ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ - Filiala Cluj-Napoca
Institutul de Lingvistică și Istorie Literară „Sextil Pușcariu”

Vol. XII • 2025

DRL

DACO ROMANIA LITTERARIA

DACOROMANIA
LITTERARIA

FONDATOR: SEXTIL PUŞCARIU

CONSILIUL DIRECTOR

OANA FOTACHE (București), THOMAS HUNKELER (Fribourg),
LAURENT JENNY (Geneva), KAZIMIERZ JURCZAK (Cracovia),
MARIELLE MACÉ (Paris), WILLIAM MARX (Paris),
NICOLAE MECU (Bucureşti), ANTONIO PATRAŞ (Iaşi),
LAURA PAVEL (Cluj-Napoca), ION SIMUŢ (Oradea),
T. SZABÓ LEVENTE (Cluj-Napoca), CĂLIN TEUTIȘAN (Cluj-Napoca),
GISÈLE VANHÈSE (Calabria), CHRISTINA VOGEL (Zürich)

COMITETUL DE REDACŢIE

ADRIAN TUDURACHI – *redactor-şef*
COSMIN BORZA – *redactor-şef adjunct*
DORU BURLACU, ALEX GOLDIȘ, DORIS MIRONESCU,
ROXANA PATRAȘ, MAGDA RĂDUŢĂ, ADRIANA STAN,
LIGIA TUDURACHI (*secretar ştiinţific de redacţie*), MAGDA WÄCHTER

REVIZIE DE LIMBĂ

ANDREI LAZĂR – *franceză*
IOANA NAN – *engleză*

© Institutul de Lingvistică şi Istorie Literară „Sextil Puşcariu”

ISSN 2360 – 5189
ISSN–L 2360 – 5189

COMITETUL DE REDACŢIE
400165 Cluj-Napoca, Str. Emil Racoviţă, nr. 21
Tel./ fax: +40 264 432440
e-mail: institutul.puscariu@gmail.com
web: http://www.dacoromanialitteraria.inst-puscariu.ro

ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ
Filiala Cluj-Napoca
400015 Cluj-Napoca, Str. Republicii, nr. 9
Tel./ fax: +40 264 592363
e-mail: filiala@acad-cluj.ro

ACADEMIA ROMÂNĂ
Filiala Cluj-Napoca
Institutul de Lingvistică şi Istorie Literară „Sextil Puşcariu”

DACOROMANIA

LITTERARIA

Vol. XII

2025

SUMAR • SOMMAIRE • CONTENTS

Les spectres contemporains du XIX^{e} siècle dans la littérature de l'Europe centrale et orientale / Contemporary Spectres of the 19th Century in the Literature of Central and Eastern Europe

Dossier coordonné par / Edited by

Tomasz Krupa, Mateusz Skucha

Tomasz KRUPA, Mateusz SKUCHA, *Introduction* / 5

Revisiter les canons nationaux / Revisiting National Canons

Ioana BOT, *The Myth of the National Poet, Used in the Present Romanian Political Discourse. What Is New? /* 11

Nikol DZIUB, *Spectres, simulacres, saxifrages et* sopilky *: Lessia Oukraïnka comme revenante dans les discours engagés du XIX^{e} siècle ukrainien /* 29

Catherine GÉRY, *Le canon littéraire du XIX^{e} siècle russe à l'épreuve de la guerre : que faire des spectres de Pouchkine et Dostoïevski après février 2022 ?* / 51

Zoltán KULCSÁR-SZABÓ, *Swearing an Oath by Shouting the Poem: Petőfi and Performative Language in Poetry* / 64

Ioana MOROȘAN, *From Revolutionary Patriotic Mothers to the Contemporary Nationalist Discourse: The Appropriation of the Image of the Mother in the Cultural Context of 1848 and the Emergence of Nationalist Discourses Today* / 80

Réalismes (semi)périphériques / (Semi)peripheral Realisms

Maria CHIOREAN, *Emotional Excess and Racialisation in the Nineteenth-Century Romanian Nove*l / 98

Ágnes HANSÁGI, *Mór Jókai, a Contemporary of Pierre Ménard: Metafiction, Hypotyposis and Metalepsis in Jókai's Prose of the 1880s /* 121

Benedikts KALNAČS, *The Historical Contexts and Aesthetic Self-Reflexiveness of Nineteenth-Century Latvian Literary Realism* / 135

Gábor PALKÓ, *The Relative Frequency of Inner-Life Verbs as Signifier of Change in 19th- and 20th-Century Fiction? Distant Reading of a Corpus of Hungarian Novels /* 155

Espaces privés, enjeux publics / Private Spaces, Public Matters

Alina BAKO, *Translocal Modernism: The Role of Private Spaces in Shaping Narrative Dynamics* / 179

Anna PEKANIEC, *19th-Century Polish Women's Literature of Personal Document – 21st-Century Reception* / 197

Cătălina STANISLAV, *Hardly a Room of One's Own. Gender and Collaborative Writing in the Prewar Romanian Novel* / 218

Documents

Ewa PACZOSKA, *The Polish 19th-Century Reflected in 21st-Century Literature – The Meanders of Neighbourliness* / 239

Arleen IONESCU, Dumitru TUCAN, *Bibliography on the Holocaust and Antisemitism in Romania* / 257

Mihai IOVĂNEL, *Bibliografia pseudotraducerilor de roman în postcomunismul românesc (1990–2004)* / 305

Comptes rendus / Book Reviews

Adriana Babeți (ed.), *Dicționarul romanului central-european din secolul XX* [*The Dictionary of the Central-European Novel of the 20th Century*], Iași, Polirom, 2022 (Constantina Raveca Buleu) / 322

Alex Goldiș, Christian Moraru, Andrei Terian (eds.), *Pentru o nouă cultură critică românească* [*For a New Romanian Critical Culture*], Cluj-Napoca, Tact, 2024 (Ioan Streza) / 324

Mihaela Ursa, Alex Goldiș (eds.), *Romanian Literary Networks outside National Framings: A Case Study for Peripheralized Cosmopolitanisms*, Berlin, Peter Lang, 2024 (Bogdan Vișan) / 327

Alex Ciorogar, *Ascensiunea autorului în epoca globalizării digitale* [*The Ascension of the Author in the Age of Digital Globalisation*], Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2025 (Irina Gorgan) / 331

Gisèle Vanhese, *Penser l'Europe. Du côté de la littérature*. Préface de Maya Simionescu, București, Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2023 (Magda Wächter) / 334

Grațiela Benga-Țuțuianu (ed.), *Memoria din cuvinte: reprezentări și moduri de tratare* [*La mémoire des mots : représentations et approches*], Timișoara, Editura Universității de Vest, 2025 (Alexandra-Maria Oros) / 336

Contributeurs / Contributors / 340

TOMASZ KRUPA
MATEUSZ SKUCHA

CONTEMPORARY SPECTRES OF THE 19TH CENTURY IN THE LITERATURE OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

One could metaphorically say that the 19th century was the longest century in human history[1]. It began with the French Revolution in 1789 and ended with the Great War in 1914. This century commenced with Napoleon's actions, spanned the long reigns of Queen Victoria and Emperor Franz Joseph, and concluded symbolically with the sinking of the Titanic. It was a time of dramatic political changes (the fall of aristocracy, the rise of capitalism), social changes (women's emancipation, the dispossession of peasants), economic changes (the industrial boom), geographical changes (the expansion of colonialism, the popularisation of travel), technical advancements (scientific discoveries and inventions in various fields), and cultural transformations (evolutions in literature and other arts, the beginnings of photography and film). This era saw the emergence of major cultural movements: Romanticism, Realism, and Modernism, characterised by a turn towards individualism and psychology on one hand, and grand social and historical diagnoses on the other. Both poetry and prose, as well as drama, saw rapid development.

The 19th century was also a period of complex situations in Central and Eastern Europe: on one hand, modern concepts of nations were emerging; on the other, many nations lacked their own state. This unique historical context created a shared experience that links the cultures of Central and Eastern Europe, both in the 19th century and in their contemporary reflections on that era. The region's collective struggle for national identity, often in the face of imperial rule, fostered a rich cultural and literary landscape that continues to resonate today.

Moreover, the return to 19th century themes and ideas after the fall of socialist regimes in the late 20th century highlights the enduring influence of this period on the region's cultural imagination. This "long 19th century" has shaped the intellectual and artistic traditions of Central and Eastern Europe in profound ways, creating a common cultural thread that persists despite political boundaries.

While comparative studies of 19th century Western European literatures are well established[2], a similar comprehensive approach to Central and Eastern

[1] See Fernand Braudel, "Histoire et Sciences sociales: La longue durée", *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 13, 1958, 4, pp. 725-753.

[2] See Jean-Claude Caron, Alain Corbin, Michèle Riot-Sarcey, Rosemonde Sanson (eds.), "(Re)penser le XIXe siècle", *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle*, 1996, 13; Sylvie Aprile, Manuel Charpy, Louis Hincker, Judith Lyon-Caen (eds.), "Quel est l'avenir du XIXe siècle?", *Revue d'histoire du XIXe*

European literatures is lacking. This gap in scholarship presents an opportunity for a nuanced exploration of the region's literary heritage. A comparative perspective on the long 19th century in Central and Eastern Europe would not only illuminate the unique characteristics of each national literature but also reveal the interconnections and shared themes that define the region's cultural identities.

This thematic focus is particularly relevant given the complex reception of 19th-century literature in the cultures of the region. Works such as Larry Wolff's *Inventing Eastern Europe* (1994) and Maria Todorova's *Imagining the Balkans* (1997)[3] have explored how the region's image was constructed in Western European discourse, but less attention has been paid to how Central and Eastern European cultures themselves have reinterpreted and reimagined their 19th-century heritage. Notable efforts such as the comprehensive volumes edited by Marcel Cornis-Pope and John Neubauer (2004–2010) or the recent works of Aistė Kučinskienė Viktorija Šeina, Brigita Speičytė (2021)[4] are commendable but remain relatively rare in the academic landscape. These initiatives highlight a growing but still underdeveloped interest in understanding how these cultures internalise, contest, and transform their own historical narratives in response to both past and present cultural dynamics.

In light of these considerations, we must ask: how do we view 19th century Central and Eastern European literatures today? What image of the 19th century literary life in these areas emerges from contemporary reflections on the 19th century? What does 19th century literature mean to us today in the context of Central and Eastern Europe's unique historical trajectory?

The field of inquiry opened by this thematic issue is intentionally broad, reflecting the many ways in which the 19th century continues to shape, unsettle, and inspire literary imagination in Central and Eastern Europe. The contributions assembled here suggest that the 19th century is not a stable object of study but a living constellation of forms, affects, and interpretive frameworks. It may be approached through the continuities and ruptures that link 19th- and 21st-century literatures; through the rewriting of realist and romantic paradigms in contemporary fiction, drama, and poetry; or through the persistence of 19th-century myths in modern biographies, media, and cultural narratives. It may also be revisited through the lenses of today's critical vocabularies – ecocriticism, affect theory, postcolonial and gender studies, or digital and quantitative methodologies – which question how literary history is written, measured, and transmitted. At stake are not only the aesthetic legacies of the century that defined modern Europe, but

siècle, 2013, 47; Dominique Kalifa, "Que reste-t-il du XIXe siècle ?", *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle*, 2013, 47, pp. 11-14.

[3] Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1994; Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997.

[4] Marcel Cornis-Pope, John Neubauer (eds.), *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe*, vol. 1–4, Amsterdam, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004–2010; Aistė Kučinskienė Viktorija Šeina, Brigita Speičytė (eds.), *Literary Canon Formation as Nation-building in Central Europe and the Baltics: 19th to Early 20th Century*, Leiden, Brill, 2021.

also its epistemological and ethical afterlives: how its canons are rebuilt or contested, how its authors are reinterpreted as critics, theorists, or cultural icons, and how its texts circulate anew across borders, languages, and media. This plurality of approaches – comparative, archival, theoretical, or experimental – confirms that the 19th century endures less as a closed period than as a dynamic, evolving dialogue between past and present.

The diversity of this issue reflects not only the multiplicity of the 19th century itself but also the variety of scholarly traditions and perspectives from which it is examined. The contributors – affiliated with universities and research centres across France, Hungary, Latvia, Poland, Romania, and beyond – approach Central and Eastern Europe's shared cultural space through distinct national, linguistic, and methodological lenses. Their studies move between comparative literary history and digital humanities, between feminist, postcolonial, and performative approaches, tracing how the same 19th-century questions – of nation, modernity, and identity – reappear differently across local contexts. This plurality of voices and disciplines transforms the issue into a genuinely transnational conversation about what the 19th century continues to mean today.

The opening section, "Revisiting National Canons", engages directly with the guiding question of this issue: how does the 19th century continue to haunt the cultural and political imagination of Central and Eastern Europe? The authors gathered here explore the "afterlives" of national canons – their spectral persistence in the languages, myths, and affective economies that still structure the region's collective identities. Their essays approach the long 19th century not as a completed epoch, but as a repertoire of unresolved narratives and performative gestures that resurface in the present under new ideological, gendered, and epistemological forms.

Ioana Bot and Ioana Moroșan both situate contemporary Romanian nationalism within this longue durée of inherited symbolic models. In "The Myth of the National Poet, Used in the Present Romanian Political Discourse. What Is New?", Bot examines how Mihai Eminescu's image as Romania's "national poet" remains a touchstone for defining the boundaries of belonging. Through the analysis of political discourse and commemorative practice, she exposes how Romantic mythology continues to sustain modern populist rhetoric and the rhetoric of cultural sovereignty. Moroșan's "From Revolutionary Patriotic Mothers to the Contemporary Nationalist Discourse" extends this inquiry into the gendered dimension of the national myth. By comparing the maternal allegories of 1848 with those in present-day conservative and nationalist movements, she demonstrates how the symbolic figure of the "mother of the nation" has survived as both an instrument of emancipation and a means of ideological control. Taken together, their essays illustrate how the 19th century's affective and gendered patterns of nationalism are not merely inherited but actively re-performed in post-communist Romania.

Nikol Dziub's "Spectres, simulacres, saxifrages et *sopilky*: Lessia Oukraïnka comme revenante dans les discours engagés du XXIe siècle ukrainien" moves the discussion eastward, to a country where the haunting of the 19th century has taken

on renewed urgency. Dziub analyses the spectral "afterlife" of Lesya Ukrainka in contemporary Ukraine – her transformation into a revenant figure invoked by politicians, artists, and feminist intellectuals as a symbol of both resistance and continuity. By exploring how current political and cultural movements reenact the emancipatory ideals of Ukrainka's time, Dziub reveals a form of historical repetition that blurs the boundary between commemoration and reactivation, between the ghosts of the 19th century and the unfinished struggles of the 21st.

The Russian case, examined by Catherine Géry in "Le canon littéraire du XIXe siècle russe à l'épreuve de la guerre: que faire des spectres de Pouchkine et de Dostoïevski après février 2022?", exposes another aspect of this haunting. The war in Ukraine has forced a radical reassessment of the Russian 19th-century canon, long imagined as universal and morally redemptive. Géry traces the epistemological and generational shifts within French Russian studies as scholars grapple with the imperial underpinnings of Pushkin's and Dostoevsky's legacies. Her contribution points to a broader issue central to today's humanities: the need to confront the ghosts of empire that continue to structure literary modernity.

Zoltán Kulcsár-Szabó's "Swearing an Oath by Shouting the Poem. Petőfi and Performative Language in Poetry" revisits another foundational moment of the 19th-century imagination: the revolution of 1848 as an act of linguistic creation. Through a performative reading of Sándor Petőfi's *Nemzeti dal*, Kulcsár-Szabó explores how poetic language could generate collective agency, turning speech into political event. His essay reconsiders the Romantic myth of authorship as an act of nation-building – a legacy whose performative energy still informs the ways modern Central Europe conceives the relation between art, speech, and freedom.

Finally, Ewa Paczoska's "The Polish 19th Century in the Mirror of Twenty-First-Century Literature – The Meanders of Neighbouring", included in the "Documents" section of this issue as a revised and updated translation from Polish, returns to the Polish context, where the 19th century appears less as a memory than as "a troublesome neighbour". By examining contemporary rewritings and ironic appropriations of Romantic motifs, Paczoska shows how modern Polish literature oscillates between fascination and fatigue, parody and reverence, in its dialogue with the Romantic legacy. The persistence of messianic and martyrdom tropes underscores how deeply the emotional structures of the 19th century remain woven into Poland's cultural self-understanding.

The section "(Semi)Peripheral Realisms" turns to the 19th century's most persistent aesthetic formation – realism – and examines how it continues to structure our understanding of representation, emotion, and modernity. Across Central and Eastern Europe, realism has always been a mode of negotiation rather than consensus: a way of mediating between visibility and exclusion, social observation and self-reflection, the desire for progress and the persistence of inherited hierarchies. The essays collected here trace this tension within distinct but interconnected traditions, showing how the realist impulse – its vocabulary of everyday life, its grammar of interiority, its rhetoric of truth – still reverberates through today's critical and methodological debates.

Maria Chiorean's "Emotional Excess and Racialisation in the 19th-Century Romanian Novel" reconsiders the realist novel as a key medium through which ethnicity and affect were codified in the emerging Romanian nation. Drawing on critical race theory and digital corpus analysis, she traces the ways in which representations of Roma characters in 19th-century fiction functioned as emotional and moral markers, shaping hierarchies of belonging. The realist claim to authenticity, Chiorean demonstrates, often rested upon forms of racialised feeling that mirrored the contradictions of the emerging nation-state.

Gábor Palkó's "The Relative Frequency of Inner-Life Verbs as Signifier of Change in 19th- and 20th-Century Fiction? Distant Reading of a Corpus of Hungarian Novels" shifts from the ideological to the methodological plane, testing how new digital tools can illuminate long-term transformations in narrative consciousness. Through a large-scale computational analysis of Hungarian novels, Palkó examines the changing linguistic representation of interiority – the so-called "inward turn" of modern prose. His work situates distant reading within the tension between the quantitative and the interpretive, showing how digital humanities revisit the very questions raised by 19th-century realism: the relation between observation and empathy, surface and depth, the collective and the individual.

A broader historical canvas is drawn by Benedikts Kalnačs in "The Historical Contexts and Aesthetic Self-Reflexiveness of 19th-Century Latvian Literary Realism". His reconstruction of realism in the Baltic provinces situates Latvian literature at the intersection of secularisation, the rise of literacy, and the cultural ambitions of the "New Latvians". Rather than casting the realist programme as an import from the European centres, Kalnačs emphasises its adaptive and self-aware nature. Realism, in this way, becomes a vehicle for articulating cultural autonomy and for positioning Latvian letters within an asymmetric and multilingual literary field – a semi-peripheral contribution to world literature that is both derivative and distinctively local.

Ágnes Hansági's "Mór Jókai, a Contemporary of Pierre Ménard: Metafiction, Hypotyposis and Metalepsis in Jókai's Prose of the 1880s" closes the section by turning realism inside out. Re-examining Jókai's late prose through the lenses of narratology and modernist theory, Hansági uncovers its metafictional complexity and self-referential irony. The interplay between visual vividness (hypotyposis) and narrative self-consciousness (metalepsis) reveals Jókai not as a belated realist but as a proto-modernist experimenting with the limits of representation. The realist text anticipates its own deconstruction, blurring the boundary between realism and modernism that has long structured literary historiography.

In the spirit of this thematic issue's central concern with the "contemporary spectres" of the 19th century, the section "Private Spaces, Public Matters" turns toward the intimate settings where the modern subject was first imagined – and where its afterimages still linger. The essays collected here trace how the domestic sphere, personal writing, and collaborative authorship became both products and producers of 19th-century modernity. Far from being peripheral to public life, these private forms of expression reveal how interiority itself was politicised: the household as a microcosm of social order, the diary as a medium of historical

consciousness, and literary collaboration as a negotiation with gendered hierarchies of authorship.

Each study in this section re-examines the 19th century from within its most personal textures. Anna Pekaniec's "19th-Century Polish Women's Literature of Personal Document – 21st-Century Reception" revisits diaries and memoirs by Polish women writers as archives of experience that challenge the separation between private and public memory. By showing how 21st-century feminist scholarship re-reads these texts as acts of self-definition, Pekaniec exposes the persistence of 19th-century models of authorship and emotion in today's cultural historiography.

Alina Bako's "Translocal Modernism: The Role of Private Spaces in Shaping Narrative Dynamics" investigates how domestic interiors – Flaubert's bourgeois rooms and Papadat-Bengescu's urban apartments – translate the aesthetic and ideological tensions of the "long 19th century" into narrative form. In her reading, private space becomes a translocal engine of literary modernity, connecting the Western canon and the Romanian periphery through shared anxieties about individuality, class, and modernisation.

Cătălina Stanislav's "Hardly a Room of One's Own. Gender and Collaborative Writing in the Prewar Romanian Novel" reconsiders the social foundations of authorship itself. Exploring mixed-gender and female-female collaborations in early Romanian fiction, she uncovers how the first women novelists negotiated visibility within patriarchal literary institutions. Their co-authored texts, oscillating between dependence and defiance, expose another "spectre" of the 19th century – the persistent association between creative legitimacy and masculine authority.

Taken together, the essays in this issue show that the 19th century persists less as a distant historical formation than as what Ewa Paczoska aptly calls a "troublesome neighbour" whose presence is continually negotiated: sometimes welcomed, sometimes resisted, frequently reinterpreted. Its spectres circulate through political rhetoric, cultural myths, new methodological perspectives, and the intimate spaces of literary imagination. By tracing the shifting forms of this neighbourly presence, the contributions gathered here reveal how the 19th century continues to inhabit – and at times unsettle – the cultural present of Central and Eastern Europe. We hope that this collection will encourage further reflection on the many ways in which this long century still lives beside us.

IOANA BOT

THE MYTH OF THE NATIONAL POET, USED IN THE PRESENT ROMANIAN POLITICAL DISCOURSE WHAT IS NEW?

The post-communist Romanian Parliament decided (through Law no. 238 from 7 December 2010) for the National Culture Day to be celebrated on 15 January, the official date of birth of Mihai Eminescu, the national poet. In the Republic of Moldova, Mihai Eminescu's date of birth is actually the national day. Celebrations for this occasion are extremely numerous and diverse every year, as is to be expected. Without being worried that their intensity (often, lacking in imagination and originality) could lead, among the wider public, to over-saturation with the symbol of the "national poet", the elected representatives encourage, finance and participate in such commemorative rituals. These also speak about the relationship of current Romanian society with its nationalist-romantic filiation models, about the permeability of the public to anachronistic or extremist political positions. As ever since the institution of Eminescu's figure as a national poet in Romanian culture, the manifestations related to his cult reflect the state (options, vulnerabilities, frustrations, etc.) of our society and not the qualities, which are indisputable and numerous, of the writer Mihai Eminescu, who thus finds himself reused in constructions that are foreign to him[1]. What has drawn our attention, over the past few years, has been the frequency with which the national poet is invoked at such public, official, celebratory moments by the political discourse of sovereigntist, extreme-right parties that have recently appeared on the Romanian political stage. The invocation of the national poet as a founder of a modern extremist ideology (incorrectly, but we all know that the "founding fathers" are, after all, a part of a mythological past, reconstructed to serve a future that is otherwise fragile) was frequent in other eras of Romanian history as well. From Corneliu Zelea-Codreanu's extreme-right Iron Guard to the "nostrification" of the national poet by the Stalinist and by Ceaușescu's Communism respectively, the use of the myth went through the entire political spectrum and accompanied the most important delimitations of certain historical eras. However, in the face of this

[1] On the personality of the writer Mihai Eminescu (probably the most important 19th-century Romanian poet) and on his mythicization as a national poet at the beginning of the 20th century, see Ioana Bot, "Eminescu, Mihai", in Joep Leerssen (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe* (electronic version; Amsterdam: Study Platform on Interlocking Nationalisms, https://ernie.uva.nl/), article version 1.1.3.1/a, last changed 26-04-2022. Accessed February 27, 2025. See also Ioana Bot, Angela Tarantino, "Eminescu, Mihai", in Ioana Bot, Angela Tarantino, *Cronologia della letteratura rumena moderna (1780–1914) / Cronologia literaturii române moderne (1780–1914)*, Florence, FUP, 2019.

DACOROMANIA LITTERARIA, XII, 2025, pp. 11–28 | DOI: 10.33993/drl.2025.12.11.28

recent use of the figure of the national poet, we wonder whether we can detect any changes in the functioning of the cultural myth compared to the historically established, known and previously studied patterns. Let's take a closer look at a few examples.

In 2025, on 15 January, on the National Culture's Day, the leader of the Sovereigntist Party SOS Romania, Diana Șoșoacă (a member of the European Parliament in the current legislature) travelled to Ipotești (Botoșani), the birthplace of the national poet, where her party organized its own Eminescu commemoration event. As it can be noticed on the poster for the manifestations organized in Botoșani (**Annex 1** below), Diana Șoșoacă's one-day attendance is announced on the scale of a "national conference" (whether this conference really took place we do not know, as nothing was disclosed to the press about it afterwards). The participants listed on the poster are, at best, minor names from the provincial cultural life, singers of sentimental songs etc. – probably members and sympathizers of the SOS Romania Party. What we know with certainty is that the participants at the "congress" in question travelled to the poet's memorial house in Ipotești, destructively and memorably imposing their presence[2]. Just like on other occasions, Diana Șoșoacă recited again from Eminescu's poem *Doină*[3], which she considers exemplary for her own party's political programme. A year prior, on the same occasion, also in Botoșani (a county where political options are favourable to her, an aspect emphasized by the parliamentary and presidential elections of November-December 2024), the same politician combined revolutionary patriotic symbols (Avram Iancu, the leader of the 1848 Revolution in Transylvania, another Romanian province, different from Moldova, where Botoșani is situated) with references to the national poet, in a discourse with instigating accents, deficient lexis and rudimentary logic:

> I will tell you something: many of you are afraid – renounce fear. Fear makes you betray your children. You had and I had children to build a nation, and the nation must be happy as desired by Avram Iancu. You have the obligation to sacrifice yourselves for your children; you created them to educate them with courage. Leave fear aside because this fear has brought us where we are. Eminescu's words are more actual – with fear, you ended up being enslaved, and our children abroad are Europe's slaves. This is not what Eminescu wanted...[4].

---

[2] See Florin Budescu, "Diana Şoşoacă şi susţinătorii ei au distrus florile de la bustul lui Eminescu, la Ipoteşti" ["Diana Șoșoacă and Her Supporters Destroyed the Flowers at Eminescu's Bust in Ipotești"], *Newsweek România*, 21 January 2025, https://newsweek.ro/politica/diana-sosoaca-si-sustinatorii-acesteia-au-distrus-florile-de-la-bustul-lui-eminescu-la-ipotesti. Accessed February 27, 2025.

[3] See the public recording of Șoșoacă reciting an allegedly "uncensored version" of the poem *Doina* on https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=1344481443654697. Accessed February 27, 2025.

[4] See Alina Toma, "Diana Șoșoacă, discurs agramat despre Eminescu: 'Ați ajuns să fiți sclavizați, iar copiii noștri în afară sclavi ai Europei'" ["Diana Șoșoacă's Illiterate Speech on Eminescu: 'You Have Become

The question is: what are "Eminescu's words"? Diana Șoșoacă frequently recites (she did it this time as well, in Ipotești) the poem *Doina*, pretending that she is rendering the "uncensored version" of Eminescu's text. This is one of Eminescu's creations that can be easily instrumented to support xenophobic positions: conceived as an occasional text, the poem has eight autonomous versions before the final text of 1883 (read by the poet at the unveiling of the statue of the voivode Ștefan cel Mare in Iași)[5]. Because of the xenophobic – and especially Russophobe – sentiments that are explicit in the poem, it was forbidden by communists, but it remained, however, extremely well-known to the wider public. Eminescu's xenophobia is as incontestable as it is historically contextualized in the second half of the 19th century, an era with Romanian nationalism on the rise and political fragility of the new Romanian state in relation to the major European powers (the independence of the Romanian Kingdom, declared in May 1877, had been received with major reservations in Western chancelleries, just as it had been in Moscow or Constantinople…).

But Diana Șoșoacă is not at all interested in maintaining the historical truth or the finesse of certain interpretive nuances. Each time she publicly recites one of the versions of Eminescu's *Doina*, she pretends that she is restoring the uncensored text as well: it is not clear either who, when or why has censored it – the politician implicitly presents herself as the privileged owner of an ultimate truth, embodied as such by Eminescu's poetry. The manipulative strategies are important to her, the national poet being subordinated to party reasoning, which adds to poor knowledge of the writer invoked, decontextualized and thus reduced to a blasphemous invective.

The national poet's image is also used by another political group, which is relatively new on the Romanian scene, but occupying extremist, sovereigntist positions similar to those of the SOS Romania Party: AUR. The website of the AUR party leader announced, in January 2025, that the design of the party cards issued this year would display Eminescu's effigy in order to "properly" commemorate 175 years since his birth[6]. The rhetoric of the announcement, abundant and empty, is highly significant: the national poet is "the soul of eternal Romania" and "he teaches us what dignity, sacrifice and respect for our roots mean" (what all of this *means* is not detailed, it is just the national poet who is

Slavized, While Our Children Abroad Are Europe's Slaves'"], *Ziare.Com*, 14 January 2024, https://ziare.com/diana-sosoaca/discurs-sosoaca-agramat-eminescu-1847014. Accessed February 27, 2025.

[5] A synthesis of the history of writing and publishing the *Doina*, in Cătălin Cioabă, "Note" ["Notes"] to Mihai Eminescu, *Poezii* [*Poems*]. Selection, chronology and notes by C. Cioabă, București, Humanitas, 2014, pp. 576-577.

[6] George Simion, "Mihai Eminescu, sufletul României eterne! El ne învață ce înseamnă demnitatea, sacrificiul și respectul pentru rădăcinile noastre" ["Mihai Eminescu, the Soul of Eternal Romania! He Teaches Us what Dignity, Sacrifice and Respect for Our Roots Mean"], *georgesimion.ro*, 15 January 2025, https://georgesimion.ro/mihai-eminescu-sufletul-romaniei-eterne-el-ne-invata-ce-inseamna-demnitatea-sacrificiul-si-respectul-pentru-radacinile-noastre/. Accessed February 27, 2025.

indicated as the source of wisdom). For the 2024 parliamentary and presidential elections, AUR used, among its election slogans, a line from Eminescu: "*Alte măști, aceeași piesă*"[7]. The choice of a line from a gnomic poem urging one to withdraw from the world, employed to express a call to fight… against the "system's" corruption, shows that the reference to Eminescu is made neither out of a thorough knowledge of the source, nor in relation to the latter. The allusion to the national poet is supposed to work, in such situations, as a *passe-partout* of a simplistic message, recognisable by the wider (and, implicitly, uninformed) electorate. George Simion, the leader of AUR, often participates in low key commemorations of the national poet, profiting from a logic of association (... with one unanimously known) in order to increase his visibility[8].

The political leader of AUR is also famous, in relation to the use of the national poet's image, for two "live" blunders. In 2021, he claimed to recite a poem by Eminescu from the Parliament rostrum. However, the text belonged to a minor contemporary provincial poet, Marian Bamboi[9]. On a different occasion, the same Simion led a march of "true Romanians" (a phrase that reminds too much of the "green Romanians" in the rhetoric of the interwar extreme-right…) up to Cotroceni Palace, where he declared: "I have given President Johannis a map of Greater Romania, of the whole Romania, from the Dniester to the Tisza, as it was left to us by Mihai Eminescu"[10]. If Eminescu was invoking the Dniester and Tisza rivers (in the same poem, *Doina*), he was doing it referencing the Romanian provinces found, at the time of the writing of that poem, between the borders of the Russian Empire and the Habsburg Empire. He could not have referred to the borders of

---

[7] English translation: "Other masks, the same old story". See Mihai Eminescu, *Poems*. English version by Corneliu M. Popescu, Bucharest, Eminescu, 1978, p. 108.

[8] Thus, in January 2025, at the poet's grave in Bucharest. See Mălina Pană, "George Simion îl 'semiplânge' pe Mihai Eminescu la cimitir. Președintele AUR, afectat la slujba organizată la mormântul poetului" ["George Simion 'Half-weeps' for Mihai Eminescu at the Cemetery. The AUR Leader Feigns Emotion during the Service Held at the Poet's Grave"], *Mediaflux*, 15 January 2025, https://mediaflux.ro/foto-video-george-simion-il-semiplange-pe-mihai-eminescu-la-cimitir-presedintele-aur-afectat-la-slujba-organizata-la-mormantul-poetului/. Accessed February 27, 2025.

[9] Mihai Roman, "Epic fail: George Simion l-a confundat pe Mihai Eminescu cu obscurul poet Marian Bamboi. Cum a declamat în fața întregii țări falsele versuri eminesciene" ["Epic Fail: George Simion Mistook Mihai Eminescu for the Unknown Poet Marian Bamboi. How He Proudly Recited Bamboi's Verses as Eminescu's Before the Entire Country"], *G4Media.ro*, 26 May 2021, https://www.g4media.ro/video-epic-fail-george-simion-l-a-confundat-pe-mihai-eminescu-cu-obscurul-poet-marian-bamboi-cum-a-declamat-in-fata-intregii-tari-falsele-versuri-eminesciene.html. Accessed February 27, 2025. A poet without any publications, Marian Bamboi exists only on social networks, where he was probably found and read by the AUR leader.

[10] Victor Gheja, "Simion, patriot analfabet: 'Eminescu ne-a lăsat Romania Mare de la Nistru până la Tisa'. Eminescu a murit cu 30 de ani înainte de Marea Unire" ["Simion, Illiterate Patriot: 'Eminescu Left Us Greater Romania, from the Dniester to the Tisza'. Eminescu Died 30 Years before the Great Union"], *aktual24.ro*, 14 December 2020, https://www.aktual24.ro/simion-patriot-analfabet-eminescu-ne-a-lasat-romania-mare-de-la-nistru-pana-la-tisa-eminescu-a-murit-cu-30-de-ani-inainte-de-marea-unire/. Accessed February 27, 2025.

Greater Romania (on the Dniester and Tisza) since they were established only in 1918! George Simion does not let such details hold him back, though: Eminescu is, once more, the magical word that justifies the very idea of political reclaiming, of historical justice.

Finally, the third in this series of examples (and the last one, for now) centres around the candidate at the most recent (annulled) presidential election of November 2024, Călin Georgescu, who (successfully) promoted a violent sovereigntist, xenophobic and anti-rationalist discourse. One of the striking particularities of his discourse is the lack of a logical relation between his statements, which is – probably – attractive to those looking for a prophet promising salvation. The salvation of the nation, of course: Georgescu's political strategies reload several elements of historical messianism with vague romantic, nationalistic connotations, all of them impoverished by a repetitive imaginary. By proposing himself as the saviour of the threatened national identity (by the European Union, by migrants, etc.), as a man of peace and a saviour of the nation, Călin Georgescu is explicitly exhorting Romanians to make peace with Eminescu (one wonders where the war is...), apparently... the most disruptive man after Jesus Christ[11]. With this entirely unsupported statement, the idea of Eminescu as a "world threat" allows Georgescu to promote himself by addressing certain atavistic fears: he will save the Romanian nation, he will save the world from all the dangers that threaten it at present, etc. In this use of the national poet as an identity image there is no detailing of the contents of said image, which is brought into discussion as a "monad" – in fact, as an image lacking in content. Its only content is, perhaps, the "national" reference: Eminescu is the national poet, so whoever disrespects him, disrespects the nation he (supposedly) represents.

Those used to the history and the shapes the myth of the national poet took in the Romanian political discourses of the last century know that the use of Eminescu's image to justify political programmes (entirely foreign to the vision of the writer), as well as the abusive manipulation of his writings, are not new. It was no earlier than the 1990s when Miron Cozma, one of the most controversial political figures and the leader of the miners from the Jiu Valley (who came to Bucharest to quash the civil society's protests), justified his messianic destiny as a leader of the Romanian people by some physical similarity with one of Eminescu's pictures (*sic*!)[12], and, respectively, by his poetic talent (in fact non-existent – as

[11] See "Călin Georgescu, o nouă replică: 'Mihai Eminescu a fost cel mai periculos om după Isus Hristos'" ["Călin Georgescu, a New Statement: 'Mihai Eminescu Was the Most Disruptive Man after Jesus Christ'"], *Știri de Cluj*, 26 November 2024, https://www.stiridecluj.ro/national/calin-georgescu-o-noua-replica-mihai-eminescu-a-fost-cel-mai-periculos-om-dupa-isus-hristos-video. Accessed February 27, 2025. See also "Călin Georgescu despre Mihai Eminescu" ["Călin Georgescu on Mihai Eminescu"], *Observatorul Prahovean / YouTube Channel*, 27 November 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_bahdENxb-nQ. Accessed February 20, 2025.

[12] "At 33, Miron Cozma perfectly resembled Mihai Eminescu. He had long hair […] and the same gaze as the great poet. Later, while in prison, Cozma started writing poems for his then girlfriend,

proven by his self-published volumes[13]). Miron Cozma even adjudicated the nickname "The Evening Star of Hard Coal", an allusion to Eminescu's clichéd nickname "The Evening Star of Romanian Poetry"[14]. What is, then, the additional element brought by the recent uses of the national poet in the electoral messages of the new extreme-right on the Romanian political chessboard? Beyond establishing that the romantic side of the national poet, invoked for his messianic role by a fragile community, survives in 21st-century Romania, could one notice in such references to Eminescu a change in the acknowledged paradigm in use since the inter-war modernity?

This paradigm was evident, for instance, in the 2010 justification of the Romanian Parliament to institute the National Culture's Day on 15 January, Eminescu's birth date. The reasoning for the decision in question was read, in a festive Parliament seance, by Eugen Simion, the former president of the Romanian Academy, a literary historian and specialist in Eminescu's poetry; it followed a nationalist, conservative logic, justifying the adoption of such a celebration as a means to oppose globalization: if we, Romanians, lose our culture, we lose our nationhood and we will end up disappearing from the map of history… consequently, we should celebrate the national poet, who embodies the myth of the existence of Romanians[15].

Just as it is very well proven by Anne-Marie Thiesse,

> La commémoration pousse à l'extrême l'ambivalence entre l'œuvre, l'auteur et la nation quand la logique décimale de l'anniversaire met en avant non pas la publication d'un livre, mais la date du premier vagissement ou du dernier soupir d'un écrivain. Les appropriations successives de créateurs littéraires par des régimes politiques différents, voire antagonistes, montrent que les ajustements de biographies et d'œuvres sont communément pratiqués[16].

Marinela Nițu, which earned him the nickname *The Evening Star of Hard Coal*, after Eminescu's famous work". See Petre Dobrescu, "Așa arăta Miron Cozma în tinerețe" ["This Is How Miron Cozma Looked Like in His Youth"], *Libertatea*, 30 May 2009, https://www.libertatea.ro/stiri/exclusiv-asa-arata-miron-cozma-in-tinerete-348966. Accessed February 27, 2025.

[13] Gheorghe Chelu, "Miron Cozma: 'Nu mai scriu pentru Marinela'" ["Miron Cozma: 'I No Longer Write for Marinela'"], *Click.ro*, 23 July 2018, https://click.ro/vedete/vedete-romanesti/miron-cozma-nu-mai-scriu-pentru-marinela-61944.html. Accessed February 27, 2025.

