,354</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>1,950</td>
<td>1,473</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>2,093</td>
<td>1,298</td>
<td>556</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2,364</td>
<td>1,342</td>
<td>705</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>2,503</td>
<td>1,344</td>
<td>821</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>2,667</td>
<td>1,388</td>
<td>906</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2,377</td>
<td>1,371</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>2,261</td>
<td>1,340</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1897: data by mother tongue. 1925, 1935: with Abrene district
Edited by the authors

Results – EDI at district level


The World War I and the following Latvian war of independence led to a serious demographic crisis in Latvia and changed the ethnic composition significantly, too. In 1925 with an approximately 20,000 fewer people lived in Latvia than at the end of the 19th century. Only the Latvians’ and Russians’ number and proportion showed slight increase (+35,000 Latvian; +5.1 percentage points and +39,000 Russian; +2.5 percentage points), the total number and the proportion of the other minorities reduced significantly⁵. The number of the Latvians grew first of all due to the relatively high natural increase and the Latvian immigrants from the Soviet Union after the war; while the increase of the number of the Russians could be explained by the joining of the Russian-dominated Abrene district to Latvia. Since the frontline cut the country into two along the Daugava River until 1917, the World War I caused serious decline in the population number of the Belarusians, Poles and Germans as well (war

⁵estimated numbers, since 1897 census data referred to mother tongue
casualties, emigration); however a notable part of the Germans returned after 1920 (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Changes of the population number of Latvia by ethnic groups (1897-1925* and 1925-1935)

*estimated numbers, since 1897 census data referred to mother tongue

In 1925 73% of the population identified themselves as Latvian. They constituted an absolute majority in 18 and relative majority in one district, although there was a significant difference between rural and urban areas. Latvians, Lithuanians and Belarusians concentrated rather in the countryside, while Russians, Germans and Jews were more urbanized ethnic groups. Most of the administrative units had homogeneous, while five districts had relatively heterogeneous ethnic composition (Figure 4); all of them were located in East Latvia. Latgale was always the most typical example of the Baltic-Slavic ethnic contact zone; little wonder that the most diverse district situated also there: Ilūkste district was probably the most

6 H. Strods, Latgales iedzīvotāju etniskais sastāvs 1772-1959 (Riga: P. Stučkas Valsts Universitāte, Vēstures un Filozofijas Fakultāte, 1989). Furthermore the eponymous ethnic community has a strong regional identity, which is due to their Latgalian native language, which some linguists define as an own language not as only a dialect (E. Bojtár, Bevezetés a baltisztikába (Budapest: Osiris, 1997), 169-170), their Catholic religion originated from the Polish times, the manifestations of the Latgalian ethnic mentality in every-day life and the sense of detachment from the rest of Latvia (P. Zeile, ‘Latgaliešu etnomentalitāte un kultūra,’ ActaLatgalica, Daugavpils, 9 (1997): 281; A. Ivanov, ‘Historiography as Framing and Support Factor of Ethnic Identity: the Case of Historiography of Latgale,’ in Ethnicity. Politics of Recognition, ed. V. Volkov, Vol. 2. 1 (Daugavpils: 2010), 8-9.
ethnically diverse area not only in the Baltic region but also in Europe (0.76)!

Between 1925 and 1935 the population number of the country increased by ca. 105,000 people. Only the Latvians’ (ca. +118,000) and Russians’ (ca. +13,000) number increased again: the share of the former ones grew by 2.1; the latter ones by 0.1 percentage points. At the same time the summed proportion of the minorities dropped to 24.5% (Figure 3). The decline can be explained first and foremost by the emigration and assimilation: “about 50,000 former non-Latvians became Latvians by assimilation, most of them in Eastern Latvia”.7 It is difficult to find out: was it a spontaneous or artificial process, anyhow the total population number of the minorities was definitely higher than the statistics show. Namely the 1935 census was carried out in the era of the Ulmanis regime when the family and workplace aspects could raise difficulties in the honest data provision.8 The “statistical assimilation” was supported among others by the fact that the children born in ethnically mixed families – where one of the parents was Latvian – were automatically defined as Latvians in the course of the census in 1935.9

9 P. Zvidriņš and I. Vanovska, Latvieši. Statistiski demogrāfiskās portretējums (Riga: Zinātne, 1992), 28
Figure 4. Ethnic composition and Ethnic Diversity Indexes by districts of Latvia in 1925 and 1935

Figure 5. Change in proportion of Latvians and change of EDI by districts, 1925-1935
Although the above mentioned processes resulted ethnic homogenization in Latvia, we can observe in the Figure 4 and 5 a reverse tendency: the tones did not change or even became darker between 1925 and 1935. This fact alludes unequivocally to heterogenization.

The increase of the EDI in Vidzeme and Zemgale can be explained by the slight decrease of the number and/or ratio of the Latvians in the countryside. E.g. between 1930 and 1935 – among the 19 districts – their number reduced in 4 and their proportion reduced in 14 units. The root cause of this phenomenon was the internal migration from rural to urban area; wherein principally the titular ethnic group took share. Furthermore due to the frequent shortage of the agrarian labour in certain districts, relatively numerous Polish, Russian and Belarusian casual labourers arrived from Latgale as well as from abroad. Thus e.g. in Vidzeme the proportion of the Slavs increased by 0.5 percentage points till 1935.10

But this is dwarfed by the reverse indices of Eastern Latvia: due to the above mentioned processes the proportion of Latvians grew by 3-19 percentage points in the districts of Latgale. This phenomenon produced notable decline in EDI. A similar homogenization took place in the bigger cities as well; the capital city Riga never before and since then had been as "Latvian" as in the interwar period. However, there were remarkable differences between the neighbourhoods, e.g. in Čiekurkalns, Jugla, Purvciems the Latvians acquired over 80%, their share was below 40% in the “Moscow district” and in the old town.11

So at first glance it would seem: the most conspicuous change was ethnic heterogenization in that period; nevertheless it was typical mostly in the municipalities with low population number and with originally already low rate of ethnic diversity. Thus from the point of view of Latvia’s aggregated EDI the dynamic ethnic homogenization of the towns and Riga abundantly overcompensated the moderate heterogenization of the rural area.

10CeturtātasskaitišanaLatvijā, 1935. 308
11Mežs 1994b, 40
3.2. Soviet Occupation Period

The Baltic States have lost approximately 20% of their population in World War II which value is among the highest ones in Europe. At least 200,000 residents of Latvia (...) were either deported or killed by Nazis or Communists and another 200,000 Latvians sought refuge in the West. During this time the Germans (ca. 62,000 people) and Jews (ca. 93,000 people) virtually disappeared from the map of Latvia; in 1939 the former ones were "repatriated" to Germany, the latter ones were almost exterminated by the Nazi invaders. The Soviet Union occupied the Baltic States in 1944 and the republics could escape again from the "clamping arms" of Moscow around the collapse of the empire in 1991. These 47 years thanks to the permanent immigration flows once again changed the ethnic composition of the Baltic region. According to the calculations between 1945 and 1955 net migration in the Baltics reached almost one million persons, while net migration in Latvia reached 525,000 persons between 1950 and 1990.

In 1989, only 52% of the population of Soviet Latvia was ethnic Latvian and they were already a minority among the age groups between 20 and 45. Due to the differences in the level of urbanization (and indirectly in professional characteristics) the titular ethnicity lived in a minority status in Riga and in the six regional centres: in Ventspils, Liepāja, Jūrmala, Jelgava, Rēzekne and Daugavpils. A similar situation emerged also in Latgale where before the restoration of independence out of the 420,000 people slightly over one-third identified themselves as Latvians. The colours of the maps of Figure 3 and 7 show a shocking change: the EDI in Latvia increased significantly almost everywhere. The only exception was Latgale where the rate of ethnic mixing remained nearly invariable. Here two opposite tendencies extinguished each other: the assimilation of non-Russian minorities into the Russian majority could have been so significant that it was able to compensate the general trend towards heterogenization.

It is a well-known fact that immigration primarily aimed at industrial centres and military bases; therefore the national structure including those municipalities and settlements has changed radically which

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12 Rauch, Misiunas and Taagepera 1994, p. 219
13 I. Mežs, The Latvian Language in the Mirror of Statistics (Riga: Jāņasēta Map Publishers, 2005), 6-10
usually coupled with significant increase of EDI. Homogeneity remained characteristic for the northern and western part of Kurzeme and the central-eastern part of Latvia. The reasons of the remained homogenous Latvian environment were the following. These were mostly agricultural areas with low population density, with infrastructure in very pure condition and with a long distance from the capital and other industrial centres. Therefore, these settlements were not attractive at all for immigrants. Moreover, the consequence of mass deportations after WWII was relatively smaller in these territories.\textsuperscript{15}


After the collapse of the Soviet Union the political transformation reversed all that previously characterized the Soviet occupation period. The natural increase was followed by decrease, mass immigration was replaced by emigration and the Russians have become from one moment to another a minority group of the three westward-looking reborn countries. Between 1989 and 2009 the population of the Baltic States decreased by about 956,000 due to the above-mentioned components. Since 1989 the total population number of Latvia decreased more than 400,000 (Figure 6); nearly half of this may be associated with the emigration of Russians.\textsuperscript{16} At the beginning of the 1990s the industrial crisis and unemployment affected the Slavic dominated areas most sensitively (the overrepresented presence of Russians in the secondary sector is obvious), but every now and then due to the sometimes strict citizenship regulations many have returned to their mother country.\textsuperscript{17} The level of emigration reached the peak in 1992, when the former Soviet military forces and their family members left

\textsuperscript{15}Mežs 1994a, 38
Latvia. The situation has changed for today: in parallel with the improvement of living standards the volume of emigration of Eastern Slavs has declined. In the meanwhile the fertility rate dropped from 2.04 in 1989 to 1.24 in 2000 and increased only just a little since then; it is lower than in most European countries. However fertility rates among Latvians are higher than the Russians’ and other non-Latvian ethnicities; and similar tendency is typical of natural increase as well.

Figure 6. Changes of the population number of Latvia by ethnic groups (1989-2000 and 2000-2009)

Of course the reversal of the demographic patterns has changed the ethnic composition as well as the Ethnic Diversity Index of Latvia. The proportion of the titular ethnicity increased from 52% to 59% between 1989 and 2009, while EDI decreased to 0.57. It is very interesting that during the first independence period and in the first decade of the second independence period a very similar ethnic homogenization occurred in Latvia: the EDI dropped in both cases by 0.03.

However, it is important to take into account “soft” factors as well, first and foremost assimilation. Although compared to previous decades Latvians’ capability of assimilation has become stronger, the bipolar

18 E. Vitolins and P. Zvidriņš, ‘The Demographic Situation in Latvia at the Beginning of the 21th Century,’ in *Demographic Development in Latvia*, ed. V. Ivbulis (University of Latvia, Humanities and Social Sciences, 2(35)/2002), 27
19 This rate was e.g. in 2006 -2,7‰ among Latvians; -7,9‰ among Russians; -13,2‰ among Belarusians; -11,1‰ among Poles etc. (Latvijas Statistikas Gadagrāmata 2007, p. 130)
(Latvian and Russian) “assimilation magnet” is still at work. A typical example of the former is that 80% of children born in mixed marriages are registered as Latvian.20 On the other hand, it has been shown in researches that among the non-Russian minorities only 8% use their own mother tongue at home, while most of them communicate rather in Russian or even Latvian.21

Looking for general regularities, in Latvia – as opposed to Estonia or Lithuania – a close mathematical relationship exists between the proportion of Latvians and the Ethnic Diversity Index: the low proportion of the eponymous ethnic group is coupled in almost all cases with a high-degree EDI. In other words: except for two or three units, one cannot speak about homogeneous Russian, homogeneous Polish etc. settlements. In a homogeneous environment mostly Latvian children grow up, however their number is low: in 2000 only 14% of the children of Latvia lived in homogeneous, while 47% of them in extremely heterogeneous (EDI > 0.6) municipalities. In the long run this situation can fundamentally influence the attitude of main ethnicities toward issues of cultural mixing.

Another conclusion that ‘the greater migration loss resulted in generally a greater homogenization’ is also true for the majority of the districts (Figure 7). However, we can see anomalies as well. The top left points (namely Riga, Rēzekne, Daugavpils cities) have lost 5-12% of their population but still the EDI values have increased, while on the right side the positive migration has been associated with homogenization. Suburbanization units such as Rigas, Ogres districts and Jūrmala city belonged to the latter category: forming the members of an agglomeration ring around the capital city. But it must be remembered that these figures represent the summed net migration; included internal migration as well which is a very complex process in Latvia and it is difficult to establish a clear spatial trend.22

Concerning the spatial dimension of the EDI there have been no major changes since 1989, although the tones became lighter; this evidently refers to homogenization (Figure 8). Among the 27 administrative units in 24 cases homogenization, in 3 cases heterogenization took place. It is very interesting that in the administrative units of Latgale the EDI changed slightly after 1989 which can be explained by two processes. On the one hand, Latvians here formed the minority group whose weight moderately increased during the indicated demographic trends. On the other hand the emigration from Latgale was rather low because of the relatively small number of the non-citizens.²³ Moreover, in three cities, in Riga, Daugavpils and Rēzekne ethnic heterogenization took place, is spite the fact that the share of Latvians grew in each of these settlements significantly (Figure 9).

²³Non-Latvians in East Latvia lived there mostly prior to Soviet annexation. Mežs 2004a, 67
Figure 8. Ethnic composition and Ethnic Diversity Indexes by districts of Latvia in 1989 and 2009

Edited by the authors

Figure 9. Change in proportion of Latvians and change of EDI 1989-2009

Edited by the authors
This is where the new method, the application of EDI becomes reasonable. Most people perceive the period between 1989 and 1991 as a general political and economic landmark in Latvia’s history that is automatically associated with the results of the 1989 census which – in terms of ethnicity – is supposed to be appraised as a historical nadir. From the viewpoint of the rate of ethnic mixing the “magical” year of 1989 is only a mental boundary since in many settlements the decreasing number and ratio of Eastern Slavs led to stagnation or even increased ethnic diversity. Although, e.g. in Riga, the ratio of Latvians grew by 6 percentage points between 1989 and 2009, the EDI increased during the same period.

4. Results – ESI at country level

The Ethnic Segregation Index is definable by ethnic groups and – in conformity with the logic of the method – it is expedient to calculate at country level from ethnic data of the municipalities. By means of the ESI we are able to find out the exact value of the spatial isolation of a certain ethnic group, in other words to what extent it is segregated from the other ones. The higher the degree of the ESI is, the easier a compact ethnic block – with sharper ethnic boundaries – is definable.

Figure 10 proves that in Latvia traditionally did not exist and during the 20th century did not come into existence compact ethnic blocks. The ethnic groups lived in the country always mixed; the most typical feature of their distribution was the spatial ‘dispersion’. The only exceptions were the Belarusians who concentrated after the WWI in a well definable zone, south from the Zilupe – Ilūkste line.

During the first independence period the Russians’ ESI value stagnated while in the cases of other ethnic groups it slightly decreased. Nevertheless, the significant decline of the Belarusians’ segregation index is conspicuous. The official number of the Belarusians decreased by 1/3 between 1925 and 1935, however on the basis of migration and natural reproduction data, it can be stated that none of it explains such a serious alteration; there must have been political reasons too. Namely a remarkable ratio of the people who previously declared themselves as Belarusians, in 1935 chose another (particularly Latvian or even Russian) ethnicity.24 This tendency was typical especially in Latgale, thus while the relative weight of

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24 The question of assimilation process during the Ulmanis regime was mentioned in chapter 4.1.
the Belarusian ethnic block in South-Latgale decreased, the relative weight of other Belarusian communities in Latvia increased. On the whole the spatial segregation of the Belarusians within Latvia – according to the official data – declined significantly.

In contrast to the interwar period a more serious alteration came about during the years of the Soviet occupation: the degree of Ethnic Segregation Index dropped significantly in all cases. Although neither Marx nor Engels or Lenin envisaged a “world in which there would be no role for nations”\(^{25}\), in the Russian-dominated Soviet Union the official policy towards the national identity was rather dismissive. Instead of this “despised reactionary phenomenon” the ideologists propagated the emergence of a new historical community, the ‘Soviet people’ – “sharing a common territory, economic system, culture, the goal of building communism and a common langue”.\(^{26}\) In order to achieve this unity one of the tools might be the abolition of traditional ethnic structures through Russification, in other words – from a geographer point of view – through reducing spatial segregation of the ethnic groups. This endeavour might have a noticeable consequence for ESI values of certain ethnic groups not only within the Soviet Union but also within the Latvian SSR (Figure 10). The big industrial cities functioning as melting pots attracted most of the immigrants from the other parts of the Soviet Union as well as from the Latvian countryside, thus the traditional ethnic map of Latvia changed drastically. Little wonder that in 1989 the most urbanised ethnic groups (the Ukrainians and the Belarusians) were the less segregated ones, while the ESI values of the Latvians and Lithuanians – whose ethnic territory changed in the lowest degree – decreased just a little during the Soviet occupation period.

During the first decade of the second independence period the Ethnic Segregation Indexes did not changed significantly, thus the real tendency will become obvious only by right of the 2011 census data (Figure 10).


\(^{26}\)Ibid., 9
Figure 10. Alteration of Ethnic Segregation Index of certain ethnic groups in Latvia. Tested at municipal level

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>63,53</td>
<td>61,77</td>
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<td>Jews</td>
<td>64,43</td>
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<td>0,00</td>
<td>24,40</td>
<td>27,73</td>
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<tr>
<td>Estonians</td>
<td>61,30</td>
<td>59,34</td>
<td>29,72</td>
<td>32,33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanians</td>
<td>57,39</td>
<td>52,98</td>
<td>39,20</td>
<td>40,18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poles</td>
<td>53,37</td>
<td>45,86</td>
<td>34,74</td>
<td>35,90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belarusians</td>
<td>81,69</td>
<td>46,63</td>
<td>22,21</td>
<td>24,02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russians</td>
<td>59,09</td>
<td>59,58</td>
<td>34,66</td>
<td>36,99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvians</td>
<td>53,14</td>
<td>46,94</td>
<td>38,77</td>
<td>40,22</td>
</tr>
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5. Conclusions

The results of the research revealed that Latvia has one of the most diverse population in our continent: in 2009 Ethnic Segregation Index was higher only in three other European countries. The change in the EDI showed a characteristic wave during the 20th century: its degree dropped until World War II, then rose steadily until 1989 and then, after the restoration of independence, it shows a downward trend again. According to the aims of this study especially the data from the period 1925-1935 and 1989-2009 were relevant. It is very interesting that during the first and second independence period a very similar ethnic homogenization occurred in Latvia; however the most important goal of this study was the analysis of the spatial processes.

Although the diversity map of Latvia has changed a lot since the WWI, three basic features have been still dominating: the cities/towns-
countryside, Riga-Latvia and the east-west dichotomy. In other words while the countryside was always ethnically more or less homogeneous, Riga, the other towns and Latgale had always very high degree of ethnic heterogenenity. However, the components of society have been exchanged; the historical minorities (Jews, Germans) almost disappeared, whereas the number and ratio of Eastern Slavic people considerably increased.

In Latvia traditionally did not exist and during the 20th century did not come into existence compact ethnic blocks. The ethnic groups lived in the country always mixed; the most typical feature of their distribution was the spatial ‘dispersion’. The segregation indexes of the ethnic groups – tested at municipal level – changed relatively slightly during the first and second independence periods. In contrast with this tendency alteration of ESI was rather significant during the Soviet occupation.

The study examined the alteration of the ethnic composition of Latvia in the first and second independence periods using calculation methods which are still not very widespread in human geography. However, the research is far from being complete, as the results of the 2011 census will soon be disclosed.
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AN ATTEMPT TO APPOINT A SWEDISH VICE CONSUL TO BUCHAREST (1834-1835)

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Abstract:
The economic development of Sweden at the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century accentuated the interest of the Swedish ruling circles to valorize the new economic potential. A series of measures, as the dissolution of the terrestrial customs between Sweden and Norway in 1825, or the abolition of the protectionist policy in imports, opened the way for the conclusion of certain commercial treaties with other states, such as that with Great Britain in 1826 or with the Ottoman Empire in 1827. Consequently, the commercial fleet, especially the Norwegian one, registered a substantial development. In this context, the Swedish diplomacy continued to pay close attention to Eastern Europe where favorable conditions for the extension of the foreign trade of Sweden and Norway could be found. This space, where the Romanian Principalities were located, had a geostrategic position and economic potential that had to be valorized. In order to achieve this goal, Sweden appointed consuls and vice consuls in the Romanian Principalities. The attempt to appoint a vice consul to Bucharest between 1834 and 1835 circumscribes this effort. The information regarding these demarches came from Swedish diplomatic reports, held in the funds of the National Archives of Sweden (Sveriges Riksarkivet), from Stockholm and offers, among many other details which may serve to broaden the horizon of the research regarding
the history of Romanian-Swedish relations in the first half of the
nineteenth century, an image of the Lutheran community from the capital
of Wallachia.