[14] See Ruxandra Cesereanu, "Mitopolitică românească în secolul XX" ["Romanian Mythopolitics in the 20th Century"], *Memoria.ro*, 2003, https://www.memoria.ro/studii/cluj/studii_si_recenzii/-mitopolitica_romaneasca_in_secolul_xx/1463/pagina-6/. Accessed February 27, 2025. See also Ramona Ursu, *Miron Cozma de la "sursa Paul", la Luceafărul huilei* [*Miron Cozma from "Paul", the Codename as the Securitate Collaborator, to the The Evening Star of Hard Coal*], București, Integral, 2016.

[15] The discourse of Eugen Simion is used as an example by Anne-Marie Thiesse, in her exceptional synthesis *La fabrique de l'écrivain national. Entre littérature et politique*, Paris, Gallimard, 2019, p. 184.

[16] Thiesse, *La fabrique*, p. 201-202.

However, in the cases mentioned in the opening pages, it is not only about "adjusting" certain elements from literary history to fit new political discourses or programmes – but about an actual, even violent, impoverishment of the contents associated with the image of the national writer, as a symbol of identity and unity of a historical community.

The insistence with which these politicians resort to invoking the national poet (... for causes and programmes that are foreign to him and his work) is, perhaps, according to a specialist such as George G. Grabowicz, even more evident around Central and Eastern Europe, where it responds to certain persistent historical fragilities and frustration of certain communities for which belonging to a "nation" is itself a recent element in their historical evolution. Grabowicz shows this by reference to Slavic cultures, which have, according to him, a less stabilized identity along a historical evolution that is sufficiently favourable and long:

> Cette tendance est plus évidente dans les pays slaves [...] mais elle s'applique aussi aux nations ayant apparemment une identité stable. [...] La notion de poète national a sa propre historicité [...] Dans chacune des sociétés en question les conditions sociales et politiques sont si propices – et le besoin d'une reconfiguration et d'une reformulation de l'identité nationale tellement irrésistible – que le poète en question, ayant déjà atteint un niveau inégalé d'éminence de son vivant, devient peu après sa mort un héros culturel indiscutable et avant al fin du siècle l'icône nationale. [...] Mickiewicz, Pouchkine, Chevtchenko, traversant des étapes largement analogues d'apothéose – en tant que Barde, Martyre et Prophète – deviennent des idoles majeures incarnant l'esprit national, héros divinisés de la religion séculière de chacune de ces sociétés[17].

However, what the studies dedicated to national symbols in Central and Eastern Europe have demonstrated over the past forty years (in the area of research constructed by Pierre Nora), was that recrudescence of the cult of national figures (heroes, prophets, poets…) followed patterns consecrated in the first modernity, even as such phenomena were "hijacked" by the political dictate of totalitarian regimes (again, Central and Eastern Europe offer several examples to this end). One can conclude, together with Anne-Marie Thiesse, that

> Les références aux écrivains nationaux relèvent du cadre de vie usuel de la nation. Lorsque le pouvoir interdit l'expression politique dans l'espace public, la commémoration de l'écrivain national ou le rassemblement auprès de sa statue peuvent en être des substituts[18].

---

[17] George G. Grabowicz, "Le poète national: le cas de Mickievicz, Pouchkine et Chevtchenko", in Chantal Delsol, Michel Maslowski, Joanna Nowicki (eds.), *Mythes et symboles politiques en Europe Centrale*, Paris, PUF, 2002, pp. 352, 354.

[18] Thiesse, *La fabrique*, p. 169. On the topic of 19th-century national commemorations, see also Joep Leerssen, Ann Rigney (eds.), *Commemorating Writers in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Nation-Building and Centenary Fever*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Nevertheless, as it has often happened in the recent history of Central and Eastern Europe, the "return of the repressed" excluded from major historic narratives, imposed by dictatorial regimes after World War II, meant not only the tenacious survival of "inherited" nationalisms together with the construction of national cultures and their political claims[19], but also the return to such mythemes or identitarian figures of the nation, reloaded in entirely new political contexts. Anne-Marie Thiesse thus invokes the case of the Slovenian national poet, France Prešeren (1800–1849), who enjoyed a rather modest level of glory in his lifetime but became a cult object of the Slovenian nation during its affirmation process at the end of the 19th century. Subsequently, his cult was consecrated in Slovenia by successive political regimes: his first statue was erected in Ljubljana in 1905, subsequently to be venerated by the national resistance under World War II and later by the communists, who promoted him as a precursor of their 1945 revolution. The date of his death became the National Day of Slovenian Culture in Yugoslavia and then, after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Slovenia's new anthem had lines written by this national poet. His celebration continues nowadays, within a discourse of national self-determination that is specifically post-Yugoslavian and, sometimes, anti-European[20].

The national poet becomes the subject of recent reloadings where current political claims meet the older, 19th century model of national affirmation. This happened with Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's national poet, celebrated on 9 March 2014, at the bicentennial of his birth. In the tense political context resulted from the recent Russian attacks, the commemorative celebrations of the national poet were to be transformed in demonstrations and protest gatherings at his statue in the centre of Kiev, which moved to the Maidan, where – on the occasion of the official anniversary organized by the authorities – the Ukrainian Prime-Minister quoted Shevchenko's verses in order to explicitly criticize the territorial claims of nowadays Russia. In 2014 in Sevastopol, the fights between those who opposed the annexation of Crimea and those who supported Russia also started next to the statue of the Ukrainian national poet[21]. For our demonstration, we find it highly relevant that the lines of the "Ukrainian national poet" were used, with obvious irony, by the Russian adversaries of Putin's regime over the following years. They were invoked by Mihail Hodorkovski, who recorded discourses of the Ukrainian demonstrators from the protest[22]. Calling to revolt against Putin, the former oligarch turned leader of the anti-Putin resistance refers to the symbolism of the national poet *of a different nation* (!) inciting, by the respective lines, to

[19] About the survival of European Romantic nationalism, see the exceptional synthesis coordinated by Joep Leerssen, *Encyclopaedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe*, Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam Press, 2022.
[20] Thiesse, *La fabrique*, pp. 176-177.
[21] *Ibidem*, p. 173.
[22] *Ibidem*, p. 173.

disobedience (to *disunion*, in the logic of the symbols of the national unity of the era in which such mythemes had been created) against the very leader of the nation, its "father" and saviour, thereby denounced as a dictator.

Still, in this part of contemporary Europe, the national poet is reloaded as justification in sovereigntist, extreme-right discourses. The discourse of a Party-minded position publicly claims to represent an entire community (which falsifies from the start the stakes of the poet's affiliation to the tradition of nationalist Romanticism, namely that of *nations united*), under the guise of invoking a figure that is traditionally accepted as "unifying", as the national poet is. It has happened during the recent anniversary of the bicentennial of the birth of Petőfi[23], Hungary's national poet, when the Hungarian Prime-Minister Viktor Orbàn claimed his political positions replicated the ideas advocated, two centuries ago, by the national poet, with reference to the creation of an independent state of the Hungarian nation[24].

In such a historical and political context, we wonder whether the recent uses of the "Romanian national poet" have any additional dimension – and what this could tell us about current Romanian culture, as well as about our political stance on the world stage?

Unlike the previously mentioned national poets, who received this title mid-19th century because of their involvement in the construction of a national romantic current, the Romanian national poet we are discussing is… *the second Romanian national poet*. In Romanian culture, the one who would historically correspond to the previously discussed national poets is actually Vasile Alecsandri, a politically engaged writer and hero of the 1848 Revolution, a long-lasting politician (and, as such, careful about constructing his public *persona*). The consecration of Mihai Eminescu as "the Romanian national poet" does not belong to the generation of Romanian revolutionary Romanticism, nor to the one following, in the second half of the 19th century, but to the generation that, at the beginning of the next century, accomplished "the great Union" of all provinces inhabited by Romanians, a political act consecrated in 1918, after the fall of empires and the end of World War I. The unionist ideals (for which the political voices of maximum audience belonged to figures such as Nicolae Iorga or Octavian Goga – important political actors even during the inter-war period) were reawakened following the format of national claims of the barely closed century, under the banner of a mythical figure, skilfully built and imposed to the general public.

Mihai Eminescu, the Romanian romantic poet who was "invested by his compatriots with this singular role [and who] is revered as the most significant

[23] About the events organized on this occasion, see https://www.petofi200.hu/. Accessed February 20, 2025. We thank our colleague Imre Balázs for pointing out these references.

[24] See Orbàn's Facebook post "Minden magyarban van egy kis Petőfi" ["There Is a Little Petőfi in Every Hungarian"], 15 March 2023, https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=232407489191444. Accessed February 20, 2025.

monument of Romanian culture"[25], has thus become, in the Romanian public discourse, the symbol of certain claims foreign both to the author and to his work. The era that justified resorting to his mythicized figure was no longer that of the original national Romanticism, but a new, modern one that was, at the same time, turned toward a mythical past, fragile in its European claims and frustrated by its numerous features of backwardness, which put it at a disadvantage on an ever more complex political stage after World War I. In the fact that he is *a second national poet*, whose cult almost entirely erased the first from the Romanian national memory in order for the myth to be embodied, lies Eminescu's first particularity – that of the cultural myth of a national identity always reclaimed from defensive positions. Knowing this primary detail, it is no wonder that "Eminescu came to embody Romania's claim to glory and its leading obsessions", while the superlatives entailed by his cult "have often obscured his true contributions, giving rise to a choir of immaculate misconceptions"[26].

This is probably a rare occurrence of romantic nationalism reloaded so tardily and so persistently in the history of European nationalism, under the mask of the "national poet": "This tardy, post-hoc application of the Romantic Nationalist «national poet» function to a post-Romantic author makes the reception history of Eminescu an unusual case in the history of cultural nationalism in Europe".[27]

In fact, if we take a closer look at the use of the figure of the Romanian national poet in the political discourse of the past century, we quite easily realize that the misconceptions are not as "innocent" as they were made fun of by Călin-Andrei Mihăilescu. The mythicization process that the romantic writer went through is accurately synthesized by the author:

> Shortly after his death, Eminescu was hailed as a civilizing hero, the prophet of a hallowed past [and he] was invested with utopian values, to be later personalized again as the embodiment of Romanian absolutes; […] his iconicity became an obligatory feature, and was put to repeated use and abuse by critics, teachers, politicians, priests and students, by soldiers and civilians alike[28].

Eminescu's xenophobia, which can be historically explained in the European context of the 19th century, just like his thanatophilia and passéism, were rediscovered and used as political justifications by (various periods of) extreme-right movements in Romanian modernity. The themes of the revolutionary Romanticism, developed in his poems, were reread and adapted to the Bolshevik ideologies of the communism imposed by the Soviet occupier after World War II.

---

[25] Călin-Andrei Mihăilescu, "Mihai Eminescu: The Foundational Truth of a Dual Lyre", in Marcel Corniș-Pope, John Neubauer (eds.), *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe. Junctures and Disjunctures in the 19th and the 20th centuries*, volume 4: *Types and Stereotypes*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2010, p. 86.
[26] *Ibidem*, p. 86.
[27] Bot, "Eminescu".
[28] Mihăilescu, "Mihai Eminescu", p. 88.

De-contextualized and misread, Eminescu was instrumentalized as a founding father of the currents of nationalist socialism during Ceaușescu's dictatorship, with numerous interesting episodes, relevant to the history of the past Romanian century. Although the most interesting commentators of his work from the end of the previous century "warned against abusing his image"[29], the enthusiasm of the mythicising discourses and practices has not been extinguished, generating very diverse types of ritualization of the myth.

Still, in its posthumous reception, as well as in the construction of the national poet figure carried out by successive generations of Eminescophiles in the 20th century, literary critics and political figures alike, Eminescu's work was often subjected to distortions attempting to exacerbate its nationalism, originally late Romanticist in nature (and mainly motivated by the context of the writer's intellectual formation[30]). What is happening today in situations such as the examples that opened the present article, resorting to the reference of the national poet Eminescu, confirms the idea, supported by Călin-Andrei Mihăilescu as well, that "Even in present-day Romania, Eminescu remains an ambivalent marker of Romanian identity and a cypher for diverse imaginings of that identity"[31].

Most of the studies dedicated to Eminescu's mythicization focus on the formation of the myth and on its evolution intensified by the political discourse of two dictatorships that appropriate it as an original reference: the right-wing dictatorship of the inter-war period and the communist dictatorship after World War II. These analyses target less the myth's current functioning. There is a detailed study of Eminescu's "image negotiation" in the historical context of the Junimea movement and under the dominant figure of Titu Maiorescu, the *spiritus rector* of the movement and the poet's protector – and, at the same time, the first and the most important promoter of a recognition of his immense literary talent. The same study, signed by Iulian Costache[32], follows the instrumentalization of the reception of the writer's work, with the help of modern (posthumous) editions, but it does not investigate other territories (especially the political ones) that the poet's figure, thus constructed, migrates toward as it becomes mythicized. From the myth's emergence to its consecration, recent bibliography records a volume dedicated to the "history and anatomy" of the cultural myth[33] that reveals, through a series of case studies, examples of using the national myth up until the immediate post-communist period. Passionate and journalistic, the essay by Lucian Boia –

[29] *Ibidem*, p. 89.
[30] Bot, "Eminescu". See also Ioana Bot (ed.), *"Mihai Eminescu, poet național român". Istoria și anatomia unui mit cultural* [*"Mihai Eminescu, the Romanian National Poet". The History and Anatomy of a Cultural Myth*], Cluj-Napoca, Dacia, 2001.
[31] Bot, "Eminescu".
[32] Iulian Costache, *Eminescu, negocierea unei imagini. Construcția unui canon, emergența unui mit* [*Eminescu. The Negotiation of an Image. The Construction of a Canon, the Emergence of a Myth*], București, Cartea Românească, 2008.
[33] Bot (ed.), "Mihai Eminescu".

published in 2015 – does not offer a synthesis and does not systematically bring to date the historical information of previous research, but rather prefers an emphasized ironic-critical perspective, commenting on several moments when the misuse of the national poet allows him to satirize the current state of the Romanian academic environment, of the political class, etc.[34]. With a different stake and scope, we can mention the studies by Andrei Terian[35], whose starting points are different from the presumptions of the present considerations, both at the conceptual and applied levels, concerning details of literary history related to the relation between Eminescu's work and the construction of the figure of the national poet. To start with, the distinguished literary critic considers that the national poet is a concept foreign to – and paradoxical for – the world literary stage. We consider (in line with the ideas expressed by Joep Leerssen, on which the *Encyclopaedia of Romanic Nationalism* was built, but also with those of Alain Vaillant, at the basis of the *Dictionary of Romanticism*[36], for instance) that the myth of the national poet, built in all national literatures upon French (Victor Hugo) and English (Byron) models, is the transnational project of European Romanticism "par excellence". Regarding Eminescu, Andrei Terian attributes to the author himself the intention of becoming both a universal poet and a voice of his nation: a complex career project for which we consider that neither the work itself nor Eminescu's archives offer sufficient arguments. Synthesizable, in the critic's words, as "What I want to do, instead, is to show how, in certain situations, national poets, in order to become and be acknowledged as such, take the longer, international and even intercontinental road home, to national recognition and, in our case, idolatry"[37], his perspective has an amplitude and object different from our considerations.

Most of the studies dedicated to the national poet's myth continue, in fact, to mythically read history itself, in a perspective that implicitly claims to originate from the same 19th century, with its "seemingly parthenogenetic birth of a new historical science". Such a perspective "consigns to «an older tradition» precisely those historical-minded writers who galvanized the imagination of the contemporary public"[38], despite the fact that historians and writers such as Nicolae Iorga or Octavian Goga were building, by this new myth of the national poet, an

[34] Lucian Boia, *Mihai Eminescu, românul absolut. Facerea și desfacerea unui mit* [*Mihai Eminescu, the Absolute Romanian. The Making and Unmaking of a Myth*], București, Humanitas, 2015.
[35] Andrei Terian, "Prophet, Martyr, Saint: Mihai Eminescu's Lateral Canonization", in Jón Karl Helgason, Marijan Dović (eds.), *Great Immortality: Studies on European Cultural Sainthood*, Leiden, Brill, 2019, pp. 294-312; Andrei Terian, "Mihai Eminescu: From National Mythology to the World Pantheon", in Mircea Martin, Christian Moraru, Andrei Terian (eds.), *Romanian Literature as World Literature*, New York, Bloomsbury, 2019, pp. 35-54.
[36] Alain Vaillant (dir.), *Dictionnaire du romantisme*, Paris, CNRS Editions, 2012.
[37] Andrei Terian, "Mihai Eminescu: From National Mythology to the World Pantheon", ed. cit., p. 36.
[38] Stephen Bann, "The Sense of the Past: Image, Text and Object in the Formation of Historical Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century Britain", in H. Aram Veeser (ed.), *The New Historicism*, Routledge, New York, 1989, p. 103.

essential component of the national imaginary that, in 1918, would have fulfilled the main claims left pending in the middle of the previous century – and that would evolve rooted in the same imaginary. It is a special interpretative process, through which historical plenitude sees itself conjured with the help of an assertive rhetoric: the way Nicolae Iorga (or Constantin Noica)[39] wrote about "Eminescu – the absolute Romanian" is very similar with the late re-establishment of the myth of the national poet: as if it were an objective historical reality, coming from a Romantic past, on an uninterrupted path: a filiation that is compulsory, taken on as such and only then looked at critically.

Resorting to the myth of the national poet in Romanian contemporaneity seems to be a difficult subject, left to specialized studies. The emphasized interference of critical endeavours with the power plays of academic and cultural national institutions, which build the policies of public memory and finance the appropriate programmes, is not foreign to such difficulties – quite the contrary[40].

We wonder whether the examples such as the ones discussed in the beginning allow us to observe new emerging paradigms, in which the use of the national poet no longer works according to the consecrated definitions. On the one hand, like any myth – this one too should answer

> certain fundamental needs of the individual and of the community; by resolving these requests (whether economic, social, political or psychological), it earns a special (cultural) prestige and a leading position in the entirety of the collective's cultural products. This explains the community's special attitude toward such a type of narrative: the fact that a certain story ends up having a certain prestigious cultural position generates an out of the ordinary attitude toward the respective story – namely, faith[41].

To which fundamental needs does the myth of the national Romanian poet, employed thus, respond? What new social functions can we see attributed to it, since the myth itself does not have "a special content, but [...] special social functions"[42]. Let us look at such questions more closely.

The history of this cultural myth throughout more than a century of Romanian modernity is developing and gaining strength in times dominated by what Pierre Nora called "the obsession of commemoration". In the conclusion of his monumental synthesis about memory places (entitled precisely "L'ère de la

---

[39] See Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria literaturii românești. Introducere sintetică* [*History of the Romanian Literature. Synthetic Introduction*], București, Editura Librăriei Pavel Suru, 1929; Constantin Noica, *Eminescu sau gânduri despre omul deplin al culturii românești* [*Eminescu or Thoughts on the Universal Man of Romanian Culture*], București, Eminescu, 1975.

[40] These aspects have been discussed in Ioana Bot, "A quoi bon, le poète national l'âge de la littérature mondiale?", *Slovo*, 50, 2020, pp. 57-75.

[41] Mihai Coman, *101 concepte pentru a înțelege religiile lumii* [*101 Concepts for Understanding the World Religions*], Iași, Polirom, 2024, p. 137.

[42] *Ibidem*, p. 137.

commémoration"), Nora commented on France's entry, in the last decades of the 20th century, into a "phase of high commemorative frequency", manifested in all contemporary societies that define themselves as historical or, in other words, as secular[43]. Indisputably, Pierre Nora's synthesis represents one of the most adequate conceptual grids for understanding the intricate relations of modernity with historical memory. The examples we started from in the present pages challenged us, however, to reflect upon what, in their construction and functioning, did not (any longer) match this perspective.

We consider that the use of the mythical figure of the national poet in situations such as the ones invoked at the beginning of our discussion reveal a clichéd protraction of the 19th century cultural and political imaginary that the 1997 conclusions of Pierre Nora foretold without being (yet) able to detail, when he observed the fall of national commemoration into the political domain:

> the politization of commemoration, partially responsible for its proliferation, has transformed, in fact, the entire system: it made it secular; it made it democratic; it brought it closer to a manifestation. [...] the code and significance of the commemoration passed in the hands of particular groups, parties, unions and associations, with all the inevitable internal conflicts and litigations that they presuppose[44].

The use of the figure of the national poet is also, today, the indicator of this mutation of commemorative paradigms: the national memory, founded by the Romantic institutions of the 19th century, politically instrumented by groups of interest or power factions, does not entirely reload with the new meanings of an era. It, however, *fragments* the nation community, following a logic (where future historians will probably, retroactively identify the patterns of a new community dynamic) where the particular groups invoked by Pierre Nora will have more power than the old nation community, with its common history shared within a value system. Paradoxically, this renewal of the paradigm of certain (possible, future, promised, etc.) community constructions – defined by an ever-increasing politization of the community's relations with its own founding memories – happens with one eye looking to the past. To a past that becomes, in turn, more distant from and foreign to the reclaimed constructions, in a deceptive game of "Voluptuous pictures, trembling sounds"[45] from 19th-century national Romanticism.

English version by Alina Oltean-Cîmpean

---

[43] Pierre Nora, "L'ère de la commemoration", in Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. III, Paris, Gallimard, 1997, pp. 4687-4718.
[44] *Ibidem*, p. 4694.
[45] Eminescu, *Poems*, p 130.

Annex 1



The poster of the "national conference" dedicated to the National Culture's Day by the SOS Romania Party, January 2025, in Botoșani/Ipotești

BIBLIOGRAPHY

***, "Călin Georgescu despre Mihai Eminescu" ["Călin Georgescu on Mihai Eminescu"], *Observatorul Prahovean / YouTube Channel*, 27 November 2024, https://www.youtube.com/-watch?v=_bahdENxb-nQ. Accessed February 20, 2025.

***, "Călin Georgescu, o nouă replică: 'Mihai Eminescu a fost cel mai periculos om după Isus Hristos'" ["Călin Georgescu, a New Statement: 'Mihai Eminescu Was the Most Disruptive Man after Jesus Christ'"], *Știri de Cluj*, 26 November 2024, https://www.stiridecluj.ro/national/calin-georgescu-o-noua-replica-mihai-eminescu-a-fost-cel-mai-periculos-om-dupa-isus-hristos-video. Accessed February 27, 2025.

***, "Minden magyarban van egy kis Petőfi" ["There Is a Little Petőfi in Every Hungarian"], 15 March 2023, https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=232407489191444. Accessed February 20, 2025.

BANN, Stephen, "The Sense of the Past: Image, Text and Object in the Formation of Historical Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century Britain", in H. Aram Veeser (ed.), *The New Historicism*, Routledge, New York, 1989, pp. 102-115.

BOIA, Lucian, *Mihai Eminescu, românul absolut. Facerea și desfacerea unui mit* [*Mihai Eminescu, the Absolute Romanian. The Making and Unmaking of a Myth*], București, Humanitas, 2015.

BOT, Ioana (ed.), *"Mihai Eminescu, poet național român". Istoria și anatomia unui mit cultural* [*"Mihai Eminescu, the Romanian National Poet". The History and Anatomy of a Cultural Myth*], Cluj-Napoca, Dacia, 2001.

BOT, Ioana, "A quoi bon, le poète national l'âge de la littérature mondiale?", *Slovo*, 50, 2020, pp. 57-75.

BOT, Ioana, "Eminescu, Mihai", in Joep Leerssen (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe* (electronic version; Amsterdam: Study Platform on Interlocking Nationalisms, https://ernie.uva.nl/), article version 1.1.3.1/a, last changed 26-04-2022. Accessed February 27, 2025.

BOT, Ioana, TARANTINO Angela, "Eminescu, Mihai", in Ioana Bot, Angela Tarantino, *Cronologia della letteratura rumena moderna (1780–1914) / Cronologia literaturii române moderne (1780–1914)*, Florence, FUP, 2019.

BUDESCU, Florin, "Diana Șoșoacă și susținătorii ei au distrus florile de la bustul lui Eminescu, la Ipotești" ["Diana Șoșoacă and Her Supporters Destroyed the Flowers at Eminescu's Bust in Ipotești"], *Newsweek România*, 21 January 2025, https://newsweek.ro/politica/diana-sosoaca-si-sustinatorii-acesteia-au-distrus-florile-de-la-bustul-lui-eminescu-la-ipotesti. Accessed February 27, 2025.

CESEREANU, Ruxandra, "Mitopolitică românească în secolul XX" ["Romanian Mythopolitics in the 20th Century"], *Memoria.ro*, 2003, https://www.memoria.ro/studii/cluj/studii_si_recenzii/-mitopolitica_romaneasca_in_secolul_xx/1463/pagina-6/. Accessed February 27, 2025.

CHELU, Gheorghe, "Miron Cozma: 'Nu mai scriu pentru Marinela'" ["Miron Cozma: 'I No Longer Write for Marinela'"], *Click.ro*, 23 July 2018, https://click.ro/vedete/vedete-romanesti/miron-cozma-nu-mai-scriu-pentru-marinela-61944.html. Accessed February 27, 2025.

CIOABĂ, Cătălin, "Note" ["Notes"], in Mihai Eminescu, *Poezii* [*Poems*]. Selection, chronology and notes by C. Cioabă, București, Humanitas, 2014, pp. 576-577.

COMAN, Mihai, *101 concepte pentru a înțelege religiile lumii* [*101 Concepts for Understanding the World Religions*], Iași, Polirom, 2024.

COSTACHE, Iulian, *Eminescu. Negocierea unei imagini* [*Eminescu. The Negotiation of an Image. The Construction of a Canon, the Emergence of a Myth*], București, Cartea Românească, 2008.

DOBRESCU, Petre, "Așa arăta Miron Cozma în tinerețe" ["This Is How Miron Cozma Looked Like in His Youth"], *Libertatea*, 30 May 2009, https://www.liber-tatea.ro/stiri/exclusiv-asa-arata-miron-cozma-in-tinerete-348966. Accessed February 27, 2025.

EMINESCU, Mihai, *Poems*. English version by Corneliu M. Popescu, București, Eminescu, 1978.

GHEJA, Victor, "Simion, patriot analfabet: 'Eminescu ne-a lăsat Romania Mare de la Nistru până la Tisa'. Eminescu a murit cu 30 de ani înainte de Marea Unire" ["Simion, Illiterate Patriot: 'Eminescu Left Us Greater Romania, from the Dniester to the Tisza'. Eminescu Died 30 Years

before the Great Union"], *aktual24.ro*, 14 December 2020, https://www.aktual24.ro/simion-patriot-analfabet-eminescu-ne-a-lasat-romania-mare-de-la-nistru-pana-la-tisa-eminescu-a-murit-cu-30-de-ani-inainte-de-marea-unire/. Accessed February 27, 2025.

GRABOWICZ, George G., "Le poète national: le cas de Mickievicz, Pouchkine et Chevtchenko", in Chantla Delsol, Michel Maslowski, Joanna Nowicki (eds.), *Mythes et symboles politiques en Europe Centrale*, Paris, PUF, 2002, pp. 350-362.

LEERSSEN, Joep (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe*, Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam Press, 2022

LEERSSEN, Joep, RIGNEY, Ann (eds.), *Commemorating Writers in Nineteenth-century Europe: Nation-building and Centenary Fever*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

MIHĂILESCU, Călin-Andrei, "Mihai Eminescu: The Foundational Truth of a Dual Lyre", in Marcel Corniș-Pope, John Neubauer (eds.), *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe. Junctures and disjunctures in the 19th and the 20th centuries*, volume 4: *Types and Stereotypes*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2010, pp. 86-96.

NORA, Pierre, "L'ére de la commémoration", în Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. III, Paris, Gallimard, 1997, pp. 4687-4718.

PANĂ, Mălina, "George Simion îl 'semiplânge' pe Mihai Eminescu la cimitir. Președintele AUR, afectat la slujba organizată la mormântul poetului" ["George Simion 'Half-weeps' for Mihai Eminescu at the Cemetery. The AUR Leader Feigns Emotion during the Service Held at the Poet's Grave"], *Mediaflux*, 15 January 2025, https://mediaflux.ro/foto-video-george-simion-il-semiplange-pe-mihai-eminescu-la-cimitir-presedin-tele-aur-afectat-la-slujba-organizata-la-mormantul-poetului/. Accessed February 27, 2025.

ROMAN, Mihai, "Epic fail: George Simion l-a confundat pe Mihai Eminescu cu obscurul poet Marian Bamboi. Cum a declamat în fața întregii țări falsele versuri eminesciene" ["Epic Fail: George Simion Mistook Mihai Eminescu for the Unknown Poet Marian Bamboi. How He Proudly Recited Bamboi's Verses as Eminescu's Before the Entire Country"], *G4Media.ro*, 26 May 2021, https://www.g4media.ro/video-epic-fail-george-simion-l-a-confundat-pe-mihai-eminescu-cu-obscu-rul-poet-marian-bamboi-cum-a-declamat-in-fata-intregii-tari-falsele-versuri-eminesciene.html. Accessed February 27, 2025.

SIMION, George, "Mihai Eminescu, sufletul României eterne! El ne învață ce înseamnă demnitatea, sacrificiul și respectul pentru rădăcinile noastre" ["Mihai Eminescu, the Soul of Eternal Romania! He Teaches Us what Dignity, Sacrifice and Respect for Our Roots Mean"], *georgesimion.ro*, 15 January 2025, https://georgesimion.ro/mihai-eminescu-sufletul-romaniei-eterne-el-ne-invata-ce-inseamna-de-mnitatea-sacrificiul-si-respectul-pentru-radacinile-noastre/. Accessed February 27, 2025.

TERIAN, Andrei, "Prophet, Martyr, Saint: Mihai Eminescu's Lateral Canonization", in Jón Karl Helgason, Marijan Dović (eds.), *Great Immortality: Studies on European Cultural Sainthood,* Leiden, Brill, 2019, pp. 294-312.

TERIAN, Andrei, „Mihai Eminescu: From National Mythology to the World Pantheon", in Mircea Martin, Christian Morariu, Andrei Terian (eds.), *Romanian Literature as World Literature*, New York, Bloomsbury, 2019, pp. 35-54.

THIESSE, Anne-Marie, *La fabrique de l'ecrivain national. Entre littérature et politique*, Paris, Gallimard, 2019.

TOMA, Alina, "Diana Șoșoacă, discurs agramat despre Eminescu: 'Ați ajuns să fiți sclavizați, iar copiii noștri în afară sclavi ai Europei'" ["Diana Șoșoacă's Illiterate Speech on Eminescu: 'You Have Become *Slavized*, While Our Children Abroad Are Europe's Slaves'"], *Ziare.Com*, 14 January 2024, https://ziare.com/diana-sosoaca/discurs-sosoaca-agramat-eminescu-1847014. Accessed February 27, 2025.

URSU, Ramona, *Miron Cozma de la „sursa Paul", la Luceafărul huilei* [*Miron Cozma from "Paul", the Codename as the Securitate Collaborator, to the The Evening Star of Hard Coal*], București, Integral, 2016.

VAILLANT, Alain (dir.), *Dictionnaire du romantisme*, Paris, CNRS Editions, 2012.

THE MYTH OF THE NATIONAL POET, USED IN THE PRESENT ROMANIAN POLITICAL DISCOURSE. WHAT IS NEW?
(*Abstract*)

The present study proposes to reflect on the theme of the national poet – and the avatars of this romantic figure in contemporary Romanian culture. Mihai Eminescu, the "Romanian national poet par excellence", is a mythical figure from whom we must admit that it is difficult to separate ourselves, even in the 21st century. This tenacious figure of national mythology reflects certain problems of society, as well as of Romanian culture – and it testifies to a particular survival of national Romanticism. The article discusses his presence in the contemporary Romanian political field, based on some very recent samples, in order to configure a reflection on the relations between politics and literature, in contemporary Romania.

Keywords: national poet, Mihai Eminescu, national mythology, political discourse, nationalism.

MITUL POETULUI NAȚIONAL, UTILIZAT ÎN DISCURSUL POLITIC ROMÂNESC ACTUAL. CE E NOU?
(*Rezumat*)

Studiul propune o reflecție pe tema poetului național – și a avatarilor acestei figuri romantice în cultura română contemporană. Este vorba despre Mihai Eminescu, „poetul național prin excelență", o figură mitică de care trebuie să constatăm că ne este greu să ne despărțim, chiar dacă am ajuns în secolul XXI. Această figură tenace a mitologiei naționale indică existența unor probleme particulare ale societății, respectiv ale culturii române – și ea mărturisește despre o supraviețuire aparte a romantismului național. Sunt discutate aici prezențele sale în câmpul simbolurilor politice contemporane, pornind de la câteva eșantioane foarte recente, pentru a configura o reflecție despre relațiile dintre politic și literar, în România zilelor noastre.

Cuvinte-cheie: poet național, Mihai Eminescu, mitologie națională, discurs politic, suveranism.

NIKOL DZIUB

SPECTRES, SIMULACRES, SAXIFRAGES ET *SOPILKY* : LESSIA OUKRAÏNKA COMME REVENANTE DANS LES DISCOURS ENGAGÉS DU XXI[E] SIÈCLE UKRAINIEN[1]

Lessia Oukraïnka, de son vrai nom Laryssa Kossatch, épouse Kvitka, née en 1871, morte en 1913 de la tuberculose, est une véritable icône de la littérature ukrainienne. Poétesse, dramaturge, novelliste, essayiste, épistolière et traductrice très prolifique, elle a contribué à moderniser la langue et la littérature d'une Ukraine coincée entre les Empires russe et autrichien, en croisant imaginaire populaire ukrainien et fonds mythique et littéraire occidental ; et, dans la continuité des revendications féministes de sa mère Olena Ptchilka (Olha Kossatch née Drahomanova selon l'état civil, 1849–1930), elle a joué un rôle crucial dans l'évolution des représentations de la femme en Ukraine.

Les combats d'Oukraïnka semblant plus que jamais d'actualité, on voudrait montrer ici quelle a pu être, quelle est encore, dans l'Ukraine d'après 1991, l'« après-vie » de l'écrivaine. Pour ce faire, on s'intéressera d'abord à la façon dont certains artistes liés aux manifestations anti-russes/anti-russophiles des années 2000 et 2010 l'ont érigée en icône de la révolution, aux côtés d'autres écrivains qu'elle admirait et dont elle était admirée, mais dont les opinions n'étaient pas exactement les siennes – comme si, en un peu plus d'un siècle, dans le charnier de la mémoire littéraire, les idées s'étaient confondues comme les os dans une fosse commune. On verra ensuite comment une politicienne comme Ioulia Tymochenko a calqué son apparence physique sur celle d'Oukraïnka pour mieux jouer sur l'imaginaire de la réincarnation des courages et des idéaux. Dans un troisième temps, on rappellera comment l'écrivaine féministe contemporaine Oksana Zaboujko analyse et critique la réception d'Oukraïnka, signalant que ce n'est pas d'abord en tant qu'auteure de ses œuvres, mais bien plutôt en tant que martyre de la tuberculose qui aurait donné toutes ses forces à ses combats (que les critiques soviétiques, qui plus est, présentèrent abusivement comme des combats révolutionnaires), qu'elle a survécu. Enfin, on se demandera dans quelle mesure les événements destinés à valoriser son œuvre dans un cadre institutionnel voire académique ont commencé (ou non) à dresser, face à ces spectres pour ainsi dire engagés de force, et qui s'apparentent parfois à des simulacres, une image d'Oukraïnka plus fidèle à celle qui hante ses propres textes (avec toute la marge

[1] Cet article présente une partie des résultats du projet « Gender and Nation in the Biographical Interpretations of Lesya Ukrainka's Life and Works : Ukraine-Russian Empire-USSR, 1898–2022 », financé par le Fonds national suisse pour la recherche scientifique.

d'incertitude qui demeure toujours sur la vérité de ce travail de recomposition ou de « déduction » de l'auteur à partir de ses œuvres).

On essaiera de la sorte de voir si, en convoquant la figure spectrale d'Oukraïnka, ceux qui luttent de nos jours pour la souveraineté de l'Ukraine comme les politiciennes qui veulent mettre en valeur les vertus particulières de l'énergie féminine tentent bien, selon la thèse d'Éric Fournier, d'accomplir, « en un rejeu du passé », les « promesses non tenues »[2] des combats de Lessia Oukraïnka pour les causes ukrainienne et féminine. Ou, si l'on préfère, on se demandera si cette référence presque obsessionnelle à cette figure qui, sur le plan purement temporel, appartient au passé, suppose une sorte de vision de l'histoire en poupées russes – ukrainiennes plutôt, en l'occurrence[3] – où les combats de chaque époque seraient comme habités par des combats passés comparables, mais avortés ou inachevés.

Par ailleurs, on tentera de montrer que c'est moins Oukraïnka qui vient hanter notre présent, que notre présent qui vient déranger, « perturber » en elle un « fantôme du passé »[4]. C'est pourquoi, dans un double temps introductif, on commencera, après avoir indiqué quelques jeux d'échos contextuels entre l'époque d'Oukraïnka et la nôtre, par présenter l'écrivaine telle que ses textes la révèlent : de la sorte, on espère pouvoir ensuite montrer, par les vertus de la comparaison, à quel point le jeu d'influences entre le hantant et le hanté est réciproque.

Jeux d'échos contextuels entre le XIX^e^ et le XXI^e^ siècles

Signalons tout d'abord que l'importance que Lessia Oukraïnka revêt de nos jours aux yeux des acteurs de la lutte pour une Ukraine indépendante est liée aux jeux d'échos que l'on voit, hélas, se dessiner entre la situation de l'Ukraine au XIX^e^ siècle et sa situation au XXI^e^ siècle. Nation naissante et sans État au XIX^e^ siècle, l'Ukraine voit sa culture faire l'objet de répressions de toutes sortes, avec, notamment, en 1863, le décret de Valouïev, qui affirme qu'il n'y a pas réellement de langue ukrainienne spécifique, que l'essentiel des textes écrits en ukrainien sont l'œuvre en réalité de Polonais désireux d'affaiblir la suprématie russe, et qu'il serait dangereux et nuisible de publier la traduction du Nouveau Testament en ukrainien ; et, en 1876, l'oukase d'Ems, qui interdit l'enseignement de l'ukrainien ainsi que la publication de livres en ukrainien[5]. Entre persécutions,

---

[2] Éric Fournier, *« Nous reviendrons ! ». Une histoire des spectres révolutionnaires, France, XIX^e^ siècle*, Ceyzérieu, Champ Vallon, 2024, p. 18.

[3] Rappelons que l'on nomme en français « poupées russes » les poupées gigognes (*matriochki* en russe). L'adjectif « russes » sonnant faux ici, on propose, un peu facétieusement, de le remplacer par « ukrainiennes ».

[4] Marc Bloch, *Apologie pour l'histoire ou Métier d'historien*, 2^e^ édition, Paris, Armand Colin, 1952, p. 7.

[5] Voir Aleksei Miller, *The Ukrainian Question. The Russian Empire and Nationalism in the 19^th^ Century*, Budapest, Central European University Press, 2003.

bannissements et exécutions, les gens de lettres et de culture ukrainophiles sont en butte à l'acharnement des gouvernements impériaux qui veulent à tout prix contrôler ce « pays-frontière » situé aux confins occidentaux de l'Empire. Face à cette volonté de mainmise doublée de tentatives d'effacement pur et simple des spécificités culturelles ukrainiennes se développe une ukrainophilie traditionaliste focalisée sur le fonds ethnologique ou folklorique du pays – mais aussi (et Lessia Oukraïnka joue, en tant notamment que traductrice et qu'écrivaine polyglotte[6], un rôle très important dans l'histoire de ce deuxième mouvement) une ukrainophilie européiste qui prétend intégrer le pays et sa littérature à la carte des littératures européennes, et qui reproche au patriotisme traditionaliste, d'une part de se montrer excessivement phallocrate, d'autre part de reproduire à sa façon le geste d'assignation de l'Ukraine à la ruralité. Pour Oukraïnka, ainsi, il ne s'agit en aucune façon de combattre pour une Ukraine repliée sur une supposée essence nationale qui s'exprimerait dans le fonds populaire, mais de défendre, pour les Ukrainiens, le droit à parler et à écrire leur langue ainsi que celles de l'Europe, et à être les maîtres de leur propre destin culturel. On retrouve là une des idées fondatrices de l'ukrainité censée être au cœur du projet ukrainien depuis l'Indépendance de 1991 – à savoir qu'on est Ukrainien parce qu'on choisit de l'être, sans distinction d'ethnie ou de confession. S'il est évidemment impossible de résumer en quelques lignes la complexité de la circulation des idées libérales et démocratiques en Ukraine dans les quarante ou cinquante dernières années, on peut néanmoins affirmer que c'est sur des principes de ce genre, liés à l'idée d'autodétermination bien plus qu'à un quelconque essentialisme culturel, que se fondent largement les mouvements de résistance aux tentatives de retour de l'autoritarisme russe. Rappelons ainsi quelques moments importants : après la Révolution sur le granit de 1990, il y a eu le mouvement pour une Ukraine sans Koutchma (fin 2000–début 2001) ; la fameuse Révolution orange (fin 2004–début 2005) ; et la non moins fameuse Révolution de la dignité (ou Euromaïdan, octobre 2013–février 2014). Ce dernier mouvement de résistance a mené à la chute du régime pro-russe de Viktor Ianoukovytch. On connaît la suite, hélas, avec la guerre dans le Donbass, l'annexion de la Crimée puis la guerre d'agression et de conquête relancée en 2022 et encore en cours.

Certes, entre Oukraïnka et nos jours, il y a eu bien des poètes, bien des intellectuels qui se sont levés pour affronter le pouvoir russe, puis soviétique, puis à nouveau russe. Pensons, par exemple, aux poètes de la « renaissance fusillée » (années 1920–1930), qui avaient cru, un temps, pouvoir faire renaître une poésie ukrainienne moderne (que ce soit sur le mode symboliste ou dans une veine futuriste), et que la répression bolchévique supprima purement et simplement, en les censurant voire en les assassinant. Songeons aussi aux *chistedysiatnyky*, ou

[6] Voir Nikol Dziub, « Pour une littérature ukrainienne libre et européenne : polyglottisme et polyglossie chez Lessia Oukraïnka », *Colloquia Comparativa Litterarum*, 11, 2025, 1, pp. 108-116.

génération dissidente des années 1960[7], qui, trouvant dans la renaissance fusillée un exemple de dignité poétique, eurent le courage de parler haut et fort contre la dictature communiste. Ces mouvements restent de nos jours des modèles de noblesse d'âme poétique en contexte de répression. Mais il n'en demeure pas moins que les acteurs de la lutte contre les pouvoirs russe et pro-russe aussi bien que les intellectuelles féministes se réclament encore de nos jours, par-delà ces prédécesseurs du XX^{e} siècle soviétique, de l'exemple et de l'œuvre de Lessia Oukraïnka.

Qui êtes-vous, Lessia Oukraïnka ?

Avant d'entrer dans le vif du sujet, développons donc aussi un peu le portrait que nous avons trop brièvement esquissé dans l'introduction, et disons encore quelques mots de Lessia Oukraïnka et de sa conception « non séparatiste » de l'autodétermination ukrainienne comme, par ailleurs, féminine. La future Lessia naît dans une famille lettrée. Son grand-père, Petro Drahomanov (1802–1860), est polyglotte, et, attaché aux langues minorisées, il est, entre autres, le premier traducteur dans l'Empire russe du poète romantique Robert Burns (1759–1796), qui écrivait en « dialecte écossais ». La mère de Lessia Oukraïnka, par ailleurs, n'est autre, on l'a dit, qu'Olena Ptchilka, poétesse, écrivaine, traductrice et mécène engagée pour la cause féminine et pour la *prosvita*, soit la diffusion des lumières du savoir dans le peuple paysan. Selon son propre témoignage dans son *Автобіографічний нарис* [*Essai autobiographique*] (1928), Olena Ptchilka a été éduquée « à la *khata* » (à la maison, mais dans une maison typiquement ukrainienne), et a elle-même éduqué ainsi sa fille, afin que, tout en étant au contact des grands auteurs, notamment russes ou russophones (Pouchkine, Lermontov, Gogol), elle soit à l'abri des tentatives d'embrigadement de l'école impériale. Quant à l'oncle de Lessia Oukraïnka (et frère d'Olena Ptchilka), Mykhaïlo Drahomanov (1841–1895), il est l'un des plus importants introducteurs de la pensée européenne et d'un socialisme internationaliste (c'est-à-dire, de son point de vue, s'exprimant dans le plus de langues possible, et non uniquement en russe) en Ukraine et dans l'Empire russe, et il défend une « ukrainité progressiste, néo-européenne, cosmopolite par la pensée et nationale par la forme »[8].

[7] Sur la continuité entre la « renaissance fusillée » et la génération des années 1960, voir, en français, Radomyr Mokryk, « Les Dissidents ukrainiens : l'éthique contre le système soviétique ». Traduit de l'ukrainien par Nikol Dziub, *La Règle du jeu*, 2022, 77, pp. 169-194.

[8] Mykhaïlo Drahomanov, *Австро-руські спомини (1867–1877)* [*Souvenirs austro-russes (1867–1877)*] (1889), https://shron2.chtyvo.org.ua/Drahomanov_Mykhailo/Drahomanov_Avstro-ruski_spomyny_1867-1877.pdf. Consulté le 17 février 2025. Sauf mention contraire, toutes les traductions ont été réalisées par nos soins. Faute de place, nous ne donnerons pas l'original des citations, mais renverrons à des éditions disponibles en ligne.

Oukraïnka, donc, grandit dans un milieu ukrainophile mais européiste. Soucieuse de sauvegarder les cultures d'Ukraine, elle note dès les années 1890 des chansons folkloriques ukrainiennes avec sa sœur ; et, en 1908, elle organise avec son mari l'ethnographe et musicologue Klyment Kvitka une « excursion ethnographique » pour transcrire et recueillir à l'aide d'un phonographe le répertoire traditionnel des *lirnyky* et des *kobzars*, ces bardes itinérants ukrainiens[9]. Tout naturellement, elle nourrit également une partie de son œuvre (son *Märchendrama* intitulé *Лісова пісня* [*La Chanson sylvestre*], 1911, en particulier[10]) à la fois de modèles poétiques (comme les *vesnianky*, ces chants populaires printaniers) et de figures (comme la *mavka* – sorte d'ondine) typiques de l'Ukraine.

Cela ne l'empêche pas, cependant, de traduire abondamment les grands auteurs de la littérature européenne voire mondiale[11]. La liste est longue mais elle doit être citée *in extenso* si l'on veut prendre conscience de la curiosité universelle de Lessia Oukraïnka, qui traduit en ukrainien des textes du Rig-Véda, d'Homère, de la Bible, de Dante, de Marie Stuart, de Shakespeare, de Byron, de Heine, de Leopardi, de Mickiewicz, de Hugo, de Tourgueniev, de Nadson, d'Ada Negri, de Gogol, de Hetzel, de Volkhovsky, d'Edmondo de Amicis, de Mendel Rosenbaum, de Maeterlinck, de Hauptmann, de Maurice Vernes, de Fahy et de Szymon Dickstein. Sans oublier qu'elle traduit également en russe (signe qu'elle n'est pas russophobe, mais uniquement opposée aux abus et aux crimes de l'Empire russe) des extraits de Heine, de Konopnicka, de Franko, de d'Annunzio, de Georges d'Esparbès, de Jakobowski, d'Ada Negri, d'Asnyk, de Niemojewski, de Sieroszewski, de Sienkiewicz, de Żuławski, de Gliński, de Przerwa-Tetmayer, de Żeromski, de Przybyszewski et de Kasprowicz. En outre, elle reprend dans son œuvre des figures mythiques grecques et plus largement européennes comme Cassandre[12] ou Don Juan[13], pour ne citer que ces deux-là.

Il n'y a d'ailleurs, bien entendu, aucune contradiction entre son ukrainophilie et son europhilie, puisque ce qu'elle défend, c'est une littérature *mondiale* (avec la

---

[9] En 2021, les *Œuvres complètes* de Lessia Oukraïnka ont été rassemblées en 14 volumes par l'Université nationale Lessia Oukraïnka de Volhynie (nous reparlerons plus bas de l'importance de cette édition). Voir Lessia Oukraïnka, *Зібрання творів*, 14 vol., Loutsk, Université nationale Lessia Oukraïnka de Volhynie, 2021, https://ubi.org.ua/uk/activity/vidannya-knig/zibrannya-tvoriv-lesi-ukranki-u-14-i-tomah. Consulté le 16 août 2025. Le vol. 9 est consacré aux « Archives de l'art populaire » qu'elle a collectées.

[10] Pour l'original, voir Oukraïnka, *Зібрання творів*, vol. 3, pp. 241-336. Pour la traduction française, voir Lessia Oukraïnka, *La Chanson sylvestre*. Traduit de l'ukrainien par Henri Abril, Kyïv, Dnipro, 1985.

[11] Voir Oukraïnka, *Зібрання творів*, vol. 8.

[12] Voir le drame (1908 pour la première publication) dont elle est l'héroïne éponyme, dans Oukraïnka, *Зібрання творів*, vol. 9, pp. 9-98. Pour la traduction française, voir Lessia Oukraïnka, *Cassandre*. Traduit de l'ukrainien par Andry Swirko, Bruxelles, Amibel, 1973.

[13] Voir *Камінний Господарь* (drame écrit en 1911–1912), dans Oukraïnka, *Зібрання творів*, vol. 4, pp. 67-150. Pour la version française, voir Lessia Oukraïnka, *L'Amphitryon de pierre*. Traduit de l'ukrainien par Andry Swirko, Bruxelles, Amibel, 1974.

forte dimension de pluralité que cette notion comporte), et que par suite elle se fait la championne de toutes les littératures minorisées, qu'elles soient nationales, infranationales ou transnationales :

> À notre époque, avec le développement colossal des littératures dites « mondiales », un phénomène intéressant se fait jour : les littératures des petits peuples, et même des petits groupes ethnographiques, commencent à faire entendre leur voix, de plus en plus fort et avec de plus en plus d'assurance, pour défendre leur « droit de minorité »[14].

Par ailleurs, si elle écrit principalement en ukrainien, elle signe aussi quelques textes en français, en allemand voire en russe[15], pour élargir la diffusion de ses idées. C'est que, même si elle se bat pour le droit de sa langue natale à être une langue littéraire, elle estime que l'usage de l'ukrainien ne saurait être une valeur poétique en soi. Ainsi, dans une lettre de mars 1892 à son oncle Mikhaïlo Drahomanov, elle vilipende les poètes qui comptent sur le seul usage de la langue ukrainienne (et non sur leur maîtrise de l'art poétique) pour gagner le cœur des lecteurs patriotes[16].

Enfin, si elle lutte pour la souveraineté féminine, elle considère le paradigme de la « littérature féminine » comme inopérant, jugeant que les textes qui se veulent spécifiquement féminins sont « ennuyeux »[17], et qu'ils constituent une « rivière bien étroite »[18] pour qui veut nager librement. Aussi se dit-elle reconnaissante aux critiques qui ne poussent pas l'esprit chevaleresque jusqu'à réserver une catégorie à part aux écrivaines, et qui « mettent sur le même pied poètes et poétesses, littérateurs et littératrices »[19].

Mais que reste-t-il de la subtilité de la pensée d'Oukraïnka dans les discours et les luttes qu'elle hante de nos jours ? Est-ce bien elle qui vient informer ces idées et ces combats, ou n'est-ce pas nos contemporains qui viennent parer son squelette d'atours qui ne lui siéent pas toujours ?

---

[14] Ce sont les premières phrases d'un article sur « Les écrivains petits-russiens de Bucovine » publié en 1900 dans le nº 9 de la revue *Жизнь* [*Vie*], pp. 122-132. Voir « Малорусские писатели на Буковине », dans Oukraïnka, *Зібрання творів*, vol. 7, p. 97.

[15] Outre les articles qu'elle rédige en russe pour toucher davantage de lecteurs, elle écrit par exemple en 1896 un poème en ukrainien au titre anglais et shakespearien, « To be or not be ? » (dans Lessia Oukraïnka, *Зібрання творів*, vol. 5, p. 172), qu'elle traduit ensuite elle-même en allemand pour le faire paraître en 1900 dans la revue *Die Gesellschaft*. En 1896 également, elle écrit directement en français une sorte de lettre ouverte intitulée *La Voix d'une prisonnière russe*, qu'elle demande à Drahomanov d'essayer de faire publier dans une revue francophone influente comme *La Réforme* (*sic*, pour *La Réforme sociale* ?). Comme le titre l'indique, il s'agit, par l'écriture dans une langue à l'époque « internationale », de faire entendre dans toute l'Europe la voix des opprimés, et de faire honte, surtout, aux artistes français ayant participé aux festivités organisées à l'occasion de la visite en France de Nicolas II la même année (voir Oukraïnka, *Зібрання творів*, vol. 7, pp. 397-400).

[16] Voir Oukraïnka, *Зібрання творів*, vol. 11, pp. 181-184.

[17] *Ibidem*, p. 208, lettre à Mykhaïlo Drahomanov datée de mai 1893.

[18] *Ibidem*, p. 359, lettre à son ami socialiste galicien Mykhaïlo Pavlyk datée des 11-12 mars 1895.

[19] *Ibidem*, p. 271, lettre au socio-démocrate Ossyp Makovei datée du 28 javier 1894.

La mémoire littéraire comme charnier ? Oukraïnka vue par les récentes « révolutions »

Intéressons-nous d'abord à l'utilisation de l'image d'Oukraïnka dans le contexte des manifestations contre les politiciens pro-russes et le retour de l'autoritarisme russe en Ukraine.

Si Oukraïnka est (un peu) connue du public français, c'est parce que, en mai 2022, en ouverture du Festival de Cannes, Catherine Deneuve a lu son poème intitulé « L'Espérance »[20], qu'elle écrivit à l'âge de 9 ans après le retour de sa tante, qui avait été emprisonnée par le gouvernement impérial. Un poème, donc, dont le contenu est alors recontextualisé, et qui devient le symbole, face à l'impérialisme russe, d'une résistance culturelle faisant retour comme peuvent le faire les revenants.

Plus largement, l'image de Lessia Oukraïnka et ses vers sont souvent utilisés lorsqu'il s'agit de faire appel à l'esprit d'union populaire contre l'impérialisme russe. Faute de pouvoir analyser l'intégralité des nombreuses occurrences de cette revenance d'Oukraïnka, on ne s'arrêtera que sur un cas particulier d'utilisation du portrait de l'écrivaine par un artiste de rue, en 2014, dans le contexte de la Révolution de la dignité.

Dans plusieurs fresques murales relevant, si l'on veut, de l'art du graffitti, Oukraïnka apparaît aux côtés de Taras Chevtchenko (1814–1861) et d'Ivan Franko (1856–1916). C'est le cas, en particulier, sur une fresque peinte sur les quais du Dnipro, à Kyïv[21], mais aussi – et c'est bien plus intéressant encore – dans une série de trois portraits réalisés par l'artiste #Sociopath dans le raïon de Petchersk, dans la capitale (**Fig. 1**). Peintes pendant l'Euromaïdan, dans la nuit du 10 février 2014 plus précisément, et restaurées en 2017, ces images, qui composent une trilogie dite des « icônes de la révolution », sont accompagnées de citations de l'œuvre de chaque poète : pour Chevtchenko, « Le feu ne brûle pas qui est ardent »[22] ; pour Oukraïnka, « Qui se libère est libre »[23] ; pour Franko, « Toute notre vie est guerre »[24].

---

[20] *Ibidem*, vol. 5, p. 90, « Надія ».

[21] Voir une photographie de cette fresque en ligne, https://ua.krymr.com/a/ukrainska-literatura-proty-imperii/30338923.html. Consulté le 16 août 2025. L'image n'étant pas libre de droits, nous ne pouvons pas la reproduire ici.

[22] Citation tirée du poème de 1844 intitulé « Гамалія » (« Hamaliya »), http://litopys.org.ua-/shevchenko/shev122.htm. Consulté le 20 février 2025.

[23] Citation tirée d'un drame de 1905 intitulé *Осіння казка* [*Conte d'automne*], dans Oukraïnka, *Зібрання творів*, vol. 1, p. 195.

[24] Citation tirée de *Лис Микита* [*Mykyta le renard*], 1890 pour la première édition, https://www.i-franko.name/uk/Poems/LysMykyta.html. Consulté le 20 février 2025.



Fig. 1. Portraits de Chevtchenko, d'Oukraïnka et de Franko
réalisés dans la nuit du 10 février 2014 par #Sociopath dans le raïon de Petchersk, à Kyïv[25].

Ces citations convoquent certes, derrière la simple image des écrivains, un peu de la substance de leur œuvre (comme pour que leurs spectres ne soit pas purement vicariants, et ne se résument pas à de simples silhouettes que n'importe quelle idéologie pourrait venir habiter) ; et celle d'Oukraïnka, en particulier, souligne à quel point elle était attachée aux idées de responsabilité, d'autodétermination et de dignité. Il n'en demeure pas moins que ce triple portrait en graffiti vient bien, conformément à l'hypothèse de Marc Bloch, perturber le fantôme de ces trois auteurs, et notamment celui d'Oukraïnka. Remarquons d'abord que leurs foulards, masques et casques (autant d'attributs qui les présentent comme des vivants qui doivent se protéger des projectiles et des regards, comme si, derrière leurs visages, c'était leur esprit immortel qui était en fait représenté) sont peints de couleurs révélatrices : le rouge et le noir sont les couleurs (empruntées au drapeau de l'armée insurrectionnelle ukrainienne de Stepan Bandera) d'un nationalisme beaucoup plus radical et violent que ne le furent jamais ceux des trois auteurs ; l'orange est, bien entendu, la couleur de la révolution de 2004–2005 ; et le jaune et le bleu dont est peint le collier de Lessia Oukraïnka sont, faut-il le rappeler, les couleurs du drapeau ukrainien (l'emploi de ces deux couleurs étant attesté dès le début du XV^{e} siècle).

Oukraïnka apparaît donc comme une icône du nationalisme (soit, à condition de se rappeler que son nationalisme à elle n'était pas identitaire, mais fondé sur le souci de la liberté, de la dignité et de l'autodétermination) ; mais aussi de la révolution (et l'on retrouve cette tendance, décrite par Éric Fournier, à réveiller les

[25] Image disponible sur Wikipédia (© Rasal Hague, licence Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported), https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Файл:Ікони_революції.jpg. Consulté le 16 août 2025.

morts pour grossir les rangs des armées révolutionnaires). Est-ce là une perturbation majeure, cela trahit-il la vérité de sa pensée ? Tout dépend ce qu'on entend par révolution. Certains critiques soviétiques voulurent, très abusivement, la faire passer pour un précurseur de la révolution rouge[26] (elle fit partie, en fait, des fondateurs du groupe socio-démocrate ukrainien). Le monument qui couronne la tombe d'Oukraïnka porte d'ailleurs, sur le côté, une inscription tirée d'une notice nécrologique parue dès avant la révolution dans le journal bolchevique russophone *Рабочая Правда* [*Vérité ouvrière*], et souvent reprise dans ses biographies de l'époque soviétique : « Proche du mouvement de libération en général et du mouvement prolétarien en particulier, elle lui a donné toute sa force, a semé le raisonnable, le bon, l'éternel. » Mais, si c'est là une vision franchement faussée d'Oukraïnka, elle-même se désignait parfois comme « Notre fameuse Girondine »[27] ; et des figures (spectrales) comme celles de Madame Roland, de Charlotte Corday et de Louise Michel surgissent à plusieurs reprises dans son œuvre[28]. C'est cependant surtout Charlotte Corday qui l'intéresse, en sa qualité de révolutionnaire ennemie de la terreur et des tyrans – à commencer par les tyrans eux-mêmes soi-disant révolutionnaires.

Mais le plus perturbant dans tout cela, c'est la juxtaposition de ces trois figures pourtant si peu *alignées* idéologiquement. On les dirait comme sorties d'une fosse commune où leurs idées, avec leurs os, se seraient confondues. Surgissant plus tôt dans l'histoire de l'Ukraine, le patriotisme de Chevtchenko est bien plus étroitement lié que celui d'Oukraïnka à un romantisme populaire, à des *topoï* ruraux et à la figure du *kobzar*, c'est-à-dire à la version ukrainienne du barde, ce personnage-clé de l'invention des identités nationales[29] (même si, on l'a dit, Oukraïnka s'intéresse aussi aux *kobzars*). Quant à Franko, il eut avec Oukraïnka des relations cordiales mais marquées par des désaccords. Lui était un fervent socialiste, dont la littérature était marquée par le réalisme, le naturalisme et l'impressionnisme, tandis qu'Oukraïnka peut être qualifiée (un peu grossièrement) de moderniste fin-de-siècle, avec des tendances post-romantiques et symbolistes.

---

[26] Voir Roman Zadesnianskiy, *Творчість Лесі Українки* [*La Créativité de Lessia Oukraïnka*], München, Logos, 1965.

[27] « *Наша славна жирондистка* » en ukrainien. C'est du moins l'explication que sa sœur donne de l'acronyme « *Н.С.Ж.* », qu'Oukraïnka utilise pour signer des articles qu'elle publie dans la revue *Народ* [*Peuple*] : « *Беседа*, часопись баптистів (штундистів) » [« *Conversation*, journal des baptistes (chtoundistes) »] (1895, 5, pp. 64-69) ; et « "Безпардонний" патріотизм » [« Un patriotisme "éhonté" »] (1895, 9, pp. 131-132). Voir Oukraïnka, *Зібрання творів*, vol. 7, pp. 381-392 et pp. 393-396.

[28] Faute de place, nous nous contenterons de renvoyer ici au texte d'une communication que nous avons donnée sur le sujet. Voir Nikol Dziub, « Fureurs féminines chez Lessia Oukraïnka », communication pour le colloque « Colères féminines : expressions et représentations », 23–25 octobre 2024, Université de Picardie Jules-Verne, https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.16886660. Consulté le 16 août 2025.

[29] Voir Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La Création des identités nationales. Europe, XVIII^e–XX^e siècle*, Paris, Seuil, 1999.

Mais surtout, quoiqu'il décrivît « cette jeune fille malade et affaiblie » comme « le seul homme dans la cathédrale de l'Ukraine moderne »[30] (on y reviendra), Franko reprochait à Oukraïnka d'accorder trop de place dans son œuvre au matériau européen, au détriment du fonds ukrainien.

Quoiqu'il en soit de cette confusion des figures dans l'ossuaire de la mémoire auquel les combats récents pour la dignité de l'Ukraine ont arraché les trois écrivains, il semble en tout cas certain que le spectre d'Oukraïnka fait peur aux impérialistes russes. Ainsi, en 2023, le député russe Andrey Gurulyov a, devant la Douma, décrit Oukraïnka comme un « agent étranger » dont on devrait raser les monuments – celui de Saint-Pétersbourg par exemple, devant lequel ont été déposées des fleurs et des photographies montrant les conséquences des attaques de la Russie sur Dnipro en 2023.

Autoportrait de Tymochenko en réincarnation d'Oukraïnka

À côté de ces acteurs et artistes des révolutions anti-russophiles récentes, ce sont aussi des femmes politiques qui ont utilisé l'image d'Oukraïnka. On pourra penser à l'ancienne présidente du Parti socialiste progressiste d'Ukraine, Natalia Vitrenko, dont le parti a cependant été dissous en 2022 après avoir été accusé d'avoir noué des relations souterraines avec la Russie ; et, surtout, à l'ancienne Première ministre Ioulia Tymochenko.

La façon même dont Tymochenko a façonné son image, et notamment l'apparence de son visage et de ses cheveux, a été directement inspirée par Oukraïnka, à en croire le témoignage de son ancien conseiller Oleh Pokalchuk, qui, contemplant chaque jour le monument de la poétesse (**Fig. 2**) par la fenêtre de son bureau[31], y a trouvé l'inspiration pour « ukrainiser » visuellement la politicienne.

[30] Voir l'article sobrement intitulé « Lessia Oukraïnka » qu'il lui consacre dans le *Bulletin littéraire et scientifique* : Ivan Franko, « Леся Українка » [« Lessia Oukraïnka »], *Літературно-науковий вістник*, 3, 1898, 2, pp. 6-27.

[31] Voir Kathryn Westcott, « The Queen of Ukraine's Image Machine », *BBC News*, 4 octobre 2007, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7025980.stm. Consulté le 21 février 2025.



Fig. 2 Monument de Lessia Oukraïnka réalisé par le sculpteur G. N. Kalchenko (1926–1975) et l'architecte A. F. Ignachtchenko (1930–2011) dans le raïon de Petchersk, et visible du bâtiment de la commission électorale centrale d'Ukraine[32].

Il y a un côté faussement pygmalionesque dans cette réincarnation forcée d'une écrivaine figée en monument par la mort et la mémoire officielle. C'est en tout cas bien sur l'imaginaire du dialogue des vivants et des morts, de l'héritage voire de la métempsychose que joue Tymochenko (avec le sous-entendu que l'esprit de lutte aurait voyagé du corps d'Oukraïnka dans celui de Tymochenko, un peu comme Andrzej Towiański, dans les années 1840, prétendait que l'esprit christique de lumière, après s'être réincarné trop brièvement en Napoléon, était venu l'habiter). Ainsi, le 25 février 2021, Tymoshenko a publié sur *Facebook* une photographie la montrant de dos, en train de contempler solitairement le monument de la tombe de l'écrivaine[33]. Face à la statue d'Oukraïnka posée sur un socle noir, la chevelure peroxydée de l'ex-Première ministre, si médiatisée qu'elle est devenue véritablement son attribut et qu'elle permet de la reconnaître par métonymie, même de dos, brille au centre de la photo – comme si le photographe avait voulu accentuer le contraste entre la vivante et la morte, pour mieux indiquer que les destinées de l'esprit de lutte oukraïnkien étaient à présent entre les mains de Tymochenko. C'est en tout cas une véritable mise en scène, la politicienne indiquant dans la note accompagnant l'image qu'elle s'est rendue au cimetière à un moment où elle le savait peu fréquenté, afin d'éviter de s'exhiber devant la foule et

[32] Image disponible sur Wikipédia (© Étoile61, licence Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0 Unported), https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/Файл:Київ._Пам%27ятник_Лесі_Українці_NoFo-P.JPG. Consulté le 16 août 2025.

[33] Voir en ligne, https://glavcom.ua/news/specialno-zajihala-na-baykove-yuliya-timoshenko-na-mogili-lesi-ukrajinki-foto-738823.html. Consulté le 16 août 2025. L'image n'étant pas libre de droits, nous ne pouvons la reproduire ici.

de pouvoir rester en tête à tête avec la poétesse – ce désir de discrétion ne pouvant pas sembler sincère dans la mesure où il est affiché sur les réseaux sociaux. Mais ce texte n'en est pas moins intéressant, d'autant que Tymochenko y reprend l'antithèse construite par Ivan Franko (une âme virilement courageuse dans la délicatesse d'un corps féminin) pour mieux, grâce à l'imaginaire de la réincarnation, se désigner elle-même comme *le seul homme politique dans toute la cathédrale de l'Ukraine du XXI^e siècle.*

Oukraïnka éternelle car morte jeune ? La réception d'Oukraïnka analysée par Zaboujko

Oukraïnka est aussi une véritable figure-talisman pour les écrivaines ukrainiennes d'après l'Indépendance (1991 marquant, à notre sens, le début du XXI^e siècle ukrainien, comme 1789 marqua le début du XIX^e siècle européen, et comme 1917 marqua la fin du XIX^e siècle pour les territoires de l'Empire russe puis de l'URSS). C'est un point qu'on aurait aimé développer davantage, mais les jeux d'échos intertextuels avec l'œuvre d'Oukraïnka chez les prosatrices contemporaines ont déjà été partiellement étudiés par Oleksandra Wallo[34], et le corpus est trop vaste pour que nous puissions, même en un survol rapide, le parcourir tout entier dans un seul article. On ne pourra pas, par exemple, montrer ici combien la lecture d'Oukraïnka a joué un rôle important dans les travaux élaborés au sein du cadre institutionnel offert par l'Institut des études de genre de Kyïv, fondé en 1998, et qui a fait jonction ensuite avec le Centre des études de genre de l'Institut littéraire de Kyïv, créé en 2001 par Solomiya Pavlytchko[35], Tamara Houndorova[36], Nila Zborovska[37] et Vira Aheïeva[38]. En revanche, on se penchera sur un cas particulièrement intéressant dans la perspective qui nous intéresse : celui d'Oksana Zaboujko, qui justement pose la question de ce qui demeure vraiment d'Oukraïnka,

[34] Voir Oleksandra Wallo, *Ukrainian Women Writers and the National Imaginary. From the Collapse of the USSR to the Euromaidan*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2019.
[35] Voir Solomiya Pavlytchko, *Дискурс модернізму в українській літературі* [*Le Discours théorique du modernisme ukrainien*], 2^e éd. révisée, Kyïv, Lybid, 1999.
[36] Voir, entre autres, Tamara Houndorova, *Леся Українка. Книги Сивіли* [*Lessia Oukraïnka. Les Livres de Sybille*], Kharkiv, Vivat, 2023 ; et Tamara Houndorova, *ПроЯвлення слова : дискурсія раннього українського модернізму* [*Le Discours du premier modernisme ukrainien*], Kyiv, Krytyka, 2009.
[37] Voir Nila Zborovska, *Моя Леся Українка : Есей* [*Ma Lessia Oukraïnka*], Ternopil, Djoura, 2002 ; et Nila Zborovska, *Феміністичні роздуми* [*Réflexions féministes*], Lviv, Litopys, 1999.
[38] Vira Aheïeva a consacré deux livres à Lessia Oukraïnka : *Поетеса зламу століть : творчість Лесі Українки в постмодерній інтерпретації* [*Une poétesse au tournant du siècle. L'œuvre de Lessia Oukraïnka à l'âge de l'interprétation postmoderne*], Kyïv, Lybid, 2001 ; et *Їм промовляти душа моя буде. « Лісова пісня » Лесі Українки та її інтерпретації* [*La « Chanson sylvestre » de Lessia Oukraïnka et ses interprétations*], Kyïv, Fakt, 2002. Voir également ses travaux sur *Дон Жуáн у світовóму контéксті* [*Don Juan dans le contexte mondial*], Kyïv, Fakt, 2002 ; et sur *Жіночий простір : феміністичний дискурс українського модернізму* [*Le Discours féministe du modernisme ukrainien*], Kyïv, Fakt, 2008.

au-delà de l'exhibition de son image. Cette image, n'est-ce que la face parfaitement conservée d'une momie ? Où est-ce bien le visage d'un esprit d'indépendance qui ne connaît ni mort ni vieillissement ?

Rappelons d'abord le titre de l'essai que Zaboujko a publié en 2007 : *Notre-Dame d'Ukraine : Oukraïnka et le conflit des mythologies*[39]. Il y a là déjà un effet de revenance ou de permanence (sinon de spectralité) lié à la figure de la sainte. Par ailleurs, qui dit Notre-Dame dit figure de la mère protectrice – et donc, dans le contexte ukrainien, de la Berehynia[40], cette divinité gardienne. On est tenté de voir là l'indice d'une relation particulière – typiquement féminine, peut-être – au passé ; d'une relation, en tout cas, bien différente (malgré le caractère très novateur et audacieux de la pensée de Zaboujko) des logiques qui dominent en général dans les discours révolutionnaires et/ou d'avant-garde : d'une part, la logique consistant à « tuer le père » (qui n'est au fond que le revers de la médaille de la pensée patriarcale) ; d'autre part, celle consistant à prendre la temporalité de l'histoire littéraire à rebrousse-poil afin de faire passer les aïeux pour de simples précurseurs, selon le principe de ce que Pierre Bayard a nommé le « plagiat par anticipation »[41]. Ici, il nous semble qu'il s'agit plutôt de s'inscrire dans une logique de la transmission, de mère en filles, d'une sorte de « matrimoine » où Lessia Oukraïnka ferait figure d'incarnation littéraire de la Déesse-Mère.

Mais, au-delà de ce titre riche de significations et d'enseignements, ce qui nous intéresse dans ce livre, considérant le questionnement qui est le nôtre, c'est que Zaboujko y repense les problèmes soulevés par la réception et les interprétations d'Oukraïnka. Posant la question de la représentation d'Oukraïnka dans et par les histoires littéraires, et étudiant sa construction comme archétype de l'héroïne culturelle nationale, elle se demande notamment ceci : si Oukraïnka est littéralement mythifiée dès les bancs de l'école, si elle figure sur les billets de 200 hryvnias (**Fig. 3**), si elle fascine massivement depuis des décennies (et aujourd'hui plus que jamais) les lecteurs ukrainiens par sa personnalité et son engagement littéraire, la connaissons-nous vraiment ? Ou cette Oukraïnka dont parlent les manuels et les professeurs, cette Oukraïnka qui émerge de l'épais nuage de discours que l'on tient sur elle et d'images que l'on exhibe d'elle, n'est-elle

---

[39] Voir Oksana Zaboujko, *Notre-Dame d'Ukraine : Українка в конфлікті міфологій*, Kyïv, Komora, 2007.

[40] L'historienne féministe Oksana Kis estime que cette manipulation de la figure de la Berehynia témoigne d'une masculinité en crise, mais aussi de la prégnance des modèles imaginaires (en l'occurrence de féminité) que le passé met à notre disposition au sein d'une société donnée. Voir Oksana Kis, « (Re)Constructing the Ukrainian Women's History : Actors, Agents, Narratives », dans Alena Hankivsky et Anastasiya Salnykova (éds.), *Gender, Politics and Society in Ukraine*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012, pp. 152-179 ; et Oksana Kis, « Choosing without Choice : Predominant Models of Femininity in Contemporary Ukraine », dans Ildikó Asztalos Morell, Helen Carlbäck, Madeleine Hurd et Sara Rastbäck (éds.), *Gender Transitions in Russia and Eastern Europe*, Stockholm, Förlags ab Gondolin, 2005, pp. 105-136.

[41] Voir Pierre Bayard, *Le Plagiat par anticipation*, Paris, Minuit, 2009.

qu'un faux-semblant, qu'un double inexact, qu'un simulacre de l'Oukraïnka originale, qu'une idole qui se serait substituée à l'authentique Notre-Dame d'Ukraine ?



Fig. 3. Billet de 200 hryvnias à l'effigie de Lessia Oukraïnka[42].

La question de la spectralité est d'autant plus importante en l'occurrence que Zaboujko signale que la vie, ou plutôt la mort prématurée d'Oukraïnka, et son destin brisé de jeune femme malade de la tuberculose, ont presque fini par prendre le pas, dans les discours qui ont assuré sa survie, sur la mise en valeur de son œuvre elle-même. Comme si, en somme, c'était d'abord en tant que morte, ensuite seulement en tant qu'écrivaine, qu'Oukraïnka avait survécu. Et de fait, l'antithèse de Franko (une « jeune fille malade et fiévreuse » qui est pourtant « le seul homme dans la cathédrale de l'Ukraine moderne ») semble avoir programmé toute sa postérité, jusqu'à sa récupération par une politicienne comme Tymochenko. Zaboujko mentionne notamment le poète ukrainien Oles Hontchar[43] (1918–1995), qui a grandement contribué à la réception d'Oukraïnka comme poétesse malade, à la féminité effacée par la maladie. Et, comme on l'a dit déjà, les critiques de l'âge soviétique la peignent volontiers comme une jeune fille malade mais animée d'un puissant et fervent esprit révolutionnaire. Revenons d'ailleurs à l'inscription qui figure sur la tombe d'Oukraïnka : « Proche du mouvement de libération en général et du mouvement prolétarien en particulier, elle lui a donné toute sa force, a semé le raisonnable, le bon, l'éternel ». On retrouve la dialectique de la force et de la faiblesse (Oukraïnka se serait épuisée pour insuffler de l'énergie dans le mouvement révolutionnaire), mais aussi celle, liée à la spectralité, de l'éphémère (la fragile Oukraïnka minée par la tuberculose) et de l'éternel (l'esprit prolétarien et révolutionnaire qui l'aurait prétendument habitée et animée).

---

[42] Image (domaine public) disponible sur Wikipédia, https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fichier:200-uah-2020-1.png. Consulté le 16 août 2025.

[43] Voir Oles Hontchar, « Наша Леся » [« Notre Lessia »], 1971, http://ukrlit.org/honchar_oles_terentiiovych/nasha_lesia. Consulté le 21 février 2025.

La résilience et la revenance des fleurs ?

En somme, ce que souligne Zaboujko, c'est que, en raison de la prédominance de l'image de l'auteure sur ses textes, le spectre d'Oukraïnka que réveille le XXI^e^ siècle est tout au plus une esquisse grossière ayant une lointaine ressemblance avec la Lessia Oukraïnka dont la figure se dessine dans ses œuvres. Toute la complexité de ses idées, que nous avons essayé de rendre dans le bref aperçu ci-dessus, se perd, ou presque. Quand Oukraïnka est convoquée par les artistes de rue au soutien du combat – on ne peut plus légitime par ailleurs, faut-il le préciser – contre l'ingérence et l'impérialisme russes, l'accent est mis exclusivement sur son esprit d'indépendance réputé « révolutionnaire », et sur son souci de l'autodétermination. Et quand Tymochenko pose en héritière ou en réincarnation d'Oukraïnka, ce n'est pas tant la pensée de l'écrivaine qui est ressuscitée, que l'image construite par Franko : une âme virile dans un corps à la faiblesse toute « féminine ».

Existe-t-il, face à ces spectres dont l'identité avec celle qu'ils sont censés faire *revenir* est pour le moins discutable, des recompositions d'Oukraïnka plus fidèles ? Les événements publics organisés dans des cadres officiels, et pour partie universitaires ou académiques, en particulier, sont-ils capables de nous faire atteindre, à travers ce feuilleté de fantômes trompeurs, la « vraie » Lessia Oukraïnka – celle, du moins, qui hante ses propres textes ?