Rezumat:
Dezvoltarea economică, înregistrată de Suedia, începând cu sfârșitul celui
de al doilea deceniu al secolului XIX, a accentuat interesul cercurilor
conducătoare suedeze pentru valorificarea noului potențial economic. O
serie de măsuri, precum desființarea vămii terestre dintre Suedia și
Norvegia, în anul 1825, abolirea politicii protecționiste în domeniul
importurilor au deschis calea șederei unor convenții comerciale cu alte
state, precum cea cu Marea Britanie, semnată în anul 1826, sau cea cu
Imperiul Otoman, din anul 1827. Ca urmare, flota comercială, însoțită
cea norvegiană, a înregistrat, de asemenea, o dezvoltare notabilă. În acest
context, diplomația suedeză a continuat să acorde o atenție specială
Europei Orientale, unde existau condiții favorabile extinderii comerțului
extern al Suediei și Norvegiei. Or, în acest spațiu se aflau și Principatele
Române, ale căror poziție geostrategică și potențial economic trebuiau
valorificate. În acest scop, Suedia a numit consul și vice consuli în
Principatele Române, acționează în cadrul unei teritorii în care se încadrează și tentativa de numire a unui vice consul la București, întreprinsă în anii 1834 și 1835. Informațiile referitoare la aceste demersuri provin din rapoarte diplomatice suezeze
păstrate în fondurile Arhivelor Naționale ale Suediei (Sveriges Riksarkivet) din Stockholm și oferă, între multe alte detalii, care pot servi la lărgirea orizontului de cercetare a istoriei relațiilor româno-suedezes din prima jumătate a secolului XIX, și o imagine a comunității luterane din capitala Țării Românești.

Keywords: Sweden; Romanian Principalities; trade; relations, Lutheran
church

On July 29, 1834, the Count Gustaf Wetterstedt, Sweden’s Minister
of State and Foreign Affairs, mandated Anton Testa, the Swedish Chargé
d’Affaires to the Porte, to nominate a vice consul of Sweden and Norway to
Bucharest from among the local Lutheran community. Complying with the
disposition of his superior, Anton Testa, who due to his diplomatic position
had to appoint and coordinate the activity of the consuls and vice consuls
of Sweden and Norway throughout the Ottoman Empire\(^1\), started the necessary procedures. First he made investigations among the Lutheran inhabitants of Bucharest in order to find a competent person to fulfill this mission, not only professionally but a person with a good reputation in the community.

The first observation of the Swedish diplomat was not very encouraging for the success of his mission. He noted that, “les habitants Luthériens de Bucharest étant pour la plupart de personnes de la moyenne classe, il serait presque impossible, pour le moment au moins, d’y trouver quelqu’un de ce culte qui, a de la capacité et a une bonne réputation, joingit des moyens de subsistance suffisants pour y vivre sur un pied aussi décen que l’exigent les fonctions qu’il serait appelé à complir (sic!), sans toutefois être tenté d’abuser de l’autorité qui lui serait confié pour s’en faire un moyen de subsistance” (emphasis added)\(^2\). In other words, it was difficult to find a candidate who was not tented to take a bribe from those who asked him to solve their consular issues and increase his personal income thus compromising the prestige of his post and the dignity of the King of Sweden and Norway, whose representative de facto and de jure he was. Also, the vice consul, through his entire activity, had to strengthen the prestige of the Lutheran church in Bucharest and throughout the territory of the Romanian Principalities\(^3\).

Informed by Nils Fredrik Palmstierna, the Swedish Chargé d’Affaires to Petersburg, about the King’s intent to appoint a new consul to Bucharest, Andre Serai, the pastor of the Lutheran church from the capital of Wallachia, recommended Anton Testa to propose to the Minister of State and Foreign Affairs of Sweden a person of evangelical religion., „afin qu’il soit en état d’occuper en même temps la place d’un président séculier du Consistoire Evangélique, qui sera organisé en peu de temps à Bucharest” (emphasis added)\(^4\). According to the opinion of pastor Serai, the person suited to fulfill those duties was a Lutheran from Bucharest named George Honore Gaudi.

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\(^{1}\) For the organization and the functioning of the Swedish consular services, see also Leos Müller, ‘The Swedish Consular Service in Southern Europe, 1720-1815,’ Scandinavian Journal of History 31 (June 2006): 186-195.

\(^{2}\) See doc. no. 1, the report that Anton Testa addressed to Gustaf Wettertedton December 3, 1834; the information analyzed in these pages were inserted in the documents kept at Sveriges Riksarkivet, Kabinettet/UD Huvudarkivet, E2D, 240, Konstantinopel; the documents in this fund are not paginated.

\(^{3}\) See doc. no. 2, Annex 2.

\(^{4}\) See Annex 1 of Anton Testa’s report from November 18, 1835 (doc. no. 2).
Among the qualities that recommended him for this position, the pastor mentioned his knowledge “à fond” (emphasis added), of German, Hungarian, Greek, Turkish, French, Italian and “Wallachian”, meaning Romanian. Adding the fact that he possessed a substantial “culture scientifique” (emphasis added), and that it was a “bien versé” (emphasis added) jurist in the laws of Wallachia. These qualities had qualified him to be appointed secretary of the General Consulate of Russia in Bucharest for the affairs of Austrian subjects, residents in the Romanian Principalities, during the Russo-Turkish war between 1828 and 1829. The Austrian subjects were under the protection of the Russian General Consulate because during the war the Russian military occupation authorities prohibited the activity of all foreign consulates from the Principalities. At the end of the letter, the pastor Serai invited Testa to inform himself “de l’exacte vérité de ce que je viens de Vous assurer de cet homme, et par rapport à ses connaissances et par rapport à son caractère” (emphasis added)\(^5\). Also, he assured him that “je serai infiniment réjoui Mr, si la personne mentionnée pourrait obtenir Vos suffrages pour le bien de la communauté évangélique” (emphasis added)\(^6\).

That is exactly what Testa did. The most suitable person to comment about Gaudi, as a possible candidate to the position of vice consul of Sweden and Norway to Bucharest, was the former Russian general consul, Matei Minciaki. Because Testa already knew him, from the years in which he was Chargé d’Affaires of Russia to Istanbul (1823-1826), he asked, in a confidential letter, that information\(^7\). Until he received Minciaki’s answer, the aptitudes invoked by Serai probably impressed him, as well as the fact that the latter, as a pastor of a Lutheran church, was supposed to be an objective observer. Therefore, he answered Serai on September 2, 1834, that he agreed to consider his recommendation and to propose Gaudi to his superior in Stockholm\(^8\).

The answer he received from Minciaki was extremely disappointing because it was in contradiction with Serai’s statements. Namely, “« que la

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\(^5\) Ibid.
\(^6\) Ibid.
\(^7\) Doc. no. 2; his report, from November 18, 1835.
\(^8\) In the documents attached by Gaudi to his request, addressed to Testa on November 5, 1835, the position of consul is mentioned while in Testa’s reports the term vice consul is used. This inadvertence could have been generated by the fact that the exact intention of the Swedish government was not known to Gaudi.
morale et le caractère de Monsieur de Gaudi lui étaient trop peu connus pour pouvoir émettre une opinion à son égard; que tout ce qu’il pouvait me dire c’est qu’en effet Monsieur de Gaudi avait pendant quelque temps travaillé à la Chancellerie du Consulat Russe pour la partie Allemande des Affaires Autrichiennes provisoirement confiée à ce Consulat; mais que son zèle et la manière d’agir n’ayant point répondu à l’attente de son chef, un autre avait été chargé de sa besogne, et que depuis lors Sieur de Gaudi avait ouvert une pharmacie, dont le produit, joint à ce que peut lui rapporter sa profession d’Avocat, serait à son entretien et à celui de sa nombreuse famille » (emphasis added)9.

Facing this situation, Testa could not decide to act according to the recommendations of the pastor Serai. He considered necessary to postpone the appointment of a new vice consul to Bucharest, at least until he would find „une personne dont le caractère et la conduite antérieure m’offrent une garantie suffisante de son aptitude à remplir les vues du Roi” (emphasis added)10.

Hearing about Testa’s decision, George Honore Gaudi hurried to take the measures he considered to be necessary to avoid losing a position he thought he deserved due to the recommendations received from a notable personality of the Lutheran community of Bucharest. Therefore, on November 5, 1835, he addressed a memoir to Testa, through which he requested the job in Bucharest and invoked many arguments in his favor11.

These arguments invoked by Gaudi placed Anton Testa in a serious dilemma because they thoroughly contradicted Minciaki’s appreciations concerning the possible candidate. The documents in question reached Anton Testa two days before he solicited other information, from a trustworthy person, not about Gaudi, but regarding someone else, no matter what religion he belonged to that could meet the conditions required for the vice consul in Bucharest. Being informed on the difficulty to find a Lutheran candidate, on October 16, 1835, Count Gustaf Wetterstedt informed Testa that he was relieved of the sine-qua-non condition to elect a candidate belonging only to this religion12. Therefore, he asked for approval to postpone any decision in this matter until the members of the

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9 The report from December 3, 1834 (doc. no. 1).
10 Ibid.
11 See the annexes 1-4 of doc. no. 3 (Gaudi’s letter addressed to Testa on November 5th 1835.
12 See the report from November 18, 1835 (doc. no. 3).
central government in Stockholm will decide, one way or another, after the examination of all the documents he received from Gaudi\textsuperscript{13}.

The information stops here. We did not find, for now, any other sources that would allow us to follow the arguments that determined the Swedish government to take that decision or the epilogue of that attempt. Even within these limits, the documents that we analyzed illustrate a segment of the history of Swedish-Romanian relations, concerning also Sweden’s policy in the Eastern Question. That is why we submit them to the attention of those interested in the research of this aspect of the Eastern Question in the first half of the nineteenth century.

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Documents

1

Constantinople, December 3, 1834

Anton Testa, Chargé d’Affaires of Sweden to the Porte, to Count Gustaf Wetterstedt, Minister of State and Foreign Affairs of Sweden

He complied to his orders from July 29, 1834 regarding the appointment of a vice consul of Sweden and Norway to Bucharest, and tried to obtain information about a certain George Honore Gaudi, who was recommended to him by the pastor of the Lutheran Church from Bucharest, Andre Serai; the difficulties he had in choosing a suitable person for this post among the Lutheran inhabitants of Bucharest; motives; his decision to postpone the appointment of a candidate.

Constantinople 3 Décembre 1834

Monsieur le Comte,

Mon dernier très-humble rapport sub No 36 (sic!) était en date d’hier. En conformité des ordres contenus dans la dépêche que Votre Excellence\textsuperscript{14} a daigné m’adresser, sous la date du 29 Juillet dernier, relativement à la nomination à faire d’un Vice-Consul de Suède et de

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{14} Count Gustaf Wetterstedt.
Norvège à Bucharest, je me suis fait un devoir de m’adresser à des personnes de confiance de cette Ville, pour obtenir sur les membres de la Communauté Luthérienne des renseignements qui me missent à même de faire choix pour cette nomination d’une personne capable et jouissant d’une bonne réputation; et j’ai nommément pris des informations sur le compte de Monsieur Georges Honorius de Gaudi, qui m’a été très chaudement recommandé par Monsieur le Pasteur Sarai, comme ayant rempli pendant quelque temps les fonctions de Secrétaire du Consulat Russe en Valachie pour la partie Allemande.

Toutes les réponses que j’ai reçus concourent à me prouver que les habitants Luthériens de Bucharest étant pour la plupart des personnes de la moyenne classe, il serait presque impossible, pour le moment au moins, d’y trouver quelqu’un de ce culte qui, a de la capacité et a une bonne réputation, joignit des moyens de subsistance suffisants pour y vivre sur un pied aussi décent que l’exigent les fonctions qu’il serait appelé à complir (sic!), sans toutefois être tenté d’abuser de l’autorité qui lui serait confié pour s’en faire un moyen de subsistance.

Ce qui vient à l’appui de cette allégation c’est, qu’après la mort du Baron Kreuchely de Schwerdlberg, Consul de Prusse à Bucharest, c’est un négociant Autrichien, de religion Grecque, que la Mission de Prusse ici a appelé à le remplir.

Quant au Sieur de Gaudi, au sujet du quel je me suis confidentiellement adressé à Monsieur de Minciaky15, Consul Général de Russie en Valachie (que j’ai particulièrement connu ici il y a quelques années) ce fonctionnaire m’a répondu: « que la morale et le caractère de Monsieur de Gaudi lui étaient trop peu connus pour pouvoir émettre une opinion à son égard; que tout ce qu’il pouvait me dire c’est qu’en effet Monsieur de Gaudi avait pendant quelque temps travaillé à la Chancellerie du Consulat Russe pour la partie Allemande des Affaires Autrichiennes provisoirement confié à ce Consulat; mais que son zèle et la manière d’agir n’ayant point répondu à l’attente de son chef, un autre avait été chargé de sa besogne, et que depuis lors Sieur de Gaudi avait ouvert une pharmacie, dont le produit, joint à ce que peut lui rapporter sa profession d’Avocat, servait à son entretien et à celui de sa nombreuse famille ».

15 Matei Minciaki.
Quelques favorables qu’ayent donc été les renseignements fournis par Monsieur le Pasteur Sarai sur le compte de Monsieur de Gaudi, ils m’ont parus en opposition trop directe avec ceux donnés par Monsieur de Minciaky pour que j’aye pu me décider à lui confier le Vice Consulat du Roi et je me vois dans le cas de différer encore cette nomination jusqu’à ce que j’aye pu rencontrer une personne dont le caractère et la conduite antérieure m’offrent une garantie suffisante de son aptitude à remplir les vues du Roi.

Je suis avec le plus profond respect,
Monsieur le Comte,
de Votre Excellence,
le très humble et très obéissant Serviteur
A. Testa

Svriges Riksarkivet, Kabinettet/UD Huvudarkivet, E2D, 240, Konstantinopel, 1834-1835; original in French.

2

Bucharest, October 24/November 5, 1835

The letter of George Honore Gaudi, addressed to Anton Testa, through which he asked Testa to designate him as a candidate for the position of consul of Sweden and Norway to Bucharest, despite Matei Minciaki’s negative assessments about him; in Annexes, documents that contradicted the affirmations of the former Russian general consul in Bucharest and proved his qualities for the post.

Copie d’une lettre adressée à A. Testa par Mr G. H. Gaudi en date de Bucharest 24 Octobre/5 Novembre 1835

Une lettre que Son Excellence Mr le Baron de Palmstjerna vient d’adresser au réverend Pasteur luthérien de cette ville A. Sarai, en date de St Pétersbourg le 8 Septembre/27 Août année courante, relativement à la protection accordée par la Haute Cour de Suède à notre Eglise, et que j’ai ouverte en qualité de préposé de cette Eglise, Mr Sarai, n’étant pas encore

16 Karl XIV Johan; King of Sweden and Norway; the founder of Bernadotte dynasty (1818-1844).
17 Nils Fredrik Palmstierna; Chargé d’Affaires of Sweden and Norway to Petersbourg.
retourné en cette ville, porte entre autre la suivant observation: (text in Swedish).

La dernière période, offrant la certitude, que le Ministère de S Majesté le Roi reviendra encore à Vous autoriser, Mr, de procéder à la nomination d’un Consul de Suède et de Norvège à Buckarest, et encouragé par les gracieuses dispositions que Vous avez daigné, Mr, témoigner à mon égard, dans Votre bienveillante réponse adressée à Mr Sarai le 2 Septembre 1834, j’ose, aujourd’hui directement Vous supplier, Mr, de daigner agréer mes services au poste susindiqué (sic!), auquel j’ose aspirer, malgré l’information peu favorables, que Mr de Minciaky a été porté dans le temps de Vous donner, Mr, à mon égard, et dont j’ai depuis pris connaissance exacte.

Cette information, si opposée à la conscience même de Mr Minciaky18, ainsi qu’aux témoignages que je prends la liberté de joindre ci-près, seroit à la vérité tout-à-fait inconcevable, s’il n’y avait pas lieu de supposer que Mr de Minciaky, guidé peut-être par des instructions supérieurs, peut-être encore mal interprétés, ou porté en particulier par un défaut d’intérêt pour l’église luthérienne, a cru convenable de présenter ma personne, ainsi que tous les membres de la communauté luthérienne en cette ville, sous un point de vue obscur, afin de faire échouer, ou au moins de faire différer encore la nomination d’un Consul de Suède dans ces provinces.

Elevé depuis mon tendre bas-âge au milieu des familles les plus distinguées de cette ville, favorisé par la connaissance de dix langues européennes, et versé dans les Loix et dans la gestion des affaires Consulaires en ce pays; jouissant continuellement de l’estime et de la confiance des gens de bien de toutes les classes, et même un accueil flatteur auprès du prince Régnant actuel19, enfin, engagé, en vertu de ma réputation, par Mr de Minciaky lui-même de quitter le service que j’exerçait, avec la satisfaction de mes supérieurs, à Cronstadt en Transilvanie, ma ville natale, pour venir être agrégé à Son Consulat Général, où ses promesses malheureusement échouées mont fixé trop longtemps, et m’on fait perdu ma carrière, j’ai dû certes après tout ceci être bien étonné de le voir s’exprimer dans son information « que mon caractère

18 Matei Minciaki.
19 Alexandru Ghica; Prince of Wallachia (April 1834-October 1842).
moral n’est point assez connus, et qu’il regrette pour cela ne pouvoir rien
dire en ma faveur, ni être à même de recommander quelqu’un de la
communauté luthérienne au poste du CONSUL de Suède.

Daignez, Mr, parcourir les témoignages d’office susannexées (sic!),
dont je garde les originaux à Votre disposition, et qui, délivrés à différentes
époques dans l’espace de 14 ans, constatent jusqu’à ce aujourd’hui, mes
connaissances, et la moralité de mon caractère; daignez combiner le
contenu de la lettre autographe de Mr de Minciaxy que je prends la liberté
de joindre ci-près, avec son information, et permettez, Mr, que je puisse
encore citer Mr Gasp. de Testa, Conseiller d’Ambassade de Hollande,
comme une personne qui se souviendra peut-être encore des jours passés
dans la maison de mes parents. Il est vrai que je suis père d’une nombreuse
famille, que ma fortune n’est point la fortune brillante d’un riche
capitaliste; et que je suis propriétaire d’une pharmacie, que je fais gérer
sous le nom de mon fils; mais, j’espère que ces qualités, si même Mr de
Minciaxy paraît les regarder comme peu favorables, ne m’empêcheront
néanmoins pas de remplir avec honneur et dignité les fonctions d’un
Consul de Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède, et d’exécuter en cette qualité avec
succès les ordres que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté, poursuivant Ses vues
philosophiques, daignera me parvenir pour la consolidation du bien
être, et de la prospérité de notre Église, ainsi que pour tel autre objet du
ressort de ce poste. Plein de cette conviction j’ose donc encore Vous
supplier, Mr, vouloir bien me concéder Votre puissant appui auprès le haut
Ministère de Sa Majesté le Roi, et de daigner, en usant de Vos pleins
pouvoirs, m’accorder l’accomplissement de mon humble prière, en agréant
d’avance l’assurance la plus consciencieuse, que je porterai tout mon zèle,
et tout mon ambition pour me rendre digne de Votre gracieuse protection
et de l’honneur du poste auquel j’aspire.

J’ai l’honneur d’être etc.
(Signé) G. H. de Gaudi.

Sveriges Riksarkivet, Kabinettet/UD Huvudarkivet, E2D, 240,
Konstantinopel, 1834-1835; copy in French.

Annex 1

Copie No 5
Les soussignés attestent par ce présent Certificat, que Mr le Secrétaire George Hre de Gaudi ayant accepté avec suprême promission le service qui lui a été confié depuis un an et plus près le Consulat Général de S. M. l’Empereur de Russie\textsuperscript{20} en cette Ville, chargé en absence de l’Agent Imp\textsuperscript{le} Roy\textsuperscript{le} Apost. de la protection des sujets Autrichiennes, s’est toujours appliqué en cette qualité le plus activement possible aux affaires multipliées de sa charge et en affermissant par sa droiture, affabilité, et son caractère désintéressé la bonne opinion qu’il a su se procurer généralement dès sa jeunesse à l’égard de ses louables qualités, il a surtout, relativement aux affaires des sujets Autrichiens et leur protection, sans cesse contribué par son zèle, son intercession, et sa sagesse, pour satisfaire, autant que cela fut possible dans les circonstances préexistantes guerrières, impliquées, et difficiles, à toutes les réclamations militaires, et fréquentes, élevées en ce temps\textsuperscript{21}; effectuant et sans invitation particulière, ce qui pouvait servir aux intérêts, à la protection et consolation des sujets I. R. A. de manière qu’il faut généralement avouer, que Mr George Hon\textsuperscript{re} de Gaudi s’est démontré comme un individu, qui étant au fait des affaires, et muni de connaissance peu communes des langues, des usages, et des lois de ce pays\textsuperscript{22}, ainsi que des provinces Autrichiennes limitrophes, et des leurs relations réciproques, unissant en même temps à ces qualités toute l’activité requise dans le service, et un caractère affable et moral, il sait remplir avec honneur le poste qui lui a été confié. En foi de quoi, et en témoignage de notre reconnaissance nous nous croyons obligés de délivrer le présent Certificat, corroboré de notre propre signature et du cachet de nos armes. Fait à Bucharest en Vallachie le 9 Décembre 1829.

Ambrosius Babick m. p. Administrator
Paroisse Rom. Cathol (L. S.)
S. Meitani Baron (L. S )
Daniel Taranga (L. S)
I. Zimern Burgtholl (L. S.)
Andr. Schnell Apotk. (L. S.)
C. Baron Sakilaris m. p. (L. S.)

\textsuperscript{20} Nicholas I.
\textsuperscript{21} He was referring to the Russo-Turkish war between 1828 and 1829, when the Russian military authorities of occupation in Moldavia and Wallachia decided to prohibit the activity of foreign consuls, except the Russia ones, in the Romanian Principalities.
\textsuperscript{22} Wallachia.
Annex 2

Copie № 6

Je soussigné Conseiller de Collège de S. M. Impériale, et Gérant en absence de S. E. M. le Consul Général, les Affaires du Consulat Général de Russie en Vallachie atteste, que M. Honoré Gaudi a rempli ses fonctions d’Employé Consulaire dans la partie judiciaire concernant les sujets Autrichiens, pendant deux ans et deux mois23, avec zèle et intelligence. En foi de quoi je lui ai délivré le présent attestât que je signe de ma main et auquel j’appose le sceau Consulaire. Fait à Bucharest le 31 Décembre 1830.

Annex 3

Copie № 7

Nous Prince Michel Ghica, Grand Vornique de la Vallachie et Chef du Département de l’Intérieur attestons, que le porteur du présent M. Georges Honoré de Gaudi, avantageusement connu depuis sa tendre jeuneuse à toutes les familles notables de ce pays, a su continuellement se

23 Between 1828 and 1829.
conserver du vivant de son père, feu le Chancelier de l’Agence d’Autriche André de Gaudi, comme aussi, dans ses relations ultérieures, l’estime générale qu’on portait à sa famille, ainsi que la considération que ses connaissances peu communes, jointes à un caractère affable et obligant lui ont fait mériter particulièrement ; affermissant sa bonne réputation, par la pureté de ses mœurs, et par une conduite digne d’éloge.

En foi de quoi, nous avons signé le présent Certificat et y avons apposé le seau de nos armes. Ainsi fait à Bucharest le 10 Octobre 1835.

(L. S.) Michel Ghica m. p.

Annex 4

Copie No 8 d’une lettre autographe de Mr de Minciaky adressée à N. N. en date de Yassi 30 Juillet 1828.

J’ai reçu par la dernière poste, deux lettres de votre part, et une de Mr Gaudi. Je Vous prie de dire à ce dernier que je ne puis pas pour le moment prendre d’autres engagements que celui que je Vous avais chargé de lui faire connaître: Il peut cependant être sûr que en tems et lieu je ferai tout ce qui dépendra de moi pour le faire agréger au Consulat Général (sic!): mais Vous savez qu’il faudra qu’il se passe quelque tems avant que je puisse toucher cette corde, et que même alors il ne sera pas en mon pouvoir de lui assurer le succès de ma démarche. Il est possible aussi que je sois dans le cas de l’appeler auprès de moi ici, où il pourra m’être fort utile par sa connaissance des lois et des langues (sic!); mais même pour cela il me faudra attendre que certaines mesures projetées par Mr le Comte, puissent être adoptées. En attendant, il pourra travailler chez Vous dans la partie des litiges, tenir en ordre les papiers, et prendre patience jusqu’à ce que nous trouvions le moyen d’méilleure (sic!) la condition que je lui ai fait proposer.

Votre Commission marche à merveille; je le conçois parfaitement, parceque (sic!) Vous n’avez pas un Pisani enfermé comme un mulet, ni un Stourdza Vestiar, le premier grand écrivailleur même pour les plus petits misères, ne voyant que responsabilité; les derniers arrangements et aplanissant tout en paroles, et lent dans l’exécution. J’ai plus d’un foi déjà

24 Alexandru Pisani; former Russian general consul in the Romanian Principalities.
assisté à leurs séances, et j’ai toujours éprouvé des difficultés à me faire entendre, quand je voulais persuader à l’un et à l’autre de l’inutilité des rapport et des longues frases. Les ordres sont expédiés pour les approvisionnements de trois mois qui doivent aller au Danube; mais la récolte n’est pas encore fini partout, et je tremble que l’énorme quantité de farine et d’orge que nous demandons ne puisse pas être au Danube à l’époque fixée du 15 Septembre. Pour le faire, cela va bien, d’après du moins les rapports qu’on a des districts. Reste à voir comment ira les chariages (sic!), pour l’un et l’autre objet. Nous sommes d’un autre côté, pauvres en finances. Les ressources à créer que Mr Brunow propose sont, à mon avis inadmissibles dans ce pays de priviléges, que nous avons proclamé de maintenir. Mieux vaudrait encore imposer une taxe analogues sue les rangs et le privilegiés, que de parler de domestiques et de chevaux d’agrément. Vous connaissez mieux que moi le terrain et les hommes, et Vous pouvez juger si le plan de Mr Brunow est exécutable?

Je suis très peigné de Vous savoir malade. J’espère que Vos premières lettres m’apprendront que Vous êtes entièrement rétabli.

Faîte, je Vous pris, remettre l’incluse à ma femme, et recevez la nouvelle assurance de ma parfaite considération.

Tout à Vous
(signé) Minciaky.

Sveriges Riksarkivet, Kabinettet/UD Huvudarkivet, E2D, 240, Konstantinopel, 1834-1835; copy in French.

3

Constantinople, November 16, 1835

Anton Testa to Count Gustaf Wetterstedt

He complied to the new dispositions he received, according to which he was relieved from the requirement to appoint a vice consul only from among Lutheran inhabitants of Bucharest, thus allowing him to seek the services of one of his acquaintances to indicate him a suitable person; he gave up the idea because he received from Gaudi, who was appointed by pastor Andre Serai to represent the affairs of the Lutheran Church of Bucharest during his absence, a letter that
complicated his mission; his decision to allow his Minister to whom he sent all the documents to have the last word regarding Gaudi; in Annex: the recommendation of pastor Andre Serai in favor of George Honore Gaudi, who was about to fill the position of secular President of the Evangelical Consistory, which was to be organized in Bucharest; the arguments invoked to support his recommendation.

Constantinople 18 Novembre 1835

Monsieur le Comte,

Mon dernier très-humble rapport *sub No 40* (sic!) était du 11 de ce mois.

En vertu de la latitude que Votre Excellence25 m’a accordée, par la dépêche qu’Elle a daignée m’adresser sous la date du 16 Octobre dernier, dans le choix de la personne à appeler au poste de Vice Consul du Roi26 à Buckarest, en me dispensant de la clause *sine qua non* que le candidat dût professer la religion Luthérienne, j’avais déjà préparé une lettre, que j’adressais à un de mes amis dans cette ville, pour l’engager à m’indiquer quelques candidats, apte à ce poste, sans égard au culte auquel ils appartiendraient. Cette lettre serait déjà partie hier par la poste ordinaire Russe, si une lettre que m’a adressée Monsieur Gaudi, préposé par M. Sarai lui-même à soigner les affaires de l’Eglise Luthérienne de Buckarest pendant son absence, et que j’ai reçue avant-hier m’avait derechef rendu ma position encore plus embarrassante que jamais.

Si, d’un côté M. Minciaky27, ci devant Consul Général Russe à Buckarest, m’a fourni, dans sa réponse à ma lettre confidentielle du 18 Septembre 1834, sur le compte des membre de la commune Luthérienne en général, et nommément sur le compte de M. Gaudi les renseignements peu favorables que j’ai eu l’honneur de soumettre à Votre Excellence dans mon très-humble rapport *sub N° 37* (sic!) du 3 Décembre 1834; d’un autre côté, ce candidat, que M. le Pasteur Sarai m’a déjà antérieurement recommandé par une lettre du 20 Mai 1834, vient encore par sa dernière de me fournir plusieurs certificats d’une date antérieure, il est vrai, pour la plupart à la réponse précitée de M. Minciaky, mais qui tous militent en sa faveur.

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25 Count Gustaf Wetterstedt.
26 Karl XIV Johan.
27 Matei Minciaki.
Dans cette perplexité, je ne sais quel serait le parti à prendre, qui répondit le mieux aux vues bienveillantes du Roi en faveur de cette commune: me prononcerais-je en faveur de Sr de Gaudi, que sur des informations que j’avais lieu de croire impartiales et véridiques, j’ai d’abord représenté comme peu à remplir avec dignité le poste de Vice Consul du Roi à Bucharest: ou bien fixerais-je mon choix sur tout autre personne, d’un culte étranger à la Commune Luthérienne, et qui dans ce cas, serait peut-être (sic!) vu de mauvais œil par elle dans l’idée que je me suis laissé guider dans mon choix par des vues peu favorable à son bien-être et à ses intérêts.

D’ailleurs, qui peut m’assurer que je serais heureux dans mon choix, en excluant Mr de Gaudi ? Et si, comme il arrive malheureusement fort souvent avec les Consuls sans appointements (qui, quoique riche en leur particulier, abusent de leur place pour s’en faire une source de nouveaux revenus pour eux ou pour leur Employés), celui que je nommerais se permettait de pareils actes, n’exciterais-je pas les plaintes de toute la Commune, et n’encourais-je pas le double reproche d’avoir exclu un membre de la Commune Luthérienne, et d’avoir appelé au poste de Vice-Consul un individu étranger à cette même commune, et peu digne de la confiance que je lui aurais accordée.

En conséquence de toutes ces réflexions, et quelques soient mes regrets de mettre du retard à exécuter les ordres de Votre Excellence aussi promptement que je le dois, j’ose prendre la liberté de très-humblement soumettre ci-joint à l’examen de Votre Excellence les copies de la lettre du Pasteur Sarai en faveur de Mr de Gaudi du 20 Mai 1834, et de celle que Mr Gaudi vient de m’adresser, avec ses nombreuses annexes, dont celle sub No 7 (sic!) seule postérieure en date aux renseignemens fournis par Mr de Minciaky, est un certificat du Prince Michel Ghica, frère du Prince régnant de Vallachie28, et chef du département de l’intérieur de cette province29.

J’ose espérer, que Votre Excellence daignera ne pas désaprouver un retard qui m’est uniquement dicté par mon zèle pour le service du Roi et pour les intérêts de la Commune Luthérienne de Bucharest; et qu’Elle voudra bien me faire tenir les ordres sur lesquels je puisse régler ma conduite dans cette circonstance difficile.

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28 Alexandru Ghica.
29 Wallachia.
Ci-joint une très humble Apostille en Chiffres\textsuperscript{30}.

Je suis avec le plus profond respect,
Monsieur le Comte,
De Votre Excelence,
Le très humble et très obéissant serviteur
A. Testa

À Son Excellence Monsieur le Ministre d’Etat et des Affaires Etrangères etc. etc. etc.

Sveriges Riksarkivet, Kabinettet/UD Huvudarkkivet, E2D, 240, Konstantinopel, 1834-1835; original in French; the documents in this fund are not paginated.

Anexa

Copie d’une lettre adressée à A. Testa par M⁹ le Pasteur André Sárai en date de St Petersbourg 20 Mai 1834

Ayant reçu de la part de Son Excellence le Ministre de Sa Majesté le Roi de Suède, M⁹ le Baron de Palmstierna\textsuperscript{31} la nouvelle concernant la nomination d’un Consul Suédois à Buckarest, et qu’il a donné l’ordre à Vous M⁹, de proposer un sujet convenable qui puisse bien remplir les devoirs de cette fonction, je prends la liberté de Vous prier, M⁹, de proposer un homme qui sera de la confession Evangélique à Son Excellence M⁹ le Ministre\textsuperscript{32} pour cette charge, afin qu’il soit en état d’occuper en même temps la place d’un président séculier du Consistoire Evangélique, qui sera organisé en peu de temps à Buckarest.

Par rapport à cela, j’ai l’honneur de Vous proposer, M⁹, un homme de notre communauté à Buckarest, qui sera au fait de remplir parfaitement les devoirs d’un Consul, possédant à fond la langue Allemande, Hongroise, le Grec, la langue Turque, le Français, l’Italien, et la langue Valaque etc., et parce qu’il a reçu une bonne culture scientifique, étant en même temps bien versé dans la connaissance des lois du Pays, c’est de quoi on doit être

\textsuperscript{30} We did not find this piece.
\textsuperscript{31} Nils Fredrik Palmstjerna.
\textsuperscript{32} Count Gustaf Wetterstedt.
persuadé, paru qu’il a rempli la fonction d’un secrétaire du Consul Russe pour les affaires des sujets Autrichiens pendant que ceux-ci se trouvaient sous la protection du Consulat Général de Sa Majesté l’Empereur de Russie33 à Buckarest. Le nom de ce M. que j’ai l’honneur de Vous recommander en conscience s’appelle George Honore Gaudi, Juriste, demeure maintenant en homme privé à Buckarest.

Vous aurez donc la grace, M. de Vous informer Vous-même de l’exacte vérité de ce que je viens de Vous assurer de cet homme, et par rapport à ses connaissances et par rapport à son caractère. Je serai infiniment réjoui M., si la personne mentionnée pourrait obtenir Vos suffrages pour le bien de la communauté évangélique.

En me recommandant à Vos bonnes graces, j’ai l’honneur etc. etc.

(signé) André Sárai
Pasteur de l’Eglise Evangelique de Buckarest.

Sveriges Riksarkivet, Kabinettet/UD Huvudarkivet, E2D, 240, Konstantinopel, 1834-1835; copy in French.

References:

Sveriges Riksarkivet, Kabinettet/UD Huvudarkivet, E2D

33 Nicholas I.
FROM THE FRINGE OF THE NORTH TO THE BALKANS: THE BALKANS VIEWED BY SCOTTISH MEDICAL WOMEN DURING WORLD WAR I

Costel Coroban

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Abstract:
This article is about the venture of the units of the Scottish Women’s Hospitals organization in the Balkans during World War I. It is important to note that these women, inspired by the ideals of equality and compassion, were not part of any governmental organization, as the British War Office refused to employ them, and thus acted entirely based on their ideals. The first unit to serve in the Balkans under Dr. Elsie Inglis was captured by the Central Powers on the invasion of Serbia, but would be later reorganized as the SWH London unit, and would travel to Romania and Russia together with its ambulance unit, in order to help the First Serbian Volunteer Division. After the unfortunate demise of Dr. Elsie Inglis on 26 November 1917 upon her arrival at Newcastle upon Tyne, the unit
was renamed the “Dr. Elsie Inglis” unit, and travelled to Macedonia and Serbia in order to continue its relief work. Other units that served in Macedonia and Serbia since 1916 were the Girton and Newnham unit, the America Unit, their transport (ambulance) sub-units, and briefly Dr. Mary Blair’s unit. The SWH Committee in Edinburgh had the honourable initiative of crowning their efforts throughout the war by founding an “Elsie Inglis Memorial Hospital” in Belgrade during the spring of 1919, but this project would last only for a year.

Rezumat:
Acest articol ilustrează mișcările unităților Spitalele Femeilor Scoțiene (SWH) în zona Balcanilor în timpul Primului Război Mondial. Este important de notat că aceste femei, inspirate de idealurile egalității de gen și ale compasiunii deopotriva, nu făceau parte din nicio organizație guvernamentală, după ce War Office-ul britanic refuzase să le angajeze, astfel că acestea au acționat în mod categoric din propria lor inițiativă. Prima lor unitate care a funcționat în Balcani sub Dr. Elsie Inglis a fost capturată în timpul ocupării Serbiei de către Puterile Centrale, dar a fost mai târziu reorganizată ca unitatea londoneză a SWH, și a călătorit în România și Rusia împreună cu sub-unitatea sa de ambulanțe pentru a oferi ajutor Diviziei I de Voluntari Sârbi. După decesul regretabil al Dr. Elsie Inglis pe 26 noiembrie 1917, la o zi după întoarcerea la Newcastle upon Tyne, numele unității a fost schimbat în „unitatea Dr. Elsie Inglis,” călătorind apoi în Macedonia și Serbia pentru a-și continua acțiunile de binefacere. Alte unități care au slujit în Macedonia și Serbia din 1916 au fost unitățile Girton și Newnham, unitatea „America”, sub-unitățile lor de ambulanțe, și pentru scurt timp, unitatea Dr. Mary Blair. Comitetul SWH din Edinburgh a avut inițiativa onorabilă de a încorona eforturile lor în război prin înființarea „Spitalului Memorial Dr. Elsie Inglis” în Belgrad în primăvara anului 1919, dar acest proiect a rezistat doar timp de un an de zile.

Keywords: Scottish Women’s Hospitals; Elsie Inglis; Serbia; Macedonia; Dobrogea; World War I

Introduction
Even though this fact is generally less known, during World War I among the medical staff of the Russian, Romanian and Serbian troops, there were also volunteer units of Scottish women orderlies, nurses and
doctors. They were members of the Scottish Women’s Hospitals (SWH), an organization founded at the beginning of World War I as an expression of patriotism and feminism. The main supporter of the SWH was the National Union of the Women’s Suffrage Societies (NUWSS), and members of it formed the London sub-committee of the SWH. In Edinburgh, the headquarters of the SWH was provided by the Scottish Federation of the Women’s Suffrage Societies, of which Dr. Elsie Inglis (credited as founder of the SWH) was also a member.

Elsie Maude Inglis (16 August 1864-26 November 1917) spent her early years in India with her family, until 1876 when they moved to Edinburgh. She studied there and in Paris: in 1886 she attended the Edinburgh School of Medicine for Women, and then she gained the Triple Qualification Licentiateship of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow in 1892. She set up medical practice in Edinburgh in 1894 together with Jessie McGregor. In 1899 Elsie Inglis went on to obtain her MBChM from the University of Edinburgh, which was now open to women. She also lectured on gynaecology in the Edinburgh Medical College for Women, and travelled to Vienna and the U.S.A. to improve her profession. Before World War I she worked mostly in medical care for women and children.

1 For the context of Scottish feminism, the right to vote and civic participation, see Jane McDermid, “School board women and active citizenship in Scotland, 1873-1919,” History of Education 38, no. 2 (2009): 333-347.


3 Also see Costel Coroban, Women at War – Elsie Inglis (1864-1917), 28 October 2010, on-line at http://www.suite101.com/content/women-at-war-elsie-inglis-1864-1917-a301823.

The Scottish Women’s Hospitals was not the first organization of this kind to have travelled in the Balkans. In 1912, during the First Balkan War, an all-women medical unit formed by Mabel St Clair Stobart had travelled to Bulgaria, “for the sole purpose of fully demonstrating my argument that women are capable of undertaking all work in connection with the sick and wounded in warfare.” Mrs. Stobart did not have medical education but instead she had money and connections. Among her unit were women doctors such as Dr. Hutchinson, Dr. Tudor and Dr. Ramsbotham. Later on, Dr. Alice Hutchinson would lead the first medical unit of the Scottish Women’s Hospitals. This first venture of British medical women in Bulgaria lasted for 10 weeks, after which the doctors stayed for a while under the Bulgarian Red Cross. For now though, the impact of their enterprise was small-scaled, as Bulgaria was of rather no interest for the British at that time, a situation which would change during the Great War.

The founder chose the Scottish Women’s Hospitals as the name of their organization with the aim of attracting personnel as well as sponsorships from feminists, but not only them. Even women who did not personally agree with female suffrage were admitted in the SWH as long as they wished to contribute to the war effort. Nevertheless, the latter category could not advance to an officer position in the organization, which also employed the red-white-green standard of the suffragists.