Les traductions comme les travaux sur Oukraïnka[44] restent relativement rares, hors d'Ukraine du moins, et en particulier dans l'espace francophone. Oukraïnka demeure, même de nos jours, malgré le regain de visibilité qu'a connu la littérature ukrainienne en réaction à l'agression russe relancée en 2022, prisonnière d'une zone d'ombre ou d'une sorte d'angle mort, les études littéraires ayant, si l'on nous permet de filer la métaphore, orienté leurs rétroviseurs en direction du canon russe/russophone d'une part, ouest-européen d'autre part[45]. Et il est d'autant plus regrettable qu'Oukraïnka soit, dans l'ensemble, exclue des corpus d'étude que, on l'a dit, polyglotte et cosmopolite, elle se considérait elle-même comme une auteure européenne, se positionnant comme une écrivaine à la fois locale et universelle.

En Ukraine, en revanche, les travaux consacrés à Oukraïnka sont beaucoup plus nombreux. Dans l'ordre philologique, la parution en 2021 d'une édition universitaire de ses *Œuvres complètes* en 14 volumes (drames, poésie, œuvres

[44] Sur la réception de Lessia Oukraïnka dans l'espace francophone (et anglophone), voir cette note de travail que nous avons élaborée récemment : Nikol Dziub, « Note de travail sur la réception de Lessia Oukraïnka en France », https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.16886720. Consulté le 16 août 2025.

[45] Même les études centre- et est-européennes excluent parfois d'ailleurs l'Ukraine. Ainsi, aucune des très nombreuses contributions des quatre volumes (aussi remarquables qu'essentiels par ailleurs) de l'*History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe* dirigée par Marcel Cornis-Pope et John Neubauer (Amsterdam, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004–2010) n'est spécifiquement consacrée à l'Ukraine.

narratives, articles, traductions, transcriptions du fonds populaire, notes, correspondance) a constitué un pas en avant considérable, dans la mesure où cette publication (qui rétablit, contre les versions parfois (souvent ?) censurées parues à l'époque soviétique, les textes originels, complets et éclairés de données génétiques) rend accessible, sinon la « vraie » Lessia Oukraïnka, du moins l'intégralité des œuvres et des productions écrites où elle a exprimé pour ses contemporains et pour la postérité ses idées et ses idéaux. Cette édition fiable peut servir en outre de point de repère et de comparaison pour juger de la fidélité des spectres de Lessia Oukraïnka aux textes de celle dont ils sont censés être l'émanation. Sans doute est-ce en partie pour cela que les autorités russes et russophiles se défient de toutes les initiatives qui pourraient faire entendre la vraie voix d'une auteure comme Oukraïnka, qui, avant tout, se dressa face et contre tous les autoritarismes et tous les obscurantismes. Il n'y a pas lieu, dès lors, de s'étonner que le musée de Lessia Oukraïnka à Yalta en Crimée ait depuis peu été transformé par le gouvernement russe local en « Musée historique et littéraire », et que les documents relatifs à l'auteure soient pour le moment inaccessibles[46].

Cela étant, même en Ukraine, si les travaux universitaires au sujet d'Oukraïnka ont un impact certain, c'est surtout les activités parallèles de valorisation qui peuvent construire une image publique de l'écrivaine capable de venir se dresser face à ces spectres inévitablement inexacts (pour la bonne et simple raison que leur rôle premier est d'être combattants, et non de constituer des images fiables de l'auteure qu'ils font revenir) que nous avons décrits plus haut. C'est donc sur un événement de ce genre que nous aimerions nous pencher pour finir. Du 26 février au 13 mai 2024, à l'occasion des 10 ans de la deuxième annexion de la Crimée par la Russie, une exposition intitulée *Perce-pierre. L'Opposition féminine en Crimée*[47] a été organisée à Kyïv. Le titre de l'exposition est une allusion à la fleur nommée « saxifrage ». En 1897, à Yalta, Oukraïnka écrit un poème[48] inspiré par son ascension du mont Aï-Petri et dédié à cette plante, qu'elle désigne par l'exotisme « *saxifraga* » (en alphabet latin dans le texte), mais aussi par le néologisme « *ломи-камінь* » (littéralement « brise-pierre »). Or, pour elle, le « perce-pierre » devient l'emblème de la résistance par l'humanité à la rigidité des institutions impérialistes. Mais c'est aussi un symbole poétique – le mot lui-même, rare voire unique, symbolisant la résistance de l'art aux normes, et sa capacité à enchanter un monde que les pouvoirs veulent soumettre à leur joug.

---

[46] Voir Sonya Bandouil, « Crimean Museum Dedicated to Lesia Ukrainka Repurposed by Russian Authorities, Mentions of Writer Erased », *The Kyiv Independant*, 15 août 2024, https://kyivindependent.com/crimean-museum-dedicated-to-lesia-ukrainka-repurposed-by-russian-authorities-mentions-of-writer-erased/. Consulté le 21 février 2025.

[47] Voir https://lomykamin.crimea-platform.org/. Consulté le 21 février 2025.

[48] Repris dans les « Кримські відгуки » [« Réminiscences de Crimée »], dans *Думи і мрії* [*Pensées et rêves*] (1899), dans Oukraïnka, *Зібрання творів*, vol. 5, pp. 180-182.

C'est en outre un rappel fait aux poètes, qui doivent honorer la diversité de la nature, à la fois fragile et puissante, au lieu de magnifier les pouvoirs temporels et leur souci (symbolisé par le laurier) de gloire et de victoires. Et l'on se demande si la métaphore de Franko ne serait pas malgré tout partiellement fidèle aux idées d'Oukraïnka. Cela semble être en tout cas l'avis des organisateurs de l'exposition, dont le sous-titre fait de la saxifrage, avec sa force dans la fragilité (sa résilience, en somme), une image de la femme – Oukraïnka elle-même, dans son poème, ne se désignant cependant pas comme une poétesse, mais bien comme un *poète* :

> Elle a brisé la pierre, la pierre qui a tout conquis,
> Qui a écrasé les chênes puissants
> Et les épines tenaces.
> Cette fleur, les savants la nomment *saxifrage*,
> Nous, les poètes, devrions la nommer « brise-pierre »
> Et l'honorer plus que le superbe laurier[49].

Toujours est-il que l'on retrouve ici l'esprit et le souffle des *vesnyanki*, ces chants perséphoniens du renouveau printanier que nous évoquions plus haut. Outre que les saxifrages commencent à fleurir en avril, elles sont l'image de ce qui renaît malgré toutes les contraintes, malgré toutes les forces de mort adverses. On pourrait dire ainsi qu'elles fournissent une figure alternative à celle du spectre – voire une figure alternative *de* celle du spectre : la fleur est ce qui revient vivant – comme Perséphone revient vivante des Enfers.

Arrêtons-nous encore sur deux points. D'abord, le choix des commissaires de mettre à l'honneur le poème « Іфігенія в Таврiді » [« Iphigénie de Tauride »][50] (1898) d'Oukraïnka. Choix qui s'explique par le fait que ce sont ses séjours en Crimée (l'ancienne Tauride, rappelons-le) que lui inspireront ce poème dramatique, et qui marqueront le commencement de la rédaction de ses œuvres dramatiques à sujets antiques – en ceci, donc, l'exposition est fidèle aux idées d'Oukraïnka, qui tenait à mettre en valeur la complexité culturelle des territoires ukrainiens et liés à l'Ukraine, la Crimée étant partiellement d'héritage grec, comme la Galicie est ouverte sur l'espace germanophone. Il s'agit donc de rendre hommage à une œuvre qui inscrivait dès l'abord la littérature ukrainienne dans la tradition européenne, face à la culture impériale de l'époque, largement panrusse et panslave. De surcroît, la focalisation sur cette œuvre réactive la question de la revenance d'une autre manière encore, en posant la question de l'éternel retour des événements, des schémas et des combats (de ce « passé qui ne passe pas »[51], et qui par suite est aussi

---

[49] *Ibidem*, pp. 181-182.
[50] *Ibidem*, pp. 190-196. Poème écrit à la « Villa Iphigenia » à Yalta, et repris également dans les « Réminiscences de Crimée ». Voir aussi https://lomykamin.crimea-platform.org/ifigeniia-tavridada-lesya-ukrainka-qirimda/ua. Consulté le 21 février 2025.
[51] Voir Isabelle Garo, « Un passé qui ne passe pas », *Revue d'histoire du XIX^e siècle*, 2013, 47, pp. 15-19.

« actuel » qu'« intempestif »[52], puisque son temps est révolu, mais que les problèmes qui l'agitaient continuent d'inquiéter les époques suivantes), la Tauride faisant partie de la géographie de la guerre de Troie – comme la Crimée fait partie, et de manière plus étroite encore, de la géographie de l'impérialisme russe et, ces dernières années plus que jamais, des conflits russo-ukrainiens.

Enfin, on aimerait souligner à quel point il est intéressant que l'exposition donne également la parole au mouvement « Mauvaise Mavka »[53] (écho, on l'aura compris, à *La Chanson sylvestre*), qui s'était formé dès 2023 dans Melitopol occupée. L'allusion à cette héroïne est particulièrement intéressante. D'abord parce que, en l'occurrence, Oukraïnka estime que « seule une femme pouvait écrire l'histoire de Mavka »[54] – remarque qui, entrant en apparence en contradiction avec sa vision de la littérature féminine, révèle qu'elle était ennemie de l'esprit de système. Mais surtout parce que Mavka est une figure de la réincarnation : sirène des bois trahie par son bien-aimé Lucas, elle se transforme en bouleau, puis devient une *sopilka*, un des fils de sa rivale taillant dans son bois une de ces petites flûtes traditionnelles par lesquelles s'exprime la voix authentique d'une Ukraine qu'on ne pourra faire taire – signe, là encore, de la complexité de la pensée d'Oukraïnka, qui certes veut ouvrir son œuvre sur l'Europe, mais qui est tout de même très attentive aux expressions les plus particulières, les plus locales, des cultures ukrainiennes.

Conclusion : le retour de la vie face à la revenance des morts

Ainsi, ce sont plusieurs figures de la revenance qui ont émergé de ce parcours à travers les discours, les images et les pratiques qui convoquent Oukraïnka dans l'Ukraine du XXI^e^ siècle : la fosse commune de la mémoire littéraire, où les idées se confondent comme les os peuvent le faire dans un authentique charnier ; l'imaginaire de la réincarnation, du voyage des idées et des valeurs d'un corps à l'autre ; le feuilleté de spectres ou de simulacres nés de discours manipulatoires voire d'éditions abusives et qui s'interposent entre notre époque et Oukraïnka telle qu'elle se dessine dans ses textes ; mais aussi la revenance perséphonienne, placée sous le signe non pas de la hantise, mais de l'éternel retour à la vie toujours neuve des fleurs (la saxifrage) et des arbres (le bouleau que devient Mavka) ; et, bien sûr, la permanence, sous la forme de la *sopilka*, de la petite voix indestructible de l'Ukraine.

De la sorte, il semble bien établi que c'est aussi bien le hantant qui influence le hanté, que l'inverse ; et que notre XXI^e^ siècle est bien venu perturber la Lessia

[52] Voir Victoire Feuillebois et Bertrand Marquer (éds.), « Le XIX^e^ siècle : actuel ou intempestif ? Comprendre, enseigner, transmettre la littérature du XIX^e^ siècle », *Fabula*, https://doi.org/10.58282/colloques.13191. Consulté le 21 février 2025.
[53] « Зла Мавка », https://lomykamin.crimea-platform.org/zla-mavka/ua. Consulté le 21 février 2025.
[54] Voir Oukraïnka, *Зібрання творів*, vol. 14, p. 329, lettre à sa mère datée de l'été 1912.

Oukraïnka qui s'exprime dans (ou de) ses propres textes. Cette perturbation a, parfois (dans le cas de Tymochenko notamment), pour fonction de légitimer des discours de notre époque en les présentant, non pas comme sortant de la bouche d'incarnations passagères d'un pouvoir à la légitimité par conséquent discutable, mais comme étant la voix acousmatique d'une sorte d'Ukraine éternelle dont Oukraïnka aurait été la porte-parole la plus exemplaire. Elle a aussi pour but de nouer, comme l'analysait Éric Fournier dans son essai sur les spectres révolutionnaires, les combats à gagner du présent aux combats partiellement perdus du passé – comme si l'idée de la revanche et, par ailleurs, de l'envergure historique de ce combat séculaire devait décupler les forces des combattants. Peut-on pour autant parler, comme nous proposions de le faire en introduction, d'une histoire en poupées russes/ukrainiennes, où chaque combat serait hanté par des luttes similaires, mais inachevées, du passé ? Au regard des images végétales que privilégie Oukraïnka, il nous semble en fin de compte qu'il s'agit là d'une métaphore bien trop mélancolique – car ce que célèbre la poétesse, c'est l'éternel et irrépressible retour de la vie, plus que l'intranquille revenance des morts.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

AHEÏEVA, Vira, *Поетеса зламу століть : творчість Лесі Українки в постмодерній інтерпретації* [*Une poétesse au tournant du siècle. L'œuvre de Lessia Oukraïnka à l'âge de l'interprétation postmoderne*], Kyïv, Lybid, 2001.

AHEÏEVA, Vira (éd.), *Дон Жуáн у світовóму контéксті* [*Don Juan dans le contexte mondial*], Kyïv, Fakt, 2002.

AHEÏEVA, Vira, *Їм промовляти душа моя буде. « Лісова пісня » Лесі Українки та її інтерпретації* [*La « Chanson sylvestre » de Lessia Oukraïnka et ses interprétations*], Kyïv, Fakt, 2002.

AHEÏEVA, Vira, *Жіночий простір : феміністичний дискурс українського модернізму* [*Le Discours féministe du modernisme ukrainien*], Kyïv, Fakt, 2008.

BANDOUIL, Sonya, « Crimean Museum Dedicated to Lesia Ukrainka Repurposed by Russian Authorities, Mentions of Writer Erased », *The Kyiv Independant*, 15 août 2024, https://kyivindependent.com/crimean-museum-dedicated-to-lesia-ukrainka-repurposed-by-russian-authorities-mentions-of-writer-erased/. Consulté le 21 février 2025.

BAYARD, Pierre, *Le Plagiat par anticipation*, Paris, Minuit, 2009.

BLOCH, Marc, *Apologie pour l'histoire ou Métier d'historien*, 2e édition, Paris, Armand Colin, 1952.

CORNIS-POPE, Marcel et NEUBAUER, John (éds.), *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe*, 4 vol., Amsterdam, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2004–2010.

DRAHOMANOV, Mykhaïlo, *Австро-руські спомини (1867–1877)* [*Souvenirs austro-russes (1867–1877)*] (1889), https://shron2.chtyvo.org.ua/Drahomanov_Mykhailo/Drahomanov_Avstro-ruski_spomyny_1867-1877.pdf. Consulté le 17 février 2025.

DZIUB, Nikol, « Fureurs féminines chez Lessia Oukraïnka », communication pour le colloque « Colères féminines : expressions et représentations », 23–25 octobre 2024, Université de Picardie Jules-Verne, https://zenodo.org/records/16886660. Consulté le 16 août 2025.

DZIUB, Nikol, « Note de travail sur la réception de Lessia Oukraïnka en France », 2025, https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.16886720. Consulté le 16 août 2025.

DZIUB Nikol, « Pour une littérature ukrainienne libre et européenne : polyglottisme et polyglossie chez Lessia Oukraïnka », *Colloquia Comparativa Litterarum*, 11, 2025, 1, pp. 108-116.
FEUILLEBOIS, Victoire, MARQUER, Bertrand (éds.), « Le XIX^e siècle : actuel ou intempestif ? Comprendre, enseigner, transmettre la littérature du XIX^e siècle », *Fabula*, https://doi.org/10.58282/colloques.13191. Consulté le 21 février 2025.
FOURNIER, Éric, *« Nous reviendrons ! ». Une histoire des spectres révolutionnaires, France, XIX^e siècle*, Ceyzérieu, Champ Vallon, 2024.
FRANKO, Ivan, « Леся Українка » [« Lessia Oukraïnka »], *Літературно-науковий вістник*, 3, 1898, 2, pp. 6-27.
GARO, Isabelle, « Un passé qui ne passe pas », *Revue d'histoire du XIX^e siècle*, 2013, 47, pp. 15-19.
HONTCHAR, Oles, « Наша Леся » [« Notre Lessia »], 1971, http://ukrlit.org/honchar_oles_terent-iiovych/nasha_lesia. Consulté le 21 février 2025.
HOUNDOROVA, Tamara, *ПроЯвлення слова : дискурсія раннього українського модернізму* [*Le Discours du premier modernisme ukrainien*], Kyiv, Krytyka, 2009.
HOUNDOROVA, Tamara, *Леся Українка. Книги Сивіли* [*Lessia Oukraïnka. Les Livres de Sybille*], Kharkiv, Vivat, 2023.
KIS, Oksana, « Choosing without Choice : Predominant Models of Femininity in Contemporary Ukraine », dans Ildikó Asztalos Morell, Helen Carlbäck, Madeleine Hurd et Sara Rastbäck (éds.), *Gender Transitions in Russia and Eastern Europe*, Stockholm, Förlags ab Gondolin, 2005, pp. 105-136.
KIS, Oksana, « (Re)Constructing the Ukrainian Women's History : Actors, Agents, Narratives », dans Alena Hankivsky et Anastasiya Salnykova (éds.), *Gender, Politics and Society in Ukraine*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012, pp. 152-179.
MILLER, Aleksei, *The Ukrainian Question. The Russian Empire and Nationalism in the 19th Century*, Budapest, Central European University Press, 2003.
MOKRYK, Radomyr, « Les Dissidents ukrainiens : l'éthique contre le système soviétique ». Traduit de l'ukrainien par Nikol Dziub, *La Règle du jeu*, 2022, 77, pp. 169-194.
OUKRAÏNKA, Lessia, *Cassandre*. Traduit de l'ukrainien par Andry Swirko, Bruxelles, Amibel, 1973.
OUKRAÏNKA, Lessia, *L'Amphitryon de pierre*. Traduit de l'ukrainien par Andry Swirko, Bruxelles, Amibel, 1974.
OUKRAÏNKA, Lessia, *La Chanson sylvestre*. Traduit de l'ukrainien par Henri Abril, Kyïv, Dnipro, 1985.
OUKRAÏNKA, Lessia, *Зібрання творів* [*Œuvres complètes*], 14 vol., Loutsk, Université nationale Lessia Oukraïnka de Volhynie, 2021, https://ubi.org.ua/uk/activity/vidannya-knig/zibrannya-tvoriv-lesi-ukra-nki-u-14-i-tomah. Consulté le 16 août 2025.
PAVLYTCHKO, Solomiya, *Дискурс модернізму в українській літературі* [*Le Discours théorique du modernisme ukrainien*], 2^e éd. révisée, Kyïv, Lybid, 1999.
THIESSE, Anne-Marie, *La Création des identités nationales. Europe, XVIII^e–XX^e siècle*, Paris, Seuil, 1999.
WALLO, Oleksandra, *Ukrainian Women Writers and the National Imaginary. From the Collapse of the USSR to the Euromaidan*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2019.
WESTCOTT, Kathryn, « The Queen of Ukraine's Image Machine », *BBC News*, 4 octobre 2007, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/7025980.stm. Consulté le 21 février 2025.
ZABOUJKO, Oksana, *Notre-Dame d'Ukraine : Українка в конфлікті міфологій* [*Notre-Dame d'Ukraine : Oukraïnka et le conflit des mythologies*], Kyïv, Komora, 2007.
ZADESNIANSKIY, Roman, *Творчість Лесі Українки* [*La Créativité de Lessia Oukraïnka*], München, Logos, 1965.
ZBOROVSKA, Nila, *Феміністичні роздуми* [*Réflexions féministes*], Lviv, Litopys, 1999.
ZBOROVSKA, Nila, *Моя Леся Українка : Есей* [*Ma Lessia Oukraïnka*], Ternopil, Djoura, 2002.

SPECTRES, SIMULACRA, SAXIFRAGES AND *SOPILKY* : LESYA UKRAINKA AS A REVENANT IN 21ST-CENTURY UKRAINIAN COMMITTED DISCOURSES
(*Abstract*)

This article aims to show what the "afterlife" of the playwright, poet, letter writer and translator Lesya Ukrainka (1871–1913, born Larysa Kosach, later married to Klyment Kvitka) is like in post-1991 Ukraine. To do this, we first look at how certain artists linked to the anti-Russian/anti-Russophile demonstrations of the 2000s and 2010s have turned her into an icon of the revolution, alongside other writers whose opinions were not exactly the same as hers. We then see how a politician like Yulia Tymoshenko modelled her physical appearance on that of Ukrainka. Thirdly, we recall how the contemporary feminist writer Oksana Zabuzhko analyses and criticises the reception of Ukrainka, pointing out that it is not primarily as the author of her works, but rather as a martyr to tuberculosis who gave all her strength to her struggles that she survived. Finally, we ask ourselves to what extent the events intended to promote her work in an institutional or even academic framework have begun (or not) to create, in the face of these spectres forcibly committed, and which sometimes resemble simulacra, an image of Ukrainka more faithful to the one that haunts her own texts. Several figures of revenance therefore emerge from this journey through the discourses, images and practices that invoke Ukrainka in 21st-century Ukraine : the common grave of literary memory, where ideas merge as bones do in an ossuary ; the imaginary of reincarnation of values ; the layering of spectres or simulacra born of manipulative discourse which stand between our era and Ukrainka as she is portrayed by her own texts ; but also, in accordance with Ukrainka's work itself, a Persephonian re-emergence, not in the sense of a haunting, but of the resilience of life symbolised by the saxifrage ; and the permanence of the indestructible little voice of Ukraine symbolised by the flute called the *sopilka*.

Keywords : Ukrainian literature, women's literature, Russian imperialism, sovereignty, spectres.

SPECTRE, SIMULACRE, SAXIFRAGI ȘI *SOPILKY* : LESEA UKRAINKA CA O APARIȚIE FANTOMATICĂ ÎN DISCURSURILE ANGAJATE DIN UCRAINA SECOLULUI AL XXI-LEA
(*Rezumat*)

Articolul explorează „posteritatea" în Ucraina de după 1991 a scriitoarei Lesea Ukrainka (1871–1913, născută Larisa Kosaci, mai târziu căsătorită cu Klyment Kvitka), dramaturgă, poetă, autoare de corespondență și traducătoare. Studiul analizează, mai întâi, modul în care artiști care au participat la demonstrațiile anti-ruse/anti-rusofile din anii 2000 și 2010 au transformat-o pe Lesea Ukrainka într-un simbol al revoluției, alături de alți scriitori ale căror orientări ideologice erau adeseori diferite de cele ale sale. De asemenea, o secțiune a lucrării se axează pe decizia politicienei Iulia Timoșenko de a-și modela înfățișarea în funcție de imaginile care o reprezentau pe Ukrainka. În al treilea rând, articolul prezintă criticile scriitoarei feministe Oksana Zabujko la adresa receptării contemporane a Lesei Ukrainka, fiindcă ea ar fi ajuns să supraviețuiască în memoria publică nu ca autoare de literatură, ci ca

o martiră a tuberculozei, care și-a dăruit întreaga energie pentru a susține cauze civice. În final, lucrarea evaluează în ce măsură demersurile instituționale și academice de promovare a operei sale au reușit să creeze o imagine a scriitoarei Lesea Ukrainka mai fidelă celei configurate de textele sale, dincolo de spectrele publice artificiale, care, uneori, ajung simple simulacre. Astfel, studiul delimitează mai multe figurări ale memoriei fantomatice, generate prin discursurile, imaginile și practicile care o invocă pe Ukrainka în Ucraina secolului al XXI-lea : mormântul comun al memoriei literare, unde ideile se amestecă asemenea oaselor într-un osuar ; imaginarul reîncarnării valorilor ; suprapunerea spectrelor sau simulacrelor născute din discursul manipulator, care se interpun între epoca noastră și Ukrainka așa cum este portretizată de propriile ei texte ; dar și, în acord cu opera lui Ukrainka însăși, revigorarea persefoniană, nu în sensul unei bântuiri, ci al rezilienței vieții simbolizată de saxifragi ; și permanența vocii slabe, dar indestructibile a Ucrainei, simbolizată de flautul numit *sopilky*.

Cuvinte-cheie : literatură ucraineană, literatura femeilor, imperialism rus, suveranitate, spectre.

CATHERINE GÉRY

LE CANON LITTÉRAIRE DU XIX^{E} SIÈCLE RUSSE À L'ÉPREUVE DE LA GUERRE : QUE FAIRE DES SPECTRES DE POUCHKINE ET DOSTOÏEVSKI APRÈS FÉVRIER 2022 ?

Repenser les études russes en France : un conflit de générations ?

L'invasion à grande échelle de l'Ukraine par la Russie le 24 février 2022 semble avoir « réveillé » la russistique française d'un assez long sommeil, dont nous ne doutons pas qu'il fut peuplé de maints fantômes qu'il s'agissait de faire sortir des placards. Depuis maintenant plus de trois ans, nous assistons à une augmentation pléthorique des travaux et des manifestations scientifiques consacrés à la façon dont les enseignants-chercheurs doivent aborder différemment l'enseignement de la culture russe et penser autrement leurs objets de recherches, tandis que les outils et la terminologie subissent de sérieuses mais nécessaires révisions. On cherche des façons alternatives d'envisager la production et la transmission des savoirs, les discours patrimoniaux officiels et légitimés par l'État sont remis en question, comme, par exemple, dans le workshop du 23 novembre 2023 qui s'est tenu en Sorbonne sous le titre : « Un patrimoine alternatif en Russie : agents autres et pratiques nouvelles » dont l'objectif était, après l'annexion de la Crimée en 2014 et l'invasion de l'Ukraine par la Russie en 2022, de montrer la manière dont les acteurs « autres », loin pourtant de remettre toujours en question les récits officiels, parviennent à élargir le domaine patrimonial devenu un outil central de la propagande autoritaire et à créer de nouvelles formes et modalités de discours sur le passé et le présent[1].

Des expressions comme « langue de domination » ou « impérialisme culturel » fleurissent sous la plume de slavistes français qui, pour certains d'entre eux, découvrent tout soudainement qu'il serait grand temps de changer de cadre conceptuel et d'adopter une position critique non seulement sur leur discipline, mais surtout sur la façon dont ils la réfléchissent et la transmettent. « Penser autrement » ou « repenser » est devenu un mot d'ordre : en témoigne, entre autres, le colloque des 12 et 13 février 2025 organisé par les GDR « Empire russe, URSS et États ex-soviétiques » et « Connaissance de l'Europe médiane » sous le titre « Des savoirs à repenser, des approches à questionner ? Les États baltes, l'Ukraine,

[1] Voir « Un patrimoine alternatif en Russie : agents autres et pratiques nouvelles », 2023, https://eurorbem.sorbonne-universite.fr/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Programme-JE-patrimoine.pdf. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

DACOROMANIA LITTERARIA, XII, 2025, pp. 51–63 | DOI: 10.33993/drl.2025.12.51.63

le Bélarus et la Moldavie entre Europe médiane et espace ex-soviétique »[2], dont la tenue doit beaucoup à la réflexion déclenchée par l'invasion russe de février 2022.

Les jeunes chercheurs et chercheuses se sont largement emparés de la question des pratiques scientifiques et lui ont donnée un tour générationnel qui a pu heurter certains représentants plus âgés de la russistique française, convaincus que la culture et ceux qui la servent ont toujours présenté le meilleur rempart qui soit à l'absolutisme du pouvoir d'État en Russie et en URSS, ou que les littérateurs et les intellectuels russes ont incarné, depuis le XIX[e] siècle, la conscience morale de la société russe. En 2024, les Septièmes Doctoriales de l'Association Française des Russisants (AFR) intitulées « Repenser les études russes. Pour un renouveau épistémologique et terminologique » attaquaient de front les mythes culturels, dont le caractère fondamentalement éthique de la littérature russe et de ses représentants, tout en déclarant dans leur appel à contribution :

> [...] la recherche en études russes, menacée par les champs de ruines, est impérieusement contrainte à l'autoréflexivité [...]. Les doctorants sont peut-être les plus directement concernés par ce bouleversement épistémologique aux répercussions intimes, qui affecte la démarche scientifique, le rapport à la Russie comme le rapport à soi-même[3].

Le Collectif de recherche sur la Russie contemporaine pour l'analyse de ses nouvelles trajectoires (CORUSCANT), lancé à l'automne 2023, a quant à lui publié un manifeste appelant les chercheuses et les chercheurs à revoir de fond en comble « [leurs] méthodes et [leurs] approches, ainsi que renouveler [leurs] questionnements et [leurs] pratiques de recherche ». « Notre collectif intègre et entend prolonger les discussions qui reconnaissent les écueils, manquements, et problèmes inhérents à notre champ afin de de participer à sa reconstruction »[4], affirment les jeunes chercheurs et chercheuses qui constituent CORUSCANT. Ils entendent décoloniser (le mot est à la mode) non seulement les études russes, mais aussi et surtout de décoloniser notre regard *sur* les études russes, ébranlées une première fois par le surgissement de nouveaux outils théoriques (les *post-colonial studies*, *gender studies* et autres *subaltern studies*...), et une seconde fois par cet

---

[2] Voir GDR *Empire russe, URSS et États ex-soviétiques* et *Connaissance de l'Europe médiane*, « Des savoirs à repenser, des approches à questionner ? Les États baltes, l'Ukraine, le Bélarus et la Moldavie entre Europe médiane et espace ex-soviétique », https://www.inalco.fr/evenements/-des-savoirs-repenser-des-approches-questionner-les-etats-baltes-lukraine-la-bielorussie. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

[3] Voir Évelyne Enderlein et Pascale Melani (éds.), « Repenser les études russes. Pour un renouveau épistémologique et terminologique », https://www.afr-russe.fr/IMG/pdf/aac_doctoriales_vf_25-05-2023.pdf. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025. Les actes des Doctoriales sont parus dans *La Revue russe*, 2024, 63.

[4] Voir CORUSCANT, « Notre Manifeste. Pour l'émergence des nouvelles études russes ! », 2023, https://coruscant.therussiaprogram.org/manifeste. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

événement auquel personne ne voulait croire : une nouvelle guerre coloniale en Europe orientale.

Les spectres de l'impérialisme et de la colonisation

La question de la colonisation est de celles qui fâchent en Russie, et le colonialisme est le premier spectre, au sens d'image effrayante ou de peur obsessionnelle suscitant le déni, à nous revenir du XIX^e siècle russe. Pour l'essayiste Katia Margolis,

> [...] il est difficile de parler du colonialisme russe parce qu'il n'a pas encore été désigné comme tel : c'est un angle mort pour le monde et pour les Russes eux-mêmes. Et cela n'est pas le fruit du hasard. De nombreuses ressources de l'Empire russe ont été utilisées pour créer et entretenir le mythe selon lequel la Russie n'a jamais été et n'est toujours pas un empire colonial, ou si elle l'est, il s'agirait d'un empire tout à fait à part, qui n'a donc pas besoin de décolonisation, ou qui en a besoin d'une manière différente de celle du reste du monde. Cette thèse est défendue non seulement par des fonctionnaires de l'État et des propagandistes, mais aussi par des opposants farouches au régime actuel. Cette vieille maladie de l'impérialisme n'épargne personne, que ce soit sous une forme agressive aiguë (comme dans le cas des partisans de Poutine et de la guerre) ou sous une forme chronique chez les « gardiens de la culture russe »[5].

Si la tragique actualité de la guerre en Ukraine replace le récit historique traditionnellement russo-centré au cœur de notre réflexion, c'est surtout la culture promue dans l'Empire russe au XIX^e siècle qui est largement remise en question ; car lorsqu'on évoque de façon générale « la culture russe », c'est à la culture du « grand siècle russe » qu'on fait référence. Or il est aisé de trouver dans celui-ci de quoi alimenter l'idée d'une littérature infectée par le virus impérialiste et le désir de domination : les œuvres d'Alexandre Pouchkine ou de Mikhail Lermontov, contemporaines des guerres de conquête du Caucase, ne sont pas exemptes d'accents colonialistes, loin de là ; des textes comme *Le Prisonnier du Caucase*, *Poltava* ou *Aux calomniateurs de la Russie* peuvent apparaître comme une manifestation de soutien de la part de Pouchkine à la politique expansionniste de l'Empire. Fiodor Dostoïevski a quant à lui développé un nationalisme panslave et la vision messianique d'une culture russe « universelle » et de fait, assimilatrice, dans son célèbre *Discours sur Pouchkine* du 8 juin 1880, où il écrit : « le génie du peuple russe est peut-être le seul capable de créer la fraternité universelle, d'atténuer les dissemblances, de concilier les contradictions apparentes »[6]. Dans le même élan, Dostoïevski réaffirme la puissance cohésive de Pouchkine, le

[5] Katia Margolis, « Du colonialisme russe », *overblog*, 22 décembre 2024, https://lo-lugarn-pno.over-blog.org/2025/01/du-colonialisme-russe-par-katia-margolis.html. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

[6] Fiodor Dostoïevski, « Discours sur Pouchkine » (1880). Traduction de J.W. Bienstock et John-Antoine Nau dans *Journal d'un écrivain*, Paris, 1904, https://bibliotheque-russe-et-slave.com/Livres/-Dostoievski%20-%20Discours%20sur%20Pouschkine.htm. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

représentant le plus accompli de ce génie national, le « vrai Russe », c'est-à-dire « l'homme universel »[7]. Au regard du contexte historique de ce discours, on peut aisément conclure de l'anthropologie dostoïevskienne que c'est à l'Empire russe qu'il revient d'instaurer la fraternité universelle[8]. Aussi, il n'est pas étonnant que pour l'écrivaine Oksana Zaboujko, Dostoïevski (ou son spectre) soit métonymique des visées impérialistes de la culture russe en son ensemble. Les auteurs du volume *Spectres de Dostoïevski* paru en 2024 montrent quant à eux comment « l'esprit » de Dostoïevski est sans cesse ramené sur la scène historique :

> Dans les premières semaines qui suivirent l'invasion de l'Ukraine par la Russie, [Dostoïevski] se vit à nouveau propulsé sur le devant de la scène des discours publics qui double la géopolitique des États. Le spectre de Dostoïevski faisait-il réellement retour en Europe ou ne servait-il que de paravent aux intérêts oligarchiques et au déchaînement de la violence armée ? [...]. À l'heure où la Russie s'acharne à étendre ses frontières tout en s'isolant telle une forteresse de l'Europe tout entière, Dostoïevski traverse nos murs et nos rideaux de fer : ses fantômes nous rejoignent, ils aiment nous visiter car ils appartiennent aussi à notre *ici et maintenant*[9].

Mais Pouchkine ou Dostoïevski ne sont pas les seuls spectres à nous revenir : pour nombre d'Ukrainiens ou pour quelques Russes portés à l'autoréflexion, comme Katia Margolis, Tetynana Ogarkova, Serhii Plokhy ou Volodymyr Yermolenko[10], ce sont tous les auteurs ou presque du canon littéraire du XIX^{e} siècle qui porteraient une part de responsabilité dans la politique russe actuelle et dans sa tentative d'annexer « la petite Russie » à « la grande Russie ». Le philosophe ukrainien Volodymyr Yermolenko, qui n'a de cesse de dénoncer les usages politiques que les autorités russes font de la littérature du XIX^{e} siècle, affirme que celle-ci a « contribué à façonner, diffuser et enraciner la vision nationaliste du monde et l'idéologie impériale de la Russie […]. À y regarder de plus près, la littérature russe est remplie de discours impérialistes, de conquêtes et de cruautés romancées, et de silence sur les conséquences »[11].

---

[7] *Ibidem*.

[8] On notera que cette anthropologie est de plus une anthropologie masculine, comme l'a établi Mikhaïl Berdiaev. Voir Михаил Бердяев, *Мирософерцание Достоевского* [*La philosophie de Dostoïevski*], 1921, http://az.lib.ru/b/berdjaew_n_a/text_1921_dostoevsky.shtml. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

[9] Nicolas Aude, Victoire Feuillebois, Karen Haddad, « Introduction », dans Nicolas Aude, Victoire Feuillebois, Karen Haddad (éds.), *Spectres de Dostoïevski*, Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2024, p. 17.

[10] Katia Margolis, « " Notre tout " ou " tout est à nous " », *Desk Russie*, 27 janvier 2024, https://desk-russie.eu/2024/01/27/notre-tout-ou-tout-est-a-nous.html. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025 ; Tetyana Ogarkova, Volodymyr Yermolenko, « Culture : face à la guerre », *Ukraine Crisis Media Center*, 21 novembre 2023, https://uacrisis.org/fr/ukraine-face-a-la-guerre-41. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025 ; Serhiy Plokhiy, *La Guerre russo-ukrainienne. Le Retour de l'histoire*. Traduit de l'anglais par Jacques Dalarun, Paris, Gallimard, 2023 ; Volodymyr Yermolenko, « De Pouchkine à Poutine : l'idéologie impériale dans la littérature russe », *Desk Russie*, 1er juillet 2022, https://desk-russie.eu/2022/07/01/de-pouchkine-a-poutine.html. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

[11] Yermolenko, « De Pouchkine à Poutine ».

A contrario, dans une interview parue en décembre 2023 dans la revue en ligne *T-invariant*[12], Andrei Zorin, professeur de littérature et de culture russes à Oxford, réfute l'idée d'une quelconque responsabilité des écrivains et prend résolument la défense du canon et de la « grande littérature russe » comme un bien commun qui permet de maintenir le lien intergénérationnel. Mais il existe un autre lien que Zorin n'aborde pas, ou ne veut pas aborder : celui qui a été noué entre Kyïv et Moscou, et entre Moscou et toutes les villes de l'Empire, par l'omniprésence des écrivains russes à travers la statuaire ou la toponymie (594 rues ukrainiennes portaient le nom de Pouchkine en 2017[13]), dans l'objectif de préserver l'unité culturelle et géographique impériale de toutes les fragmentations susceptibles de la menacer. La statue de Pouchkine, ou plutôt ses innombrables statues, sont devenues l'emblème de la continuité territoriale et d'une culture imposée, mais censément partagée. Comme le dit Katia Margolis, Pouchkine, « notre tout » selon la formule du poète Apollon Grigoriev, montre surtout que là où il est, « tout est à nous »[14]. D'où le phénomène, assez spectaculaire et gros de polémiques, du *Pouchkinopad* en Ukraine, à savoir le déboulonnement systématique de toutes les statues de Pouchkine sur le territoire ukrainien en guerre[15].