Despite initial cautious expectations, the SWH grew quite quickly. The organization received positive feedback from within the United Kingdom and as well as from the Dominions and the United States of America. It is estimated that approximately 50% of the SWH personnel were women from Scotland, while the rest came mainly from England with


6 Mabel St Clair Stobart, Women and War (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1913), 19.

7 Leneman 1994b, 163.

a few from Ireland, Wales and at least one from Canada, Australia and New Zeeland. There were even working guests from the U.S.A. The one credited with founding this organization, Dr. Elsie Inglis, even proposed to change its name to “British Women’s Hospitals for Foreign Service”, but the Edinburgh committee vetoed this proposal, so the original name was preserved.9

Women joined the SWH for different reasons, but above all to prove their loyalty to the British Empire (Dr. Inglis herself was born in India in 1864, where her father was working for the East India Company). Other reasons were the adventurous and brave spirit of some of them, while the feminists among them were determined to prove that women were useful in a war and deserved the right to vote. Generally, from the journals they left behind we can deduce that they were negatively impressed by the destructions brought by the war, but they still treated both Prisoners of War as well as refugees, besides Entente soldiers of course.10

Initially, Dr. Elsie Inglis offered the services of her organization to the British government but her offer was refused.11 Instead she did receive a positive answer from the allied governments of France12 and Serbia,13 which immediately accepted her generous offer. For Dr. Elsie Inglis, this

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9 Ibid.
10 Ibid, 135-151.
11 Before that moment, her initial offer to serve as a surgeon was declined by the War Office with the reply “My good lady, go home and sit still”, Margot Lawrence, Shadows of Swords: a biography of Elsie Inglis (London: Joseph, 1971), 97-98 apud Ewan et al., 178.
was the beginning of a life-long sympathy for Serbia. Thus, in 1915 the SWH generously declared:

“The work to which our Scottish women have set themselves in relieving distress in Serbia is worthy of the highest traditions throughout the country. … To the Scottish people in particular Serbia makes a strong appeal. Its mountains and glens resemble our own Scottish Highlands, its people have made a similar fight for freedom against tyranny and oppression. It has been rightly termed the ‘Scotland of the East’ and the Scottish people will not fail this brave little nation in her hour of trial.”

In the same spirit, Ishobel Ross, a Scottish nurse from Skye confessed upon her later arrival in Macedonia that:

“It is just like Skye but very parched and dry looking… the Serbs are singing their weird songs very like Gaelic. Even to hear the Serbs talking sounds so like Gaelic.”

The Medical Units of the SWH in Serbia during 1915-1916

The unit of the SWH that travelled to Serbia in December 1914 was the second unit of this kind, the first one being sent to Royaumont in France. This unit sent to the Balkans settled in the strategically important settlement of Kragujevac (Крагујевац), near Belgrade. Although the personnel of this unit were prepared for a 100 beds hospital, they had to take care of 250 beds, only with Austrian prisoners to help them as orderlies. Initially, the Chief Medical Officer of this unit was Dr. Eleanor Soltau, but she fell ill with diphtheria the following months after arriving in Serbia. Meanwhile, back in Britain, Dr. Elsie Inglis was torn between the need of raising funds and the feeling of being needed on the front. Upon hearing of Dr. Eleanor Soltau’s illness she took upon replacing her, also

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14 Apud McDermid 2008, 137.
taking Evelina Haverfield\textsuperscript{16} as her aid, giving her the position of administrator.\textsuperscript{17}

The two arrived in Kragujevac in early May 1915. There, the SWH unit had split into three hospitals: one surgical, one for typhus and one for “relapsing fever” and general diseases. The surgical hospital was headed by Dr. Lilian Chesney, and consisted of a schoolhouse which held 170 mostly full beds. Undoubtedly this was a large number, but given the conditions of the times and the hardships of war, this was not even close to the worse cases. The typhus hospital consisted of a barracks outside of the town, and it too was overcrowded, but it was clean and tidy. The third hospital was outside of the town, it suffered the most regarding proper equipment and it only had a doctor and a sister as medical trained staff, but the Austrian orderlies were doing their job and at least the injured and sick were receiving their medicine and stayed in a clean and fresh environment. Despite its lacks this third hospital had no less than 570 beds.\textsuperscript{18}

In Britain sufficient funds allowed the departure of two new units of the SWH. One left for Troyes in France while another one under Dr. Alice Hutchinson was supposed to arrive in Serbia, but had to wait in Malta for a short time because of the failed assault of the Dardanelles.

Meanwhile in Serbia it was decided that a new hospital for typhus should be founded at Mladenovan, which was an important railway hub. Dr. Elsie Inglis was also urged by Colonel William Hunter, head of the Royal Army Medical Corps advisory mission, to undertake this initiative, and the hospital at Mladenovan was founded under Dr. Beatrice Macgregor. Evelina Haverfield was sent there as an administrator, in order to solve the personality clash between her and Dr. Lilian Chesney. Otherwise, besides small incidents, Dr. Elsie Inglis confessed in the letters to her family that she felt quite happy in Serbia, “and she had fallen in love

\begin{footnotes}
\item[16] After the war, Evelina Haverfield would remain in Serbia and open an orphanage at Bajina Basta, a remote and hardly accessible village in the Drina Gorge. She still rests buried in the cemetery of that village, where there is an old gravestone with her name inscribed on it.
\item[17] Leneman 1998, 39.
\item[18] Ibid., 40.
\end{footnotes}
with the Serbs *en masse*”.\(^{19}\) Elsie Inglis manifested herself as a Victorian character but of course touched by her contemporary times, as she manifested plenty of vision. She was always trying to prevent her nurses and orderlies from the SWH from behaving inappropriately, perhaps seeming quite prude to them, but this does not mean that she was unaware of their merits or that the atmosphere in their hospitals was dull and deplorable. There were days when games and sport events were organized so the staff, patients and soldiers could get to know each other better.\(^{20}\) Also, most British medical women were impressed with the scenery of the Balkans. Dr. Elsie Inglis wondered if “Serbia is a particularly beautiful country, or whether it looks so lovely because of the tragedy of this war”.\(^{21}\)

As the beginning of the summer of 1915 was quite tranquil for Serbia, in July the heads of all the Scottish Hospitals met to discuss their role and it was decided that they should wait for the time and prepare themselves in case any emergencies would occur. A new hospital was opened at Lazarevac under the leadership of Dr. Edith Hollway, who just like Dr. Elsie Inglis, was very sympathetic to the Serbs. Precautions had to be taken to ensure proper hygiene, as infectious diseases were the greatest danger. Even though the whole country was wary because of the Austro-German armies that were gathering at the Northern borders, on 7 September a ceremony in honour of Dr. Elsie Inglis took place in Mladenovac on the occasion of the unveiling of a stone well that was to provide pure water for the settlement. Unfortunately, the autumn would not bring anything good for the Serbians, and the Scottish Women’s Hospitals would as well be affected.\(^{22}\)

Bulgaria joined the Central Powers by signing a secret treaty on 6 September 1915. Everything was set for the invasion of Serbia, which happened the following month, in October 1915 (on 15 October 1915 Bulgaria declared war on Serbia). The British medical women, including Dr. Elsie Inglis, were outraged at their government’s negligence to Serbia, because “they could have sent a British Expeditionary Force up here this summer, it would have made absolutely all the difference”.\(^{23}\) Of course, a

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19 Ibid., 42-43.
20 Ibid., 44.
21 Ibid., 49.
22 Ibid., 44-45.
23 Ibid., 47.
French expedition had been sent, but only in late September, when the invasion was already well underway, so it had to retreat to Thessaloniki, where it stayed during the remainder of the war.

Belgrade fell on 8 October 1915. Four days later Dr. Beatrice Macgregor evacuated her unit from Mladenovac to Kragujevac. The casualties were so great that they had to treat even 400 patients a day. Beds were increased from 125 to 175, and furthermore two new buildings were taken by the SWH and fitted with hospital beds. The last hospital to retreat was the one run by Dr. Hollway at Lazarevac, where the Serbs hoped to make a stand. In 3 days this unit retreated 100 miles away at Krusevac, where they were given the Czar Lazar barracks outbuilding. In the meanwhile, as the Germans secured two new bridges over the Danube and the allies did not manage to arrive to the aid of Serbia, Kragujevac also became threatened. On 23 October 1915 everyone in Kragujevac was ordered to retreat, but Dr. Elsie Inglis remained until the very last moment possible with her patients. She left Kragujevac on 25 October 1915 for Krusevac. It became clear that all hope for keeping Serbia was lost, and the Entente advised a retreat to Scutari through the Montenegrin and Albanian mountains. The members of the Scottish Women’s Hospitals had the alternative of joining the retreat or remaining behind.24

Neither option was an easy one. Those who chose to retreat through the mountains faced dire blizzards and snowstorms, and 100,000 soldiers and civilians perished during it, among which was also a SWH nurse whose cart fell over the edge of a mountain road. The Serbian Colonel Gentič expressed his deepest regret when he heard that Dr. Elsie Inglis and other British medical women (Alice Hutchinson and others) are staying behind. On 7 November 1915 the Germans arrived in Krusevac, and their behavior was very gentle at first.25

The British medical women agreed then to care for the Central Powers wounded. Then, the patients from Dr. Elsie Inglis’ hospital were moved to the Czar Lazar Barrack Hospital, together with the medical staff. When she protested to the Serbian hospital director (major Nicolić) replied that of course the Germans took her hospital, since she “had made it so beautiful”26. At Czar Lazar Dr. Elsie Inglis worked in the main building

24 Ibid., 47-49.
25 Ibid., 49.
while the unit of Dr. Hallway had to establish itself in the magazine, both
treating prisoners of war. The numbers of the wounded coming in were
extreme, in some days reaching 900 or even 1200 while the building was fit
for only 400 beds. There was a great fear of a typhus outbreak because of
the overcrowding and the fact that it was rife in the occupation army.
Nevertheless, Dr. Elsie Inglis took pride in the fact that not even one case of
typhus occurred, thanks to her unit’s sanitization efforts.27

The overall status of the Scottish Women’s Hospitals members was
not too good; after all they were working in Serbian hospital now occupied
by the Germans, without any news from home or any news whatsoever.
Rations and adequate clothes were lacking (food consisted of black sour
bread and bean soup, with small amounts of meat). On 24 November the
Germans were preparing to move from Krusevac (leaving it to the
Austrians and Bulgarians) and they made a seemingly innocent proposal to
Dr. Elsie Inglis by asking her to sign a good behaviour certificate attesting
the fact that the German army treated them well. She refused and had to
face threats, but was eventually allowed to return to her unit. Later, in
Britain, she would learn that the Germans were trying to redeem their four
weeks earlier execution of Edith Cavell28,29

The situation continued to deteriorate throughout the end of 1915.
In December many unit members accepted an offer of repatriation, but it
would take until February 1916 for them to arrive in Britain. Others, such
as Dr. Elsie Inglis and Evelina Haverfield chose instead to remain in the
hospital as long as possible, and patients continued to arrive in
considerable numbers. In February 1916 they were given notice that they
too have to leave, and they arrived home on 29 February 1916, after passing
through Vienna and Zurich. In April 1916 Dr. Elsie Inglis was decorated by
the Crown Prince of Serbia with the Order of the White Eagle, the highest
honour of Serbia. She devoted herself to fundraising, but also found time to
travel to the SWH unit in Corsica, which was treating Serbian refugees.30

27 Ibid., 49-50.
28 Edith Cavell (4 December 1865-12 October 1915) was also a British nurse that activated
mostly in Belgium during World War I. She managed to save about 200 Allied soldiers
escape from occupied Belgium, for which she was court-martialed and executed (being shot
by a firing squad) for treason. Her case was strongly publicized in Britain and North
America,
30 Ibid., 53-56.
The Scottish Women’s Hospitals in Macedonia and Serbia

Initially there was also a SWH French hospital at Troyes (spring 1915) of the Girton & Newnham unit, led by Dr. Laura Sandeman and Dr. Luise McIlroy. When the French Expeditionary Force asked them to join the front in the Balkans at Salonica, Dr. McIlroy led the unit there, while Dr. Sandeman returned to Britain. The unit left Marseilles on 20 October 1915 and the journey took very long because of the danger posed by the German submarines in the Eastern Mediterranean, only arriving at Thessaloniki at the beginning of November 1915.31

Initially they would be joined in Thessaloniki by the unit of Dr. Mary Blair, but as the Macedonian front narrowed itself instead of widening, as previously expected, it was arranged that Dr. Mary Blair’s unit would establish a hospital in Corsica, for the refugees fleeing from the Balkans. They would arrive in Corsica in the morning of the Christmas day of 1915. Meanwhile, the Dr. McIlroy’s unit from Thessaloniki set up a hospital in Guevgheli. There they were given a silkworm factory, but on 4 December orders were issued to evacuate Guevgheli, to the sadness of the British medical women who admired “that lovely countryside where we Scots felt so much at home.”32

Back in Thessaloniki, although the hospital received some criticism from the SWH committee commissioners33 present there, it did receive very important surgery cases, and projectile wounds could be very well handled too because of the unit’s X-ray equipment, which was taken care of by Mrs. Edith Stoney. Although patients arrived at the hospital 24 to 48 hours after sustaining their injuries, which meant that some cases presented sepsis, Dr. McIlroy’s hospital experienced lower illness incidence than the surrounding hospitals of the Red Cross (fact which the SWH commissioner attributed to the patients’ excellent diet).34

In mid-January 1917 the news that British War Office handed over the Dr. McIlroy’s Girton & Newnham unit to the Serbs in order to make up the 7000 hospital beds promised to them came as a shock. First, Dr. McIlroy

31 Ibid., 37.
32 Apud Leneman 1994a, 46.
33 The presence of the SWH commissioners, Dr. Marian Erskine and Miss Agneta Beauchamp, in Thessaloniki is broadly discussed infra, in the second part of this subchapter.
34 Leneman 1994a, 92.
believed that the French expedition, headed by General Routto, decided to give them up, while General Routto in his own turn was offended as he thought that the unit members asked for the transfer themselves. The argument was settled only in March 1917 when the Dr. McIlroy’s Girton & Newnham unit was returned to the French. Now the problem was to try and move the unit, as the place was no longer salubrious after so many months of the hospital’s activity. In August 1917 there was a great fire in Thessaloniki, but Dr. McIlroy’s hospital was saved by a timely change in the wind’s direction. During September–mid-October 1917 Dr. McIlroy was on leave to Edinburgh, where she reported to a Committee meeting that her unit was given a new location, which would probably be occupied in December. The hospital was also extended from 300 to 500 beds at the request of the French military authority, while the inauguration of an orthopaedic department was also possible thanks to funds coming in from Calcutta. That is why it was named the Calcutta Orthopaedic Centre. Its radiographer would be Mrs. Edith Stoney. 35

In the meanwhile, back in Thessaloniki, the unit’s hospital was flooded. Lilian Laloe, the administrator, was at least glad that they had few patients, and that this even prompted General Routte to hurry the unit’s transfer. The move to the new hospital site occurred in January 1918, and much of the spring was dedicated to setting up the new camp and the Calcutta Orthopaedic Centre. In June 1918 the unit hosted a meeting of the British Army Medical Society although there were plenty of surgery-requiring patients, and at the beginning of July 22 of the unit members were awarded Serbian decorations. The King of Greece visited the unit on 20 July 1918, and “he liked the Hospital very much”.36

In autumn 1918, when the armistice with Bulgaria was signed, Dr. McIlroy’s Girton & Newnham unit was the only one to remain in Thessaloniki for the moment. Ruth Conway, one of the unit members wrote to her family: “You never saw such a town in all your life…I wonder if any nation in the world is unrepresented. I’ve not seen an Eskimo or a Pigmy - & I’m uncertain about Australian aborigines – but I can’t imagine any others that aren’t here”. Even “the Zionists had thanksgiving procession [in response to the Balfour Declaration] – a little forest of flags held up the traffic. I never saw anything like it – & the faces of those Jews – ye gods this

36 Ibid., 131-132, 148, 154-155.
is a place.”37 On 11 October 1918 Lilian Laloe, the administrator, noted that there are still patients coming in, and orthopaedic cases too. Unfortunately, the next day a whirlwind would hit the hospital: two huts were moved, some tents were toppled completely while some brick walls fell in. This even kept the personnel busy for a while but they were all wondering what would happen to the hospital as the war drew to an end. In December 1918 the Committee discussed the situation of the unit and it was decided that it should transform into an “Elsie Inglis Memorial Hospital” in Belgrade. Dr. McIlroy had to travel to Belgrade together with Dr. Gillian Ward at the end of January, while with the hospital in Thessaloniki remained Dr. Mary McNeill, as patients ill with tuberculosis, chronic bronchitis, influenza and malaria came from retreating French units, in addition to their 120 orthopaedic patients.38

Dr. McIlroy succeeded in finding a suitable building in Belgrade by the middle of May 1919, but there would be difficulties in moving all the equipment from Thessaloniki to Belgrade. A Scottish Women’s Camp would also be founded outside the city at Avala. Dr. Ruth Conway writes how there would be a lot to do in Belgrade. A big shock was the resignation of Dr. McIlroy, which she carried on with in July 1919 despite the Committee offering her a salary increase. Her position would be taken by Dr. Isabel Emslie from the American SWH unit in Vranje (Vranya) (see the end of this chapter).39

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After her return from occupied Serbia, Dr. Elsie Inglis also encouraged fundraising in the United States of America, where she sent the charismatic SWH office worker Kathleen Burke. Mrs. Burke would soon become known as the “thousand dollars a day girl”, as her efforts in the United States and Canada brought in about a quarter of all the funds of the SWH (sic!).40 This allowed for the sending of a new SWH unit to Macedonia, which was called the “America unit” in honor of the beneficence of those that sponsored it.41

37 Apud Leneman 1994a, 178.
38 Ibid., 178-179, 191-192.
39 Ibid., 196-198.
40 Her goal was to raise £10,000. Ibid., 58.
41 Ibid., 54.
On 3 August 1916 the personnel of the America unit together with their transport column (ambulance service, headed by Mrs. Harley) started their naval journey to Thessaloniki. When they arrived (13 August 1916) there a change of plans occurred, as they were sent closer to the front, to Arnissa (known as Ostrovo in Bulgarian). On 17 August Dr. Agnes Bennett, the Chief Medical Officer (leader of the unit – administrator was Mrs. Florence Jack), visited the site, declaring that it is “a picturesque spot besides a large lake [Lake Vegoritis – ed.] with rather barren hills all around”.

Eventually, as the location was too close to the front, the SWH members were initially settled outside Thessaloniki at Mikra Bay. On 7 September 1916 the American unit and its transport column would send a joint advance party towards Arnissa. Unfortunately this advance party would be struck by malaria, of which they informed their base at Mikra by a telegram that never arrived. Starting with 12 September 1916 those at Arnissa had to bear the distress caused by the battle raging on at nearby Kelli ridge (called Gornichevo in Bulgarian). Dr. Agnes Bennett was given until 19 September 1916 to open her hospital, while Mrs. Harley had to face a small revolt of her drivers, who preferred not to listen to her advice of not driving during the night.

The hospital at Arnissa was indeed very close to the front and it received the worst cases. Dr. Agnes Bennett wrote on 25 September that: “We now have 160 cases, all bad and it is terribly hard work, 10 of the staff are hors de combat, and we can only just keep going, but we can’t refuse these poor mangled things, it is all too terrible. I think the compound fractures are the worst, we try to save them but there have been 10 amputations in two days and others must come. Those who don’t die seem to get on well and are very happy, indeed they are most appreciative and it is such a pleasure to have to deal with them.”

The battle now moved to the Kajmakčalan peak, where the Serbs of the 3rd Royal Serbian Army difficulty pushed back the Bulgarians in battles raging from 19 to 30 September 1916. This victory also inspired and boosted the morale of Dr. Agnes Bennett’s unit, which during its first 8 weeks admitted no less than

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42 Apud Ibid., 72.
43 Ibid., 72.
44 Ibid., 86.
45 Apud Ibid., 87.
523 patients, of who 60 unfortunately succumbed to their wounds. There was even the tragic case of Olive Smith, the masseuse of the unit, who passed away because of the malaria in the evening of 5 October 1916. She was taken to Thessaloniki for burial, where Dr. Bennett made the acquaintance of Colonel Sondermayer and the Serbian Crown Prince (which she describes as “a charming fellow”).

Here Dr. Agnes Bennett also greeted Dr. Marian Erskine and Miss Agneta Beauchamp, commissioners from the Headquarters Committee, which came to Thessaloniki to inspect both Dr. Bennett’s unit and Mrs. Harley’s transport column (“Flying Column”) but also the nearby Girton & Newham Unit. Eventually, with the Committee’s consent they released Mrs. Harley from service (officially she actually resigned, but this was not her initiative), and joined the “Flying Column” to Dr. Agnes Bennett’s unit. On 11 December the French leadership of the Allied front in Macedonia suspended operations, but Monastir (Bitolia) had to be kept at all cost. Noticing that the injured have to suffer a long and tiring road to the nearest railway hub, Dr. Agnes Bennett proposed that a hospital of about 40 beds is set up in Dobraveni, near Monastir, and her idea was accepted by both Miss Agneta Beauchamp and by Colonel Sondermayer.

Now a conflict broke out between Dr. Agnes Bennett and Miss Agneta Beauchamp, because the latter proposed the splitting of Dr. Bennett’s unit in two halves, giving one to the leadership of Dr. Alice Hutchinson. This was just after Mrs. Agneta Beauchamp alienated herself of Dr. McIlroy’s Girton & Newnham unit too, over the latter’s desire to remain attached to the French army and not to join the Serbians. Eventually Mrs. Agneta Beauchamp resigned from the Committee and joined the Red Cross in Thessaloniki.