Pouchkine : une figure hantée et hantalogique

Outre sa valeur éminemment symbolique, le *Pouchkinopad* nous met face à un intéressant paradoxe : la statue est aussi un spectre, où se conjoignent l'extrême matérialité du monument à l'immatérialité du revenant. Ce paradoxe se trouve d'ailleurs au cœur même d'un des poèmes narratifs parmi les plus fameux de Pouchkine, *Le Cavalier de bronze*, où la statue de Pierre 1^er^ (le corps politique du tsar) se met en mouvement pour poursuivre le pauvre Eugène, qui a osé le défier, dans les rues de Pétersbourg, le pouvoir réintégrant par là-même son corps physique[16]. Il en découle un ultime paradoxe : Pouchkine, qui se servait de la statue de Pierre dit « le grand » comme d'une arme politique, qui voulait montrer dans son poème la folie et l'inutilité de toute tentative de rébellion individuelle face au

---

[12] Зорин Анщрей (Andrei Zorin), « Сегодня у имперства скверная репутация потому, что у некоторых политиков нет исторического чувства: им кажется, что эпоху империй можно вернуть » [« Aujourd'hui, l'empire a une réputation détestable parce que certains hommes politiques n'ont pas de sens historique : ils croient que l'époque des empires peut revenir »], *T-invariant*, 4 décembre 2023, https://www.t-invariant.org/2023/12/segodnya-u-imperstva-skvernaya-reputatsiya-potomu-chto-u-ne-kotoryh-politikov-net-istoricheskogo-chuvstva-im-kazhetsya-chto-epohu-imperij-mozhno-vernut/. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

[13] Victoire Feuillebois, *Faut-il brûler Pouchkine ?*, Paris, CNRS Éditions, 2025, p. 63.

[14] Margolis, « " Notre tout " ».

[15] Voir Victoire Feuillebois, « Regarde Pouchkine tomber : le phénomène du « Pouchkinopad » dans le contexte de la guerre à grande échelle en Ukraine », *Fabula*, 15 février 2025, https://www.fabula.org/colloques/document13513.php. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

[16] Александр Пушкин, *Медный всадник*, 1833 pour la rédaction, 1837 pour la publication.

pouvoir des tsars, est devenu le symbole de bronze de ce pouvoir sur la presque totalité du territoire de l'Empire.

L'Eugène de Pouchkine éprouve dans *Le Cavalier de bronze* le fait qu'il est extrêmement dangereux de se rebeller face aux morts ; mais on sait depuis Freud qu'il est tout aussi dangereux de vouloir s'en débarrasser ou de vouloir en conjurer le retour, ne serait-ce qu'en en effaçant les effigies dans l'espace public. Car le *Pouchkinopad* n'est pas uniquement un geste de destruction : on peut aussi l'interpréter comme un geste de conjuration, une action magique censée chasser les démons qui ont envahi le pays. Pour paraphraser Jacques Derrida dans ses célèbres *Spectres de Marx*,

> [...] plus on affirme que Marx [Pouchkine – CG] est mort, plus son image refoulée fait retour dans l'imaginaire social et subjectif. Aussi bien la figure spectrale de Marx [Pouchkine] est-elle omniprésente dans les discours incantatoires de ceux qui prétendent effacer son nom[17].

Comme Marx, Pouchkine a à voir avec l'hantalogie[18], la manifestation de l'ontologie d'une trace à la fois visible et invisible, venue du passé et qui hante le présent. Pouchkine a d'ailleurs bien la valeur d'une ontologie pour Dostoïevski : il est l'incarnation au sens premier (la chair matérielle) du génie du peuple russe (idée immatérielle). Il en est l'être, à savoir l'existence, la possibilité, la durée et le devenir. Pouchkine est, pour reprendre Marian Dovic et Jon Karl Helgason, un « saint culturel »[19] auquel l'ensemble de la « nation russe » se doit de rendre un culte.

D'autre part, les statues de Pouchkine témoignent, *nolens volens*, d'une hantise (ou d'un phantasme) propre à la culture russe depuis plus de deux siècles : celle de sa minoration, voire de sa disparition. Les statues d'écrivains disséminées sur le territoire de l'Empire emplissent la même fonction apotropaïque que la canonisation de leurs œuvres et leur maintien frénétique dans la culture contemporaine par le biais du théâtre, des séries, des fanfictions, des biopics, etc., toute une culture de masse visuelle qui fait de la scène ou de l'écran un véritable espace spectral pour des auteurs et des textes qui ne sont presque plus lus[20]. Il s'agit de prévenir, en inscrivant les œuvres et les auteurs dans une mémoire à la fois publique et institutionnelle, un possible oubli futur. Pour Andrei Zorin, le

---

[17] Elisabeth Roudinesco, « " Spectres de Marx " : Jacques Derrida, ce revenant irréductible », *Le Monde des livres*, 11 june 2024, https://www.lemonde.fr/livres/article/2024/11/06/spectres-de-marx-jacques-derrida-revenant-irreductible_6379685_3260.html. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

[18] Voir Jacques Derrida, *Spectres de Marx. L'État de la dette, le travail du deuil et la nouvelle Internationale*, Paris, Galilée, 1993, p. 31.

[19] Marijan Dović, Jón Karl Helgason, *National Poets, Cultural Saints, Canonization and Commemorative Cults of Writers in Europe*, Leiden, Brill, 2016.

[20] Voir Catherine Géry, « Les Classiques face aux pouvoirs, ou une petite histoire de la construction, de la déconstruction et de la reconstruction du canon littéraire russe », *Slavica Occitania*, 2017, 44-45, p. 287-301.

canon littéraire reste ainsi une garantie de l'existence de la culture russe[21]. C'est ici que la peur de la disparition, de l'évanouissement voire de l'inexistence rencontre un autre spectre russe, l'obsession de la grandeur, sur laquelle je reviendrai un peu plus loin.

Faut-il se débarrasser des spectres du XIXe siècle ?

La polémique sur les spectres du XIXe siècle excède par ailleurs la seule sphère des études russes. En novembre 2023, l'Université de Strasbourg organisait une journée d'études sur « Le XIXe siècle : actuel ou intempestif ? Comprendre, enseigner, transmettre la littérature du XIXe siècle », sous la direction de Victoire Feuillebois et Bertrand Marquer. Leur introduction aux actes de la journée d'études évoque

> [...] le discrédit des corpus dix-neuviémistes, en rendant parfois l'étude intempestive, voire contreproductive : l'antisémitisme, le racisme ou la misogynie qui façonnent les représentations du XIXe siècle constitueraient désormais d'insurmontables pierres d'achoppement pour l'étude de productions littéraires, et rendraient leur enseignement mission impossible[22].

Cette affirmation fait allusion à une intervention de Tiphaine Samoyault, déclarant sur France culture dans une émission intitulée « Roald Dahl, Ian Fleming, Godard... Faut-il adapter les classiques à leur époque ? » (10 mars 2023) :

> Il y a toute une littérature qui porte des valeurs extrêmement normatives. Quand on regarde la littérature du XIXe... Moi, j'ai beaucoup de collègues et d'amis qui enseignent la littérature du XIXe siècle et qui trouvent ça très difficile à l'université. Même s'ils ne pratiquent pas la réécriture, ils trouvent cela très difficile, par exemple, de voir l'antisémitisme chez Balzac, de voir l'invisibilisation des femmes ou l'instrumentalisation des femmes dans toute la littérature du XIXe […] ces textes portent des valeurs qui sont détestables. [...] Moi, je n'enseigne pas la littérature du XIXe siècle, Dieu merci !, mais j'entends le malaise de certains de mes collègues qui trouvent difficile de répercuter ces valeurs-là[23].

Ces propos pour le moins radicaux ont déclenché de vives réactions, dont celle, très argumentée, de Paolo Tortonese, qui a répondu en ces termes à Tiphaine Samoyault dans les pages du site *Fabula* :

---

[21] Зорин (Zorin), « Сегодня у имперства ».

[22] Victoire Feuillebois et Bertrand Marquer (éds.), « Le XIXe siècle : actuel ou intempestif ? Comprendre, enseigner, transmettre la littérature du XIXe siècle », *Fabula*, https://www.fabula.org/colloques/sommaire13191.php. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

[23] Tiphaine Samoyault et Marc Weitzmann, « Roald Dahl, Ian Fleming, Godard… Faut-il adapter les classiques à leur époque ? », *France culture*, 10 mars 2023, https://www.radiofrance.fr/franceculture/podcasts/l-invite-e-des-matins/roald-dahl-ian-fleming-godard-faut-il-adapter-les-classiques-a-leur-epoque-9554200. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

> Que veut-on finalement ? Que les futures générations ne soient plus au courant de l'existence du racisme, de l'esclavagisme, des oppressions contre les femmes, et de toutes les innombrables injustices dont est tissue l'histoire humaine ? Voulons-nous fermer les yeux, ou bien les tenir ouverts, être vigilants, critiques, attentifs ? T. Samoyault prétend qu'il ne s'agit que de changer quelques mots, je vous souhaite bon courage quand vous aurez à rééditer Sade selon les critères de Puffin Books[24].

Plus récemment, Laure Murat déplore dans son essai *Toutes les époques sont dégueulasses* un phénomène de récriture (qui n'est pas la réécriture) susceptible de priver les « victimes » (femmes ou peuples colonisés) de leur propre histoire, les opprimés de l'histoire de leur oppression[25].

Alors, le XIX^e^ siècle est-il réellement devenu infréquentable ? Telle était la question posée lors d'une séance du *Kroujok littéraire sur le XIX^e^ siècle russe* que je co-anime avec Laetitia Decourt et Victoire Feuillebois[26], laquelle a bien résumé notre problématique dans le titre de son dernier *opus* : *Faut-il brûler Pouchkine ?*[27]. Car pour être infréquentable, le XIX^e^ siècle, dont le XIX^e^ siècle russe, n'a jamais été aussi actuel. Ses spectres ne cessent de hanter les consciences de notre monde contemporain : impérialisme, colonialisme, nationalisme, capitalisme, dominations sexuelles et genrées, mais aussi ère des media et de l'implantation dans la vie quotidienne des sciences et des techniques, avec tous les rejets qu'a pu susciter la marche trop rapide du « progrès » – toutes les problématiques qui ont émergé au XIX^e^ siècle et qui l'ont façonné ont aujourd'hui envahi nos espaces de discussion, allant jusqu'à les saturer. Le XIX^e^ siècle n'a jamais été aussi actuel par les questions qu'il soulève, et peut-être jamais plus éloigné de nous par la façon dont il les a soulevées.

Pour une autre histoire de la littérature russe du XIX^e^ siècle

N'en déplaise à ses contempteurs, la littérature russe du XIX^e^ siècle n'a ni à être vilipendée, ni à être défendue : elle a tout simplement à être expliquée et doit faire l'objet d'une lecture située, contextualisée et réflexive. Car s'il faut réellement chercher des coupables au maintien d'une culture impérialiste, ce ne sont pas uniquement parmi les auteurs du canon littéraire qu'on les trouvera, mais aussi et surtout dans les modalités de l'élaboration et de la transmission de ce canon par une historiographie dévouée à la construction de la *grandeur*, qui néglige le fonctionnement réel du champ de la littérature au profit d'un imaginaire mythologisant, dont une des conséquences est l'idée, largement partagée, que la

---

[24] Paolo Tortonese, « Réécriture, lecture, censure », *Fabula*, 19 mars 2023, https://www.fabula.org/-actualites/113245/reecriture-lecture-censure-par-paolo-tortonese.html. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.
[25] Laure Murat, *Toutes les époques sont dégueulasses*, Paris, Verdier, 2025.
[26] Voir *Kroujok littéraire sur le XIX^e^ siècle russe*, https://gdrus.hypotheses.org/641. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.
[27] Feuillebois, *Faut-il brûler Pouchkine ?*.

littérature russe canonique est tout entière sous-tendue par un programme éthique et humaniste. Privilégier une approche critique du canon et de ses usages *sur le temps long* est donc une façon de répondre à l'enjeu soulevé par l'inertie d'une certaine russistique – en tous les cas de la russistique française – face à cette historiographie qui a érigé la grandeur en paradigme, en critère sélectif et en outil herméneutique. Il en découle l'hégémonie, dans les Histoires littéraires, de la « grande littérature russe », des « grands textes » et des « grands auteurs » – tout autant de signes flagrants d'une forme d'impérialisme culturel. Je ferai ici un dernier retour à l'inévitable Derrida : « L'Hégémonie organise toujours la répression et donc la confirmation d'une hantise. La hantise appartient à la hantise de toute hégémonie »[28].

Le canon littéraire russe est, comme on le sait, un marqueur très fort d'identité et l'historiographie littéraire qui élabore, conserve et diffuse ce canon aux côtés des institutions dédiées (écoles et académies, musées littéraires, et l'ensemble des processus commémoratifs), une forme d'accomplissement du projet national. En se définissant avant tout en fonction d'un territoire et d'une communauté spécifiques, en désignant des objets qu'il s'agit de sauvegarder pour l'avenir contre des menaces souvent fantasmées de perte ou d'effacement, en élaborant, enfin, un modèle générationnel à l'intérieur duquel les questions de filiation se révèlent primordiales, la canonisation est devenue patrimonialisation[29], une patrimonialisation dans laquelle les objets physiques ont pris une place prépondérante, que ce soit sous la forme de statues, comme on l'a vu, ou encore d'objets conservés dans les innombrables musées littéraires destinés à transmettre l'*aura* des grands écrivains. Éléments centraux de la vie culturelle russe disséminés sur l'ensemble des territoires ex-soviétiques, lieux d'excursion plus ou moins obligatoires pour les citoyens, les musées littéraires sont, depuis le XIX^e siècle, une façon ancrée dans le monde sensible d'écrire et de perpétuer le canon[30]. La dimension mémorielle y est très accentuée, les musées emplissant le rôle de sanctuaires, voire de reliquaires : la muséographie se caractérise généralement par une présentation sur le mode sacralisé des objets ayant appartenus à l'écrivain, comme le fameux divan de Pouchkine sur lequel on aurait retrouvé des traces du sang du poète mortellement blessé après son duel.

De la même façon, depuis la fin du XIX^e siècle, qui est le moment où elles remplacent les listes, les dictionnaires biobibliographiques, les « panoramas sur » et autres catalogues, les histoires de la littérature russe ont été conçues comme de

---

[28] Derrida, *Spectres de Marx*, p. 69.

[29] Voir Marie-Françoise Melmoux-Montaubin, « Patrimonialisation et territorialisation de la littérature : causes, enjeux et effets », *Recherches & Travaux*, 2020, 96, https://journals.openedition-.org/recherchestravaux/2361. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

[30] Cédric Pernette, « " Puškin n'est jamais venu à Perm. Mais il aurait pu. " Éléments pour une approche muséographique de l'histoire littéraire russe », *Revue des Études slaves*, 93, 2022, 2-3, pp. 333-351.

véritables « lieux de mémoire[31] ». Ces histoires mémorielles visent avant tout à édifier des monuments : *exegi monumentum* ou « Je me suis élevé un monument acheiropoïète », disai(en)t le(s) poète(s) – Horace, Gavril Derjavine et à sa suite Alexandre Pouchkine ; des monuments ou encore des totems nationaux, pour reprendre cette fois Boris Orlov : en 1982, cet artiste de la mouvance *sots-art* représentait un Pouchkine de bronze en uniforme de Maréchal, croulant sous les médailles, dans un raccourci efficace qui dénonçait le fétichisme des héros culturels et dévoilait les dispositifs de pouvoir et de domination qui se trouvent à l'origine de la construction de la grandeur littéraire[32].

Fantômes et phantasmes, spectres et obsessions fondent les régimes d'historicité du canon littéraire russe, c'est-à-dire de « l'administration du passé dans le présent »[33], ou plutôt dans les présents successifs. Il y a certes toujours du présent dans le passé que nous cherchons à reconstituer ; aussi il nous revient, aujourd'hui, de faire vivre différemment les spectres du XIX^{e} siècle littéraire russe et de déjouer les pièges du nationalisme grand-russe dans lequel la russistique française s'est, peut-être, trop longtemps complu. Il s'agit pour nous tous, enseignants et chercheurs en littérature, de combattre la « grandeur » en donnant une légitimité à tous les phénomènes relevant du « mineur », de concevoir le canon comme historique, relatif et situé, de dénaturaliser et normaliser une littérature russe qui ne serait plus irréductiblement spécifique et supérieurement éthique, mais simplement... une littérature parmi d'autres.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

***, « Un patrimoine alternatif en Russie : agents autres et pratiques nouvelles », 2023, https://eurorbem.sorbonne-universite.fr/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Programme-JE-patrimoine.pdf. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

***, *Kroujok littéraire sur le XIX^{e} siècle russe*, https://gdrus.hypotheses.org/641. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

AUDE, Nicolas, FEUILLEBOIS, Victoire, HADDAD, Karen, « Introduction », dans Nicolas Aude, Victoire Feuillebois, Karen Haddad (éds.), *Spectres de Dostoïevski*, Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2024, pp. 7-24.

CORUSCANT, « Notre Manifeste. Pour l'émergence des nouvelles études russes ! », 2023, https://coruscant.therussiaprogram.org/manifeste. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

DERRIDA, Jacques, *Spectres de Marx Spectres de Marx. L'État de la dette, le travail du deuil et la nouvelle Internationale*, Paris, Galilée, 1993.

[31] À savoir une « unité significative, d'ordre matériel ou idéel, dont la volonté des hommes ou le travail du temps a fait un élément symbolique du patrimoine mémoriel d'une communauté » (Pierre Nora, *Les Lieux de Mémoire. Les France*, Paris, Gallimard, 1992, p. 20).

[32] Voir Catherine Géry, « Notre XIX^{e} siècle – un autre XIX^{e} siècle ? », *Slavica Occitania*, 2020, 50, pp. 191-209.

[33] Nora, *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, p. 27.

DOSTOÏEVSKI, Fiodor, « Discours sur Pouchkine » (1880). Traduction de J.W. Bienstock et John-Antoine Nau dans *Journal d'un écrivain*, Paris, 1904, https://bibliotheque-russe-et-slave.com/Livres/-Dostoievski%20-%20Discours%20sur%20Pouschkine.htm. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

DOVIĆ, Marijan, HELGASON, Jón Karl, *National Poets, Cultural Saints, Canonization and Commemorative Cults of Writers in Europe*, Leiden, Brill, 2016.

ENDERLEIN, Évelyne, MELANI, Pascale (éds.), « Repenser les études russes. Pour un renouveau épistémologique et terminologique », https://www.afr-russe.fr/IMG/pdf/aac_doctoriales_vf_25-05-2023.pdf. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

FEUILLEBOIS, Victoire, « Regarde Pouchkine tomber : le phénomène du " Pouchkinopad " dans le contexte de la guerre à grande échelle en Ukraine », *Fabula*, 15 février 2025, https://www.fabula.-org/colloques/document13513.php. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

FEUILLEBOIS, Victoire, *Faut-il brûler Pouchkine ?*, Paris, CNRS Éditions, 2025.

FEUILLEBOIS, Victoire, MARQUER, Bertrand (éds.), « Le XIXe siècle : actuel ou intempestif ? Comprendre, enseigner, transmettre la littérature du XIXe siècle », *Fabula*, https://www.fabula.org-/colloques/sommaire13191.php. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

GDR *Empire russe, URSS et États ex-soviétiques* et *Connaissance de l'Europe médiane*, « Des savoirs à repenser, des approches à questionner ? Les États baltes, l'Ukraine, le Bélarus et la Moldavie entre Europe médiane et espace ex-soviétique », https://www.inalco.fr/evenements/-des-savoirs-repenser-des-approches-questionner-les-etats-baltes-lukraine-la-bielorussie. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

GÉRY, Catherine, « Les Classiques face aux pouvoirs, ou une petite histoire de la construction, de la déconstruction et de la reconstruction du canon littéraire russe », *Slavica Occitania*, 2017, 44-45, p. 287-301.

GÉRY, Catherine, « Notre XIX^e siècle – un autre XIX^e siècle ? », *Slavica Occitania*, 2020, 50, pp. 191-209.

MARGOLIS, Katia, « " Notre tout " ou " tout est à nous " », *Desk Russie*, 27 janvier 2024, https://desk-russie.eu/2024/01/27/notre-tout-ou-tout-est-a-nous.html. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

MARGOLIS, Katia, « Du colonialisme russe », *overblog*, 22 décembre 2024, https://lo-lugarn-pno.over-blog.org/2025/01/du-colonialisme-russe-par-katia-margolis.html. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

MELMOUX-MONTAUBIN, Marie-Françoise, « Patrimonialisation et territorialisation de la littérature : causes, enjeux et effets », *Recherches & Travaux*, 2020, 96, https://journals.openedition.org/recherchestravaux/2361. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

MURAT, Laure, *Toutes les époques sont dégueulasses*, Paris, Verdier, 2025.

NORA, Pierre, *Les Lieux de Mémoire. Les France*, Paris, Gallimard, 1992.

OGARKOVA, Tetyana, YERMOLENKO, Volodymyr, « Culture : face à la guerre », *Ukraine Crisis Media Center*, 21 novembre 2023, https://uacrisis.org/fr/ukraine-face-a-la-guerre-41. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025

PERNETTE, Cédric, « " Puškin n'est jamais venu à Perm. Mais il aurait pu. " Éléments pour une approche muséographique de l'histoire littéraire russe », *Revue des Études slaves*, 93, 2022, 2-3, pp. 333-351.

PLOKHIY, Serhiy, *La Guerre russo-ukrainienne. Le Retour de l'histoire*. Traduit de l'anglais par Jacques Dalarun, Paris, Gallimard, 2023.

ROUDINESCO, Elisabeth, « " Spectres de Marx " : Jacques Derrida, ce revenant irréductible », *Le Monde des livres*, 11 june 2024, https://www.lemonde.fr/livres/article/2024/11/06/spectres-de-marx-jacques-derrida-revenant-irreductible_6379685_3260.html. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

SAMOYAULT, Tiphaine, WEITZMANN, Marc, « Roald Dahl, Ian Fleming, Godard… Faut-il adapter les classiques à leur époque ? », *France culture*, 10 mars 2023, https://www.radiofrance.-fr/franceculture/podcasts/l-invite-e-des-matins/roald-dahl-ian-fleming-godard-faut-il-adapter-les-classiques-a-leur-epoque-9554200. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

TORTONESE, Paolo, « Réécriture, lecture, censure », *Fabula*, 19 mars 2023, https://www.fabula-.org/-actualites/113245/reecriture-lecture-censure-par-paolo-tortonese.html. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

YERMOLENKO, « De Pouchkine à Poutine : l'idéologie impériale dans la littérature russe », *Desk Russie*, 1er juillet 2022, https://desk-russie.eu/2022/07/01/de-pouchkine-a-poutine.html. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

БЕРДЯЕВ, Михаил (BERDIAEV, Mikhaïl), *Миросозерцание Достоевского* [*La philosophie de Dostoïevski*], 1921, http://az.lib.ru/b/berdjaew_n_a/text_1921_dostoevsky.shtml. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

ЗОРИН, Анщрей, (ZORIN, Andrei), « Сегодня у имперства скверная репутация потому, что у некоторых политиков нет исторического чувства: им кажется, что эпоху империй можно вернуть » [« Aujourd'hui, l'empire a une réputation détestable parce que certains hommes politiques n'ont pas de sens historique : ils croient que l'époque des empires peut revenir »], *T-invariant*, 4 décembre 2023, https://www.t-invariant.org/2023/12/segodnya-u-imperstva-skver-naya-reputatsiya-potomu-chto-u-ne-kotoryh-politikov-net-istoricheskogo-chuvstva-im-kazhets-ya-chto-epohu-imperij-mozhno-vernut/. Consulté le 15 novembre 2025.

THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIAN LITERARY CANON TESTED BY WAR: WHAT TO DO WITH THE SPECTRES OF PUSHKIN AND DOSTOEVSKY AFTER FEBRUARY 2022?
(*Abstract*)

Russia's war in Ukraine has brought the culture of the Russian Empire in the 19th century back to the forefront of our thinking, first and foremost the literature of the classics such as Pushkin and Dostoyevsky. Nineteenth-century Russian literature seems to have become as topical as it is uninviting to our 21st-century mindsets. Imperial culture, colonialism, nationalism, capitalism, sexual and gendered domination – all the issues that emerged in the 19th century have now invaded our discussion forums. The great Russian century has never been more contemporary in the questions it raises, and perhaps never more distant from us in the way it raised them. But rather than the authors of the nineteenth century, aren't it the traditional ways of transmitting it, those that neglect the real workings of the field of literature to create a mythologising imaginary of great authors and great texts, that we need to question and re-evaluate in depth? Shouldn't February 2022 set in motion the necessary revision of our scientific tools and terminology, for those of us working to transmit a culture whose structural imperialism and obsession with grandeur are now being denounced?

Keywords: imperialism, cultural memory, spectrality, epistemological reassessment of Russian studies, Russian literary historiography.

CANONUL LITERAR RUS AL SECOLULUI Al XIX-LEA CONFRUNTAT CU RĂZBOIUL: CE POATE FI FĂCUT CU SPECTRELE LUI PUȘKIN ȘI DOSTOIEVSKI DUPĂ FEBRUARIE 2022?

(*Rezumat*)

Războiul Rusiei contra Ucrainei a readus în centrul reflecției critice cultura promovată de Imperiul Rus în secolul al XIX-lea și, în primul rând, literatura unor clasici precum Pușkin și Dostoievski. Se pare că literatura rusă a secolului al XIX-lea a devenit tot atât de actuală pe cât este de inaccesibilă pentru percepțiile specifice secolului al XXI-lea. Cultura imperială, colonialismul, naționalismul, capitalismul, dominația sexuală și de gen – toate aceste problematici care au apărut în secolul al XIX-lea au invadat astăzi dezbaterile noastre publice. Marea eră rusă nu a fost niciodată mai contemporană prin întrebările pe care le ridică și, poate, niciodată mai îndepărtată de noi prin modul în care le-a ridicat. Trebuie totuși formulată următoarea întrebare: mai degrabă decât particularitățile autoarelor și autorilor secolului al XIX-lea, nu cumva ar trebui interogate și revizuite substanțial tocmai modurile tradiționale de transmitere a informațiilor despre secolul al XIX-lea, cele care neglijează funcționarea reală a câmpului literaturii în favoarea unui imaginar mitologizant despre marii autori și despre marile lor texte? Nu cumva februarie 2022 ar trebui să declanșeze necesara revizuire a instrumentelor și terminologiei științifice prin care poate fi receptată o cultură al cărei imperialism structural și a cărei obsesie pentru măreție sunt astăzi denunțate?

Cuvinte-cheie: imperialism, memorie culturală, spectralitate, revizuire epistemologică a studiilor despre Rusia, istoriografie literară rusă.

ZOLTÁN KULCSÁR-SZABÓ

SWEARING AN OATH BY SHOUTING THE POEM PETŐFI AND PERFORMATIVE LANGUAGE IN POETRY

In the 1840s, literature, including poetry, appears more openly than usual in the public sphere of political action in Hungary, sometimes even daring to perform acts (speech acts) that shape history. One of the most decisive speech acts of the 1848 Revolution is an oath, uttered in verse in a *National Song* (Sándor Petőfi's *Nemzeti dal*, transl. by Frank Szomy)[1], the genre designation of which is perhaps somewhat misleading from this point of view, at least considering that the Romantic genre convention of "song" does not necessarily embrace such a text without any constraints. Petőfi's poem is based on the division of voices in such a way that it culminates, as indicated by the plural of the refrain, in speech acts performed by a crowd that simulate (and, as it actually happened that year, in fact enforce) synchronous speaking. It carries out ceremonial acts of speech, emphatically performed in public. While thoroughly reconstructing the framework of the poem's reception at the time, primarily its use in cultural and political contexts, Péter Dávidházi argues that *Nemzeti dal* may be closer to the genre category of the so-called *verbunkos*, a (partly musical) genre that served the purposes of military recruiting[2]. The text was indeed used, quite successfully, to call armed men to war, men who were inducted as soldiers or home guardsmen – though not without some additional elements – precisely by reciting the chorus part of the poem.

The lyrical voice calling for an oath in the poem – partly assuming the role of the "oath-taking military chaplain" – conveys, or embodies, and verbalizes the call of the homeland, an explicitly political instance ("hí a haza", "the homeland calls"), the status of which is of course not entirely independent of the poem. One could even say that its existence and meaning is shaped or at least confirmed by the text. On the one hand, the call is also a call for help (the homeland in danger is given a voice, i.e. its existence is confirmed by the prosopopoeia – which does not necessarily imply personification), on the other hand, the revolutionary, mobilising force of the text also suggests that the homeland itself is in a certain sense

[1] The Petőfi poems discussed in the paper are quoted from the edition *Összes művei* [*Complete Works*]. Edited by Márton Szilágyi, vol. 6: *Költemények* [*Poems*], Budapest, Universitas – OSzK, 2024. Frank Szomy's translations appeared in the volume Sándor Petőfi, *His Entire Poetic Works*, Boca Raton (self-published), 1972.

[2] See Péter Dávidházi, "'A magyarok istenére esküszünk'" ["'On the God of the Hungarians We Swear'"], in *"Vagy jőni fog". Bibliai minták nemzetiesítése a magyar költészetben* [*"Or It Will Come". The National Appropriation of Biblical Patterns in Hungarian Poetry*], Budapest, Ráció, 2017, pp. 167-173.

DACOROMANIA LITTERARIA, XII, 2025, pp. 64–79 | DOI: 10.33993/drl.2025.12.64.79

indefinite, diffuse, perhaps only taking shape through the confirmation of the oath. For, as will be discussed below, one of the stakes of the revolutionary programme is precisely to define or rethink what the homeland really means and who, and under what conceptual and social conditions, belongs to it. This poem, endowed with a quite multifaceted performativity – it is at once "mobilising, warning, appealing, exhorting, encouraging, promising" – does not, however, entirely follow a predetermined ceremonial or even textual pattern. As is well known, the text written two days earlier, on 13 March 1848, was not intended for the event, for the day (of the Hungarian revolution) that made it famous and during which it was recited several times, but for a revolutionary "reform feast" ceremony planned for a later date. It obviously did not fully adapt to the oath-taking ceremonies available at the time. From this point of view, the instantiation of the oath, the invocation of the "a magyarok istenére" ("God of the Hungarians") who is called upon or rather evoked as witness and authenticator of the oath (and perhaps also as the authority that sanctions its breaking), is the most telling. Who is this god that is exclusively linked to the nation, to a national identity the existence of which the text obviously does not take as given, since it seems, rather, as though the poem takes upon itself precisely the task of creating and reconstructing this identity? The address that opens the poem can be attributed, according to the second half of the line quoted above, to this "homeland" (and that could be read as a kind of stage instruction), positions above all the addressee in a kind of paralysis or lifelessness. "Talpra magyar!" ("On your feet, Hungarians") – as if its performative power were directed on reviving the Hungarians, on resurrecting them from a dead passivity (thus bringing them to a state where they are capable of swearing). In this sense, the poem *mobilises*, in the most literal sense of the word. This of course immediately implies that only such a regained liveliness would make Hungarians Hungarian again. What the poem addresses is only instantiated through the (re)animation performed by this very address.

The swearing of the oath took place before the revolutionary seizure of the Landerer printing house in Pest – that is, before the actual publication of the text of the oath in verses. One of the most interesting accounts was given by the actor Gábor Egressy, who would recite the poem himself, later on the same day, the 15th of March, under remarkable circumstances (one might even say, within the frame of a remarkable staging), and who, seen from this stance, actually characterises Petőfi's performance as a collegial, expert observer. The poet, who is himself impersonated here, embodying precisely the awakening of the suffering nation from its apparent death ("as an otherworldly figure, as an embodiment of a suffering people, as Tantalus' thousand-year thirst, as the death angel of doom"), steps forward and "shouts his national song!"[3] Moreover, he knows his poem by

[3] Gábor Egressy, "Képek a pesti forradalomból" ["Pictures of the Pest Revolution"], *Életképek*, VI, 1848, 14, p. 405.

heart, in fact, he carries it in his mind, since the text – obviously due to the precaution dictated by revolutionary tactics – arrives at the printing house only via Petőfi's memory; the manuscript is not there[4]. After the performance, Egressy adds, "the people swore under God's free sky". It is as if this oath, the oath itself, serves as the main guarantee or legitimation of the recorded text of the oath, which – that is, the exact wording – would be verified by the printed flyers only after the event. The oath thus authenticates itself by its occurrence, it produces or at least fixes the oath-formula, which can affect the conditional structure that Austin believes is inherent in the speech act of the oath[5]: in particular, it raises the question of the authority that (or who) is not only the witness but also the object of the oath. The text, of course, swears by "the God of the Hungarians", but this formula is approved – as an oath – by its own echo (or, at the same time, its repetition, its citation).

It is obvious that for a literary text it is perhaps impossible to come any closer to the status of real speech act than *Nemzeti dal* does, that is, to the refutation of what Austin's famous distinction called the necessary *etiolation* of literary speech acts: "a performative utterance will, for example, be *in a peculiar way* hollow or void if said by an actor on the stage, or if introduced in a poem, or spoken in soliloquy"[6]. Dávidházi gives numerous examples to show that the contemporary context of the reception of *Nemzeti dal*, often simply referred to as *Eskü* [*Oath*] in the press[7], allowed the oath dictated by the poem to be validated as a real action (also in a political or institutional sense) – and thus obviously (at least implicitly) sanctionable. Petőfi's oath formula, for example, preceded and in a sense anticipated the text of the oath ceremony of the new national guardsmen militia, which it accompanied several times during actual recruiting campaigns[8]. It was thus able to create or form political institutions or bodies through the power of words. This is a performance that contemporary rhetoric did not consider poetry capable of[9]. Yet the question arises whether it did not carry, or reflect, all those threats that may also haunt (in Austin's words) "serious" speech acts but can obviously come to the fore more sharply in literary textuality than in strictly regulated ceremonies. What we have here is, first, theatricality. Egressy, the actor,

---

[4] Márton Szilágyi, "A vers napja" ["The Day of the Poem"], *Irodalomtörténet*, 96, 2015, 3, p. 311. See further György Spira, *Petőfi napja* [*Petőfi's Day*], Budapest, AKk, 1984, p. 30.

[5] See John L. Austin, "Other Minds", in *Philosophical Papers*. Edited by J.O. Urmson and G.J. Warnock, Oxford, Clarendon, 1970, p. 102.

[6] John L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*. Edited by J.O. Urmson, Oxford, Clarendon, 1962, p. 22.

[7] Dávidházi, "'A magyarok istenére'", pp. 195-196.

[8] *Ibidem*, pp. 210-211.

[9] *Ibidem*, pp. 180-182. See the reference to Pierre Fontanier's and Lajos Szeberényi's rhetoric. On the foundation of the rhetorical concept of the oath in Ancient rhetoric, see Manfred Kraus, "Gottesurteil – Beweismittel – Stilfigur. Funktion und Stellenwert des Eides in der antiken Rhetorik" ["Divine Judgement – Evidence – Figure of Speech. Function and Significance of the Oath in Ancient Rhetoric"], in Laurent Pernot (ed.), *New Chapters in the History of Rhetoric*, Leiden & Boston, Brill, 2009, pp. 427-443.

described himself Petőfi's recitation as a theatrical event, and in this respect his own turned out to be even more striking at the National Theatre on the evening of 15 March, where, following a change of programme forced by revolutionary events, József Katona's historical play *Bánk bán* [*Bánk the Palatine*] was on the stage, but the performance was interrupted by the crowd entering the theatre to celebrate the liberation of revolutionary politician Mihály Táncsics. Egressy, dropping his dramatic role and dressed in Hungarian national costume, recited *Nemzeti dal*, the refrain of which was echoed by the audience[10]. There is no need to explain that the abandonment of the dramatic role, the breakdown of the conventions of theatrical performance, or, to put it more broadly and to borrow the subtitle of Carl Schmitt's *Hamlet or Hekuba*, the intrusion of Time into the play, still could not have neutralised the theatrical circumstances of the oath-taking. There is rather a whole series of roleplays and personifications: the actor who plays a role in Katona's piece calls the Hungarians to life, and to swear an oath in the name of (and thus personifying) the homeland, and acts now in the position (or role) of the poet Petőfi addressing the people of the revolution, who masquerade themselves as theatre audience (or vice versa!). The exclusive moment of "most vagy soha" ("now or never"), which "condenses the redemptive gesture of the restoration of time into an apocalyptic moment of the singularity of action"[11], is split into different layers of presence.

Of course, as, by that time, Edmund Burke had already shown, a revolution, perhaps by definition, cannot lack theatricality. A different challenge to the status of the oath as a speech act may arise from a certain indeterminacy of the community of those addressed (the Hungarians). First of all, the poem – in its contemporary context – does not give precise clues as to the socio-political circumstances in which the liberation of Hungarians would take place: which forms of subjugation does the freedom envisaged (or almost already achieved) by the oath ("Esküszünk, hogy rabok tovább / Nem leszünk!"; "We swear that slaves no more / Shall we be!") deny?[12] Does it also deny the entire authority of the law? In other words, Petőfi, whose political programme does not take its most radical form here[13], avoids making explicit what he is swearing to – just as the poem in general is somewhat silent as to what exactly it would mobilise, beyond the breaking of the chains of slavery[14]. This does not mean, of course, that the speech act is null and

[10] Egressy, "Képek a pesti forradalomból", p. 408. Cf. Ferenc Kerényi, "A Nemzeti Színház és közönsége (1848–49)" ["The National Theatre and Its Audience (1848–49)"], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 86, 1982, 5-6, pp. 686-687; Dávidházi, "'A magyarok istenére'", pp. 200-203.

[11] Róbert Milbacher, "Dózsa György unokája" ["The Grandson of György Dózsa"], in *Bábel agoráján Bábel agoráján: Esszék, tanulmányok a nemzeti irodalomról* [*The Agora of Babel: Essays and Studies on National Literature*], Pécs, Pro Pannónia, 2015, p. 82.

[12] See the example of the observations of contemporary politician Miklós Wesselényi in Dávidházi, "'A magyarok istenére'", pp. 187-190.

[13] See István Margócsy, *Petőfi Sándor*, Budapest, Korona, 1999, p. 231.

[14] See Szilágyi, „A vers napja", p. 315.

void, but it does mean that the dimension of its consequences (its perlocutionary aspect) cannot be precisely explored. What it does may be clear in terms of illocution: it swears an oath. In terms of perlocution, however, that is, regarding the consequences it strives to bring about, it remains quite obscure. The choice implied in the verse "Rabok legyünk vagy szabadok?" ("Shall we be slaves, or shall we be free?") is, of course, a pseudo-question, a rhetorical question, on the one hand because the lyrical voice does not really leave the answer to its audience, but dictates it itself, reinforced by the refrain, as if prefiguring the oath, and on the other hand because it does not present it as a choice. The fact that it is possible to choose is in itself a sign of freedom, that is, in a certain sense, the question already *enforces* freedom, confers freedom, one could even say that it liberates the people addressed even before the actual swearing of the oath. This, of course, no matter how strange the conclusion it may give rise to, is paradoxical: the text is violently coercive, since it presents the choice between slavery and freedom as a free choice. That is, being forced to make a choice, the addressee is forced to freedom, which in a sense is a kind of constraint, a kind of bondage. Because they are forced to choose, the Hungarians in *Nemzeti dal* cannot escape the freedom of choice from the outset; they cannot in fact choose, their choice being restricted to freedom. This is a very effective rhetorical technique on Petőfi's part. It is hardly a coincidence that a caricature was made of the poem, in which imprisoned criminals (i.e. those who already have no choice) cite the refrain[15], and this is perhaps the perspective from which Péter Esterházy's short anecdote *Akartok-e rabok lenni?* [*Will you settle...?*] in his *Kis Magyar Pornográfia* [*A Little Hungarian Pornography*] (1984) proves to be a quite insightful reprocessing of Petőfi's revolutionary gesture. Here, Esterházy sheds light on the unmarked or suppressed side of Petőfi's rhetoric in the context of a very different historical situation, namely the period of the so-called consolidation of socialism:

> The butcher János Besze was blessed with the strongest voice of any of the available civilian spokesmen. When he spoke, the walls would shake to their foundations. Hoping to capitalise on Besze's outstanding qualities as an orator, the Executive Committee for the Year of Transmission [*sic!*] asked, would he kindly address the spontaneous Independence Day gathering assembled before the steps of the National Museum? At the decisive moment, Besze, eager to oblige, stood at the top of the steps. His red nose shone into the far distance, and his humble check shirt, which he would not part with for weeks on end, billowed in the wind. Then he let out a mighty roar. *Will you settle for slavery?* he intoned, which is all the eager crowd needed to hear, who, not waiting for the rest, thundered in unison, *Yes we will! Yes we will!* And with that his speech came to an end[16].

---

[15] Ferenc Kerényi, *Petőfi Sándor élete és költészete* [*The Life and Poetry of Petőfi Sándor*], Budapest, Osiris, 2008, p. 365.

[16] Péter Esterházy, *A Little Hungarian Pornography*. Transl. by Judith Sollosy, Evanston, Northwestern, 1995, p. 70. For the original version see Péter Esterházy, *Bevezetés a szépirodalomba*,

Another important rhetorical trick of *Nemzeti dal* is the flexible representation of the community of "Hungarians", which is obviously important, since one of the stakes of the revolution is precisely the declaration of who belongs to or shapes this community and on what political basis. Whose god is it, exactly, in whose presence and, at the same time, *to whom* the community united (or produced) by the poem swears? Milbacher convincingly argues[17] that the vision of Hungarian history sketched in *Nemzeti dal*, on the one hand, brings together the most important components of a nation-concept based on Hungarian nobility (forefathers unable to rest in an enslaved land; the juxtaposition of the glorious past and the present that contaminates it: "A magyar név megint szép lesz, / Méltó régi nagy hiréhez; / Mit rákentek a századok, / Lemossuk a gyalázatot!"; "The Hungarian name will again be beautiful, /As befitting its ancient great fame; / We shall wash off the shame / That the centuries have smeared on it"; the tradition of armed service defending the independence of the homeland: "régi kardunk"; "ancient swords"), but does so in such a way that the text does not subscribe to the mentioned concept (which could not include, for example, slaves, and which would hardly tolerate the assumption of historical discontinuity marked by Petőfi's moment of the oath). It uses these elements to assert a concept of a people which is also rather vague or broad. Moreover, the rhetoric of the poem uses every means to emphasise the fact that the one who speaks here, the one who recites the oath, is a member of this people, speaks on behalf of this people, and even – as the shifts of voice in the stanzas, i.e. the shifts between the first semi-stanzas that introduce or prepare the oath and the plural oath itself repeated as a refrain indicate[18] – enters and perhaps creates this community by the performative event of their speech! It dictates, one could conclude, the agreement through which the Hungarian people, as a member of which Petőfi speaks out even before the oath has sealed its unity, will reinvent itself. The reception history of the poem shows that this structure could prove to be a considerable burden for the aesthetic appreciation of the text, primarily because it makes it difficult to trace the individuality of the voice that speaks in the poem. Although the grammar of the mobilising calls that pervades the first semi-stanzas may in principle guarantee the speaker's separation, his isolation from the crowd he addresses, and from this point of view it can indeed be stated that Petőfi "did not

Budapest, Magvető, 1986, pp. 445-446: "Besze János hentes és mészárosnak a legerősebb hangja volt a szerepvivő egyéniségek között. Ha egyszer beszélni kezdett, megdördültek a falak. Kiváló népszónoki erényeit értékesíteni vágyta a Fordult Éva Intéző Bizottsága, sic!, s évégből azzal bízták meg Besze Jánost, hogy a Nemzeti Múzeum *lépcsejéről* szónokoljon a spontánul összegyűlt tömegnek. Besze készséggel vállalkozott is. Felállt a lépcső tetejére – rezes orra messzire piroslott, egyszerű kockás ingét, melyet hétszámra nem vetett le, meg-meglobbantotta a szél – s kiengedte dörgedelmes hangját. *Akartok-e rabok lenni?* A tömeg nem várta be a mondat végét, hanem egyhangúlag rázúgta: *Akarunk! Akarunk!* A szónoklatnak vége volt". Esterházy borrows the name of the speaker, János Besze, from a politician of the 1848–1849 War of Independence.

[17] Milbacher, "Dózsa György", pp. 76-84.

[18] Cf. Dávidházi, "'A magyarok istenére'", pp. 201-202.

allow his self to be dissolved in the individuality-lacking crowd, the addressed majority"[19], it is still hard to ignore that the stanzas culminate precisely in such a dissolution, and that the oath, by taking place, eliminates precisely the speaker's separation. In his groundbreaking 1922 monography, János Horváth insisted with great efforts on reconfirming the generic self-characterization of the poem (i.e. the classification of Petőfi's oath as a song). On the one hand he acknowledges the "imperceptible exchange of persons" in the structure of the stanzas but still tries to describe this as a specific transformation and thus preservation of "personality" on the other hand ("the expansion of personality, the identification with the nation takes place in the song"). It is very interesting to see how, starting from this assumption, Horváth uses this notion of personhood that can be extended or conveyed to the audience (in essence, a kind of personalisation of the people united by the oath) to distinguish the rhetorical character of *Nemzeti dal* from that of political public speeches:

> Well, in this speech there is no trace of forms of convincing and persuasion, still less of a conscious confrontation with the listener, since this effect of the refrain also disappears as the song progresses. The form of speech thus loses the regulating consciousness of an address to an audience and reveals a spontaneous, idiosyncratic process of thought in the lyric utterance, a lyrical process that takes place in the poet's soul by virtue of his own will, in the form of a positive will arising from a sense of lack. The course of the song realises the poet's own lyrical sense of need, and although it begins with the formality of a desire to persuade, it continues as a statement of a final conviction. Petőfi's agitations and enthusiasms are mostly such role reversals of lyrical realisation: he takes the place of his listener and speaks on his listener's behalf by enthusiastically testifying to his conviction. His persuasion is a lyric contagion, a poetic octroi, an occasional assertion of his old naive but large-scale role plays[20].

This may not be entirely *convincing* but draws attention to an important mechanism of action: the oath performed or enforced by the poem takes on the form of a kind of self-suggestion, the *poetic octroi* uses the power of language to revive or call to life the independent Hungarian people, which bears witness to itself in the form of an oath.

The oath, of course, remains conditional and requires further authentication. The pledge of its validity is, on the one hand, an extreme or finite (and in a certain sense, final) testimony, namely that of martyrdom, whose performative power is nourished by the fact that the validity (sincerity and, to paraphrase Austin, "seriousness") of the oath is guaranteed by something that is unique and

---

[19] Margócsy, *Petőfi Sándor*, p. 97.

[20] János Horváth, *Petőfi Sándor*, Budapest, Gondolat, 1989, pp. 455-456. Unless otherwise stated, the quotations are translated into English by the author of this paper. See further László Gerold, "Nemzeti vagy vers?" ["National or Poetic?"], in Márton Szilágyi (ed.), *Ki vagyok én? Nem mondom meg…* [*Who Am I? I Won't Tell…*], Budapest, PIM, 2014, pp. 391-393.

irreversible: one can hardly sacrifice more than one's own life for a speech act. Those who don't perform this martyrdom in advance, in the oath, "ki most, ha kell, halni nem mer" ("Who now, if necessary, does not die", literally: "dares not die"), cannot be part of the community that takes the oath. Of course, it is worth adding that this structure has a somewhat self-contradicting consequence. In this way, life in the economic sense is namely deprived of its privileged status, of the incomparability of its value: a "rongy élet" (a "ragged life") cannot be "drágább", "more precious", cannot compensate for the honour of the homeland. This contradiction is perhaps partly resolved in the final stanza of the poem, which suggests the sanctification of the names of the dead: "Hol sírjaink domborulnak, / Unokáink leborulnak, / És áldó imádság mellett / Mondják el szent neveinket." ("Where our gravemounds shall rise, / Our grandchildren shall prostate, / And with prayers of blessing / They shall call our sacred names.").

Be that as it may, martyrdom also implies the supreme authority of the conditional structure of the oath, its divine authority. The oath always implies – even quite openly in its Ancient practice[21] – a conditional (self-)curse as an indispensable structural element. In *Nemzeti dal* this is made explicit in the stigma of "sehonnai bitang ember" ("a nothing stray of a man") – thus also in the threat of exclusion from the nation –, something that in the rhetorical tradition is associated with the judgment of God and with a bloodless form of divine violence[22]. It should come as no real surprise that the conditional curse implied in Petőfi's poem soon got explicitly expressed in lyrical form after the surrender at Világos, which ended the War of Independence on 13 August 1849, namely in Mihály Vörösmarty' poem *Átok* [*Curse*], targeted at General Artúr Görgei who commanded the Hungarian troops. In the poem, dated 10 October 1849, the contrast between the enslaved land (now identified with the Világos plains) and the sword is applied to the general who dared not die:

> Than he who has become a master there is no one greater,
> Bent down towards the foot-stamped field.
> In his hands was the heart and sword of the country,
> And he, like a slapped and kicked servant,
> Cowardly gave up all this precious treasure[23].

It is noteworthy that Vörösmarty's curse, regarding its realisation, actually recalls the dual structure of the oath-taker and the collective oath in *Nemzeti dal*: the condemnation, a kind of "pre-curse", carried out in the first stanza of the poem

---

[21] See on this Alan H. Sommerstein, Isabelle C. Torrance, *Oaths and Swearing in Ancient Greece*, Berlin & Boston, de Gruyter, 2014, pp. 6-19.

[22] See Kraus, „Gottesurteil – Beweismittel – Stilfigur", p. 429.

[23] Mihály Vörösmarty, *Átok* [*Curse*], in *Összes költeményei* [*Collected Poems*], 3rd revised ed., Budapest, Osiris, 2021, p. 261: "Ki úr leendett, milyennél nagyobb nincs, / Meghajlott a lábtúrta fövenyig. / Kezében volt az ország szíve, kardja, / S ő mint pofonvert, megrugdalt inas, / Feladta gyáván mind e drága kincset".

("May the wrath of God chase him / From and beyond the grave"[24]) is echoed in the three concluding stanzas, where a markedly collective voice, that of the "bús harcfiak" ("mournful warriors"), utters a "kihalhatatlan átok" (an "undying curse"): "May misfortune chase him like / A pack of wild dogs chase a frightened beast. / Let him live in misery and torment till death, / And when he dies, let damnation strike him"[25].

The oath not only holds the swearer hostage – since it commits him to a future that is foreshadowed – but is also a disciplinary (and, in this respect, also performative) instrument for the coercion and production of sincerity, something that is not far from the torturous techniques of interrogation. In one place Kant calls it *tortura spiritualis*, "the means for extorting truthfulness"[26]. This is possible because the oath is self-reflexive also in the sense that it is itself a statement of belief in the instance – the supreme, divine power – which then regulates and sanctions the oath-taking. The legal or moral obligation which compels a man to tell the truth or to be truthful is only secondarily derived from the oath, since, as Kant also says, it is primarily the fear of divine judgment which compels him to do so[27]. That this was not confined to the field of theoretical-theological explanations in Petőfi's time but also present in the historical consciousness of law and even in legal practice, is also evidenced in literature. In his ballad *A hamis tanú* [*The Perjurer/The False Witness*], written four years after *Nemzeti dal*, János Arany, a third giant of 19th century Hungarian poetry, tells the story of a strange legal case, a so-called boundary dispute known from the legends of the village Kőröstarcsa and with authentic references to legal history[28], focusing on the false oath taken by the hero of the ballad, Márkus, the falsity of which the swearer tried to nullify by a tricky referential manoeuvre. Márkus, who, in the absence of decisive documentary proof, is called upon to swear that the land on which he is standing to swear belongs to neighbouring Ladány and not to Tarcsa, verifies his oath by putting soil from Ladány on his boots, as the impersonal voice of a witness in the ballad reveals: "Well old Márkus had a mind to go ahead: / He put it under his feet, and so

[24] *Ibidem*: "Kergesse őt az istennek haragja / A síron innen és a síron túl.".
[25] *Ibidem*: "Kergesse őt a balszerencse, mint / Szilaj kutyák a megriadt vadat. / Éljen nyomorból, kínból mindhalálig / S ha elhal, verje meg a kárhozat.".
[26] Immanuel Kant, "On the Miscarriage of All Philosophical Trials in Theodicy", in *Religion and Rational Theology*. Edited and transl. by Allen W. Wood and George di Giovanni, Cambridge, Cambridge Univeristy Press, 2012, p. 35.
[27] Immanuel Kant, *The Metaphysics of Morals. A Critical Guide*. Edited by Lara Denis, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991, pp. 118-119: "No other reason could be given which could bind men as a matter of right [*rechtlich*] to *believe* and *acknowledge that there are* gods than that they could thereby swear an oath and be constrained to be truthful in what they say and faithful in keeping their promises by their fear of an all-seeing, almighty power whose vengeance they would have solemnly called down upon themselves in case their declarations were false".
[28] Attila Horváth, "Arany János jogi esetei" ["The Legal Cases of János Arany"], in Balázs Fekete, István H. Szilágyi (eds.), *Iustitia modellt áll* [*Iustitia Poses a Model*], Budapest, SzIT, 2011, pp. 32-33.

he swore on the land"[29]. With no slight exaggeration, one could even say that, here, a Hungarian is directing a response to Petőfi's address ("On your feet now") who is evading his oath by manipulating his footing! According to Arany's explanatory note, Márkus "prepared a smear of land under his feet in advance, and thus made use of the mental reservation of his oath"[30]. This reminder of the fact that Márkus in fact has kept his oath in an implicit manner (which is, of course, more of an interpretation) also warns that the ruse which, seen referentially, made his declaration true still cannot control the coordinates that actually determine the validity of the oath.

Such self-certification can never be limited, to borrow de Man's formulation, to "an epistemological use of language in which ethical values of good and evil are superseded by values of truth and falsehood"[31]. The oath, which gets corrected in a referential sense, remains false, since it testifies to insincerity – and from this point of view it is irrelevant whether the reader assumes that the "mental reservation" is a conscious action on the part of Márkus or not. In any case, this does not invalidate the oath in a legal sense, but it does not neutralize its moral falsity either. Márkus swears by the three divine persons with his three raised fingers, and he does so by reciting a conditional self-curse in detail:

> Hold up three fingers: swear by heaven,
> Father, Son, Holy Spirit, triple deity [...]
> Swear – "I swear by the living God,
> My last day and my eternal salvation".
> –"Swear" – "I swear, and if I speak falsely,
> I shall not be happy in heaven or earth;
> May earth cast out my body, may heaven banish my soul:
> Let that swift whirlpool tumble me. –"[32]

A certain sensibility and astuteness is displayed in the fact that the ballad does not allow the reader to identify without any doubt the instance to whom Márkus swears his oath. Since the impersonal narrative voice calls upon the protagonist right at the poem's opening addresses ("Állj elő, vén Márkus! vedd le a süveget"; "Step forward, old Márkus! Take off your hat"), and thus, in a sense, leaves behind the role of a witnessing narrator, the calls can be seen as performative gestures of narrative representation (the narrative voice instructs one of the characters) as

---

[29] János Arany, *A hamis tanú* [*The Perjurer/The False Witness*], in *Összes költeményei* [*Collected Poems*], vol. I. Edited by József Jászberényi, Budapest, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1962, p. 198: "Lám a vén Márkusnak esze volt előre: / Talpa alá tette, úgy esküdt a földre.".

[30] *Ibidem*: "egy darab ladányi földet készített jó előre talpa alá, s így az eskünél mentalis reservatával élt".

[31] Paul de Man, *Allegories of Reading: Figural Language in Rousseau, Nietzsche, Rilke, and Proust*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1979, p. 279.

[32] Arany, *A hamis tanú*, p. 198: "Tartsd fel három ujjad: esküdjél az égre, / Atya, fiú, Szent-Lélek hármas istenségre [...] Esküszöl – 'Esküszöm az élő Istenre, / Utolsó napomra és örök idvemre. –' / Esküszöl – 'Esküszöm, s ha hamisat szólok: / Se földben, se mennyben ne lehessek boldog; / Föld kidobja testem, ég kizárja lelkem: Ama sebes örvény hánytorgasson engem.' –".

much as citations of an official procedure where the authority is calling for an oath. In any case, as the second stanza makes clear, the divine judgment is projected on Márkus even before he takes the oath, as if he were already fulfilling the conditional curse on himself at the very moment he is about to pronounce it ("Eléálla Márkus; térdben összeesve, / Görnyedező háttal, mintha sírt keresne"; "Márkus stepped to the fore, collapsed on his knees, With his back bent as if he were looking for a grave").

The punishment does not fail to be meted out, and the perjurer won't find rest even in his water grave ("Kivetődik a sír dobbanó partjára"; "He is thrown out on the beating bank of the tomb"). He then rises as a ghost: he stands up on his feet again, though seemingly frozen in his false gesture of swearing the oath, as if he will forever hold up three fingers to the sky[33]:

> The body shakes and leaps to its feet,
> With the whites of its eyes looks around grimly.
> And as he lifts his three fingers to the sky

later again:

> Márkus can often be seen – with his fingers to the sky –
> Emerging from the depths and
> Falling out of the abyss and sinking back again[34]

Márkus is indeed a victim of a *bloodless* divine judgment: he haunts the living like a strange aquatic creature, and Arany suggests in a quite sophisticated manner that this presence beyond the grave can, in a sense, also be seen as a form of revenge – against the community in whose (territorial) interest he had taken the false oath. This can be a quite peculiar response to the above-mentioned structural ambiguity of the oath performed in *Nemzeti dal*, since Arany reveals here the vulnerability of the performer who identifies with (and dissolves in) the community through the oath he is forced to swear[35]. Márkus conveys to the survivors the predicament that determines his own action when he asks the fishermen he encounters a question with allusions to the Gospel (to the covenant of divine and earthly law – Matthew 16,19; 18,18):

---

[33] The same gesture accompanied the contemporary performances of *Nemzeti dal*. See Dávidházi, "'A magyarok istenére'", pp. 204-209.

[34] Arany, *A hamis tanú*, p. 198: "Megrázkodik a test és talpra ugorván / Szeme fehérével körülnéz mogorván. / S amint három ujját emeli az égre"; "Gyakran látni Márkust – ég felé az ujja – / Mélységből kibukni s elmerülni újra".

[35] According to László Imre (in *Arany János balladái* [*The Ballads of János Arany*], Budapest, TkK, 1988, pp. 43-44) *A hamis tanú* can be linked, if only indirectly, to the defeat in the Independence War, to "the loss of illusion and the crisis of values that followed after Világos": "The tragic collisions, mental breakdowns, hopes and doubts, terrible disappointments, imagined and real, self-destructive states of mind drove Arany into a state of extreme excitement, an almost terrifying sense of threat, to which the misty, gloomy, haunting atmosphere of the ballad comes very close".

And, as his whole life was excitable,
So he tied his words together: "shall I loosen, shall I bind?"
Don't answer him, you fishermen of Körözs! The question is double-edged,
It would bring you trouble;
To bind: he would bind your nets in a knot,
To loosen: he will dissolve them in the river's long foam;
Row past here in silent prayer;
And do not swear an oath unless it is in true faith[36].

The narrator of the ballad is no longer addressing Márkus the false witness, but the fishermen, the community, the witnesses of Márkus and of the divine judgment over him (which also means: the representatives of the community who share, witness or confirm the perjury). The alternative offered by Márkus between loosening and binding, which is more blatantly false or misleading than the choice between slavery and freedom in *Nemzeti dal*, implies a kind of warning, cautioning against bearing witness, but above all against responding![37] And this, of course, cautions against taking oaths (for which, as is well known, the Gospel of Matthew also provides instructions: Matthew 5, 33-37). "Do not swear an oath unless it is in true faith" – this is in fact the message not only of the anonymous narrator, but also of Márkus, since it reveals the knowledge that his *mental reservation* in fact expressed.

Swearing an oath is always risky. In any case, Petőfi – from this point of view, one could say for strategic reasons – did not identify his oath with a divine judgement in general but linked it to the conditional curse of the "God of the Hungarians". Among other things, this is one of the differences that can be noted between *Nemzeti dal* and the text of the national guardsmen's oath, the latter swearing to "the only living God" and, of course, also swearing allegiance to the king[38]. As he emphasises in the poem *A király esküje* [*The King's Vow*] of May 1848, which can be read as a specific commentary on *Nemzeti dal*, the "szent esküvés", "sacred vow" of King Ladislaus V before the beheading of regent László Hunyadi ("Esküszöm az égre, / Az ég istenére, / Bántani nem foglak."[39]; "I vow to heaven, / To the God of heaven, / I shall not harm you"[40]) was also sworn to God as a false oath. The instance of the "God of the Hungarians", which seems so important that Petőfi found it necessary to convince his audience of its existence shortly after the composition of *Nemzeti dal* („Kik nem hiszitek, hogy egy erős

[36] Arany, *A hamis tanú*, p. 198: "És, mikép izgága volt egész élete, / Így kötődik szóval: 'Oldjak-e? kössek-e?' / Ne feleljetek rá, körözsi halászok! Kétélű a kérdés, bajt hozna reátok; / *Kötni*: összekötné hálótok egy bogba, / *Oldni*: széjjeloldná hosszan a habokba; / Halkan imádkozva evezzetek itt el; / S ne mondjatok esküt, ha nem igaz hittel".
[37] See on this Katalin Hász-Fehér, "A szemlélődő elbeszélői szerepkör Arany balladáiban" ["The Contemplative Narrative Perspective in Arany's Ballads"], *Tiszatáj*, 50, 1996, 10, pp. 6-7.
[38] Dávidházi, "'A magyarok istenére'", pp. 211-212.
[39] Petőfi, *A király esküje*, in *Összes művei*, p. 782.
[40] Petőfi, *The King's Vow*, in *His Entire Poetic Works*, p. 580.

istenség / Őrzi gondosan a magyar nemzetet! / Él az a magyarok istene, hazánkat / Átölelve tartja atyai keze" – *A magyarok istene*[41]; "You, who do not believe that a strong God / Stands alertly guard over the Hungarian nation! / That Hungarian God does live, / His fatherly arms embrace our home" – *The God of the Hungarians*[42]), and on whose existence and nature even Mihály Babits would present a quite relevant meditation in a poem written few years after a no less traumatic historical experience (in 1927)[43], combines here at least two traditions that have strongly shaped the historical discourses of Hungarian national identity. On the one hand, a tradition that derives from the primarily Protestant topos of the Hungarian-Jewish parallel fate (and through this the notion of the Hungarians as a chosen people in alliance with its separate god), and on the other hand, a tradition deriving from pre-Christian, "pagan" beliefs[44]. However, Petőfi does not simply rely on these traditions, which would be inconsistent, if only because the oath of *Nemzeti dal* seeks to produce a moment of interruption or a new beginning, rather than historical continuity. Its stake is perhaps not only to produce a henceforth valid meaning of what (who) is "Hungarian", but also – closely related to this – to decide what (who) exactly is the authority that validates and sanctions the oath that defines this meaning. This god cannot exactly be the same as the one that had been

[41] Petőfi, *A magyarok istene*, in *Összes művei*, p. 771.

[42] Petőfi, *The God of the Hungarians*, in *His Entire Poetic Works*, p. 565.

[43] Mihály Babits, *A magyarok Istenéhez* [*To the God of the Hungarians*], in *Összes versei (1902–1937)* [*Collected Poems (1902–1937)*], Budapest, Athenaeum Kiadása, 1942, p. 383: "Vagy-e? S ki vagy? S mienk vagy-e? Csupán / mienk és senki másé? Szabad-e / hogy csupán a mienk légy? És lehetsz-e / az, aki vagy, ha csupán a mienk vagy? / S mégis: lehetsz-e aki vagy, ha nem tudsz / *csupán-mienk* is lenni? Lehet-e / világod végtelen, ha nem vagyunk / mi is középen, és sorsunk a Tengely? / Mi vár reánk? És jön-e még igazság? / Vagy mi leszünk a keresztrefeszített / a nemzetek közt? Akkor is középen / áll a Kereszt, s ki szenved: Messiás. / És ez van talán hátra még. Az embert, / az aprót, megváltottad már. A *népek* / *váltsága* jő most. S bizonnyal mienk vagy, / Isten, amíg mi hordjuk a keresztet. / Mert nem lehetsz a mérges kis Wotanok / öccse te, egy a sok közül, pogány / csillag, hanem ki eljött, csillagoltó / nap, s kinél kisebb nékünk nem elég: / magyarok és mindenek Istene."; "Do you exist? / And who are you? / And are you ours? / Just ours and no one else's? / Are you free to be ours alone? / And can you be who you are if you are only ours? / And yet, can you be what you are if you cannot be *ours-alone*? / Can your world be infinite if we are not in the middle, and our destiny the Axis? / What awaits us? / And is justice yet to come? / Or will we be the crucified among the nations? / Even so in the middle stands the Cross, and he who suffers: the Messiah. / And this is perhaps still to come. / Man, the little one, you have already redeemed. / Now comes the *redemption of nations*. / And you are surely ours, God, as long as we carry the cross. / For you cannot be the brother of angry little Wotans, / you, one of many, a pagan star, / but who has come, a sun extinguishing the stars, / and any less than whom we do not need: / God of the Hungarians and of all.".

[44] See on this László Péter, "A magyarok Istene" ["The God of the Hungarians"], *Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum*, 1994, 26, pp. 102-103; László Szörényi, "Petőfi és a nemzeti ősbűn" ["Petőfi and the National Original Sin"], in Judit Ambrus, Tibor Bárány, Rumen István Csörsz, Béla Hegedüs, Gábor Vaderna (eds.), *Margonauták* [*Margonauts*], Budapest, reciti, 2009, pp. 411-412; Dávidházi, "'A magyarok istenére'", pp. 218-219.

sworn to earlier (among others by kings)[45], which of course obviously reveals all those dilemmas that will be made explicit in the Babits poem ("Are you free to be ours alone? And can you be who you are if you are only ours? And yet, can you be what you are if you cannot be *ours-alone*?"). *Nemzeti dal*, on the other hand, believes in the overwhelming power of a speech act that, at least at a given historical moment, appears to be capable of producing – or *inventing* – by itself those instances (executors and its authenticators) that make it valid. In those days in March, Petőfi came as close as possible to a sense of the maximum performative power of poetic language.

Of course, this has not established an all-encompassing paradigm for modern political poetry in Hungarian literature. Although *Nemzeti dal* has often been recited at political demonstrations of historical significance even in the late 20th century, political poetry (e.g. the poems of György Petri who frequently alluded to Petőfi) has increasingly focused on the critical analytical examination of the validity conditions of linguistic action. In any case, the example of *Nemzeti dal* shows that these conditions are more loose and historically more variable than Austin's brief considerations suggested.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARANY, János, *Összes költeményei* [*Collected Poems*], vol. I. Edited by József Jászberényi, Budapest, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1962.

AUSTIN, John L., *How to Do Things with Words*. Edited by J.O. Urmson, Oxford, Clarendon, 1962.

AUSTIN, John L., "Other Minds", in *Philosophical Papers*. Edited by J.O. Urmson and G.J. Warnock, Oxford, Clarendon, 1970, pp. 76-116.

BABITS, Mihály, *Összes versei (1902–1937)* [*Collected Poems (1902–1937)*], Budapest, Athenaeum Kiadása, 1942.

DÁVIDHÁZI, Péter, "'A magyarok istenére esküszünk'" ["'On the God of the Hungarians We Swear'"], in *"Vagy jőni fog". Bibliai minták nemzetiesítése a magyar költészetben* [*"Or It Will Come". The National Appropriation of Biblical Patterns in Hungarian Poetry*], Budapest, Ráció, 2017, pp. 167-173.

DE MAN, Paul, *Allegories of Reading: Figural Language in Rousseau, Nietzsche, Rilke, and Proust*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1979.

EGRESSY, Gábor, "Képek a pesti forradalomból" ["Pictures of the Pest Revolution"], *Életképek*, VI, 1848, 14, p. 405.

ESTERHÁZY, Péter, *Bevezetés a szépirodalomba*, Budapest, Magvető, 1986.

ESTERHÁZY, Péter, *A Little Hungarian Pornography*. Transl. by Judith Sollosy, Evanston, Northwestern, 1995.

[45] According to Milbacher's idea, since "it is precisely the historical time dominated by the Judeo-Christian God that has created the inequality which, in turn, is against God, it follows that the universal God is not a just God, so we must turn to the God of the Hungarians to do justice to the people." (Milbacher, "Dózsa György", pp. 92-93).

GEROLD, László, "Nemzeti vagy vers?" ["National or Poetic?"], in Márton Szilágyi (ed.), *Ki vagyok én? Nem mondom meg…* [*Who Am I? I Won't Tell…*], Budapest, PIM, 2014, pp. 385-403.
HÁSZ-FEHÉR, Katalin, "A szemlélődő elbeszélői szerepkör Arany balladáiban" ["The Contemplative Narrative Perspective in Arany's Ballads"], *Tiszatáj*, 50, 1996, 10, pp. 1-19.
HORVÁTH, Attila, "Arany János jogi esetei" ["The Legal Cases of János Arany"], in Balázs Fekete, István H. Szilágyi (eds.), *Iustitia modellt áll* [*Iustitia Poses a Model*], Budapest, SzIT, 2011, pp. 25-36.
HORVÁTH, János, *Petőfi Sándor*, Budapest, Gondolat, 1989.
IMRE, László, *Arany János balladái* [*The Ballads of János Arany*], Budapest, TkK, 1988.
KANT, Immanuel, *The Metaphysics of Morals. A Critical Guide*. Edited by Lara Denis, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991.
KANT, Immanuel, "On the Miscarriage of All Philosophical Trials in Theodicy", in *Religion and Rational Theology*. Edited and transl. by Allen W. Wood and George di Giovanni, Cambridge, Cambridge Univeristy Press, 2012, pp. 19-38.
KERÉNYI, Ferenc, "A Nemzeti Színház és közönsége (1848–49)" ["The National Theatre and Its Audience (1848–49)"], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 86, 1982, 5-6, pp. 686-699.
KERÉNYI, Ferenc, *Petőfi Sándor élete és költészete* [*The Life and Poetry of Petőfi Sándor*], Budapest, Osiris, 2008.
KRAUS, Manfred, "Gottesurteil – Beweismittel – Stilfigur. Funktion und Stellenwert des Eides in der antiken Rhetorik" ["Divine Judgement – Evidence – Figure of Speech. Function and Significance of the Oath in Ancient Rhetoric"], in Laurent Pernot (ed.), *New Chapters in the History of Rhetoric*, Leiden & Boston, Brill, 2009, pp. 427-443.
MARGÓCSY, István, *Petőfi Sándor*, Budapest, Korona, 1999.
MILBACHER, Róbert, "Dózsa György unokája" ["The Grandson of György Dózsa"], in *Bábel agoráján: Esszék, tanulmányok a nemzeti irodalomról* [*The Agora of Babel: Essays and Studies on National Literature*], Pécs, Pro Pannónia, 2015, pp. 72-93.
PÉTER, László, "A magyarok Istene" ["The God of the Hungarians"], *Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum*, 1994, 26, pp. 101-108.
PETŐFI, Sándor, *His Entire Poetic Works*. Transl. by Frank Szomy, Boca Raton (self-published), 1972.
PETŐFI, Sándor, *Összes művei* [*Complete Works*]. Edited by Márton Szilágyi, vol. 6: *Költemények* [*Poems*], Budapest, Universitas – OSzK, 2024.
SOMMERSTEIN, Alan H., TORRANCE, Isabelle C., *Oaths and Swearing in Ancient Greece*, Berlin & Boston, de Gruyter, 2014.
SPIRA, György, *Petőfi napja* [*Petőfi's Day*], Budapest, AKk, 1984.
SZILÁGYI, Márton, "A vers napja" ["The Day of the Poem"], *Irodalomtörténet*, 96, 2015, 3, pp. 307-319.
SZÖRÉNYI, László, "Petőfi és a nemzeti ősbűn" ["Petőfi and the National Original Sin"], in Judit Ambrus, Tibor Bárány, Rumen István Csörsz, Béla Hegedüs, Gábor Vaderna (eds.), *Margonauták* [*Margonauts*], Budapest, reciti, 2009, pp. 407-414.
VÖRÖSMARTY, Mihály, *Összes költeményei* [*Collected Poems*], 3rd revised ed., Budapest, Osiris, 2021.

SWEARING AN OATH BY SHOUTING THE POEM. PETŐFI AND PERFORMATIVE LANGUAGE IN POETRY (*Abstract*)

The paper raises the question of the effect literary speech acts might have on the political public sphere and, thus, on the field of social action. Furthermore, it asks what it may mean for the performative structure of literary texts to be transposed into the dimension of political action. The public sphere of the 19th century sheds a particularly strong light on this question. One of Sándor Petőfi's best-known poems, *Nemzeti dal* [*National Song*] (transl. F. Szomy) calls its audience to

swear an oath, and even performs an oath. The poem played a central role in the Hungarian Revolution of 15 March 1848 – Petőfi recited it several times at public assemblies. It contributed to shaping the concept of nation during the War of Independence. It became part of real legal and political ceremonies, e.g., the initiation of members of the freedom fighters' militia. The paper focuses on the contribution of *Nemzeti dal* to the discourse on (literary) speech acts. It briefly touches upon the contemporary ethical context of the concept of the oath (primarily Kant), and then looks at how a scene from Péter Esterházy's *Kis Magyar Pornográfia* [*A Little Hungarian Pornography*] (1984, trans. Judith Sollosy) evokes Petőfi's oath in the socio-political context of the second half of the 20th century, primarily in relation to the concepts of freedom and slavery. Finally, the performativity of *Nemzeti dal* will be confronted with the issues of cursing and bearing false testimony in literature. An example of the former is provided by Mihály Vörösmarty's 1849 poem *Átok* [*Curse*], which can be read as a kind of reaction to the unconditional surrender that ended the Hungarian War of Independence. The latter is represented by János Arany's 1852 ballad *A hamis tanú* [*The Perjurer*], which can also be understood as an implicit response to the dense presence of performatives that determined the political publicness of the struggle for freedom.

Keywords: curse, nation, oath, performative language, speech act.

DEPUNEREA UNUI JURĂMÂNT PRIN DECLAMAREA POETICĂ: PETŐFI ȘI LIMBAJUL PERFROMATIV AL POEZIEI (*Rezumat*)

Articolul problematizează impactul pe care actele de vorbire literare îl pot exercita asupra sferei politice și, implicit, asupra acțiunii sociale. În mod particular, studiul explorează semnificația transpunerii performativității textelor literare în acțiunea politică. Sfera publică a secolului al XIX-lea oferă un cadru privilegiat pentru analiza acestei problematici. Un exemplu elocvent este unul dintre cele mai cunoscute poeme ale lui Sándor Petőfi, *Nemzeti dal* [*Cântec național*], care își cheamă publicul la depunerea unui jurământ și, în același timp, înscenează efectiv acest jurământ. Poemul a jucat un rol central în Revoluția maghiară din 15 martie 1848, fiind recitată de Petőfi în repetate rânduri în cadrul adunărilor publice. De asemenea, a contribuit la conturarea conceptului de națiune în timpul Războiului pentru Independență și a devenit parte integrantă a unor ceremonii juridice și politice reale, de ex., inițierea luptătorilor pentru libertate. Articolul se focalizează pe modul în care poemul *Nemzeti dal* poate contribui la înțelegerea mecanismelor actelor de vorbire literare. De asemenea, studiul abordează pe scurt contextul etic contemporan al conceptului de jurământ (pornind, în special, de la filosofia lui Kant), pentru ca apoi să analizeze evocarea jurământului lui Petőfi într-o scenă din *Kis Magyar Pornográfia* (*Un strop de pornografie maghiară*) de Péter Esterházy, în contextul socio-politic al celei de-a doua jumătăți a secolului al XX-lea, în relație cu conceptele de libertate și sclavie. Nu în ultimul rând, performativitatea poemului *Nemzeti dal* este pusă în relație cu reprezentările literare ale blestemului și ale mărturiei mincinoase. Cazul blestemului este abordat prin analiza poeziei lui Mihály Vörösmarty din 1849, *Átok* [*Blestem*], care poate fi interpretată ca o reacție la capitularea necondiționată de la finalul Războiul pentru Independență al Ungariei. În ceea ce privește mărturia mincinoasă, aceasta este ilustrată de balada lui János Arany din 1852, *A hamis tanú* [*Mărturisitorul mincinos*], care poate fi înțeleasă ca un răspuns implicit la cât de influente au fost formulele performative pentru expunerea luptei politice pentru libertate.

Cuvinte-cheie: blestem, națiune, jurământ, limbaj performativ, act de vorbire.

IOANA MOROȘAN

FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY PATRIOTIC MOTHERS TO THE CONTEMPORARY NATIONALIST DISCOURSE: THE APPROPRIATION OF THE IMAGE OF THE MOTHER IN THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF 1848 AND THE EMERGENCE OF NATIONALIST DISCOURSES TODAY[1]

The imagery of mother and family has become a focal point in far-right literature, reflecting the way nationalist discourses reclaim traditional and indigenous values. The concept of family, particularly the representation of mothers in Romanian culture, is closely tied to national identity. During the 18th and 19th centuries, women were primarily seen through their maternal roles, as giving birth to the nation's heroes. Press and writings from the Revolution of 1848 underscore the significance of women in nurturing future patriots and instilling patriotic values through their children's education. However, at the level of public life, women's roles are largely limited to fulfilling maternal functions on behalf of the country, which gives them little autonomy.

The 19th century marked a pivotal shift in the position and identity of women in Romanian society. Female identity was predominantly confined to that of mother and educator[2]. The Revolution of 1848 brought changes to the social role of the family, notably redefining mothers' roles by aligning them more closely with political practices. Women were starting to get involved in the public sphere, and from a social viewpoint, they started to mobilize around charitable projects. Nevertheless, it is worth noting the distinctions between the revolutionary women's movement in France, such as the activists of the Saint-Simonian circle and those involved with the *Tribune de femmes* magazine, whose demands were primarily focused on gender equality and women's rights[3]. By contrast, in Wallachia and Moldavia, women's public presence is more closely associated with patriotic discourse than with gender issues and the disparities in women's social status

[1] This research was supported by a Fellowship for Young Researchers awarded by the Research Institute of the University of Bucharest (ICUB).

[2] Ionela Băluță, *La Bourgeoise respectable: réflexion sur la construction d'une nouvelle identité féminine dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle roumain*, București, Editura Universității din București, 2008, p. 7.

[3] Cristopher Clarck, *Revolutionary Spring: Fighting for a New World 1848–1849*, London, Penguin Books, 2023, p. 138.

during that era. Correspondence among revolutionary women reveals the challenges they faced, including experiences of motherhood amidst lack of medical resources and a precarious social situation, political instability, as well as the traumas of infant mortality and children's illnesses. Correspondence can be considered a key genre of women's writing in the 19th century. In British historiography, some historians have noted that, in the 18th century, letter-writing was viewed as a genre reserved for women, who were expected to write only about trivial aspects of life[4]. In contrast, in Central and Eastern European culture and literature, correspondence was regarded as a space of freedom for women[5].