In the meanwhile the British medical women from Arnissa (Ostrovo) took turns of six weeks in working at Dobraveni. They all were

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46 In 1906 Colonel Dr. Sondermayer was Chief of the Medical Division of the War Ministry of Serbia and plenipotentiary delegate of the King of Serbia to Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded in Armies in the Field (6 July).
47 Leneman 1994a, 88.
48 Mrs. Harley went to Bitolia (Monastir) where she undertook relief work. On 8 March 1917 while she was in her room with her daughter the next house was bombed by a shell. Unfortunately, shrapnel came through the window and caused Mrs. Harley’s death, hitting her in the head.
49 Leneman 1994a, 100-101.
50 Ibid., 103-104.
looking forward for it, as the scenery was enjoyable, despite the harsh winter. There were Russian, Serbian and Italian patients, and all of them were badly injured. Ishobel Ross and other orderlies would walk up to the trenches and bury as many of the Bulgarian victims as possible. On 11 February came the good news of the decoration of Dr. Cooper by the Russians, to which Dr. Agnes Bennet added: “I am so pleased that they are not getting all the recognition on the Dobrudja side!”\(^{51}\) (sic!). Still, as the months passed, morale was still low because there was little work to be done in Arnissa (Ostrovo). Some of the unit members started doing relief work for the civilians in the nearby villages, some requested to be allowed to return home earlier while others had to return because of their sickness (malaria). Sister Florence Caton, one of the unit members, had to be operated for appendicitis but unfortunately it was too late, as it had already become gangrenous. Her death was much regretted by her fellow medical women, who regarded her as kind and hard-working.\(^{52}\)

In order to alleviate the situation of the American unit at Arnissa (Ostrovo) they were now allowed to take in medical case, besides surgical ones, as usual, and that was because malaria had spread direly. Also, they could now bring in local civilian patients, the hospital becoming full to almost too small. There was a change in leadership since Dr. Agnes Bennett herself became too ill with malaria and had to return to Britain. The new CMO was Dr. Mary Clementina de Garis, an Australian, and former junior doctor, who was thus promoted. Their transport (ambulance) unit also remained without a leader since the departure of Miss Bedford. The Committee decided the transport unit should again be separated from the American unit and leadership was given to Kathleen Dillon, who moved the transport unit to Jelak (Yelak). During the winter of 1917-1918 the patient count at Arnissa (Ostrovo) increased from 120 to about 170 at any given moment, but tending to malaria patients was not exactly what the personnel had in mind when they joined a field hospital. Morale was dropping again due to idleness when a hurricane struck the hospital on 25 February 1918. Even though it pretty much levelled the hospital tents, in only three days the unit was admitting 5 new patients, and 40 came in by the middle of March.\(^{53}\)

\(^{51}\) Ibid., 104.

\(^{52}\) Ibid., 118-120.

\(^{53}\) Ibid., 144-148.
Dr. de Garis was described by one of her Serbian patients, Sergeant Major Milan Lubuvić:

“Miss Dr de Garis is a woman of medium build, physically fairly developed, energetic and of serious look. Her every look, her every step is of great importance and significance…” After lunch there should be rest for her, but being brave among the braves, she avoids it and with her book on her table and knitting in her hands, she reads her book and knits her socks. She does two works in one and the same time. If there is urgent case for an operation, which she always performs with skill, alertness and success, she immediately leaves her book and drops her knitting going quickly to the operating theatre. If new patient comes to the hospital she never lets him wait 5 minutes unless she examines him.”54

But he also praised the work of Sister Sander, who “knows the Serbs and the thorny path through which they have gone through and that is why she can speak to Serbian patient heart to heart.”55 Dr. de Garis had to leave the American unit at Arnissa (Ostrovo) in September 1917 (she had offered her resignation earlier but eventually decided to bear through the malaria season, the summer). The new appointed CMO was Isabel Elmsie, who previously worked in the Girton & Newnham unit since Troyes, and was only in her late twenties.56

In 1918 they were joined by the Dr. Elsie Inglis unit (see infra). Meanwhile, the Flying Column of Mrs. Kathleen Dillon at Jelak (Yelak) were performing admirably, but had to be more careful than usual, as the Austrians and Bulgarians started shelling their route. Still, on 29 September the armistice was signed with Bulgaria at Thessaloniki. Now both the American medical unit of Dr. Isabel Elmsie and the transport column of Kathleen Dillon could move deeper into Serbia. The latter even arrived in Belgrade, where the two commandants received the Order of St. Sava, while the rest of the transport unit members were awarded the Gold Medal for Zealous Service. The Commander-in-Chief of the 1st Army even mention their dangerous excursions from Kumanovo to Vranje (Vranya).

54 Apud Leneman 1994a, 156.
55 Ibid.
56 Ibid, 158-159.
The America unit of Dr. Isabel Elmsie left for Vranje (Vranya) on 23 October 1918, where their services were much needed, especially because of the Spanish influenza that was now spreading. In Vranje (Vranya) they were given the imposing barracks building to turn into a hospital, but it proved to be too small for all the patients. The death rate was quite high, amounting to 10 a day, but at least the doctors had enough supplies, as Mrs. Green, the unit’s administrator, was thoughtful enough to procure them while in Thessaloniki. Besides local civilian population they also accepted Austrian and Bulgarian prisoners, of which the sisters confessed that they rather looked like skeletons than humans, but the Serbians did not appreciate this attitude.57

As there was not much work left for the transport unit of Mrs. Kathleen Dillon, they were dismissed in March 1919 and returned home. Of course, they could have returned earlier, but the Serbian government desired them to stay in order to distract the homesickness of the Serbian army. In the same month the Committee decided to maintain Dr. Isabel Elmsie’s American unit, since they received righteous reports that there is still much work to be done, as typhus and influenza were rife. At the beginning of May 1918 the hospital was overcrowded, and hundreds of patients arrived every day. Despite the needs of Vranje (Vranja), Dr. Isabel Elmsie received a telegram from the Committee that she was supposed to close her hospital and become Commanding Medical Officer of Belgrade’s Elsie Inglis hospital in September 1919. Of course, she did not receive the news too well, as there wasn’t that great a need of a SWH unit in Belgrade as it was in the case of Vranje (Vranya), but it is possible that the Committee preferred the hospital named after their hero to be situated in the Capital where everyone could see it. It would have also hurt the Serb’s feelings to withdraw from the country. Even so, the Elsie Inglis hospital in Belgrade was disbanded in April-March 1920, after the Committee had realized their mistake in closing the one in Vranje (Vranya).58

57 Ibid., 174-175, 189.
58 Ibid., 190, 195-201.
The Medical Unit of Dr. Elsie Inglis in Dobruja

The London sub-committee of the SWH and consequently the NUWSS also were responsible for organizing “this last adventure for the Serbian Army.” Still, the members of the sub-committee were not really enthusiasts for this effort of sending abroad a new unit (probably fearing the overextension of the organization), so they conditioned the unit’s departure by it being led by Dr. Elsie Inglis. When she received the news, at first she wanted to quit the SWH out of principle, expressing her sadness to hear that in London they cared more about politics than whether the Serbs needed help. On this occasion, she also reminded the sub-committee that the women in the SWH often suffered deprivations because of the sub-committee’s tardiness in taking decisions. Even more, Dr. Inglis showed that she was not conditioned by her adhesion to the London committee, and so she might as well join the Serbs through a different organization (the Serbian Relief Fund). It is remarkable that from her correspondence it can be deduced that she never thought about the effect of her parting from the SWH would have on the public. It is likely that this was the main concern of the sub-committee in London, as in its correspondence it is said that the press would have enjoyed such a fiasco, and as a result the general public might have understood that when women do not obtain what they want in the smallest detail, they threaten to resign. This would have been against the interests of the NUWSS.

Eventually a compromise was reached and the London Unit of Dr. Elsie Inglis (which she led as Chief Medical Officer) was to leave for Russia in order to join the Serbian Volunteers Divisions. The London sub-committee provided the funding for the medical equipment and its

59 Geographically, Dobruja (nowadays composed of Northern Dobruja, which belongs to Romania – i.e the Constanța and Tulcea counties –, and Southern Dobruja – i.e. the Tolbukhin and Silistra provinces –, which belong to Bulgaria) is included in the Balkan Peninsula. At the beginning of World War I, the whole Dobruja belonged to the Kingdom of Romania, according to the Treaty of Bucharest of 10 August 1913, that ended the Second Balkan War. The venture of the Scottish Women’s Hospitals unit of Dr. Elsie Inglis took place in nowadays Constanța and Tulcea counties. Also see Costel Coroban, “The Scottish Women’s Hospitals in Romania during World War I,” Valahian Journal of History 14 (Winter 2010): 53-69; Costel Coroban, Women at War – Scottish Nurses in World War I on the Eastern Front, 21 October 2010, on-line at http://www.suite101.com/content/women-at-war--scottish-nurses-in-world-war-i-a299395 .

60 Apud McDermid 2008, 135-151.

61 Leneman 1994a, 59-60.
maintenance, while the headquarters in Edinburgh provided the salaries. This joint financial control meant that there would be future misunderstandings and frictions between the two institutions of the SWH, but it is important that eventually Dr. Inglis’s unit could follow its mission. The unit had to travel via the Archangelsk-Odessa route because the Dardanelles were closed for Entente ships, so the only available route to Romania was by train from Northern Russia.62

The unit consisted of 76 women, meaning generalist doctors, one radiologist, a pharmacist, 17 nurses, 16 orderlies, cooks and laundresses, plus a transport sub-unit of drivers, ambulances, cars and trucks. They all set sail together with 36 Serbian officers and soldiers on the 11th of September 1916 (all dates are in the Gregorian calendar, the Julian equivalent is 13 days earlier). At their arrival in Archangelsk they received messages from the Serbian Volunteers Divisions asking them to arrive in Odessa as soon as possible.63 The news from Romania was not good as the Germans brought 8 divisions and almost occupied the Bucharest-Constanța railroad, while also causing heavy losses to the Entente. There were only 4,000 Serbs surviving out of 14,000 so Dr. Inglis telegraphed to London asking for more medical supplies for the wounded.64

The unit of Dr. Elsie Inglis arrived in Odessa on the 21st of September 1916. To their surprise, the Scottish women were described in the local press as “healthy manly women, sunburnt and ready for anything.”65 The Russian authorities and the other British subjects in Odessa received them well. Also, Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna, the aunt of Czar Nicholas II, invited them for a gala evening at the theater, and offered them advice to prepare warm, thick clothes in preparation for the following winter.66

On the 24th of September they left Odessa for Medgidia, where the Russian headquarters were in Dobruja. The train trip to Reni, although in a normal day should have lasted six hours, took three days and four nights. At their arrival in Reni at 6:30 in the morning, one of the nurses, Yvonne Fitzroy, described the view as similar to the Scottish Lowlands. They finally arrived in Medgidia on the 30th of September in the evening (at 11:00 p.m.),

62 Ibid., 73-74.
63 McDermid 2008, 140.
64 Leneman 1994a, 74.
65 Apud McDermid 2008, 140.
66 Ibid., 140.
where Dr. Elsie Inglis was given a barrack to turn into a campaign hospital, while 12 members of the unit plus the transport sub-unit, were sent to Bülbul Mic (mostly appears as Bul-Bul Mic in the diaries of the Scottish medical women, today the village Ciocârlia de Jos, Constanța County) under Dr. Chesney to establish another hospital closer to the front. The first two days in Medgidia meant cleaning the barrack to proper hospital hygiene standards, while the personnel set up tents to sleep in. The same Yvonne Fitzroy was wondering in her journal what it would be like to be near a dying man, but she soon found out that when wounded were pouring in from the battlefield there was too much to do and little time for thinking. When the situation returned to normal everybody took advantage of the break and accepted the proximity of death as a daily routine, as she bravely tells us in her journal. The same situation is described by Katherine Hodges, who looking back to this extraordinary experience, tells us that the chaos of the war in Romania made the women, who were unfamiliar with it, adapt quickly. Hard and continuous work meant that nobody took the time to think too much or to assess the tragedy of the situation. The bad news from the front and the increasing numbers of wounded caused a serious drop in morale, but what kept the Scottish women going was the correspondence they received from their families.67

The journal of Miss Yvonne Fitzroy also mentions the existence in Medgidia of a unit of the Russian Red Cross. Generally the soldiers agreed that the Scottish nurses were more professional and offered better treatment, but this does not mean, for example, that patients did not sleep on hay mattresses on the floor even in the Scottish women’s hospital. And even though they were all women they still accepted the help of men, especially using a Serbian soldier whom they called “Chris” for translation. Miss Fitzroy remarks in her diary that he was rather tall and that he really did not appreciate having to explain to his fellow patients “the mysteries of (forgive me) a British bedpan.”68 He would take quite a few moments to detach himself from his other occupations in order to explain to the other soldiers that they would sadly have to lose a limb, or that they should not eat certain thing if their stomach was injured. Of course, nobody envied Chris his role, but he was extremely useful to the Scottish women, who also

67 Leneman 1994a, 76-77.
68 Yvonne Fitzroy, With the Scottish Nurses in Roumania (London: John Murray Albermarle Street, 1918), 37.
appreciated the help of the Russians, even though it took even longer for them to offer a helping hand.\footnote{Ibid., 37-38.}

The daily schedule of the Scottish medical women in Dobruja is very interesting, and we are lucky that the same Yvonne Fitzroy described it in her journal: waking up at 6:00 a.m.; breakfast at 7:00 a.m.; at 7:30 a.m. the roster was called and tents were inspected; 7:45 a.m. meant the beginning of the working day; at 11:30 a.m. a snack was served, followed by lunch at 12:30 p.m.; tea was served between 3:15-4:00 p.m. and dinner at 8:00 p.m. The women could take up to 3 hours off every day, but this of course depended on the number of patients in their care.\footnote{Ibid., 42.}

Meanwhile, at Ciocârlia de Jos, initially there was no intense activity, until the 14\textsuperscript{th} of October when bombardments reached as far as the railway near Medgidia. Ysabel Birckbeck, the driver of one of the ambulances, tells us how, because of the bombardments, the passengers asked her to turn around, but to no avail, as the bombs were falling from all directions as enemy aviation often flew far beyond the front line. Mary Milne, the cook of the Scottish women, also complained that doing her job was hard near falling bombs and in a rain of shrapnel. Still in Ciocârlia de Jos, Ethel Moir has left a record telling us that the campaign hospital must benefit from some kind of special protection, since it was untouched by the very frequent bombardments. Nevertheless, following the retreat of the front line northwards, this hospital of Dr. Chesney also had to follow, while in Medgidia the bombardments became the norm of the day.\footnote{Leneman 1994a, 78-80.}

On the 21\textsuperscript{st} of October Ciocârlia de Jos was abandoned while burning, and a severe storm also saddened the day. The conditions of retreat were even worse than those of war, as rain was making traveling difficult, while there was a lack of food to eat and shelter to sleep in. An unpleasant incident happened when the truck in which Lois Turner and Margaret Fawcett traveled, crashed upside down because the driver had allowed himself to indulge in too much alcohol. Because the German-Austro-Bulgarian forces were getting closer everything was done in extreme haste. More so, on 26 October the Scottish women under Dr. Chesney had to wake up at 5:00 a.m. and begin retreating. The next day they reached the pontoon bridge at Isaccea and crossed the Danube into the
Russian Empire, but their transport (ambulance) sub-unit faced even more problems because of the total lack of roads so that they even had to abandon a broken ambulance.\footnote{Ibid.}

In all this chaos of retreat, Dr. Elsie Inglis sought to remain in Medgidia as long as possible. Even though the retreat order imposed a general evacuation at 5:30 a.m. she was still considering waiting even after 6 more hours. At 2:00 p.m. the Scottish women attended religious service, while more and more refugees and retreating soldiers could be seen on the roads. Eventually, in the afternoon, the sickest patients (suffering from dysentery) in Dr. Elsie’s hospital were taken by train, so at least she could also leave in a military staff car, while 5 of the nurses used the ambulance, and another 7 were taken in a Russian truck together with the hospital’s medical equipment.\footnote{Ibid., 80.}

The most impressive accounts are related to the retreat from Dobruja:

“It was a pretty heart-breaking sight to watch the people stripping their little houses and packing what they could into some tiny cart. The women sobbing, and the men dogged and inert. Here and there on the road, of course, there were moments of panic in which they lost all self control. Men, at the cry that the Bulgars were coming, dragged women and children out of carts so as to make good their own escape, and would even in their terror fling their own babies down on the roadside when these hampered them... It is not a pretty sight, but it’s a very fine lesson.”\footnote{Fitzoy, 51.}

Evelina Haverfield added that:

“Streams of troops, refugees, wagons, guns and animals of all sorts were trailing along all day, and as darkness fell all converged on Caramurat (Mihail Kogalniceanu); the streets of rather muddy lanes between houses soon became one mass of terrified humanity screaming, crying and cursing, cars and
scared animals adding to the noise: scenes of terror and despair never to be forgotten.”\textsuperscript{75} This could not have led to the Romanian army being perceived positively, and this is shown in a report of lorry driver Ysabel Birkbeck: “We have none of us a thing other that what we stand up in, and find the manicured nails of the Roumanian officers very irritating – but it’s difficult to look one’s best after a retreat […] Their [the Russians’] wish is now that the Roumanians had joined in the fight against them…”\textsuperscript{76}.

As we have seen, the retreat of the Scottish medical women from Dobruja was not done in a concerted way, but rather chaotically, as was the case of the whole population and even some armed forces. Of course, they would soon reunite in Brăila, Galați and Ismail. To sum up, their medical mission in Dobruja did not last more than 3 weeks, but this did not prevent the Scottish women setting up other campaign hospitals.

The ambulance sub-unit ended up in Brăila, and a member of it, Katherine Hodges, tells us how “Out of all that terror and anguish and chaos, we suddenly emerged into an open flower bedded garden place in the centre of the city with gay restaurants and brilliantly lit shops all around.”\textsuperscript{77} The crowds greeted them with cheers and flowers, which was quite incomprehensible to the Scottish medical women, who were amazed how people could ignore the horrors happening just across the Danube.\textsuperscript{78}

The group led by Dr. Elsie Inglis was reunited in Galați and offered their professionalism in a Romanian hospital, while the whole town was curious whether the Russians would deploy reinforcements to recapture Dobruja. The wounded began pouring in by tens and hundreds in Brăila, so Dr. Inglis instructed her subordinates from the transport sub-unit who were already there to try their best to alleviate the situation. Eventually, the flow of wounded and refugees returned to a more manageable volume, and the situation was under control again.\textsuperscript{79}

\textsuperscript{75} Cahill, 88.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., 82.
\textsuperscript{77} Apud Leneman 1994a, 81.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid., 81-82.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., 81-83.
The group led by Dr. Chesney arrived in Ismail where a small campaign hospital was opened. They were glad to accept the help of a young Serbian doctor, whose name remains unknown unfortunately. The Scottish nurses found Ismail “a pretty deadly hole, with no decent shops, no cigarettes, and no Turkish Delight – the only things that made life worth living when we first arrived.”80 Unfortunately, this was the place where one of the nurses, Evelina Haverfield, suffered a nervous breakdown, which came as a consequence of the hard conditions they had to endure. Because of these conditions, the other Scottish medical women suffered a mild form of dysentery, but this was not such a big problem.81

In March 1917 Prince Pavel Dolgorukov of Russia, who was in command in the Reni area, made a surprise visit to Dr. Elsie Inglis and decorated all the unit members and some of the patients that took place in the Dobrujan retreat with St. George’s Medal for “bravery under fire.”82 This was the same decoration that was also awarded to soldiers, a fact which raised the British medical women’s spirit.

Epilogue

As we have seen, in Romania and Russia the circumstances on the Eastern Front (the Bolshevik revolution) would force the return of the Scottish women to Great Britain. Although Dr. Elsie Inglis wished her medical unit to continue caring for the Serbian Volunteer Division, this was impossible considering her poor health. Having arrived in Newcastle Upon Tyne on the 25th of November 1917, she passed away the next day, not before putting on her uniform, decoration and saying goodbye properly to her protégés, the Serbian soldiers.

At the memorial service held in Westminster Abbey she was honoured by members of the cabinet, diplomats of the Foreign Office, leaders of the Red Cross and from the Army Medical Services, representatives of the embassies of France, Italy, Russia, delegates of Serbia, Belgium and Romania, alongside high clergy and officers and other distinguished personalities. The Scots have given her name to a hospital in Edinburgh ever since 1925, and so her example of philanthropy should not

80 Apud Ibid., 83.
81 Ibid., 83-84.
82 Ibid., 112.
be forgotten in Romania either, because the Scottish Women’s Hospitals proved their bravery, courage and devotion not only in Dobruja, but also in France, Italy and in the Balkans. In Serbia people would call her British medical women vilas (good fairies), and would build monuments in their honour.

In January 1918, the London unit of the Scottish Woman’s Hospitals was renamed the “Elsie Inglis” unit and travelled to Macedonia and Serbia to help the Serbs, where they remained until March 1920, when the SWH

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83 See the exhortation of I. Rudici, “In jurul solemnitatii de la Medgidia [Regarding the solemn events of Medgidia]”, Marea Neagra [The Black Sea] 9 (27 September 1926): 1 (originally in Romanian):

“We have thus fulfilled a moral duty, a holy duty, the gratitude for a people who were brother in arms with us on the bloody and fiery fields of Dobrogea. Gratitude is the flower of the gifts which God bestowed upon the Romanian people. Still an episode was forgotten about the heroic struggles of the Serbian division, that during the fierce battles of Dobrogea, a medical ambulance was attached to them, admirably organized and equipped by Scottish women.

Which of us, who witnessed this, does not remember the absolute devotion and deeds of unrelenting courage of these young girls and ladies dressed in military outfits?

There were times when this ambulance, on the front line, under the aegis of the Red Cross, which was often ignored by the enemy, under rains of bullets, has gathered the injured in order to help them and to deliver them to the Medgidia hospital, also run by these Scottish ladies.

Through the devotion and heroic acts of these noble daughters of Albion, thousands of young lives of Serbians, Romanians and Russians were saved from certain death. An episode of this magnitude must not be forgotten, it cannot be forgotten.

If in Medgidia the sublime heroism of the sons of the Serbian people was glorified in an impressive event, it is a great deed.

But during this glorification also representatives of the Scottish women should have been mentioned, as their sacrifice has surpassed military heroism. The socket of the monument that dominates Medgidia should glorify in words, besides the heroism of the Serbian division, also the heroic devotion of the Scottish women. Because the organizers overlooked these facts, their glorification has not been done.

Let us make right this involuntary forgetfulness and let us send the Scottish women our offering of gratitude and the assurance of our eternal admiration and love”.

See also Aurelia Lăpușan and Ștefan Lăpușan, Medgidia-Carasu (Constanța: Muntenia Press, 1996), 175-178; which further points to Dacia no. 196 (4 September 1926) and no. 199 (10 September 1926), Dobrogea Jună [Young Dobruja] (4 September 1926), 1 and Dobrogea Jună [Young Dobruja] (8 September 1926), 1. Courtesy for helping me in my research also goes to Col. (r) Remus Macovei, the president of the National Association for Heroes’ Memory in Constanța, Romania.


84 Leneman 1994a, 7.

85 Bogoeva Sedlar, 232.
officially ended its activities in Serbia, as we have seen.\textsuperscript{86} The autumn of 1918 would find the “Elsie Inglis” unit (with Dr. Annette Benson and later Dr. Rendel as Commanding Medical Officer) near Skopje, after leaving Verbliani in the Macedonian hinterland, from where it advanced to Sarajevo in December 1918-January 1919, although the dissolution of the London Committee of the SWH somewhat slowed them down.\textsuperscript{87}

Regarding the 1\textsuperscript{st} Serbian Volunteers’ Division, although the military operations together with the Romanians and Russians in Dobruja meant participating in a decimation of Entente troops, at least, after this tragic episode, nobody could ever doubt them again. In Odessa, a Russian officer even confessed to Dr. Elsie Inglis that they “\textit{were doubtful about these Austrian Serbs at first, but no one doubts them now}.”\textsuperscript{88}

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ROMANIANS AND THE NOBEL PRIZES FOR SCIENCE AND LITERATURE

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Abstract:
There is much to be said about the Nobel Prizes. Numerous pages are written each year to promote, describe, analyze and criticize the prizes, their initiator and their evolution since 1901. The purpose of this study is to bring back to light from the dust of the archives information about those Romanians who were ahead of their times through their outstanding thinking and understanding of the world. Little has been written about those nominated, since it has been considered more relevant to focus on the winners. There were plentiful creative minds who only needed an opportunity to be known to the world. Famous Romanian names show up from the archives and the nomination database provided by the Nobel Institution and enable us to get a broad perspective of the nominators and the nominees. Ironically, as in the case of the Nobel Peace Prize, most of those who genuinely had a chance to win were never nominated.

Rezumat:
Articolul de față vine să continue prezentarea despre Premiile Nobel pentru Pace publicată în numărul anterior al acestei reviste. Daca până astăzi nu există nici un laureat român al Premiului pentru Pace, în domeniul medicinei și literaturii românilor au fost mai norocoși. Cercetările medicale efectuate de minți românești în laboratoare performante puse la dispoziție de universități străine au condus la obținerea mult răvănitului Premiu Nobel. Despre românii care s-au adăugat astfel elitei mondiale a creierelor s-a scris destul de mult. Puține informații există însă despre cei nominalizați pentru aceste prestigioase Premii, dar care n-au avut șansa de a fi selectați. Meritele lor, așa cum au fost ele scoase în evidență de scrisorile de nominalizare, s-au adăugat voluminoaselor dosare existente în arhivele Institutului Nobel, îngroșând rândurile celor care au aspirat
cândva la recunoaștere științifică sau literară. Nume extrem de cunoscute românilor se prezinta acum dintr-o noua perspectivă, aceea de nominalizat pentru unul dintre cele mai prestigioase premii din lume.

**Key words**: Romanians; Nobel Prizes; nominations; Literature; Science.

As mentioned in a previous article⁠¹, there is much to be said about the Nobel Prizes. A lot of pages are written each year to promote, describe, analyze and criticize the prizes, their initiator and their evolution since 1901. The purpose of this study is to bring to light from the dust of the archives information about those Romanians who were ahead of their times through their way of thinking and understanding of the world. Little has been written about those nominated, since it was considered more relevant to focus on the winners. Their works were considered groundbreaking by the Nobel Committee in Stockholm who awarded them the Prize. There is a significant list of names nominated for their discoveries in Physiology or Medicine or the quality of their literature. The few lucky won the Prize, a few ended on the short list, while others were “ignored” even though their discoveries were of considerable importance and could match any other researchers or writers in the world.

Romanians do not have many Nobel Prize winners and in order to understand their association with such a prestigious award a good start is to take a look at those nominated. There were plenty creative minds who only needed an opportunity to be known to the world. Romanian scientists, authors and politicians of the past have tried to promote their elite. The big number of letters received every year by the Nobel Committee are a proof of their increasing involvement. Famous Romanian names show up from the archives and the nomination database provided by the Nobel Institution enable us to get a broad image of the nominators and the nominees. Nevertheless, as in the case of the Nobel Peace Prize, most of those who genuinely had a chance to win were never nominated.

Researchers such as Constantin Levaditi², Victor Babeș³ and Ioan Cantacuzino⁴ were nominated for the Nobel Prize while Nicolae Paulescu⁵,

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² Constantin Levaditi (1874-1953) Romanian microbiologist, physician and researcher, naturalized in France. Honorary member of the Romanian Academy and member of the
E. Juvara, George Marinescu, Mina Minovici and Alexandru Obregia are to be found among those signing recommendation letters.

French Academy of Medicine, research assistant at the Institute Pasteur in Paris. Levaditi is one of the founders of modern infra-microbiology, a special value having his studies of polymorphic erythema, syphilis, polio, encephalitis, vaccino-and chemotherapy.

3 Victor Babes (1854-1926) comes from a Romanian family who emigrated to Hungary and then to Austria. Therefore he studied in Budapest, obtaining a doctorate in science. Interested in the studies of Louis Pasteur, Babes moves to Paris to work with him. He is the biologist and one of the first bacteriologists to make valuable contributions in the field of infectious diseases such as rabies, leprosy and tuberculosis. In 1885 he published the first "Treaty of Bacteriology" in the world and initiated the anti-rabies vaccination in Romania. He become a professor at Carol Davila Institute in Bucharest and member of the Romanian Academy in 1893. Babes was awarded the Legion of Honor by the French Academy of Sciences. The Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca bears his name.

4 Ioan Cantacuzino (1863–1934) was a Romanian professor, academician, physician, microbiologist, founder of the Romanian School of Immunology and Experimental Pathology. In 1895 he obtained his Doctorate in Medicine with the thesis: "Recherches sur le mode de destruction du vibrion cholérique dans l'organisme." He worked at the Institute Pasteur in Paris, assisting Ilya Mechnikov who received the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1908 for the discovery of phagocytosis. Cantacuzino nominated in 1924 the Director of Pasteur Institute professor Emile Roux. The letter is signed Jean Cantacuzène. Nomination database-Physiology or Medicine. Nobelprize.org. 31 Jan 2009 http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/medicine/nomination/nomination.php?action=show&showid=1729.

5 Nicolae Paulescu (1869-1931) the Romanian inventor of insulin, supposedly “ignored” by the Nobel Committee in awarding the Nobel Prize for Medicine for 1923 in favor of the Canadian Frederic Grant Banting. His name appears in one letter of nomination sent by a group of Romanian professors for Thomas Ionnesco. Nomination database-Physiology or Medicine. Nobelprize.org. 31 Jan 2009 http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/medicine/nomination/nomination.php?action=show&showid=1706. However, the Nobel Committee in Stockholm cannot be accused of “ignoring” the Romanian researcher, as no letter of nomination was sent to Stockholm on Paulescu’s name in 1923 or in any other year. According to the Statutes of the Nobel Institution, one must first be nominated in order to receive the Prize.

6 Ernest Juvara (1870-1933) was a Romanian doctor, professor at the Faculty of Medicine in Bucharest famous for his new surgical tehniques, for creating new surgical instruments and for his contributions in bone implants. He was awarded the Star of Romania in the rank of knight. Nomination database-Physiology or Medicine. Nobelprize.org. 31 Jan 2009 http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/medicine/nomination/nomination.php?action=show&showid=1706.

7 Gheorghe (George) Marinescu (1863-1938) was a Romanian neurologist, founder of the Romanian School of Neurology. He worked as assistant at the Bacteriological Institute with Victor Babes who sent him to Paris to undertake postgraduate training at the Salpêtrière Hospital. Marinescu is the first in the world to use science films for medical purposes. He is among those nominating Babes in 1924. Nomination database-Physiology or Medicine. Nobelprize.org. 31 Jan 2009 http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/medicine/nomination/nomination.php?action=show&showid=1662.
For example, Levaditi appears as a nominator already in 1914 and is himself nominated first in 1922 by a Belgian professor from Louvain\(^\text{10}\). In 1930, the Nobel Committee receives three nomination letters for Levaditi signed by Carl Kling\(^\text{11}\), a Swedish professor at the Karolinska Institute “for his work on the use of bismuth and stovarsol in the treatment of syphilis” and by a group of French professors for “work on metallotherapy in the treatment of spirochaete diseases”\(^\text{12}\).

Levaditi received five more nominations in 1931 from Stockholm\(^\text{13}\), Bucharest\(^\text{14}\), New York and Berlin. Phoebus Levene\(^\text{15}\) from the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research also nominated Levaditi for his work in 1931.

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8 Mina Minovici (1857-1933) was a Romanian forensic scientist, famous for his extensive research regarding cadaverous alkaloids, putrefaction, simulated mind diseases and criminal anthropology. He was Director of the first Institute for Legal Medicine built in Bucharest and the founder of the modern medico-legal system. Minovici was the first to expand the concept of the morgue and created the term of „legal medicine” as a way of organizing research, teaching and forensic activity. His Institute built in 1892 was demolished in 1985 by the Ceaușescu regime. Nomination database-Physiology or Medicine. Nobelprize.org. 31 Jan 2009 http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/medicine/nomination/nomination.php?action=show&showid=1666.


13 This letter is signed by Israel Holmgren (1871-1961), also professor at the Karolinska Institute. Despite of what his name might suggest, Israel Holmgren was not Jewish himself. Nomination Database - Physiology or Medicine Nobelprize.org. 31 Jan 2009 http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/medicine/nomination/nomination.php?action=show&showid=1493.

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Institute for Medical Research in New York, head of the biochemical laboratory at the Rockefeller Institute, recommended Levaditi for his "work on the chemical constitution of the animal cell, especially the structure of thymonucleic acid".

From Berlin comes another nomination letter signed by Ferdinand Sauerbruch for "Levaditi’s activity in the introduction of salt free diet in the treatment of wounds, work on tuberculosis and lung surgery". Between 1932 and 1939 new letters of nomination for Levaditi continued to arrive on Nobel Committee’s table, Karolinska Institute and Rockefeller Institute numbering among the nominators. His research was, unfortunately, not rewarded with the Nobel Prize for Medicine, but it was highly regarded by eminent scientists from all over the world.

Victor Babeș was another Romanian researcher whose name is often found in the nomination letters for the Nobel Prize in Physiology and

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15 Phoebus Levene (1869-1940) was a Russian-American biochemist who studied the structure and function of nucleic acids. He was born into a Jewish family in Russian Lithuania but grew up in St. Petersburg. There he studied medicine at the Imperial Military Medical Academy and developed an interest in biochemistry. In 1893, because of anti-Semitic pogroms, he and his family emigrated to the United States and he practiced medicine in New York. In 1905, Levene was appointed as head of the biochemical laboratory at the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research. He spent the rest of his career at this institute.


18 Ernst Ferdinand Sauerbruch (1875-1951) was a German surgeon, famous for his inovative techniques and controversial due to his connection with the Nazi regime.

Medicine. Acknowledged today as one of the greatest personalities of Romanian medicine, 13 letters were sent to the Nobel Committee for Babeș in 1924\textsuperscript{20} for “his work on the pathological anatomy, symptomatology, prophylaxis and treatment of pellagra”\textsuperscript{21}. Babeș’ scientific endeavours were wide-ranging. He was the first to determine the presence of tuberculous bacilli in the urine of infected patients. He also discovered cellular inclusions in rabies-infected nerve cells. Babeș was one of the founders of serum therapy, and was the first to introduce rabies vaccination to Romania\textsuperscript{22}. The recommendations sent for him are outstanding and illustrate the degree of respect he enjoyed among his fellow researchers. The letters are signed by well known names of Romanian interwar medicine\textsuperscript{23}, making him one of the few Romanian candidates for the Nobel Prize recommended solely by his own fellow Romanian researchers\textsuperscript{24}. In spite of so many recommendations sent for Babeș, the Nobel Prize in Physiology and Medicine went that year to Netherlands, to Willem Einthoven\textsuperscript{25} for his discovery of the electrocardiogram.

Ioan Cantacuzino is also present among other scientists recommended for the Nobel Prize and received four nomination letters in 1933. The letters are all signed by French professors from Reims who recommended Cantacuzino for his “work on immunity reaction on

\textsuperscript{21}Ibid., 1663.
\textsuperscript{22}Petre Calistru and Radu Iftimovici, Europeanul Victor Babeș (București: Editura Amaltea, 2011), 35.
\textsuperscript{23}The Nomination Letters were signed by the above mentioned professors Juvara, Obreja and Minovici together with professor Constantin Daniel, the founder of the gynecology clinic at the Philantropia Hospital and the Romanian anatomist and surgeon Dimitrie D. Gerota. Gerota was also professor at the Art Academy in Bucharest where Constantin Brâncuși, the famous Romanian sculptor, was one of his students. They worked together on the anatomical study named "The Ecorché" (1905) and many other studies. (Nomination Database - Physiology /Nomination Database - Physiology or Medicine Nobelprize.org.31Jan2009http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/medicine/nomination/nomination.php?action=show&showid=1663) or Medicine Nobelprize.org. 31 Jan 2009http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/medicine/nomination/nomination.php?action=show&showid=166/1672).
\textsuperscript{24}The later nominees for the Nobel Prize who became laureates were recommended mostly by their adoptive countries. This is the case of George Emil Palade and Herta Müller.
\textsuperscript{25}The Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine 1924/Nobelprize.org. 31 Jan 2009/ http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/medicine/laureates/1924.
“invertebrates and contact immunity.”

Born in Bucharest as a member of the ancient Cantacuzino family, he graduated from the University of Paris’ Faculty of Sciences and Faculty of Medicine, and worked at several hospitals in Paris, obtaining his doctorate in 1894. Later in the same year, he began his academic career as an adjunct professor at the University of Iași, and returned to Paris after two years to serve on the staff of the Pasteur Institute, where he worked under the direction of Ilya Mechnikov.

Ștefan Procopiu who studied in Paris together with Marie Curie and Paul Langevin, was also frequently discussed by the Romanian media, but he was actually never nominated. Procopiu is famous for his discovery of magneton, two years before Niels Bohr. Bohr was nominated and received the Nobel Prize, while Procopiu appears only as nominator at the request of the Nobel Committee for Physics.

There are also some who were allegedly of Romanian origin such as Ilya Mechnikov, who apparently descended from the famous Moldavian

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27 The Cantacuzino or Cantacuzène family is a princely family of Wallachia and Moldavia, a branch of the Greek Kantakouzinos family, descended from the Byzantine Emperor John VI Cantacuzenus. The genealogical link between Byzantine Greek and Romanian Cantacuzinos have been extensively documented. There is also the Russian branch of Cantacuzino family, which is an offshoot of the Moldavian branch. As a consequence of the Russian Revolution and the Soviet occupation of Romania after World War II, the last two branches now live mostly in Western Europe and North America. See: Jean-Michel Cantacuzène, *Mille ans dans les Balkans* (Paris: Éditions Christian, 1992). One of the Cantacuzène, Prince Ștefan Cantacuzino settled in 1944 in Sweden.

28 See the footnote 32.

29 Ștefan Procopiu (1890-1972) Romanian physicist who obtained his Ph.D. in 1924 with a study about the electric birefringence of suspensions. After studying Planck’s quantum theory and Langevin’s magnetism theory, Procopiu established the magnetic moment and determined the physical constant of the magnetic moment called magneton. Ștefan Procopiu published his results two years before Niels Bohr made the same discovery independently. Their theory is known today as Bohr-Procopiu magneton. Bohr received the Nobel Prize because his research was widely recognised and he came into the attention of the Nobel Committee by nomination.

30 Niels Henrik David Bohr (1885-1962) Danish physicist who made contributions to understanding atomic structure and quantum mechanics and received the Nobel Prize for his discovery of magneton.


32 Ilya Ilyich Mechnikov (1845-1916) Russian microbiologist who was doing research in immunology field. Professor at the Universities of Odessa and St. Petersburg and researcher at the Pasteur Institute in Paris, he receives the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1908. The Nobel
family of Nicolae Milescu Spătarul. He received the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1908 for the discovery of phagocytosis and his work on immunity. Mechnikov was born in Ukraine where his father Ilya Ivanovich was an officer in the Russian Imperial Guard. According to some authors, he was a descendant of Yuri Ivanovich Milescu Spafaríi, the grandson of the scholar, diplomat and traveller Nicolae Milescu Spatarul. Yuri’s son will translate his Romanian name, Spatarul, into Russian Mecinik which means sword bearer, hence the name Mechnikov. His alleged Romanian roots may have been subject of discussion between Mechnikov and Ioan Cantacuzino, taking in consideration their close collaboration at the Pasteur Institute in Paris.

Another example is Pyotr Leonidovich Kapitza or Petru Căpăță, who won the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1978 for his inventions and discoveries in the field of low temperatures physics. Kapitza claimed that he had Moldavian roots, and while being in Chișinău he would like to know more about his relatives buried in the cemetery on the Armenian street. There are, however, no documents to provide detailed information on his Moldavian origins.

The most controversial case of a Romanian whose discoveries were “overlooked” by the Nobel Committee in Stockholm, which later admitted it, is that of Nicolae Paulescu. At the 1921 session of the Biology Society, Nicolae Paulescu presented the results of his research, the role of pancreatic extract in diabetes. His research was published in Comptes rendues des


33 Nicolae Milescu Spătarul (1636-1708) scholar, geographer and Romanian diplomat, born in Moldavia at Miclești. Moldavian representative in Constantinople, Berlin and Stockholm. In 1659 he received the rank of a Spătar (the chief of army) during the reign of Gheorghe Ghica. Milescu Spătarul follows his king, prince Gheorghe Ștefan into exile to Stockholm and then to Russia where he becomes a favorite of the Orthodox Patriarch, Petru Movilă, also a Romanian. Tsar Alexei I (1629-1676) was impressed by his intelligence and diplomatic skills and sent him with various missions to Asia. Milescu Spatărul was often compared to Marco Polo due to his diplomatic travels to China.

34 Sorin și Dan Riga, „Ascendența Românească a unui premiat Nobel,” Romanian Journal for Mental Health 16 3 (2007): 55-58. However, in his biography on the Nobel Prizes official web site there is no mention of Mechnikov’s Romanian roots.

séances de la Société de Biologie et de ses filiales. Paulescu published his discovery of the active principle of the diabetic pancreas, which he called *pancreine*, in a specialized Belgian magazine, *Archives Internationales de Physiologie*, under the title *Recherches sur le rôle du pancréas dans l’assimilation nutritive*. Although his publications preceded with almost a year the claim of Canadians Frederick Grant Banting and Charles Best of the discovery of *insulin* (the new name given to the active principle from the pancreas), the Nobel Prize for Medicine was awarded in 1923 to Banting and Macleod. Both laureates mentioned in their Nobel Lectures...
Paulescu’s name and his work. A possible explanation of this decision is that Paulescu was never nominated.