The intertwining of motherhood with the rise of patriotic discourse leads to a romanticized and superficial depiction of motherhood, emphasizing the fact that women's reproductive roles are paramount. By drawing on literary writing or magazine articles dedicated to mothers and family during the events of 1848, this study aims to shed light on how the patriotic connections of women in 1848 are recontextualized under the influence of hermeneutic violence in contemporary nationalist texts produced by influential figures of the radical right movements. Thus, the survey proposes a comparative analysis of the image of the mother and family during the 1848 upheavals related to the rise of patriotism, and the way it has been revisited and perverted in the nationalist contemporary discourse. Concerning the 19th century, the definition of literature and of what is considered a literary text is much broader and extends beyond fictional works, where "not literary pride drives the pen, but rather genuine civic passion"[6].

Thus, the texts I will focus on are not literary in the sense of fiction. Furthermore, in the 19th century, women's limited access to writing led to literary interests being expressed through correspondence, which replaced fictional writing. On the other hand, the contemporary texts chosen for analysis (the writings of Mihail Neamțu and Dan Puric) are mostly essayistic. I did not aim to explore the field of conservative and reactionary women's literature. The limitations of this research lie in the fact that I did not propose to investigate this area extensively, but instead chose to highlight broad strokes of extremism promoted by the most prominent figures of far-right ideologies. Additionally, literature related to the conservative movement of a TradWife-type is not well-defined in Romania. Women who support these movements are active in reactionary magazines such as

[4] Karen Harvey, "Symphaty in Practice. Eighteenth Century Letters and the Material Body", in Sarah Goldsmith, Sheryllyne Haggerty and Karen Harvey (eds.), *Letters and the Body 1700–1830. Writing and Embodiment*, London, Routledge, 2024, pp. 85-102.

[5] Anna Pekaniec, "19th-Century Polish Women's Literature of Personal Document – 21st-Century Reception", *Dacoromania litteraria*, 2025, 12, p. 197-217.

[6] Paul Cornea, *Originile romantismului românesc. Spiritul public, mișcarea ideilor și literatura între 1780–1840* [*The Origins of the Romanian Romanticism. Public Spirit, Intellectual Trends and Literature between 1780 and 1840*], București, Cartea Românească, 2008, p. 187. Unless otherwise stated, the quotations are translated into English by the author of this paper.

Cultura vieții or *Armonii culturale*[7]. Publishers representing the official voice of these reactionary movements, such as Christiana[8], tend to be dominated by male writers, mostly priests or monks, and similar clerical figures who are writing on sexuality and women's bodies.

From the Patriotic Mother to the Mother of Reactionary Coalitions: Motherhood in the Cultural Far-right Discourse of the 19th and 21st centuries

The phenomenon of the 1848 Revolution was revisited after the establishment of the communist regime after 1948. The figures of Nicolae Bălcescu and Ana Ipătescu (although the latter to a lesser extent, as gender prejudices remained strongly present in the post-war years) became heroic representations, as they were seen as true fighters for freedom and the rights of the oppressed classes[9]. Of course, their recovery is biased and ideologically distorted. On the other hand, the re-examination of the female revolutionaries of 1848 has not gone beyond recognizing their significant roles in the private and family sphere, their contributions valued primarily for their roles as wives and mothers, whereby their appreciation is measured in terms of gentleness and patriotic qualities. Mothers of the 1848 Revolution were expected to instil patriotic values in their children[10]. Mothers' love for their children equally reflects their devotion to the nation[11].

What undermines the historical narrative (both the ideological one from the era of Socialist Realism and many contemporary narratives) is women's claim to a public role, which they originally held during the Revolution. Furthermore, it distorts the emotional connection between women as mothers and the institution of the family, by patriotism, establishing itself at the time as a form of secular religion[12]. The appropriation of the image of motherhood by patriotism occurs

[7] See https://www.culturavietii.ro and https://armoniiculturale.ro/page/84/?ai3a%2Fbb225320_htm. Accessed June 20, 2025. These magazines promote culturally conservative and reactionary attitudes. They mostly discuss the importance of family, religion and traditions. There are a lot of platforms aiming to promote ideological extremism. For instance, see Cristian Norocel, Gabriella Szabó, Márton Bene, "Integration or Isolation? Mapping Out the Position of Radical Right Media in the Public Sphere", *International Journal of Communication*, 2017, 11, pp. 3764-3788.

[8] See https://www.librariasophia.ro/editura/christiana?page=2. Accessed June 20, 2025.

[9] An ideological reading of the Revolution of 1848 can be noted in Mihail Roller's studies. See Mihail Roller, *Anul revoluționar 1848* [*The Revolutionary Year 1848*], București, Eminescu, 1948.

[10] Cf. Sophie Wahnich, "L'amour de la patrie a-t-il un genre? Les émotions révolutionnaires mal partagées de 1790 à 1795", *Clio*, 2018, 47, pp. 93-116.

[11] Nicolae Iorga, *Viața femeilor în trecutul românesc* [*The Life of Women in Romania's Past*], Vălenii de Munte, Tipografia Neamul Românesc, 1910, p. 57.

[12] Alin Ciupală, *Femeia în societatea românească a secolului al XIX-lea: între public și privat* [*The Woman in the Romanian Society of the 19th Century: Between Public and Private Life*], București, Meridiane, 2003, p. 69.

particularly in texts with nationalist overtones. These have become frequent amid the growing affinities for far-right ideologies in Romania in recent years.

Conducted by Ionela Băluță, studies on women and motherhood at the intersection of contemporary nationalism and 19th-century patriarchal desires demonstrate how the development of a predominantly patriarchal national culture in the 19th century simultaneously marked the appropriation of women's autonomy both within marriage and in public life, where women contend with various forms of symbolic violence[13]. This symbolic violence manifests not only through limited access to public life, but also through discourse that primarily defines women in terms of their reproductive roles. The nationalist discourse surrounding movements such as the "Coalition for the Family" and the actions of this reactionary organization have significantly influenced the way civil society in Romania engages with feminism and the LGBTQ+ community. The anti-gender campaigns mounted by Romanian far-right movements have been critically examined in numerous studies by Ionela Băluță and Cristian Norocel[14]. Diana Mărgărit highlighted the vulnerabilities in Romanian society that have created a favourable environment for right-wing extremist movements. She notes that the increasing legitimacy of the Romanian Orthodox Church, along with the rise of nationalist rhetoric from certain far-right intellectuals such as Dan Puric, Mihail Neamțu or Sorin Lavric, has shaped the rise of reactionary conservatism.

The contemporary nationalist discourse in Romania responds to two crises with racist, homophobic, xenophobic, and misogynistic measures: one concerns the institution of the family, and the other relates to sovereignty and the defence of the nation against outsiders. Thus, both AUR[15] and presidential aspirant Călin Georgescu prioritize the notion of the "traditional family" and the principle of "not selling the country" in their agenda[16]. The harsh and hateful rhetoric employed by extremist movements to promote their homophobic and xenophobic agendas is documented in Radu Cinpoeș's studies, which reveal the way anti-LGBTQ+ propaganda is executed in the name of traditional family values. Eurosceptic sentiment in Romania has been amplified publicly by the propaganda of anti-EU movements that associate Western Europe with moral decay and social

[13] Pierre Bourdieu, *La domination masculine*, Paris, Seuil, 2004, p. 79.
[14] Cristian Norocel, Ionela Băluță, "Retrogressive Mobilization in the 2018 'Referendum for Family' in Romania", *Problems of Post-Communism*, 70, 2023, 2, pp. 153-162.
[15] The Alliance for the Unity of Romanians (*Alianța pentru Unirea Românilor*, AUR), is the Romanian far-right party that was founded in 2019 by a lot of radical right intellectuals and extremist activists belonging to reactionary movements such as The Coalition for the Family. Currently, AUR represents an important political force in Romania, particularly since the 2020 elections and after its alliance with the far-right candidate for the Romanian presidency in 2024, Călin Georgescu.
[16] Diana Mărgărit, *Democracy and Human Rights: Insurgent Conservatism in Romania*, Bucharest, Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung, 2020.

destruction[17]. It is not only extremists that have adopted these ideas. Established political parties have also publicized the notion that Romania remains a nation that upholds traditional family values[18]. Motherhood is a built-in component of traditional femininity, intrinsic to the fulfilment of gender roles. Through motherhood, a woman's body becomes a tool in the struggle for national sovereignty. It is leveraged to promote nationalist ideas, as it is seen as a woman's duty to give birth to and raise children in a nationalist spirit, children who then become adherents of conservative values. The exercise of maternal function represents a woman's obligation to the nation and signifies her loyalty to the country. In other words, reproduction serves as a mechanism for national consolidation and preserving the social order[19].

The nation, and women who are giving birth to children of the nation, became a central element of the patriotic discourse of 1848, when patriotism meant not isolationism, but rather cultural development. Nevertheless, women are subjected to patriarchal social paradigms and are meant to educate the future heroes of the nation in the spirit of devotion to the fatherland during that time. In the following sections, we trace the mechanisms by which the perversion of the patriotic spirit (in turn entailing the same traditional gender-role dimension) and the image of the patriotic mother from the 19th century occur in the discourse of far-right currents that reintegrate the image of the mother into a reactionary framework aiming at misogyny, homophobia, and racism. The study proposes a comparativist approach to texts dedicated to motherhood and published in the context of the 1848 phenomenon, and texts signed by far-right intellectuals who integrate motherhood into a reactionary matrix in which women perform traditional gender roles and accept their secondary social and human status.

For this analysis, I consider fictional writing, such as Mircea Rosetti's short prose dedicated to Maria Rosetti, as well as Maria Rosetti's correspondence, and articles from the newspapers *Mama și copilul* [*Mother and Child*] and *Femeia* [*The Woman*]. On the other hand, I trace the way the image of the revolutionary and activist mother of 1848 is nefariously reinterpreted and entirely seized by the reactionary discourses of the far right through the lens of nationalism. In this order, I consider writings published by radical right intellectuals.

---

[17] Radu Cinpoeș, "Beyond Radical Right Politics: LGBTQ+ Rights in Hungary and Romania", in James Koranyi and Emily Hanscam (eds.), *Digging Politics: The Ancient Past and Contested Present in East-Central Europe*, Berlin & Boston, De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2023, pp. 217-240.

[18] Sorina Soare and Claudiu D. Tufis, "No Populism's Land? Religion and Gender in Romanian Politics", *Identities*, 30, 2023, 1, pp. 112-130.

[19] Ov Cristian Norocel, "Heteronormative Constructions of Romanianness: A Genealogy of Gendered Metaphors in Romanian Radical-Right Populism 2000–2009", *Debatte: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, 19, 2011, 1-2, pp. 453-470.

Patriotism and Propaganda – the Mother as an Educator of the Fatherland and Child-bearer of a Sovereign Nation

The first treatise on patriotism reached Romanian culture through the translation of Iancu Nicola's *Manual de patriotism* [*Handbook of Patriotism*] in 1829[20]. In the Romanian context, patriotism is understood as "solidarity within the Ancient Greek 'polis'" and is distinct from the meanings of "nationality or popular sovereignty"[21]. Moreover, in the first half of the 19th century, patriotism was cultivated as respect for the Romanian language and literature, and the heritage of the Romanian people. It manifested by submission to the social order, the philanthropic spirit of the aristocracy, and both the labour and submission of the peasants. Since Tudor Vladimirescu's upheavals, the term "patriot" has been applied to those willing to sacrifice themselves, thus rendering patriotism a virtue. As Knight Jaucourt defined it, patriotism is "the political virtue of self-denial, the ability to put the public interest above the personal interest"[22]. In the context of the Revolution of 1848, patriotism became the central concept on the revolutionaries' agenda, marking the rise of the patriotic literary movement represented by Nicolae Bălcescu, Ion Heliade Rădulescu, Mihail Kogălniceanu, Barbu Paris Mumuleanu, Gheorghe Magheru, Vasile Alecsandri, and others. Their patriotism aimed to unify national power for independence and social freedom. The social and political dimensions of patriotism were accompanied by the necessity of solidifying the national language and culture. The patriotic spirit of intellectuals is evidenced through their literary and cultural contributions, supported and funded by the philanthropic spirit of the nobles and boyars.

Women also played a crucial role in instilling patriotism in society at that time. Maria Rosetti (1819–1893), the wife of the revolutionary C.A. Rosetti and mother of socialist activists Horia and Vintilă Rosetti, established in 1865 the first journal dedicated to Romanian mothers, *Mama și copilul*. The programmatic article of the magazine, signed by Maria Rosetti, emphasizes its aim: to ensure a patriotic education for children who are destined to become Romania's future heroes. The second paragraph of the article states: "You are mothers, and so am I. Your children are Romanians, and so are mine. Our children share a common mother: Romania. But isn't there a bond between us when our children are brothers?"[23]. This reflects several assertions made by C.A. Rosetti. Patriotic education is

[20] *Manual de patriotism* [*Handbook of Patriotism*]. Transl. and revised by Iancu Nicola, Iași, Tipografia Sfi[ntei] Mitr[opolii], 1829.
[21] Cornea, *Originile romantismului*, p. 238.
[22] *Ibidem*: "Virtutea politică a renunțării la sine însuși, capacitatea de a pune interesul public mai presus de cel personal".
[23] Maria Rosetti, "Către mame" ["To Mothers"], *Mama și copilul*, 1, 1865, 1, p. 1: "Sunteți mame și suntu și eu. Copii voștri suntu Români – ai mei asemenea – ș'ai voștri ș'ai mei au uă mamă comune, România. Nu e dar într-adevăru unu legământul între noi cându când copii noștrii suntu frați?".

mandated by the revolutionary fathers, who blend their love for family with their dedication to the nation. Thus, C.A. Rosetti viewed his children as the nation's future, giving purpose to their struggles. Maria and C.A. Rosetti named their first daughter Liberty Sofia: "Oh, my little daughter! I love you, and I love you more than a father, I love you as freedom, and as Revolution!"[24].

Patriotism was a crucial element in the structure of revolutionary families in 1848. According to the few monographs dedicated to Maria Rosetti, the idea of dignity is consistently emphasized, as what drives a woman's courage and beliefs is her husband's name, which she must uphold. For example, during C.A. Rosetti's involvement in the Russian-Turkish war, "she just had to stay strong: head of the family, caring mother, worthy wife of the revolutionary"[25]. In this way, patriotism is a shared principle within the family, defining their goals as both a couple and a family, as their aspirations align with the need for social change under the economic and social domination of the boyars, reflecting the context of the alignment of the Eastern European territories to the Western cultural and social evolution, imposed by the need for modernization. We cannot talk about women's involvement in the patriotic discourse; it is not happening under ideological pressure, and it is not an effect of propaganda. Moreover, their purposes are defined by the necessity of social changes; their aims are not propagandistic. Thus, the magazine, which is dedicated to mothers and children, offers a patriotic education based, first of all, on the study of history. The articles on the first pages of the magazine contain a text on a historical topic, both Romanian history and universal history, starting from ancient history to the history of Great Britain or France. Maria Rosetti explains in a child-friendly way that history is essential for instructing people: "History is the narration of true events to advise people. History teaches mankind by giving them examples of virtuous and vicious characters, and by showing the effects those characters have produced both on the individual and on society as a whole"[26].

---

[24] C.A. Rosetti, *Note intime 1844–1859* [*Intimate Notes 1844–1859*], vol. II, București, Tipografia Lucrătorilor Asociați Marinescu și Șerban, 1903, p. 71: "Oh fetița mea! Te iubesc și te iubesc mai mult decât un tată, căci te iubesc ca Libertate și ca Revoluție".

[25] Elisabeta Ioniță, *Maria Rosetti*, București, Editura Militară, 1979, p. 40: "trebuia să rămână puternică, cap de familie și mama grijulie, soție demnă a revoluționarului".

[26] Maria Rosetti, "Catechismu de istoria universală. Capitolul I – Despre natura istoriei" ["Catechism of Universal History. Chapter 1 – On the Nature of History"], *Mama și copilul*, 1, 1865, 1, p. 6: "Istoria înseamnă nararea unor întâmplătiloru adevărate avându drept țintă instruirea și petrecerea oamenilor. Istoria intruiește omenirea dâsndu-i espemple de caractere virtuóse și viținse, ș'aretându' efectele ce au produsu acele caractere atătu asupra individeloru acelora cătu ș'asupra societății întregi".



Maria Rosetti as *Revolutionary Romania*, by Constantin D. Rosenthal, c. 1850.
Reproduced by kind permission of the National Art Museum, Bucharest, Romania.

Maria Rosetti sees the role of the mother exercised on the patriotic front of bringing up children in the spirit of a strong bond with the national identity and the nation itself. She thus transforms motherhood into an activist experience in the service of the nation. In the magazine supplement called *Românul de duminică* [*The Sunday Romanian*], Maria Rosetti receives a series of letters from mothers and other women who admire her work. In one of her replies, in an 1863 issue, Maria Rosetti announces the importance of solidarity as a citizen: "Love mankind as you love your brothers, and do not forget that it is impossible for a woman to be a good woman if she is not a good citizen as well"[27]. Later, Nicolae Iorga and other historians will classify Maria Rosetti's work as essential in terms of orienting mothers and children towards a form of patriotism based on liberal, moral, and humanitarian principles. According to Maria Rosetti, children

> must be made aware of their duty to themselves and others, and to fulfil those duties – and as an ambition, I would like them to see their homeland differently, so that everywhere and always they can hold their heads high and say: "I am Romanian"[28].

The education that Maria Rosetti transforms into patriotic activism is neither a propaganda effect, nor does it instil a regime of terror and rigorous order. Patriotic

---

[27] See Ioniță, *Maria Rosetti*, p. 55: "Iubește omenirea, precum iubești pe frații tăi, și nu uita că este peste putință să fie o femeie bună de nu va fi și bună cetățeană".

[28] Rosetti, "Către mame", p. 1: "Trebuie să li se cultive o conștiință de datoria lor către ei înșiși și către ceilalți și să îndeplinească acele datorii și drept ambițiune le-aș dori aceea de a vedea Patria lor altfel, că pretutindeni și totdeauna să poată ținâ capul sus zicând: 'Sunt român!'".

education is detached from the sensibilities of the time. In 1848, as I said above, patriotism was configured as a secularized religion. Mircea Rosetti, the son to whom Maria Rosetti was closest because of his frail health, dedicates a large part of his writing to his mother, who does not in any way remind him of an authoritarian or constraining figure, but on the contrary, he is struck by her candour and generosity. The protagonists in Mircea Rosetti's proses are strongly inspired by his mother's biography. He depicts strong women who have fought for various causes and have shown virtue, single mothers who heroically bring up their children. Such characters are the mother of Ion Bernard in *14 iuliu al Mamei Bernard* [*14th July of Mother Bernard*], or Elena in *Lacrimi de mamă* [*A Mother's Tears*][29].

In contrast to nationalism, which encourages an authoritarian education, patriotism lacks an authoritarian tone, although the 19th century family structure embedded violence as structural part of the institution of family[30]. For instance, Sabina Cantacuzino will testify about Maria Rosetti that her libertine way of educating her children led the conservative, demanding, and rigorous I.C. Brătianu to distance his children from Rosetti's family because the latter were educated in a far too libertine spirit, the opposite of the strict education that the Brătianu children had[31]. In other words, maternity in the context of the Revolution of 1848 was not at all a moment of women claiming the right over their bodies and implicitly the right to motherhood. However, the patriotism in whose frame the maternal role of the revolutionaries was cast called for cohesion, empathy and general solidarity. This is because the patriotism of 1848 subscribed to a form of general mobility that called for cohesion and solidarity, not exclusion, isolationism, and hatred, as would be the case with patriotism that was nationalist in its orientation and stripped of its original meaning.

The perversion of this historical discourse in the contemporary context reveals a rupture and a distorted reinterpretation. Extremist currents project a plethora of reveries designed to change the interface of society and bring it closer to changes. The visions of the fortyeighters and the historical Revolutionary movements in 1821, 1848, and 1989 were fuelled by a progressive dynamic rather than a regressive one, as fantasized by the far-right groups. They are completely disconnected from the historical context, regarding the figures, concepts, and events they are vehiculating: patriotism, family, mothers, marriage, independence, and the free state. Moreover, one difference between the patriotism of the mothers of 1848 and today's familist-nationalist views of the far-right supporters is that,

---

[29] Mircea Rosetti, *Nuvele* [*Novellas*]. Preface by Emil Costinescu, București, Tipografia Românul "Carol Glöbl", 1882.

[30] Nicoleta Roman, "A Dimension of Private Life in Wallachia: Violence between Parents and Children (1830–1860)", *The History of the Family*, 19, 2014, 2, pp. 182-201.

[31] Sabina Cantacuzino, *Din viața familiei I.C. Brătianu 1821–1891* [*From the Life of I.C. Brătianu Family 1821–1891*], București, Univers, 1933, p. 44.

while the former is born out of a necessity determined by social and cultural reality, the latter regurgitates patriotism and the institution of the family in the absence of a contact with reality, and without any implications for political practice. Therefore, the re-interpretations they impose about family, motherhood, and patriotism are no more than a recovery of important and contextually functional historical instances in a propagandistic discourse of a nationalist and radical nature.

Misrepresentation of the Mother in Contemporary Nationalist Discourse – from the Patriotic Mother to the Romanian Contemporary TradWife

A first feature that reveals the rupture between the patriotic and the nationalist discourse, cultivated especially in its post-communist form in Romania, is the way it relates to the descendants, children, and the younger generation. Right-wing discourses have cultivated nationalism and conservatism in opposition to the young, deprived generations. While during the patriotic era of the 19th century, children represented the future heroes, destined for patriotic education through the cultivation of the national language and literature, in the nationalist discourse the descendants are denigrated for their lack of "historical consciousness", understood in the most tendentious and propagandistic way possible, since for extremist movements, difference means nothing but denial: "What shall we do, Father, with all these young people who don't want to know anything about history, our nation's martyrs, tradition and faith, and who spend all day in bars, night clubs, discos or otherwise live in a virtual world?"[32]. Thus, the conflict between generations, between parents and children, reveals the fact that the institution of the family is working more as a propagandistic tool rather than as a real institution that restores traditional values and is meant to defend the national glory, as the far-right movement postulates.

Recent studies on the family structure in contemporary Romania increasingly suggest that the average family is either based on a violent relationship or is a single-parent unit. For instance, in a survey conducted by Cornelia Rada, 35% of the respondents admitted they were victims of parental violence, and more than 50% declared that they were victims of family violence[33]. In the name of patriotism, the revolutionary parents of the 1848 Revolution imprinted on their

[32] See Dan Puric, *Sufletul românesc* [*The Romanian Soul*], București, s.n., 2013, p. 27: "Ce facem părinte cu toți tinerii ăștia care nu vor să mai știe nimic, de istorie, de martirii neamului, de tradiție și de credință, și care stau toată ziua în baruri, la cluburi de noapte, discoteci și în rest trăiesc într-o lume virtuală?".

[33] Cornelia Rada, "Violence against Women by Male Partners and against Children within the Family: Prevalence, Associated Factors, and Intergenerational Transmission in Romania, a Cross-sectional Study", *BMC Public Health*, 14, 2014, 129, https://bmcpublichealth.biomedcentral.com/-articles/10.1186/1471-2458-14-129. Accessed September 24, 2025.

children's education the importance of cohesion and the study of the history, language, and literature of the nation, whilst the contemporary traditional and conservative family devoted to the nationalist beliefs often impose "discipline" on their children in a violent way, without understanding their perspectives, as a direct effect of the propaganda of external institutions (such as the church, political and social influences or the Christian and religious right movement in Romania, such as the aptly-named Coalition for the Family).

It is not exaggerated to say that the religious influences and the right-wing movement meant to defend the national identity and "ensure the continuity of the Romanian people"[34] established the traditional gender roles and the patriarchal structure of the family, where the role of women is subordination to men. As such, violence often appears as a way of disciplining the family. The encouragement of violence is present in the nationalist and radical right-wing discourse. For instance, Romanian far-right ideologue and politician Mihail Neamțu published a collection of essays in 2016 in which this aspect of violence is seen as a structural dimension of the family. The appropriation of the 19th-century sensibility is clear even at the stylistic level; the plot and way of writing imitate the Romanian 19th-century naïve sentimental writing style. In this book, he emphasizes the fact that women must first be "conquered": "Through clever tactics of annexing female territory, the man becomes the master and the woman falls under his spell"[35]. Reproduction is represented as an act of blessing of women by their men. He pleads against the performance of sex without reproductive aims: "The experience of orgasm – not always reciprocal, not always asymmetrical – is incomplete without the protective gesture of the man who, after offering the woman the warmed seed, offers her the word and the life"[36]. Further, Mihail Neamțu raises the question of women's pride regarding their male partners. In relation to the heroic engagement of men, who charge women with this burden of dignity, he claims women should honour their male partner's names, as I exemplified above in the case of Maria Rosetti. This pressure placed on women reveals their secondary role in the family and society, as an extension of their partners. Nevertheless, in contemporary radical right-wing writing, women have to be proud of their male partners only because they are men, not because they are acting in a certain way, and are involved in crucial missions. From the misogynistic, radical right perspective, it is enough for men to get

[34] Ionela Băluță, Claudiu Tufiș, "Preaching the 'Traditional Family' in the Romanian Parliament: The Political Stakes and Meanings of a Hegemonic Narrative", *East European Politics and Society*, 38, 2023, 2, pp. 616-638.

[35] Mihail Neamțu, *Vârstele iubirii. Cum transformăm întâmplarea în destin* [*The Ages of Love. How We Turn Chance into Destiny*], București, Doxologia, 2016, p. 27: "Prin tactici inteligente de anexare a teritoriului feminin, bărbatul devine stăpân, iar femeia se lasă vrăjită".

[36] *Ibidem*, p. 32: "Experiența orgasmului – nu mereu reciprocă, nu mereu asimetrică – e incompletă fără gestul protector al bărbatului care, după ce-i oferă femeii sămânța încălzită, îi dăruiește cuvântul și viața".

exquisite clothes, and that imposes their authority on women, a weak and superficial species of human being:

> As a male suitor, you can't go wrong if you want to greet your heart's chosen one in festive attire: a clean blazer and a pressed shirt, scrubbed and perfumed, even wearing a tie or fancy shoes. It's not snobbery that's at play here so much as the desire to shine in the face of a woman who wants to be proud of her man[37].

It is worth noting that the reintegration of the 19th century's *zeitgeist* regarding women and family has certain limitations. It is undoubtedly true that the 19th century established a misogynistic social structure, as Ionela Băluță pointed out in her studies[38]. Women's role during that period was limited to reproduction, and this role idealized the image of a woman as a mother. At the same time, it can be said that the presence of mothers in the nationalist contemporary discourse has become very shrill. Mothers in Romania are concerningly adhering to the far-right discourse[39]. Without questioning which regime – the patriotic or the nationalist – was more open to women's agency, the distinction between the two sensibilities consists in the degree of toxicity and in the vulnerability of women. In both contexts, the patriotic context of the 19th century and the current radical right movement, the main aim of women is to become mothers.

Nevertheless, the struggle of the activist women involved in the Revolution of 1848 was also focused on building a support network for all women. The women of the 19th century did not idealize motherhood. For instance, in her correspondence and private notes, Maria Rosetti mentioned her struggle as a single-mother many times, talking about the necessity of a support platform for all mothers. For example, in many letters sent to Adèle Dumesnil, Maria Rosetti complains about the difficulties of taking care of her children because of their illness:

> D'abord mon cher petit nous a donné de vieilles inquiétudes pendant 3 jours; j'ai tremblé, j'ai pleuré, je l'ai serré plus fortement contre mon sein et je me demandais si le malheur pouvait avoir plus de force que l'amour que je lui opposais[40].

She also talks in the programmatic article of the first issue of her magazine about the importance of a support network for mothers, especially single mothers.

---

[37] *Ibidem*, p. 57: "Ca pretendent de sex masculin, nu greșești dacă vrei să-ți întâmpini aleasa inimii în straie de sărbătoare: un sacou curat și o cămașă călcată, frezat și parfumat, purtând chiar și cravată sau pantofi de calitate. Nu snobismul e la mijloc, aici, cât dorința de-a străluci în fața unei femei care dorește să fie mândră de bărbatul ei".

[38] See Băluță, *La Bourgeoise respectable*, p. 7

[39] Andra Mureșan, "Votez pentru copiii mei. Cum a prins propaganda extremei drepte la mamele din România" ["I'm Voting for my Children: How Far-right Propaganda Took Hold among Mothers in Romania"], *Scena9*, 6 December 2024, https://www.scena9.ro/article/votez-pentru-copiii-mei-extre-ma-dreapta-mame-romania. Accessed September 20, 2025.

[40] See *Papiers Alfred Dumesnil, Correspondance* MS 1571, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris.



© Andrei Pungovschi, *Scena9*

On the other hand, there is no organized system of solidarity against poverty, and a social system that can support mothers and children nowadays. The current context exposes mothers to radical right ideologies, which resonate more and more with this neglected category of mothers. The adherence of women, and especially mothers, to the movement of the radical right can be explained firstly as a gesture of "protecting children". The aggressive promotion of the traditional family and its values does not equal the lack of resources and support necessary for mothers. Still, they are included in such a discourse because they are not part of the agendas of any of the established political parties. In this way, the radical right exploits a vulnerable category and, at the same time, legitimizes their own discourse regarding the traditional family, gaining mothers' support.

Another important distinction is that the public sphere has been replaced by the online space, where many social and political movements are articulated. As such, TradWives is one of the movements mobilized on social media platforms (TikTok), which enthusiastically recuperate the traditional gender roles, boycotting feminism and all progressive political forms and promoting a cosmeticized recovery of history. Briefly, this movement is "something from a Garden and Gun conservative's fever dream: Southern belles defend the nation from homosexual, feminist, integrationist, communist totalitarianism by canning jam, wearing pearls and homeschooling"[41].

[41] Catherine Tebaldi and Dominika Baran, "Of TradWives and TradCaths: The Antigenderism Register in Global Nationalist Movements", *Gender and Language*, 17, 2023, 1, pp. 1-13.

The aim of defending national or racial identity is the most common aspect of these movements, and is charged with the purpose of women's reproductive role. The cultivation of national identity occurred through founding and promoting the national culture during the 19th century. In the contemporary context, the defence of the nation has a harmful connotation by inciting hate, exclusion, racism, homophobia, and misogyny. The role of women is not to educate, as it was emphasized in the 19th-century discourse. As the contemporary discourse shifts the focus on the power of procreation, women are even less than educators; they are giving birth to children to maintain either the White race, or the Romanian national identity: "TradWives have thus utilized motherhood to advance the goal of defending the White nation by advocating for women to have several children to support the White race"[42]. Lack of support and education makes many conspiracy theories very popular among mothers. The new reality of "the Carpathian mothers"[43] warns women about their health issues if they are not exerting their femininity and not giving birth. Moreover, as social media platforms have replaced the public sphere, all the acts of violation of mothers' representation have exposed women to pseudoscientific information meant to constrain them to reproduce their traditional gender role.

Conclusions

Romanian far-right intellectuals often reference 19th-century historical moments to compare historical patriotic movements and their contemporary ideologies. For instance, many radical intellectuals highlight the efforts of 19th-century revolutionary figures who struggled for national unity and independence, viewing them as precursors to modern nationalist ideas. Their inspired perspectives from the 19th century are applicable in the case of the family too. In the 19th century in Wallachia, the family was established as the most important social institution, "the basic cell of society", and interpreted by national ideology as the key element for the survival of the nation[44]. As such, the representation of both family and mothers has functioned as a referential element in all historical contexts since then, and has been reinterpreted in different ways, constituting the main argumentative pillar for legitimizing the existence of the traditional family.

---

[42] Alexandra Ballos, *The Propaganda of TradWives and ShieldMaidens: A Critical Analysis of the Far-Right Radicalization of Women and its Connections to Right-Wing Extremist Theory*, Honors Thesis Library, University of Alberta, https://www.ualberta.ca/en/political-science/media-library/-honors-thesis/ballos-thesis.pdf. Accessed September 24, 2025.

[43] The expression belongs to Cristela Georgescu, a Romanian influencer who offers courses on nutrition and holistic medicine and promotes traditional gender roles, as well as dangerous practices such as home birth and medication defiance. See Mureșan, "Votez pentru copiii mei".

[44] See Băluță, Tufiș, "Preaching the 'Traditional Family'".

In the Romanian public sphere, it has taken the shape of a toxic phenomenon targeting mostly women, and particularly mothers. Romanian scholars and intellectuals warn about revisiting the 19th century regarding women's status in society, and about trying to re-establish the traditional gender roles and the discourse on motherhood, which contains the same nationalist nuances. This assertion is entirely correct, especially regarding women's agency on their reproductive power, but there must be nuanced distinctions between the patriotic *zeitgeist* of the 19th century and the contemporary nationalist discourse, which is more radical and offensive concerning the women's rights over their bodies. I have attempted to read comparatively the way motherhood was conceived in the patriotic discourse of the 19th century and the way this approach, rooted in the old patriotic conceptions, is recovered and appropriated today by radical right movements, which are boycotting not only women's agency, but their fundamental rights regarding reproduction. Lastly, I have brought up the way in which many categories of mothers resonate with the radical right movements and thoughts. The adherence of women is different and this is marked by their condition and intentions. The social and political activism of the 19th century is transformed into manipulation and propaganda, which is actioning on the basis of women's vulnerability and mass misinformation. The two pictures illustrate this discrepancy between the patriotic mothers of the 19th century, who symbolize Free Romania, as Rosenthal entitled his work, and, by contrast, the mother figure of the propaganda, who illustrates the contemporary Romanian "tradwives" aspirations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

***, *Manual de patriotism* [*Handbook of Patriotism*]. Transl. and revised by Iancu Nicola, Iași, Tipografia Sfi[ntei] Mitr[opolii], 1829.

***, *Papiers Alfred Dumesnil, Correspondance* MS 1571, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris.

BALLOS, Alexandra, *The Propaganda of TradWives and ShieldMaidens: A Critical Analysis of the Far-Right Radicalization of Women and its Connections to Right-Wing Extremist Theory*, Honors Thesis Library, University of Alberta, https://www.ualberta.ca/en/political-science/media-library/-honors-thesis/ballos-thesis.pdf. Accessed September 24, 2025.

BĂLUȚĂ, Ionela, *La Bourgeoise respectable: réflexion sur la construction d'une nouvelle identité féminine dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle roumain*, București, Editura Universității din București, 2008.

BĂLUȚĂ, Ionela, TUFIȘ, Claudiu, "Preaching the 'Traditional Family' in the Romanian Parliament: The Political Stakes and Meanings of a Hegemonic Narrative", *East European Politics and Society*, 38, 2023, 2, pp. 616-638.

CANTACUZINO, Sabina, *Din viața familiei I.C. Brătianu 1821–1891* [*From the Life of I.C. Brătianu Family 1821–1891*], București, Univers, 1933.

CINPOEȘ, Radu, "Beyond Radical Right Politics: LGBTQ+ Rights in Hungary and Romania", in James Koranyi and Emily Hanscam (eds.), *Digging Politics: The Ancient Past and Contested Present in East-Central Europe*, Berlin & Boston, De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2023, pp. 217-240.

CIUPALĂ, Alin, *Femeia în societatea românească a secolului al XIX-lea: între public și privat* [*The Woman in the Romanian Society of the 19th Century: Between Public and Private Life*], București, Meridiane, 2003.

CLARCK, Cristopher, *Revolutionary Spring: Fighting for a New World 1848–1849*, London, Penguin Books, 2023.

CORNEA, Paul, *Originile romantismului românesc. Spiritul public, mișcarea ideilor și literatura între 1780–1840* [*The Origins of the Romanian Romanticism. Public Spirit, Intellectual Trends and Literature between 1780 and 1840*], București, Cartea Românească, 2008.

IONIȚĂ, Elisabeta, *Maria Rosetti*, București, Editura Militară, 1979.

HARVEY, Karen, "Symphaty in Practice. Eighteenth Century Letters and the Material Body", in Sarah Goldsmith, Sheryllyne Haggerty and Karen Harvey (eds.), *Letters and the Body 1700–1830. Writing and Embodiment*, London, Routledge, 2024, pp. 85-102.

IORGA, Nicolae, *Viața femeilor în trecutul românesc* [*The Life of Women in Romania's Past*], Vălenii de Munte, Tipografia Neamul Românesc, 1910.

MĂRGĂRIT, Diana, *Democracy and Human Rights: Insurgent Conservatism in Romania*, Bucharest, Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung, 2020.

MUREȘAN, Andra, "Votez pentru copiii mei. Cum a prins propaganda extremei drepte la mamele din România" ["I'm Voting for my Children: How Far-right Propaganda Took Hold among Mothers in Romania"], *Scena9*, 6 December 2024, https://www.scena9.ro/article/votez-pentru-copiii-mei-extre-ma-dreapta-mame-romania. Accessed September 20, 2025.

NEAMȚU, Mihail, *Vârstele iubirii. Cum transformăm întâmplarea în destin* [*The Ages of Love. How We Turn Chance into Destiny*], București, Doxologia, 2016.

NOROCEL, Ov Cristian, "Heteronormative Constructions of Romanianness: A Genealogy of Gendered Metaphors in Romanian Radical-Right Populism 2000–2009", *Debatte: Journal of Contemporary Central and Eastern Europe*, 19, 2011, 1-2, pp. 453-470.

NOROCEL, Ov Cristian, BĂLUȚĂ Ionela, "Retrogressive Mobilization in the 2018 'Referendum for Family' in Romania", *Problems of Post-Communism*, 70, 2023, 2, pp. 153-162

NOROCEL, Ov Cristian, SZABÓ, Gabriella, BENE, Márton, "Integration or Isolation? Mapping Out the Position of Radical Right Media in the Public Sphere", *International Journal of Communication*, 2017, 11, pp. 3764-3788.

PEKANIEC, Anna, "19th-Century Polish Women's Literature of Personal Document – 21st-Century Reception", *Dacoromania litteraria*, 2025, 12, pp. 197-217.