Responding to the international campaign to restore the truth initiated by the Scottish physiologist Ian Murray in 1969, the Nobel Committee recognized the merits and priority of Nicolae Paulescu in the discovery of insulin. Professor Arne Tiselius, director of the Nobel Institute in Stockholm, deplored the situation but stressed that according to the statutes of the Nobel Committee there was no possibility of an official repair. While admitting that Paulescu was worth obtaining the Nobel Prize for medicine in 1923, he expressed his hope that Paulescu’s pioneering work will be rightly praised by the international scientific forums. At the bicentenary anniversary of discovery of insulin, the international medical forums and the Nobel Committee in Sweden have unanimously recognized the priority of Romanian scientist.

43 Ian Murray (1917-1993) physician and researcher at Anderson College in Glasgow, head of Metabolic Diseases Department, vice-president of the British Diabetes Association and founding member of the International Diabetes Association. In an article for a 1971 issue of the Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, Murray wrote: "Insufficient recognition has been given to Paulesco, the distinguished Romanian scientist, who at the time when the Toronto team were commencing their research, had already succeeded in extracting the antidiabetic hormone of the pancreas and proved its efficacy”.
44 Although Banting and Best knew of Paulescu’s paper, they misinterpreted it. It turned out that neither of the two Canadians understood sufficient French. In a letter to Professor Ion Pavel on 15 October 1969, Charles Best apologized, saying: “I do not remember whether we relied on our own poor French or whether we had a translation made. In any case I would like to state how sorry I am for this unfortunate error and I trust that your efforts to honor Professor Paulescu will be rewarded with great success”. Ion Pavel, The Priority of N.C. Paulescu in the discovery of Insulin (Bucharest: The Romanian Academy Printing House, 2005), 18.
45 Arne Wilhelm Kaurin Tiselius (1902-1971) Swedish biochemist, Nobel Prize laureate in 1948. He becomes vice-president of the Nobel Foundation in 1947 and then President of this organisation in 1960.
46 Pavel, 19.
The first Romanian, or better said, Romanian-born American who won the Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1974 was George Emil Palade. Dr. Palade shared the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine in 1974 with Albert Claude and Christian de Duve. Awarding the prize, the Karolinska Institute argued that the three had been “largely responsible for the creation of modern cell biology.” Working together with Claude, Palade perfected the electron microscope making possible the examination of cells without destroying them. He also helped develop a technique called cell fractionation, in which cells are broken apart and components are separated based on their density. In 1973, Dr. Palade moved to Yale, where he became the chairman of the new department of cell biology.

In his Nobel acceptance speech of December 1974, Dr. Palade said the new discoveries would lead to a better understanding of diseases, many of which are caused by cellular dysfunction. “Cell biology” he said, “finally makes possible a century-old dream: that of analysis of diseases at the

47 George Emil Palade (1912-2008) famous Romanian doctor and researcher, laureate of the Nobel Prize for Medicine. His father was a university professor and his mother belonged to one of the oldest boyar families in Moldova, Cantemir family, tracing back to XVII-th century. He studied Medicine at the University of Bucharest. Palade spent the war years as a member of the medical staff of the Romanian army. In 1946 he leaved Romania and moved to United States together with his wife, Irina Malaxa. Irina Malaxa belonged to one of the richest Romanian families, her father being one of the many industry magnates the country had at the time. Palade continued his research with Professor Albert Claude at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. In 1952 Palade became an American citizen, working as a professor at Yale University and the University of California. In 1969, following the death of Irina Malaxa, he married Marilyn Gist Farquhar. Marilyn Gist Farquhar was herself a biologist, molecular medicine researcher, head of the Department of Molecular and Cellular Medicine at the University of California in San Diego. Most recommendations for obtaining the Nobel Prize did not come from Romania, but from his adopted country, the United States.

48 Albert Claude (1899-1983) Belgian biologist doing research on cancer prevention first in Germany and from 1929 at the Rockefeller Institute in New York. In 1949 he returned to Europe and became director of the Jules Bordet Institute and of Free University in Brussels, where he remained until 1970.

49 Christian René de Duve (n.1917) was born in the United Kingdom from a Belgian immigrant family. In 1920 his parents returned to Belgium and de Duve studied at the Jesuit College in Antwerp then at the Catholic University of Leuven, where he became a professor in 1947. Specialist in biology and biochemistry de Duve was doing research on the distribution and fractionation of cellular enzymes in the liver, reaching the same conclusions as Claude and Palade in New York.

cellular level, the first step toward their final control”\textsuperscript{51}. His discoveries later proved useful in understanding diseases and the protein production.

Physician scientists in all fields recognized the importance of his contributions to medicine, a reflection of his training as a doctor, which enabled him to view his science in the larger context of human disease. Palade established the \textit{Journal of Cell Biology} (originally the \textit{Journal of Biochemical and Biophysical Cytology}) in 1955, as well as the \textit{Annual Reviews of Cell Biology} in 1985\textsuperscript{52}. One of Palade’s students, Günter Blobel, professor at the Rockefeller University, a Nobel laureate himself, said about his former mentor: “In cell biology, he is clearly the most influential scientist ever”\textsuperscript{53}.

In 1990, at 77, he became the first dean for scientific affairs at the School of Medicine at the University of California, San Diego.

Those who knew him say he gave eloquent lectures and had a knack for clearly summarizing complex information. He had a vast knowledge of art, history, music and literature, being “an old-fashioned European gentleman”\textsuperscript{54}.

Dr. Palade retired in 2001. The school named a building for him in 2004 and a professorship was endowed in his name in 2006. His death in 2008 meant a real loss for research and was marked by numerous scientific journals and the American media in general\textsuperscript{55}.

Alfred Nobel wrote in his Testament\textsuperscript{56} that the Prize for Literature should be awarded each year to the author who produced “\textit{the most outstanding work in an ideal direction}”. This “ideal direction” was not always easy to judge, therefore, the Prize for Literature was often open for criticism, because it was so accessible to the public.

Compared with the science prizes, the Nobel Prize for Literature seemed much easier to be obtained, especially because of the high quality

\textsuperscript{51} George E. Palade - Nobel Lecture\textsuperscript{51}. Nobelprize.org. 22 Feb 2009
\textsuperscript{55} Articles about Palade’s life and reasearch were published in New York Times, October 9/2008, Los Angeles Times of 11.10.2008, The Herald Tribune also of 11.10.2008 commemorating his long life research and importance for the medical world.
\textsuperscript{56} Alfred Nobel’s Will, Nobelprize.org. 1 Mar 2009/http://www.nobelprize.org/alfred_nobel/will/will-full.html
of the Romanian literature. And, surprisingly enough, at the very beginning of the Nobel Institution and among those first nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1901 was Alexandru D. Xenopol. The paper proposed to be rewarded was "Les principes fondamentaux de l'histoire". The nominator, Julius Găvănescu was a professor, psychologist and esthetician from Iași, as he presented himself in his nomination letter. The same professor recommended Xenopol again in a letter sent to Stockholm in 1909.

Xenopol’s work makes an enormous contribution in presenting Romanians and their history to the rest of Europe. There was little information at the end of the 19th century about this part of the world which made it difficult for foreign scholars to understand Romania. Xenopol made this possible through his monumental work. What is fascinating here is the fact that the new Prize was already known in Romania at the time, making Xenopol one of the first to be nominated. The Romanian elite was eager to make its contributions known on the international arena.

Nevertheless, the list of Romanian writers is long, and their waiting lasted for more than a century. There are, of course, many authors who deserved to be rewarded with the prestigious prize for their works: Tudor

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57 Alexandru D. Xenopol (1847 – 1920) was a Romanian academic, historian, philosopher, economist, writer and sociologist. He is the author of the first synthesis of Romanian history, being considered one of the greatest Romanian historians. In his writing The History of My Ideas (Istoria ideilor mele reprinted in I. E. Torouțiu, Studii și documente literare, Vol. IV. Junimea, București: Inst. Arte grafice Bucovina, 1933), he claims that his father had Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Xenopol studied Philosophy, Law and History obtaining his PhD in Law and Philosophy in Berlin and Giessen in 1871. Returned to Romania he become professor and rector of the University of Iași and a member of the Romanian Academy in 1893. Xenopol became also a member of the Society of Archaeology in Brussels and in 1916 he was elected as vice-president of the International Institute of Sociology and a member of the French Academy in Paris. In his 1899 French language "Les principes fondamentaux de l'histoire, the most well-known internationally, he argued for history being a true science which follows clearly defined laws and logic, thorough which the reasons for historical processes could be clearly defined. Alexandru Zub, A.D.Xenopol, 1847-1920. Biobibliografie, (București: Editura Enciclopedică Română,1973).


Arghezi\textsuperscript{61}, Mihail Sadoveanu\textsuperscript{62}, Nichita Stănescu\textsuperscript{63}, Marin Sorescu\textsuperscript{64} along with other familiar names from diaspora such as Emil Cioran\textsuperscript{65}, Eugen Ionesco\textsuperscript{66} or Gellu Naum\textsuperscript{67}. There is a Romanian author, Laurențiu Ulici\textsuperscript{68},

\textsuperscript{61} Tudor Arghezi (real name Ion N. Teodorescu 1880-1967) was a Romanian writer, best known for his contribution to poetry and children's literature. Based on his experiences and adventurous life, Arghezi uses in his poems a fresh vocabulary which represents the most original synthesis between the traditional styles and modernism. He has left behind a vast oeuvre, which includes poetry, novels, essays, journalism, translations and letters.

\textsuperscript{62} Mihail Sadoveanu (1880-1961) was a Romanian novelist, short story writer, journalist and political figure, member of the Romanian Academy. One of the most prolific Romanian language writers, he is remembered mostly for his historical and adventure novels. An author whose career spanned five decades, he was acclaimed for his visions of ancient solitude and natural abundance.

\textsuperscript{63} Nichita Hristea Stănescu (1933-1983) is the most acclaimed contemporary Romanian poet and essayist, loved by the public and generally held in esteem by literary critics. Nichita Stănescu received numerous poetry awards, of which the most important was the Herder Prize in 1975. Unfortunately, he died relatively young, leaving behind some of the most important poetry in post-war Romanian literature.

\textsuperscript{64} Marin Sorescu (1936-1996) Romanian poet, playwright, and novelist. He had a very rapid ascension in the literary world and grew so popular that his readings were held in football stadiums. Many of his volumes were censored and delayed by the communist regime being published only after 1989. Sorescu often drew on history, mythology and the tradition of the absurd. His existentialist themes, at the same time universal and subjective, placed his work in the wide context of the avant-garde. Noteworthy, not only in Romania, but also in other East European countries, his anti-totalitarian tactics united a whole generation of writers.

\textsuperscript{65} Emil Cioran (1911-1995) known in France as Émile Cioran, was a Romanian writer, noted for his somber works in the French language. He studied philosophy at the University of Bucharest and in 1933 received a scholarship to the University of Berlin, where he graduated with a thesis on Bergson. While in Berlin he manifested sympathy for the Nazi regime and back in Romania he began taking an interest in the ideas put forth by the Iron Guard, a far right organization whose nationalist ideology he supported until the early years of World War II, despite allegedly disapproving of their violent methods. In 1937 he left for Paris with a scholarship from the French Institute of Bucharest which was then prolonged until 1944. After a short stay in his home country (November 1940-February 1941), Cioran never returned to Romania. He later renounced not only his support for the Iron Guard, but also their nationalist ideas, and frequently expressed regret and repentance for his emotional implication in it. From the moment of his departure, Cioran only published books in French. All were appreciated not only because of their content, but also because of their style which was full of lyricism and fine use of the French language. In 1949 his first French book, \textit{Précis de décomposition} (\textit{A Short History of Decay}), was published by Gallimard, the publishing company which came to publish the majority of his books later on, and was awarded the Rivarol Prize in 1950. Later on, Cioran refused every literary prize with which he was presented.

\textsuperscript{66} Eugen Ionescu (1909-1994) was a Romanian and French (his mother was French) playwright and dramatist, and one of the foremost playwrights of the Theatre of the Absurd. He studied French Literature at the University of Bucharest and started writing poetry and criticism, publishing in several Romanian journals. Ionescu and his family went
who tried to explain in his work published some time ago, why Romanian authors were not preferred by the Swedish Academy in contrast to other more successful foreigners. Ioan Luca Caragiale\(^69\) was the example at hand. Although his work is of momentous importance for Romanian literature, it is incomprehensible to readers outside the Romanian linguistic borders. If the Statutes of the Nobel Foundation emphasize the universal value of a work as the key criterion in choosing the winner, then Caragiale’s works are extremely valuable for the Romanian public, but have not an universal value being only an expression of what has been called Romanian Balkanism. No doubt the same can be said about the literary and cultural heritage of other small countries, Romania being not an exception in this regard. It is not easier to understand, for instance, Knut Hamsun or Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson than Mihail Sadoveanu or Ioan Luca Caragiale. They are all part of a European tradition that goes beyond national and universal, all of them contributing to the enrichment of the human mind.

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\(^67\) Gellu Naum (1915-2001) was a prominent Romanian poet, dramatist, novelist, children's writer, and translator, remembered as the founder of the Romanian Surrealist group. In 1933, he began studying Philosophy at the University of Bucharest. In 1938, Naum left for France where he continued his studies at the University of Paris. In 1941, Naum helped create the Bucharest group of Surrealists which survived until December 1947. The group succumbed to the vicissitudes of postwar Soviet occupation and successful Communist takeover of Romania's government. As Socialist realism had officially become Romania's cultural policy, he could only publish books for children. Although he published several books in the line of Socialist realism, which he renegated afterwards, he never stopped writing Surrealist poems. After the Romanian Revolution of 1989, he traveled abroad and gave public readings in France, Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. In 1995, the German Academic Exchange Service appointed him scholar at the University of Berlin.


\(^69\) Ion Luca Caragiale (1852-1912) was a Romanian playwright, short story writer, poet, theater manager, political commentator and journalist. Caragiale is considered one of the greatest playwrights in Romanian literature, as well as one of its most important writers and a leading representative of local humor. His work, spanning four decades, covers the ground between Neoclassicism, Realism, and Naturalism, building on an original synthesis of foreign and local influences. His role in the Romanian context was likened to those of Honoré de Balzac in France and Charles Dickens in the United Kingdom.
The Romanian poet Mircea Cărtărescu wrote about these awards in 2008: it’s a great honor for a writer to be considered worthy of the Nobel Prize, but it is really a matter of chance. Coming from a small culture one is only rarely translated, therefore Romanian writers did not have a real chance to get the Nobel Prize. They had to fight political forces too, forces which tried to prevent the nominations. Of all authors, Liviu Rebreanu, Nichita Stănescu, Lucian Blaga and Marin Sorescu had probably the biggest chances to receive the Nobel Prize for Literature. Worthy of a Nobel, along with those named above was also Arghezi, the greatest writer of our modernity, and Sadoveanu. Of Romanian contemporary writers those who deserve the Nobel Prize, without having actually had any real chance to obtain it, are the writer and poet Mircea Horia Simionescu and Mircea Ivănescu. More likely to be discovered in the future are Ana Blandiana and Paul

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71 Liviu Rebreanu (1885-1944) was a Romanian novelist, playwright, short story writer, and journalist. He moved from Transylvania to Bucharest before the First World War. Joined several literary circles, and worked as a journalist. After the war, he became an important collaborator of different literary societies. In 1920 Rebreanu published his novel Ion, the first modern Romanian novel, in which he depicted the struggles over land ownership in rural Transylvania. For Ion, Rebreanu received a Romanian Academy Award and became a full member of the institution in 1939. Between 1928 and 1930 he was chairman of the National Theatre of Bucharest, and from 1940 to 1944 he was President of the Romanian Writers' Society. Committed suicide in 1944 when diagnosed with cancer.
72 Lucian Blaga (1895-1961) was a Romanian philosopher, poet, and playwright. Lucian Blaga was a commanding personality of the Romanian culture of the inter-bellum period. He was a philosopher and writer acclaimed for his originality, an university professor and a diplomat. At the outbreak of the First World War, he began theological studies at Sibiu, where he graduated in 1917. From 1917 to 1920, he attended courses at the University of Vienna, where he studied philosophy and obtained his PhD. In 1926, Blaga became involved in Romanian diplomacy, occupying successive posts at Romania's legations in Warsaw, Prague, Lisbon, Bern and Vienna. He was chosen a member of the Romanian Academy in 1937. In 1939 became professor of cultural philosophy at the University of Cluj, but was dismissed later on from his university professor chair by the new communist regime in 1948. After 1948 Blaga worked as librarian for the branch department (Cluj) of the History Institute of the Romanian Academy until 1960, being allowed to publish only translations.
73 Mircea Horia Simionescu (b. 1928) is a Romanian writer, journalist and essayist. He started his studies at the University of Bucharest, only to abandon in the second year because of a poor material situation. Graduates late, in 1962. In 1943 he starts a literary group, the future core of what will be called the Targoviste School. From 1950 Simionescu worked as editor for the Communist newspaper Scânteia (The Spark). Between 1971 and 1973 he was director of the Romanian Opera. Simionescu was characterized by literary critics as a precursor of the Romanian literary postmodernism.
74 Mircea Ivănescu (b. 1931) outstanding Romanian poet, writer and translator, forerunner of Romanian postmodernism, notably important for ‘80s generation. Ivanescu has published almost every two years a new volume during four decades. His lyrics, often depicting day-
Goma, including then Norman Manea and Herta Müller, who are pretty close. This is, in my opinion, the list of Romanian authors with or without a real chance.

He seemed to have been right in case of Müller who was an unexpected and pleasant surprise for Romanians after so many years of waiting, although she belonged to the German minority. Despite the fact that the Romanian society, distorted by Communism, constitutes the main subject for her novels, Herta Müller’s literary talent was appreciated long before by the Romanian dissidents who manifested a critical eye towards dictatorship. In several of her interviews after obtaining the Nobel Prize, Müller mentioned the richness and the flavor of the Romanian language. The Romanian language has nothing to do with the political system and its
to-day life, have rehabilitated narativity in Romanian poetry in the seventies, echoing American post-war major poets.

Ana Blandiana, real name is Otilia Valeria Coman (b. 1942) is a Romanian poet, essayist, and political figure. She took her name after Blandiana, her mother's home village. Her poems became famous especially after 1980 when Blandiana started writing protest poems, in answer to the increasingly harsh demands of the communist system. The secret services of Ceaușescu (Securitate) attribute her a dissident status and her books will not be published. After the Romanian Revolution of 1989 she entered political life campaigning for the removal of the communist legacy from administrative office, as well as for an open society. She left literary work in the background although she did publish some volumes of poetry. Her work is translated into 16 languages.

Paul Goma (b. 1935) is a Romanian writer, also known for his activities as a dissident and leading opponent of the communist regime before 1989. Forced into exile by the communist authorities, he became a political refugee and currently resides in France as a stateless person. His work has been translated in most European countries.

Norman Manea (b. 1936) is a Romanian writer of Jewish origin, living in the United States, author of short fiction, novels, and essays preoccupied with the holocaust, the daily life in a communist state and exile. His most acclaimed book The Hooligan’s Return is an original novelistic memoir, encompassing a period of almost 80 years, from the pre-war period, through the Second World War, the communist and post-communist years to the present. Norman Manea has been known and praised as an international important writer since early 1990s, and his work have been translated into more than 20 languages.

Herta Müller (n.1953) German-born Romanian writer. Between 1973 and 1976 she studied Romanian and German literature at the University of Timișoara. During the student years Müller become a member of the so-called Banat Action Group, a group of young authors who demonstrated against communism. She worked as a teacher and then as a translator in a factory. After refusing to cooperate with Securitate she was harassed and forced to leave the country in 1987. Herta Müller’s talent was recognized and appreciated in Germany where she is considered one of the most talented German writers. The Nobel Prize for Literature in 2009 only come to confirm this fact. Most recommendations for Herta Müller the Nobel Prize came from her adoptive country.
richness and beauty cannot be destroyed by the ephemeral 50 years of communism.79

Forced to leave at the age of 34 a country led by a dictator, it is remarkable how her books became best sellers in a country as Germany known for an abundance of writers. Müller knows of course that Ceaușescu's Romania gave her, inadvertently, the chance to win the Nobel Prize, as the Soviet Union propelled, all unwittingly, Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Her books were born not only of talent, but from her own experiences in one of the most horrible of the communist regimes. Once established in the free world, Müller only had to set in order the shattering stories she had in mind. And she did it masterfully. Her subjects were different though, emphasizing the misery of a communist society which developed in another manner than the one presented by Solzhenitsyn. The novelty of her work consists also in the fact that she managed to create a new language inside a language as she likes to express it. It was a kind of defense mechanism developed by many Romanians at the time in order to be able to survive. Müller refers in her books to the dehumanization of the individual in communism, the indifference and lack of respect for human beings promoted by the state. The world described by Muller is an universe of fear, lies, constant pressure, almost as a prison camp. Anyone who lived in Romania during that time will recognize the relationship between the individual and the communist state who tried to crush every freedom and liberty of mind. Herta’s only release or escape from reality was to write. In her Nobel speech80 on December 7th, 2009 she mentioned: Writing is a form of silence; the only connection permitted is between your head and your hand; the use of voice is not allowed.

In Romania, emerged from communist straps, Müller’s works were highly appreciated. One of her first volumes, with an autobiographical character, Der Fuchs war damals schon der Jäger81 appeared in 1992. The novel was used as a basis for a screenplay produced in 1993 by the famous Romanian director Stere Gulea, called The fox is the hunter82. Müller

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79 In an interview at the Romanian Athenaeum on the 29th of september 2010.
81 Herta Müller, Der Fuchs war damals schon der Jäger, republished at the Humanitas Publishing House, in 2010.
82 The fox is the hunter is a film using Herta Müller ‘s novel Der Fuchs war damals schon der Jäger, presenting the events prior to Romanians uprising in Timișoara in December 1989.
represents a success story for the German/Romanian literature after years and years of unsuccessful attempts.

The nomination of some authors proved to be just a legend, as in the case of Titulescu and the Peace Prize. There were a lot of discussions about alleged recommendations sent to the Nobel Committee in Stockholm for Liviu Rebreanu and Lucian Blaga. It has been claimed that Rebreanu was the favorite for the Literature Prize in 1924\footnote{www.nobel.se / Nominations / database. There is no letter of nomination for Rebreanu for this year.} and that the Committee would have decided in the last moment in favor of the Polish writer Wladyslaw Reymont\footnote{Wladyslaw Reymont (1867-1926) Polish writer whose name was actually Rejment, best known for his novels about peasants. He won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1924 being preferred to Thomas Mann, Maxim Gorky and Thomas Hardy.}. The same story repeated in 1956 in the case of Blaga who supposedly had a real chance to earn the distinction that year, but the communist regime allegedly sent envoys to Sweden to protest against the nomination\footnote{It has been claimed for a long time that Rebreanu was nominated by Basil Munteanu, who lived in France at the time, at the initiative of Mircea Eliade. Basil Munteanu (1897-1972) Romanian literary historian, critic, philologist, member of the Romanian Academy. He is the author of a \textit{History of the Contemporary Romanian Literature} written in French and published in 1938. This work has been translated into several languages and is the most famous \textit{History of Romanian Literature} abroad.}. Following the contact with the competent institutions in Stockholm, it appears that there was no letter of recommendation for Blaga.

As a consolation remains the idea that many of the geniuses of literature were not to be found among the winners of the Nobel Prize for Literature: neither Chekhov or Leo Tolstoy, for instance, Marcel Proust or Henrik Ibsen, Strindberg, Unamuno, Emile Zola, Maxim Gorky, Esenin, Rainer Maria Rilke or Eugene Ionesco. Yet, all these illustrious writers omitted by the Committee, will remain valuable without having received the Nobel Prize.

But since the Nobel Institution represents one of the most powerful “mind recognition” in the world, there has been intriguing to see how many Romanians were, at a moment, sharing the company of world’s sharpest minds. In this context, the Nobel archives represent a stimulating source of information which helps present in a new light the achievements of writers and scientists. Interesting is not only the collaboration between Romanian scientists who wanted to promote their own fellow countrymen, but also the fact that some of the Romanian scientists were recommended
for the Nobel Prize by members of the Karolinska Institute or the Swedish Academy. Although being in the right place at the right time did not play in favor of Romanian scientists and writers’ aspirations to gain the Prize, it is enthralling to track the path of their life and activity as (re)presented in the world of Nobel Institution.

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Norwegian Film Days in Iaşi.
Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iaşi, May 27-29, 2012.
Interview with Jan Erik Holst

Ioana Grecu and Crina Leon

The Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iaşi in collaboration with the Norwegian Film Institute in Oslo and the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Bucharest organized the event entitled Norwegian Film Days in Iaşi, between May 27-29, 2012. This cultural event was coordinated by Dr. Crina Leon.

The guest speaker was Mr. Jan Erik Holst, executive editor at the Norwegian Film Institute and responsible for major cultural projects abroad. He had previously been invited to Romania for similar projects in Cluj-Napoca and Bucharest.

The event was opened by a lecture given by Mr. Holst with a view to the new wave of Norwegian cinema (Norwave). In addition, he led discussions with the participants on each of the three days. The five feature films which were shown also belonged to the Norwave period, and offered a glimpse of Norwegian history, geography and literature. Yohan - The Child Wanderer (2010) was inspired by the labour migration of children between the counties of Vest-Agder and Aust-Agder more than 100 years ago, Max Manus (2008) was based on the German occupation of Norway during World War II, An Enemy of the People (2005) was a screen version of Henrik Ibsen’s play with the same title, The Kautokeino Rebellion (2008) dealt with the conflicts of 1852 between the Norwegian authority and the Sami people in northern Norway, while The Greatest Thing (2001) was a screen version of Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson’s novel The Fisherman’s Daughter.
On the occasion of the Norwegian Film Days, Mr. Holst was so kind as to give an interview to several students attending Norwegian courses in Iași.

What was it that drove you to the film world so much that you decided to work in this field?

I made film reviews in my childhood and in the school years. I had a book of characters and studied film giving points and stars to films, like a young critic in a way. I have always been fascinated by film, but, as Americans say, there are movies and there are films, and I was more attracted to the movies than to the films, so I had to force myself over to the film and film art. A key moment was when I saw, together with a friend - I was probably 14, maybe younger - “South Pacific”, on the big screen, 70 mm, big sound system. We were fascinated. I think we saw it 7 times. And that is a good film school, because if you see a film several times you learn how the language of the film is constructed and how it developed. One time I went to the local cinema and saw a Norwegian film. It was called “Cold Tracks” and it was about the resistance movement during the war, with skiing in the mountains. The contrast between “South Pacific” (big screen, sound, American stars), and this very pure, Norwegian film, made me think I could never be into Norwegian film. After the gymnasium I started the so-called economic education, with evening classes. One day I skipped the evening school and

1 Kalde spor, 1962, director Arne Skouen
went to the local cinema, and there was a film club there. I saw some films, and again, I had this feeling. I saw a Japanese film by Kurosawa I think, and I did not understand anything, but the others said that that was art, so I accepted it as art. I was elected into the board of the film club and later in the National Society for Film Clubs. Then I started to study at the law school, but dropped it after one year, and worked to promote and distribute films for the film societies. I worked for a couple of years and then I found out that at the University of Stockholm they had a study group in film science and film history, and I attended it. That was very early, in ’72, and the study field was very new. We were 5 people from Norway and we were a kind of pioneers. It took many years before film science was established in Norway, first in Trondheim in ’75, and much later in Oslo, within the Institute for Media Studies. Also at the National Film School in Lillehammer one can find Film Science. In other places in Norway film itself was not considered as purely scientific or art, so it was combined with media education.

I studied in Stockholm for two years, then came back and started as a cinema manager at the local cinema. I worked for two years as cinema manager and gained a lot of experience during that time. Then I went back to the Film Institute and worked with the film societies again for two years, and afterwards I went back to Stockholm, to the Dramatic Institute, and took education in production management and documentary films, before I started as a producer. I worked as a producer for three years, but I did not like it. As production manager (as a producer) one has to serve other people, and I think promotion, education, and film science were closer to my heart. But I was given an honorary mention as the best production manager in Norway. After receiving this I felt that I had to leave this field. Afterwards, my wife and I made a journey around the world, which was an important experience. We went for half a year to Japan, China, Himalaya, America. On return I took over as manager of the Cinematheque (the art cinema) in Oslo, and then I was appointed head of the Education department and later director at the Film Institute. Since ’88 I have been at the Film Institute as director in different fields, like production, international relations, archive etc. Now I have a kind of free position as “ambassador”. There was a film director in the ’60s who told me that if one should be something in Norwegian film, one should have a Bachelor in juridical education, not necessarily full studies, and some basic economic
studies, let’s say two years of juridical studies, two years of economy, then art and science. Then one can be something in film. One does not have to learn film, he said. It is a kind of jack-of-all-trades system, and I remember this: law, economy, philosophy, art but not film, which comes on its own! I do not know if I agree to this today.

Since you have probably seen thousands of films throughout the years, what does a good film mean in your opinion? Can we use this word at all to describe a film?

Yes, absolutely. I think the best expression comes from a film director and associate professor in Norway, Erik Løchen, who said that if you should make a film, it has to be an important story you tell. I mean, it can be a novel, it can be a social case study, it can be a historical event, but it must be an important case. It must also be important for you. And then, it must be important to tell it on film, so you make a kind of cinematography, you work on the image and the sound and the set design. This is very important for telling the story in pictures. A lot of things can be told on paper. When he was artistic director at the film studios in Oslo, he rejected a lot of people, saying their work was not film, but a newspaper article, or a poem. And, of course, he also said that one shouldn’t go to the library and find a book, but instead find the story by themselves. That is a very exclusive way of doing it, but it makes some points I would say. We have experienced this in Norway, and I think more than sixty percent of our films are based on literature. We have a very strong literature from which we bring out the film. Typically it is Henrik Ibsen, Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Knut Hamsun etc., and that is good, but it is also dangerous that the film becomes what the Frenchmen call *illustratif*, meaning only making pictures out of a story and not having a cinematographic approach. There are many ways of doing cinematography, and I would say that if you can express something that is not possible in any other art form, then it is a good film. Because it must have a living approach to it, and it must be, of course, magical, it must be larger than life. It must be something that is driven by suspense or entertainment. American film theories say that there are three genres in film: comedy, melodrama, and action. One has to combine these
In this respect, what are the most important aspects of Norwegian cultural and social nature conveyed by these films?

I would say that nature and landscape as storytelling tools. This is an absolute influence of literature, it stems from Hamsun. Landscape is as a metaphor and in a landscape a lot of things can be developed, especially after the Bergman period. The Bergman films, up to ’72-’74, are a sort of chamber play, everything happens inside, people sit and talk, and relations, inner souls and inner development are the key elements. But in Norway we go out. If it is a birth or a death, love scenes, dramatic scenes, everything has to be outside. They even made a kind of film grammar from this. In many Norwegian films if you see a couple going outside, and they want to make love, then the camera goes up along the tree and out to a branch, and then everybody knows what will happen. And it is an interesting scene because it has a kind of discrete protestant approach to it, but it is also a film grammar thing, because it is very economical. Instead of instructing a couple to play a love scene, which takes days to make real, it is easier to film a tree.

Are Norwegian teenagers interested in seeing films at the cinema? How do you think they could be better attracted to a “meeting” with the films?

Yes, they are interested in seeing films, and I think that since 2001 there has been a big change, namely Norwegian teenagers started to see Norwegian films because these films started to be about them. The first film that was really important was “Buddy”2. The Norwegian films became preoccupied then with the key target group that went to the cinema; 18 to 25 is the most interesting group. Also very good was the fact that it was not the adult who played in the film for the young people anymore, it was the young people playing for the young people, actors like Aksel Hennie, or the cast of “Max Manus”3. It was a very typical generation thing.

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2 Buddy, 2003, director Morten Tyldum
3 Max Manus, 2008, director Joachim Rønning, Espen Sandberg
Is there such a thing as a taboo topic for Norwegian films?

Yes, I think so. We have not yet made a pornographic film, it might be a hidden taboo. Now we have the situation with Anders Breivik, the terrorist who killed many people, and when somebody wants to make a film out of it, that will be a taboo. If it had been like World War II, it would have been full of stories of heroes. If somebody had chased and killed that terrorist, then that could be made into a film, but the story has no heroes, and psychiatrists cannot agree on whether he is insane or not. You know, there is a story from a mental hospital that is very typical of this situation: in the corridor a man is walking with his toothbrush in a leash. A psychiatrist comes and says “Hello, are you going to a walk with your dog?”, and the patient answers “Can’t you see this is a toothbrush?”. The psychiatrist walks along and the man says to his toothbrush - dog: “Now we fooled them”. And this is the situation with Breivik, you cannot say what he is, because all his planning is logical, but the deeds are illogical. So that is a taboo.

We made some films a few years ago, horror films, such as “Dead snow” – Nazi zombies, and I think for many people that is a taboo. Also, the same group made a film about the Sami people who were very crazy and evil, it was made after the American film “Kill Bill”, and it was called “Kill Buljo” (Buljo is a Sami name). I would say that making a film about the Sami people as drinking people, not heroes, is a taboo. We have a kind of high value moral standard and if you scratch that, then that is a taboo.

Generally, how are Norwegian films perceived in Europe and all over the world?

I think we have had a very good export to Germany for many years. Since, let’s say, 1990 there has been big interest in Germany for children’s and youth films and social comedies, and especially north Germany has a kind of longing for the Nordic way of life and culture. I remember that around 1990 we had something called Nordic Screening: it was a TV company of the five Nordic countries, and Norddeutscher Rundfunk in Hamburg wanted to be a part of it, so that they felt closer to the Nordic

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4 Dead snow, 2009, director Tommy Wirkola
5 Kill Buljo - The Movie, 2007, director Tommy Wirkola
countries than to Munich. That was interesting and I think that Germany has been a very important market for us. We also sell many films in the Berlin and Lübeck festivals. The last years there has been increasing demand in France, mostly for the philosophical and artistic films, such as “Oslo, August 31st”\(^6\), “North”\(^7\) or “Elling”\(^8\), and after that the United States of America have asked for a lot of films, not for major, but for small distributions. Scandinavia is a problem, because we do not see each other’s films so much.

**What Norwegian films would you recommend to the students at the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University?**

It could be something from the ‘30s, one or two. We had a very famous director in the ‘30s, who was called Tancred Ibsen, and he was the grandson of Henrik Ibsen and Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson. He made some adventure films. One of them is called “Tramp”\(^9\) and is about travelling people that are typical of Scandinavia. They go by sea and they are called *fant* or they go by land and they are called *tater*. So from the ‘30s it could be either “Fant” or “Gjest Baardsen”\(^10\), a story about a Norwegian Robin Hood. And then we could go to the ‘50s when we had good directors and authors, such as Edith Carlmar. She was the first female director, and made a sort of *film noir*, a film called “Death is a caress”\(^11\). In the ‘60s there are the films by Erik Løchen, one of which is called “The Hunt”\(^12\), influenced by Bertolt Brecht. In the ‘70s there is a lot of social realism, and we have a very important director called Anja Breien. We have a DVD with all her short films. She made “Wives”\(^13\), that is a kind of female version of John Casavetes’ “Husbands”, and it is an improvisation with three women that go out and leave their children and husbands behind. They go out to drink and travel, and they do not come back. There is in the film one sentence that is fantastic: “Happy Christmas, it’s all in the freezer”, and they leave.

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7. *Nord*, 2009, director Rune Denstad Langlo  
9. *Fant*, 1937, director Tancred Ibsen  
10. *Gjest Baardsen*, 1939, director Tancred Ibsen  
11. *Døden er et kjærtegn*, 1949, director Edith Carlmar  
12. *Jakten*, 1959, director Erik Løchen  
13. *Hustruer*, 1975, director Anja Breien
That was revolutionary in 1975. And in the ‘80s we have “Orion’s belt”\textsuperscript{14} - that is a detective and political story. That changed a lot of the Norwegian history, because in ‘85 we had a conservative government for the first time in many years, and they left the social-democratic approach. The difference in cultural aspects between the social-democrats and the conservatives is that the conservatives want more private investment while the social-democrats want more public investment. Also from the ‘80s was “The Pathfinder”\textsuperscript{15}, which was a very interesting story. A young Sami actor came to the producer with this story, he believed in it, and he developed the film in England with an international crew. The producer was very skilled in distributing the film, so it was distributed in America and it was nominated for Oscar and had worldwide distribution. And maybe also the adventure film “Pinchcliffe Grand Prix”\textsuperscript{16}. It is an animation film made in ‘75 and very popular. It has been running in the cinema ever since, so it reached a target of 5 million people. It is a very funny film and very Norwegian in a way, with different types of characters, such as the skeptical one and the over-enthusiastic one. It was made by an Italian born filmmaker called Ivo Caprino. And then, in recent years there are many films to choose from, but I would say maybe a film from 1989, called “A handful of time”\textsuperscript{17}. That is a story about an old man who travels across the mountains from Oslo to Bergen. He has a conversation with his wife, but the wife died when they were young. He meets an English couple, who have a kind of philosophy that time is not something that is developed chronologically. Time is what happens at the same time in different years, and he tries to prove it by saying that the mountains are the same as 100 years ago, so maybe they had this conversation 100 years ago. This kind of philosophical approach is very seldom in Norwegian films. It is very seldom in Norwegian literature as well, because very much of Norwegian literature is story telling. So this film is remarkable, with beautiful landscape as well.

\textsuperscript{14} Orions belte, 1985, director Ola Solum
\textsuperscript{15} Veiviseren, 1987, director Nils Gaup
\textsuperscript{16} Flåklypa Grand Prix, 1975, director Ivo Caprino
\textsuperscript{17} En håndfull tid, 1989, director Martin Asphaug
From your standpoint, how were Norwegian films perceived in Romania and how do you believe they should be better promoted in the future?

I think that the Transilvania International Film Festival (TIFF) is very important, and I think some films have been sold after TIFF. But normally the best way to promote a film is in the market in Cannes and Berlin, and the best is if TIFF organizers go to a distributor and ask them to buy a film because they want it for the festival. And then the film has a distributor at a local festival, which is the best case. Then, they can use the festival as a national promotion, and that is the best, because a film is a kind of fresh food, it has to be new. So it is not always the best thing to send 5 films to TIFF and hope that they are all sold to Romania. What does not work in a sale perspective, is when we have films at an EU festival or a Cultural Center. Then they are part of a cultural promotion. We have experience that a national festival can promote a film very well with a local distributor. And that also goes for B-festivals. What is very important is that people in Romania get a kind of overall knowledge about Norwegian films, and then festivals, small festivals like the Norwegian Film Days in Iași, in Cluj-Napoca and even Bucharest are very important, because when a Norwegian film comes to the cinema, people will think that they have previously seen some Norwegian film and it was very good. It is very typical that you remember the nationality if the film is bad, but if the film is good then why remember the nationality? Yet, what is important is that it is a different kind of film, different from other cultures. I personally like very much the combination of film and art and music and theater. We do not have a kind of Norwegian cultural export system, like the Swedes and the Danes, but we have different small institutes, and we cooperate together: NORLA (that promotes Norwegian literature abroad), OCA (that promotes visual art abroad), Music Export Norway etc.

What can you tell us about the film Oslo, August 31st? Does it say anything about Norwegian society today?

I think this film could have been made in any European country. It is made after a French novel, written by Pierre Drieu La Rochelle, which is part of the success it has had. Those who made it (Joachim Trier - director and Eskil Vogt - writer) are very international, from the London (Trier) and

18 Winner of Transilvania International Film Festival (TIFF) 2012 Trophy
Paris (Vogt) film schools. I would not say it is typical Norwegian in a way, but it is a typical big city film, and it shows the alienation of the young people who cannot find the meaning of life and peace in big cities, because there is a great demand, both personal and social, on how to develop. A key element is that art and literature play such an important role for them. They try to be characters in a novel instead of living their lives, and they talk about themselves as characters in novels. That was also the theme in the first film this team made together, “Reprise”\(^\text{19}\). So it is a very artificial story in a way, and fascinating, but it is not typical Norwegian. It could be made here in Romania, Italy, and France, but maybe not in Germany, because it is an intellectual approach and an intellectual problem, and I would say in Germany it would have been an environmental or industrial problem.

**Every country or cultural space should be able to find its own way in cinematography.** As an exterior observer who has visited Romania several times, what do you consider to be the strong points of the local cinematographic industry? What themes do you consider to be worth exploiting more?

I would like to see more films about the communist period and good people and bad people during the Ceaușescu regime, but what I cannot understand is how Romania, with so much art and culture and science and universities, could create such a regime. I cannot see the hierarchic mentality here as it exists in other countries. So I do not understand, and I would like to see more works about that. But from what I have seen in Romanian films, moral and intellectual questions are very well treated. In every Romanian film I have seen, they talk about essential problems, they talk about essential stories, there is social realism with a philosophical frame, and that is very different from Scandinavia. In Scandinavia we often talk about nothing, there is no conflict of discourse.

**How do you feel that the Norwegian films were received in Iași?**

I feel that they were well received because they are different, different from the Romanian film and the American film, which is the

\(^{19}\) *Reprise*, 2006, director Joachim Trier
mainstream, and indirectly tell things about our country: the landscape, as I have already mentioned, but also human relations. I think that what we have in common in all the films is a common struggle for a better life. Maybe in Latin countries it is not a struggle for a better life, but it is a kind of discussion about how the life was or should have been. We are Protestants, and the protestant always struggles for better: better economy, more children, more of everything. Romanians sit and discuss the past and see what they can learn from that, while we do not have this historical and philosophical approach. The lack of philosophy is a very Scandinavian thing. I think it comes from religion, because we cannot go and ask for forgiveness in the church. In Scandinavia we often have burdens on our back.
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