PURIC, Dan, *Sufletul românesc* [*The Romanian Soul*], București, s.n., 2013.
RADA, Cornelia, "Violence against Women by Male Partners and against Children within the Family: Prevalence, Associated Factors, and Intergenerational Transmission in Romania, a Cross-sectional Study", *BMC Public Health*, 14, 2014, 129, https://bmcpublichealth.biomedcentral.com/-articles/10.1186/1471-2458-14-129. Accessed September 24, 2025.
ROLLER, Mihail, *Anul revoluționar 1848* [*The Revolutionary Year 1848*], București, Eminescu, 1948.
ROMAN, Nicoleta, "A Dimension of Private Life in Wallachia: Violence between Parents and Children (1830–1860)", *The History of the Family*, 19, 2014, 2, pp. 182-201.
ROSETTI, C.A., *Note intime 1844–1859* [*Intimate Notes 1844–1859*], vol. II, București, Tipografia Lucrătorilor Asociați Marinescu și Șerban, 1903.
ROSETTI, Maria, "Catechismu de istoria universală. Capitolul I – Despre natura istoriei" ["Catechism of Universal History. Chapter 1 – On the Nature of History"], *Mama și copilul*, 1, 1865, 1, p. 6.
ROSETTI, Maria, "Către mame" ["To Mothers"], *Mama și copilul*, 1, 1865, 1, p. 1.
ROSETTI, Mircea, *Nuvele* [*Novellas*]. Preface by Emil Costinescu, București, Tipografia Românul "Carol Glöbl", 1882.
SOARE, Sorina, TUFIS, Claudiu D., "No Populism's Land? Religion and Gender in Romanian Politics", *Identities*, 30, 2023, 1, pp. 112-130.
TEBALDI, Catherine, BARAN, Dominika, "Of TradWives and TradCaths: The Antigenderism Register in Global Nationalist Movements", *Gender and Language*, 17, 2023, 1, pp. 1-13.
WAHNICH, Sophie, "L'amour de la patrie a-t-il un genre? Les émotions révolutionnaires mal partagées de 1790 à 1795", *Clio*, 2018, 47, pp. 93-116.

FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY PATRIOTIC MOTHERS TO THE CONTEMPORARY NATIONALIST DISCOURSE: THE APPROPRIATION OF THE IMAGE OF THE MOTHER IN THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF 1848 AND THE EMERGENCE OF NATIONALIST DISCOURSES TODAY
(*Abstract*)

The paper proposes a comparative survey of how the current Romanian nationalist discourse reinterprets the concepts of patriotism and deploys images of mothers, two elements that are closely intertwined in the history of Romanian culture. The two timeframes considered are the upheavals of the Revolution of 1848, and the beliefs of the contemporary conservative and radical right movements. The motivation for selecting this dialogue between the 19th century and the contemporary context lies in the connection that the radical and far-right aspirations claim to the glorious past of the 19th century, a period that has increasingly been referenced in their discourse. Although many scholars have already demonstrated that the traditional gender roles in Romanian society were established during the 19th century, confirming this assertion, the paper intends to analyse the differences between patriotism and nationalism, as well as the role and significance of mothers in both contexts. I find that the appropriation of women's reproductive capacity manifests differently in each context. The primary differences are delineated by the dichotomy between the need for progress, which defines women's activism in the 19th century, and the current propaganda. I question the role of the image of mothers in the political and ideological discourse and the influence of this image on women's agency over their bodies and reproductive rights, aiming to shape a specific case for misreading 19th-century literature and reintegrating family and motherhood themes into a dangerous agenda. In this context, the radical right's engagement with the 19th century does not reveal genuine similarity, but rather a historical exploitation of the topic used for self-legitimization.

Keywords: Revolution of 1848, motherhood, family, misreading, contemporary radical right writing.

IMAGINEA MAMEI PATRIOTICE ÎN DISCURSUL NAȚIONALIST: DE LA APROPIEREA SIMBOLULUI MATERN ÎN EPOCA PAȘOPTISTĂ LA EMERGENȚA NAȚIONALISMULUI CONTEMPORAN

(*Rezumat*)

Lucrarea analizează comparativ modul în care discursul naționalist din România contemporană reinterpretează patriotismul și confiscă imaginea mamei, teme centrale și în agenda politică a secolului al XIX-lea. Studiul pune în dialog Revoluția de la 1848 și emergența mișcărilor naționaliste actuale, având în vedere raportarea constantă a acestor grupări extremiste la un trecut „glorios", folosit ca instrument de autolegitimare. Analiza urmărește diferențele dintre patriotismul pașoptist și naționalismul de azi, precum și rolul atribuit maternității și corpului femeii în aceste două momente de criză. Dacă în secolul al XIX-lea maternitatea era integrată într-un proiect al modernizării, discursul actual o instrumentalizează într-o direcție regresivă din punct de vedere socio-cultural. Articolul pune în lumină un caz specific de interpretare eronată a literaturii secolului al XIX-lea și de reintegrare a temelor familiei și maternității într-o agendă periculoasă ideologic. În acest context, angajamentul extremei drepte față de secolul al XIX-lea nu relevă o similitudine autentică, ci mai degrabă o exploatare istorică a unei temei utilizate cu scopul de a se autolegitima și de a ranforsa clivaje existente.

Cuvinte-cheie: Revoluția de la 1848, maternitate, familie, patriotism, pervertire istorică, extrema dreaptă contemporană.

MARIA CHIOREAN

EMOTIONAL EXCESS AND RACIALISATION IN THE 19th-CENTURY ROMANIAN NOVEL[1]

The Roma have been present in the Romanian provinces for many centuries, ever since medieval times[2]. Their history has been shaped and irreversibly determined by centuries of slavery, exploitation, and marginalisation, which still impact their community and their treatment today. So it should come as no surprise that the Roma have also been part of Romanian literary history, serving as the protagonists of the first Romanian epic, *Țiganiada* [*The Gypsiad*] by Ion Budai-Deleanu, written in the early 19th century, and continuing to appear in poetry, dramatic texts, and prose on a fairly regular basis. However, given the history of Roma oppression, it is the *manner* of their representation in fiction that needs studying, especially when working with a corpus of Romanian-language texts written by non-Roma authors whose views on race and ethnicity often reflected the dominant (pseudo)scientific and cultural dogma of their time. Specifically, an analysis informed by critical race theory reveals the ways in which Romanian literature fostered, challenged, or even explicitly addressed the racialisation of Roma bodies, labour, and culture throughout the centuries, creating a network of racist and anti-racist tropes which remain relevant to this day.

In this article, I discuss the nineteenth-century Romanian novel and its depiction of Roma affect. I use the Digital Museum of the Romanian Novel (MDRR1)[3], which contains approximately 90% of all the novels published between 1845 and 1900[4], selecting those texts in which Roma characters express their emotions in response to their circumstances and, in doing so, are given very specific positions and roles in a racialised social hierarchy. Thus, a distant reading of the MDRR1 with a particular focus on the Roma presence inevitably highlights the political nature of affect, which lends itself to oppressive structures of power and emancipatory projects alike. In Ben Anderson and Paul Harrison's words, "it is

[1] This work was funded by the EU's NextGenerationEU instrument through the National Recovery and Resilience Plan of Romania - Pillar III-C9-I8, managed by the Ministry of Research, Innovation and Digitalization, within the project entitled *Networks of (Dis)similarities: The Circulation of Western Romance Literatures in Eastern Europe* (NETSIM), contract no. 760075/23.05.2023, code CF 292/30.11.2022.

[2] Viorel Achim, *The Roma in Romanian History*, Budapest, CEU Press, 2004, p. 13.

[3] Ștefan Baghiu et al., *Muzeul Digital al Romanului Românesc: secolul al XIX-lea* [*The Digital Museum of the Romanian Novel: The 19th Century*], Sibiu, Complexul Național Muzeal ASTRA, 2019.

[4] Andreea Coroian-Goldiș et al., "Arhivele romanului românesc și posibilități de digitizare" ["The Archives of the Romanian Novel and Digitization Possibilities"], *Transilvania*, 2019, 10, p. 4.

often through affect that seemingly entrenched relations are interrupted, changed or solidified"[5]. This is especially true of ethnic or racial prejudice and its naturalisation, which notoriously relies on the dialectic of fear and desire: from Frantz Fanon and Homi Bhabha to Sarah Ahmed and James Thomas, the following analysis of Roma representation draws on theorists who understood the centrality of affect in "the production and maintenance of racial order"[6]. At the same time, while postcolonial studies and critical race theory have shown time and again that systemic oppression depends on and weaponizes the feelings of a dominant class towards a subaltern group – fear and desire, anxiety, hatred, disgust (to name but a few) – the feelings of the oppressed have also been used to prove their supposed subhuman nature, their unpredictability, antisocial behaviour, excessive sexuality, or irreparable backwardness.

The racialisation of affect has long been a double process, in which the Other is cast as both "the 'source' of our feelings"[7] (the cause of racist rage, for instance) *and* as a threat to civilisation and order through their own "improper" or dangerous emotions: the racialised subject is simultaneously punished for their own emotional lives *and* for the emotional reactions of their oppressor. In the following paragraphs, I keep in mind that these two forms of victimisation are mutually constitutive, so that the emotions of a dominant class and the emotions of the marginalised can only be studied together. However, I focus on the depiction of Roma affect, which occurs more rarely and is always ideologically connoted. In the (mostly) short episodes in which Romani characters appear, speak, and convey their feelings, they also confirm or disprove the nineteenth-century hegemonic narrative regarding their humanity (or lack thereof), their presumed inferiority, and their natural rights: as readers, we must pay attention to who is *able* to feel and who is *allowed* to feel in these novels; whose emotions are recorded by the text and consequential to the plot; and, finally, what kind of affects are experienced by the Romani characters as opposed to their Romanian counterparts.

Ethnic Representation in the Novel

In recent years, quantitative analyses of the MDRR1 have shown that approximately 10% of the archived novels have characters belonging to an ethnic minority[8]. Fewer than 90 novels out of 157[9] involve or mention Romani people,

[5] Ben Anderson and Paul Harrison, *Taking-Place: Non-Representational Theories*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2010, pp. 16-17.

[6] According to James M. Thomas, "Affect and the Sociology of Race: A Program for Critical Inquiry", *Ethnicities*, 14, 2014, 1, pp. 73-74, contemporary sociology still lacks "an affective program for the study of race", although postcolonial studies and research into "affective landscapes" have provided a solid foundation for its development.

[7] Sarah Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2014, p. 1.

[8] Vlad Pojoga et al. "Diversitate identitară în romanul românesc (1844–1932)" ["Diversity and Identity in the Romanian Novel (1844–1932)"], *Transilvania*, 2020, 10, p. 35.

with more than 600 occurrences[10] of the word "Gypsy" or its derivatives[11]. While the Roma do represent the second most present category[12], their novelistic depiction does not measure up to the data provided by the 1930 General Census, where 1.5% of the respondents declared they were of Romani origin[13]. We can only speculate about the causes of this low degree of representativity, but one hypothesis has to do with the nation-building function of the novel in the 19th century, as famously discussed by theorists such as Benedict Anderson or Edward Said. Not only does Anderson describe the novel as a "device for the presentation of simultaneity", of instantaneous kinship with the entire body politic of the nation, "moving calendrically through homogenous, empty time"[14], but Said argues that the "monumental" realist novels produced by the European imperial powers enshrined a hegemonic[15], unitary worldview and mapped "otherness" by interpreting it through the lens of imperialism[16].

In the Romanian case, the novel might not have "spoken" for the empire, but the project of nation-building certainly occupied the second half of the 19th century, as did the gradual transition from civic to ethnic nationalism[17]. On the one hand, Romanian Romanticism and the construction of a "national identity" were mutually constitutive phenomena, because, as Paul Cornea writes, "while the ideal of the Enlightenment was a cosmopolitan society in which civilizational unity was more important than cultural differences, the ideal of Romanticism was to unearth and magnify the elements that set human groups apart"[18]. On the other hand, the

[9] Coroian-Goldiș et al., „Arhivele romanului românesc", p. 6.
[10] *Ibidem*, p. 36.
[11] The word "Gypsy" is a pejorative term, employed historically to place the Roma in a subhuman category. In this text, I only use it when quoting nineteenth-century sources, novel fragments, or when explaining my methodology, given that the words "Roma" and "Romani" do not appear in the MDRR1. On the topic of terminology in Roma studies, see Alexandra Oprea and Margareta Matache, "Reclaiming the Narrative: A Critical Assessment of Terminology in the Fight for Roma Rights", in Ismael Cortés Gómez and Markus End (eds.), *Dimensions of Antigypsyism in Europe*, European Network Against Racism and Central Council of German Sinti and Roma, 2019, pp. 276-299.
[12] Pojoga et al. „Diversitate identitară", p. 37.
[13] *Ibidem*, p. 35.
[14] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London & New York, Verso, 2006, pp. 25-26.
[15] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, New York, Vintage Books, 1994, p. 62.
[16] *Ibidem*, p. 23.
[17] Diana Mishkova, "Introduction: Towards a Framework for Studying the Politics of National Peculiarity in the 19th Century", in Diana Mishkova (ed.), *We, the People. Politics of National Peculiarity in Southeastern Europe*, Budapest & New York, CEU Press, 2009, pp. 10-13. See also Balázs Trencsényi, "History and Character: Visions of National Peculiarity in the Romanian Political Discourse of the 19th Century", in Mishkova (ed.), *We, the People*, p. 154.
[18] Paul Cornea, *Originile romantismului românesc. Spiritul public, mișcarea ideilor și literatura între 1780–1840* [*The Origins of the Romanian Romanticism. Public Spirit, Intellectual Trends and Literature Between 1780 and 1840*], București, Cartea Românească, 2008, p. 446. Unless otherwise stated, the quotations are translated into English by the author of this paper.

importation of Western novel subgenres into Romanian literature (the mystery novel, the historical novel, the sentimental novel etc.) also implied the fictional construction of the nation in a manner similar to that theorised by Anderson, with an added focus on ethnicity as a marker of national belonging: given the semi-peripherality of Eastern European states, their national movements were "susceptible to more than just defining the nation in cultural terms", making "inner freedom" and "democratic rule" appear as dependent on "external (irredentist and ethnic) nationalism"[19]. Hence the partial erasure of Romani people from the national struggles portrayed in the novel – from revolutions and uprisings to the process of "modernisation". However, when they do make an appearance, mostly as episodic and nameless characters, their presence and the stereotypes associated with Roma emotion are fundamentally linked to the nineteenth-century vision of nationhood, either reinforcing or challenging it.

Evolutionism, Affect Theory, and the Racialisation of Emotion in the 19th Century

In the second half of the 19th century, as the theory of evolution was gaining momentum and credibility in the international scientific community, it prompted debates (such as the question of monogenesis vs. polygenesis) that also had a significant impact on the understanding of race, racial hierarchies, and the role played by sensation, sensitivity, and emotion in the history of human progress. For instance, in 1867, Charles Darwin conducted a survey regarding the emotional behaviour of non-white people and used the (predictably biased) observations of his scientific correspondents around the world to prove the "universality of the emotions (even among animals)" and to "deliver one more blow to polygenist accounts of human development"[20]. In their turn, ethnologists and biologists such as James Cowles Prichard, Petrus Camper and Cuvier classified the human races based on a ration between sensation and thought, associating children, women, and the "lower" races due to their "sensitive and emotional" nature caused by the development of the senses to the detriment of their mental capacities[21]. Finally, the neo-Lamarckian American school generated a new theory of evolution based on the relationship between sensation and sentiment, in which progress was achieved through the "self-control" of "intelligent selection" and "the faculty of sentiment appeared in the most advanced species and races" as a result of physical impressions[22]. For Edward Drinker Cope and his peers, there was even a hierarchy with refined emotional responses (sentiments) at the top and impulsive emotions,

[19] Mishkova, "Introduction", p. 11.
[20] Zachary Samalin, "Affect Theory's Colonial Sources", *Victorian Studies*, 64, 2022, 4, p. 565.
[21] Richard McMahon, *The Races of Europe: Anthropological Race Classification of Europeans 1839–1939*, Florence, European University Institute, 2007, p. 118.
[22] Kyla C. Schuller, "Taxonomies of Feeling: The Epistemology of Sentimentalism in Late-Nineteenth-Century Racial and Sexual Science", *American Quarterly*, 64, 2012, 2, p. 278.

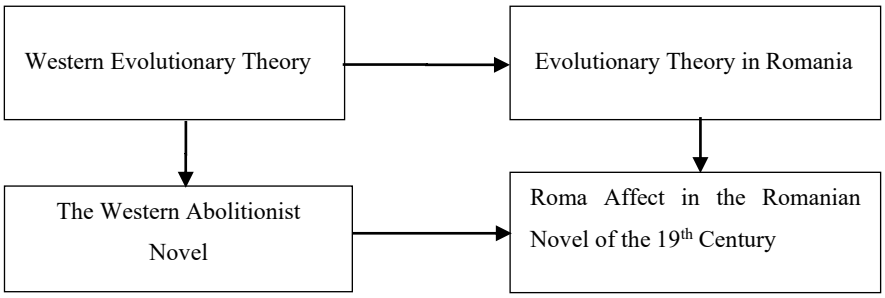
typical of underdeveloped peoples[23] further down. Ultimately, the entire cult of civilisation, "the most ubiquitous ideological justification for empire, for capitalism, and really for any and all forms of modern domination"[24] relied heavily on the racialised interpretation of evolutionism and on a colonial theory of affect that emerged before the turn of the century.

In Romania, the popularisation of science and especially the theory of evolution went hand in hand with "the diffusion of racial classification theories"[25]. As amply documented by Cosmin Koszor-Codrea, the public lectures given at the Romanian Athenaeum in Bucharest by naturalists and intellectuals, as well as the printed versions of these presentations[26] often promoted controversial theories about gender and racial hierarchies based on ideas borrowed from Darwin, Lamarck, Blumenbach, or Cuvier, among others. The "struggle for existence" and "the survival of the fittest" became arguments for racial "amelioration"[27], while pragmatic measures against national "degeneration" were proposed as early as the 1870s by the likes of Mihail Petrini-Galatz[28]. Consequently, by the beginning of the 20th century, scholars such as Victor Babeș and Gheorghe Marinescu would openly discuss the possibility of "perfect races" and the imperative of "the racial betterment of humanity" by practical means[29], paving the way for the interwar eugenic project and its ethno-racial definition of the Romanian nation[30]. Racial thinking eventually permeated all fields of knowledge and discourse, and literature was no exception. Not only was the national body politic often represented as homogenous, excluding other ethnicities or casting them in minor, peripheral roles, but literary and cultural criticism also metabolised the evolutionary model and its racial logic. For example, Titu Maiorescu, arguably the most important Romanian critic of the 19th century, gave lectures invoking Darwin's work and Paul Broca's craniometric theory to prove that an underdeveloped nation can be recognised by its lesser cranial capacity[31]. As Teodora Dumitru recently wrote, he also criticised the use of diminutives in poetry, considering them to be a "disgusting" practice and "a form of 'linguistic decadence' and, at the same time, of ethnic corruption"

[23] *Ibidem*, p. 282.
[24] Samalin, "Affect Theory", p. 562.
[25] Cosmin Koszor-Codrea, "Authorities of Erudition: Reshaping the Categories of Race and Gender in Romania, 1850–1900", *Revista de Antropologie Urbana*, VIII, 2020, 15, p. 17.
[26] *Ibidem*, p. 20.
[27] Cosmin Koszor-Codrea, *The Word of Science: Popularising Darwinism in Romania, 1859–1918*, Diss. Oxford Brookes University, 2021, p. 134.
[28] Koszor-Codrea, "Authorities of Erudition", p. 21.
[29] Koszor-Codrea, *The Word of Science*, p. 160.
[30] Marius Turda, "The Nation as Object: Race, Blood, and Biopolitics in Interwar Romania", *Slavic Review*, 66, 2007, 3, p. 415.
[31] Koszor-Codrea, "Authorities of Erudition", pp. 22-23.

associated with the Roma[32]. Likewise, Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea's theory of the genius casually presented the artist as a superior human being in the same sense that "the white race is superior" to other races through "cognitive development"[33].

In this article, I argue that, as Romanian scientific and racial thought was increasingly impacted by Western evolutionism, the ethnic landscape of the nineteenth-century novel also incorporated the local understanding of race. This contamination was caused by the authors often being involved in politics, activism, or the management of cultural institutions (e.g., V.A. Urechia was a co-founder of the Athenaeum), as well as by the adoption of evolutionism in literary criticism and historiography. At the same time, however, the Romanian novel was being shaped by a specifically literary epistemology, namely the ideological configuration and the racialised worldview of American and British abolitionist narratives. Not only were they directly informed by evolutionist theories[34] and racial thinking[35], but, as will become apparent in the following sections, their translation into Romanian[36] and the spreading of Western abolitionist ideas are likely to have influenced the local novelistic depiction of Romani characters and their affective lives:



[32] Teodora Dumitru, "About the Mechanistic-Scientist Origins of the First Theory of Poetry in the History of Romanian Literature: The Influence of Schopenhauer and Herbart on Titu Maiorescu", in Maria Sass, Ovio Olaru, Andrei Terian (eds.), *The German Model in Romanian Culture*, Berlin, Peter Lang, 2023, p. 47.

[33] Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea, "Tendenționismul și tezismul în artă" ["The Role of Tendency and Thesis in Art"], in *Studii critice* [*Critical Approaches*], vol. I. Edited by George Ivașcu, București, Editura pentru Literatură, 1967, p. 120.

[34] See Kyla Schuler's work on the connection between sentimentalism and biopolitics: "The Biology of Intimacy: Lamarckian Evolution and the Sentimental Novel", *American Literature*, 92, 2020, 3, pp. 457-484.

[35] Josephine Donovan, "A Source for Stowe's Ideas on Race in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*", *NWSA Journal*, 7, 1995, 3, pp. 24-34; Arthur Riss, "Racial Essentialism and Family Values in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*", *American Quarterly*, 46, 1994, 4, pp. 513-544.

[36] See Ștefan Baghiu, "Translations of Novels in the Romanian Culture during the Long Nineteenth Century (1794–1914): A Quantitative Perspective", *Metacritic Journal for Comparative Studies and Theory*, 6, 2020, 6, pp. 101-102.

Corpus Selection and Findings

For the purpose of this analysis of Roma affect, I propose a simple distant reading of the Romanian novels published between 1845 and 1900, conducting complex word searches in the MDRR1 to identify the episodes involving Romani characters. Given that the nineteenth-century vocabulary regarding the Roma was generally comprised of pejorative terms, my search focused on the following words: "țigan" (Gypsy) with its variants ("țigani", "țigancă", "țigănesc", "țigănuș/ țigăncușă", "țigănie" etc.); "șatră" and "lae" (a group of Roma living together, usually as nomads or in temporary settlements), "lăutar" (a musician who was not classically trained and who plays traditional instruments and songs at weddings, village dances, etc.) with its variants (the plural "lăutari"); finally, pejorative terms such as "baragladină" (a possible reference to "being hungry"), "aramină" (thief), "băhanie" (ugly person/creature), "gașper" (a possible reference to the Christian tradition of the three wise men from the Orient), "faraon" (pharaoh), "balaur" (dragon), "cioară" or "cioroi" (crow). Fewer than 5 novels included the first 5 ethnophaulisms, 6 included the term "balaur" (especially N.D. Popescu's outlaw novels), and 9 used the term "cioară". Fewer than 5 novels name a group of Roma "șatră" or "lae", and 58 novels mention "lăutari". While only a dozen of these present the musicians as Roma, it is a well-known fact that "lăutari" were and still are "Romani performers who have long monopolized traditional music-making, especially for Romanian society" and who were originally enslaved in Wallachia and Moldavia.[37] The search for the term "țigan" and its derivatives rendered the highest number of results: 85 novels and 644 occurrences. Only a few of these turned out to be references to placenames ("Țigănești") or were misidentified because of the transition alphabet.

After this initial phase, a second selection process involved choosing those episodes which portray the Roma expressing emotions. As a result, the actual corpus of the analysis is much slimmer: out of over 100 novels identified through complex lexical searches, only 38 remain, published between 1855 (*Manoil* by Dimitrie Bolintineanu) and 1895 (*Iubita* [*The Beloved*] by Traian Demetrescu). The discrepancy is noticeable: less than half of the novels mentioning Romani people show them as capable of feeling and acting on their feelings, i.e., less than 25% of the 157 novels in the MDRR1. For example, in Nicolae Filimon's *Ciocoii vechi și noi* [*Upstarts Old and New*] from 1862 there are 31 occurrences of "țigan" and its

[37] Margaret Beissinger, "'Lăutar Space': Marriage, Weddings, and Identity among Romani Musicians in Romania", *Martor*, 2020, 25, p. 97. Also, see Mihail Kogălniceanu's speech given at the Romanian Academy in 1891 ("Dezrobirea țiganilor, ștergerea privilegiilor boierești, emanciparea țăranilor" ["The Liberation of the Gypsies, the Abolition of the Boyars' Privileges, and the Emancipation of the Peasants"], in *Scrieri literare, istorice, politice* [*Literary, Historical, Political Wirtings*]. Edited by Geo Șerban, București, Editura Tineretului, 1967, p. 249): "The rich boyars even had music rooms and ensembles of lăutari. All these functions were fulfilled by the Gypsies".

derivatives. However, the Roma who appear in the story have marginal roles, being addressed rather than speaking and being the object of white affect rather than expressing their own emotions. Especially in those scenes where the Roma are attacked and abused, the absence of any emotional response is conspicuous. In Filimon's novel, when a Romani man is treated poorly, yelled at, and called a "crow", he simply "retreats", whereas the master is described as "upset"[38]: elsewhere in the book, an old Romani woman is threatened by a character described as angry and impatient, but she has no reaction whatsoever[39]. Similar narrative choices are made in Ionu C. Panțu's 1890 *Liniștea casei* [*Domestic Peace*][40] and in N.D. Popescu's 1893 *Radu Anghel*[41], with the narrative voice recording the emotions of the abusive master but not the victim's. As for the 38 novels that did make the list, their Romani characters are, with very few exceptions (such as V.A. Urechia's 1855 *Coliba Măriucăi* [*Măriuca's Hut*] or Ioan M. Bujoreanu's 1862 *Mistere din București* [*Mysteries of Bucharest*]), episodic: they are often nameless and silent, they sometimes appear as a collective character rather than as individuals, and their actions rarely influence the plot itself. It comes as no surprise that their *emotions* seem to matter just as little.

But there is more to this erasure. In Wallachia and Moldavia, the Roma were enslaved and exploited for five centuries, from the fourteenth century to their emancipation in 1856. They were turned into a dependent, economically vulnerable and "subaltern" population, as defined by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: people "whose identity is their difference"[42] and who, as victims of political and economic marginalisation, as well as "epistemic violence"[43], are not allowed any agency or self-representation; they are mere "pointer[s] to an irretrievable consciousness"[44] which gets lost in the utterances of the dominant class. In the Romanian case, the delayed manifestation of Roma agency means that, in the 19th century, even the abolitionist discourse belonged to a white, Romanian majority speaking in the name of those supposedly "lacking" group consciousness. When it comes to the novel, the absence of Roma affect from the vast majority of nineteenth-century narratives implies either a racial hierarchy, in which the Roma are incapable of experiencing emotion (or at least complex, refined emotions), or the irrelevance of their affective lives. The latter interpretation tells a clearly ethnocentric story of

---

[38] N. Filimon, *Ciocoii vechi și noi. Roman social* [*Upstarts Old and New*] (1862). Interpreted by George Baiculescu, Craiova, Scrisul Românesc, 1934, p. 51. All the novels referenced in this text are included in the MDRR1 archive, cited above.
[39] *Ibidem*, p. 223.
[40] Ionu C. Panțu, *Liniștea casei* [*Domestic Peace*], Brașov, Tipografia A. Mureșianu, 1890, p. 157.
[41] N.D. Popescu, *Radu Anghel*, Brașov, Editura Librăriei Ciurcu, 1893, p. 57.
[42] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?", in Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (eds.), *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory. A Reader*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1994, p. 80.
[43] *Ibidem*, p. 78.
[44] *Ibidem*, p. 82.

literary nation-building: the novel might help construct a homogenous temporality and a sociological organism akin to the nation, as Anderson believed, but the Roma are certainly not seen as part of the process of national becoming, as recorded or even enacted by the Romanian novel.

What Do the Roma Feel? Part I: Anger and Violence

When Roma affect does get a mention, there are a few recurring tropes which dominate its depiction: the Roma proclivity for *violence*, coupled with anger, blood lust, and lack of self-control (in at least 15 out of 38 novels); the loud, disruptive presence of Romani people, who express their emotions by *whining* and *complaining* (in more than 20 novels); finally, their submissive behaviour (in more than a dozen novels) or even *affectionate loyalty and gratitude* towards the white master (in 10 out of 38 novels).

To begin with, most episodes of physical violence perpetrated by the Roma are noticeably devoid of any heroism or idealism: the Roma are described as "devils" and are the first to start a fight[45]; a "Black Gypsy man" has his drink stolen and reacts violently[46], just like the majority of the Roma attacking a random Romanian man who enters their camp[47]; a couple walking in a public garden meets with a group of Romani labourers who "raise their clubs to strike us" for no apparent reason[48]; when a Romani woman is left by her Romanian lover, "her anger fires up and her savage nature shows itself with all its might" as she tries to stab him to death[49]. Similarly, the outlaw Fulger in one of Ilie Ighel's novels is the opposite of a selfless Robin Hood, being portrayed as casually cruel and depraved[50]. Even when the initiative belongs to someone else, the Roma are chosen as the perfect perpetrators of any crime, being tasked with organising an uprising in which the children of the master's family are beaten to death and the mistress is abused. Although they appear as nameless instruments used by the Romanian protagonist, at no point do they question their mission[51]. At the same time, the tension between violence and cowardice governs the behaviour of several Romani characters: some refrain from attacking their interlocutors because they are afraid (eyeing their weapons[52], changing their minds and being mocked for it[53]) or wait until the

[45] Al. Pelimon, *Jidovul cămătar* [*The Jewish Moneylender*], București, Tip. Stephan Rassidescu, 1863, p. 45.
[46] Th. Myller, *În Iassy* [*In Iassy*], București, Tip. Ioanovici, 1871, p. 18
[47] Iacob Negruzzi, *Mihai Vereanu*, Iași, Tipografia Națională, 1873, pp. 373-374.
[48] N.D. Popescu, *Amasoana de la Rachova* [*The Amazonian Woman from Rachova*], București, Tipografia Frații Ioanițiu, 1879, p. 29.
[49] N.D. Xenopol, *Brazi și putregaiu* [*Fir Trees and Rot*], București, Leon Alcalay, 1880, p. 164.
[50] Ilie Ighel, *Tâlharul Fulger* [*The Outlaw Fulger*], București, Editura Librăriei H. Steinberg, 1892, p. 112.
[51] E. Schwarzfeld, *Gângavul* [*The Stammerer*], București, Tipografia ziarului *Egalitatea*, 1895, p. 141.
[52] Gr. Grandea, *Vlăsia sau ciocoii noi* [*Vlăsia or the New Upstarts*], București, Tipografia Govora, 1887, p. 254.

situation is no longer dangerous (e.g., Stoica the Roma attacking Scatiu's dead body in *Tănase Scatiu*[54]); conversely, the unnamed Romani man in Panait Macri's *Crima misterioasă din Calea Mogoșoaiei* [*The Mysterious Murder in the Calea Mogoșoaiei Boulevard*] agrees to carry out a murder after being threatened and coerced[55]. Throughout these novels, Roma anger and aggression are taken for granted as natural phenomena and instinctual responses, relegating an entire ethnicity to an intermediary evolutionary stage between animality and (civilised) humanity[56]. Nowhere is this as striking as in the case of characters who are otherwise described as cunning and calculated, such as Gheorghe, the "terrifying Gypsy" from *In Iassy.* The fact that a skilled manipulator is the victim of his own passions and violent outbursts brings to mind Homi Bhabha's definition of the stereotype as necessarily contradictory[57] and confirms the ideological role of racialised emotion. In these episodes, not only is Roma violence rarely explained or contextualised, but it is also used as a pretext, having no influence on the actual trajectory of the characters involved. For example, the mob attack in *Amasoana de la Rachova* gives the white hero the opportunity to prove his bravery in front of a young woman[58]. Moreover, it is the same assumption that the Roma are naturally inclined to commit violent acts that seems to justify their labour as executioners. In those novels which deploy multiple racist clichés, such as B.P. Hasdeu's 1864 *Ursita* [*Fate*], Romani executioners do not even shy away from killing other Roma[59].

The most important implication of this emotional landscape, in which the Roma appear as unable to control their violent impulses, is that they are the chaotic and destructive elements of a society trying to find cohesion and a stable national identity. Thus, a significant number of nineteenth-century Romanian novels replicate both the Orientalist worldview according to which non-white populations are incapable of self-governance and need to be taught self-control and good

---

[53] Duiliu Zamfirescu, *Viața la țară* [*Love in the Countryside*], București, Carol Müller, 1898, pp. 193-194.
[54] Duiliu Zamfirescu, *Tănase Scatiu*, București, Alcalay, 1895, p. 159.
[55] Panait Macri, *Crima misterioasă din Calea Mogoșoaiei* [*The Mysterious Murder in the Calea Mogoșoaiei Boulevard*], București, Editura Librăriei H. Steinberg, 1893, pp. 43-48.
[56] In his analysis of Liviu Rebreanu's 1920 canonical novel, *Ion*, Andrei Terian shows that, in the universe of the Transylvanian village, the Roma, the Jews, and the disabled are all part of "inferior humanity" and can never gain a better social condition. See Andrei Terian, "Oameni, câini și alte dobitoace: O lectură pseudo-darwinistă a romanului *Ion* de Liviu Rebreanu" ["Men, Dogs and Other Beasts: A Pseudo-Darwinian Reading of Liviu Rebreanu's *Ion*"], *Transilvania*, 2018, 11-12, p. 20.
[57] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, London & New York, Routledge, 2004, p. 100: "I suggest, in a very preliminary way, that the stereotype is a complex, ambivalent, contradictory mode of representation, as anxious as it is assertive".
[58] Popescu, *Amasoana*, p. 29.
[59] B.P. Hasdeu, *Ursita* [*Fate*]. With a preface by Iuliu Dragomirescu, București, Minerva, 1910, p. 184. By contrast, the Romani executioner in N.D. Popescu's 1872 *Bujor haiducul* [*Bujor the Outlaw*] (București, Editura Librăriei H. Steinberg) ends up taking pity on his victim and tries to spare his life (pp. 115-117).

measure[60], and at the same time the Balkanist stereotypes which are used against the Roma to this day[61]: the notion that, as an exotic, untamed, excessively emotional group (similar to the dangerously "hybrid" Balkan peoples), the Roma are the internal Other whose backwardness threatens the Romanian project of modernisation[62]. The racialising clichés associated with the Roma are clearly not particular to the nineteenth-century novel but travel far and wide across national borders and historical periods. However, what stands out in this corpus is the almost total disconnect between the so-called "proclivity" for violence identified with the Roma and their socioeconomic situation at the time, namely their enslavement and the extremely precarious conditions in which they lived after their emancipation. While the Roma do appear as lowly servants and "robi" (a euphemism for "slaves") in Romanian fiction, their violent acts are almost never the result of rebellion or organised resistance; rather, they are the consequence of individual and rudimentary emotions such as anger, cruelty, or seemingly unmotivated hatred. This is because, as Albert Memmi has written, fear of black violence shapes the hegemonic worldview, causing the demonization of any violent form of contestation or protest: "Even in Europe, very few people admitted that the oppression of the colonized was so great, the disproportion of forces so overwhelming, that they had reached the point, whether morally correct or not, of using violent means voluntarily"[63]. The same can be said about the Romanian novelists writing about enslaved or disenfranchised Romani people and proving incapable of imagining their violence as anything other than the instinct of an unevolved population.

This is especially visible in two of the volumes in the corpus, Bujoreanu's 1862 *Mistere din București* (a sensation novel) and Ighel's 1892 *Tâlharul Fulger* (an outlaw novel), which have Romani and half-Romani protagonists, respectively. These characters are the authors of atrocious crimes throughout the story: Neagu Bolboacă is a determined parvenu, willing to do anything to become rich and powerful (including the murder of his lover's husband, a kidnapping, rape, manipulation that leads to filicide etc.), whereas Fulger tries to abuse his master's daughter and becomes an outlaw who relishes violence and revenge. Both men are presented as naturally predisposed to cruelty and perversion. Bolboacă is described

[60] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, London, Penguin, 1977, pp. 32-34, 107.
[61] Carol Silverman, "Music, Emotion, and the 'Other'. Balkan Roma and the Negotiation of Exoticism", in Mark D. Steinberg and Valeria Sobol (eds.), *Interpreting Emotions in Russia and Eastern Europe*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2011, p. 246: "In the Balkans the association of Roma (Gypsies) with emotion is demonstrated via a set of common stereotypes linking them to passion, sexuality, wildness, and violence".
[62] Alina Haliliuc, "Manele Music and the Discourse of Balkanism in Romania", *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 2015, 8, p. 291.
[63] Alberti Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1967, p. 30.

as a "miserable Gypsy" characterised by "Satanic greed"[64], he is shown stealing from his own family as a reflex action and never experiences guilt or pity, unlike his Romanian master, who is equally murderous but plagued by doubt. Fulger, too, is constantly possessed by "extraordinary passions"[65], including erotic desires which transcend his social standing: "His blood boiled, it boiled like lava in a volcano"[66] but "his *soul* was incapable of a pure love"[67]. In many ways, he is the product of a white fascination with black masculinity and power, described by Fanon as "the civilized white man retain[ing] an irrational longing for unusual eras of sexual license" and as the projection of "his own desires onto the Negro"[68]. Despite his eventual conversion to Christianity (after going on a killing spree) and his involvement in the 1848 Revolution, Fulger, just like the unapologetic Bolboacă, is a monstrous, sadistic figure. In part, these "villains" are imagined in accordance with the conventions of the novel subgenres they inhabit. As the protagonist of an outlaw novel, Fulger is a half-Romanian man whose corrupted, hybrid, evil nature is ultimately purified through religion (as an Orthodox monk) and extreme patriotism (putting his life on the line for the revolutionary cause). Not only does his biography contribute to the national role of the genre, which made it so popular at the time[69], but it also illustrates the process of the Roma's absorption into a Romanian body politic which sanctifies even the most barbaric criminals. In Bolboacă's case, his complete lack of self-reflexivity or morality makes him the perfect antagonist of a sensation novel meant to elicit extreme emotions from the reader (dread, surprise, outrage, pity, and so on). After all, using racial Others to embody danger, monstrosity and antisocial chaos was a transnational literary strategy in the 19th century, typical of Victorian fiction as well[70].

As Patrick Brantlinger points out, these sensation novels were more "democratic", in that they had "low" origins and a mixed audience[71], but "crime and evil emanate[d] from below"[72] and race was often used as a key component of

---

[64] Ioan M. Bujoreanu, *Mistere din București* [*Mysteries of Bucharest*], București, Editura N. Cernovodeanu, 1862, pp. 45-46.
[65] Ighel, *Tâlharul Fulger*, p. 62.
[66] *Ibidem*, p. 60.
[67] *Ibidem*, p. 63, my emphasis.
[68] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*. Transl. by Charles Lam Markmann, London, Pluto Press, 2008, p. 127.
[69] Andrei Terian et al., "Genurile romanului românesc în secolul al XIX-lea. O analiză cantitativă" ["The Genres of the 19th Century Romanian Novel. A Quantitative Analysis"], *Transilvania*, 2019, 10, p. 18.
[70] For an explanation of the combined importance of elite and popular culture in semi-peripheral literatures, see Benedikts Kalnačs, "The Historical Contexts and Aesthetic Self-Reflexiveness of Nineteenth-Century Latvian Literary", *Dacoromania litteraria*, 2025, 12, pp. 135-154.
[71] Patrick Brantlinger, "Class and Race in Sensation Fiction", in Pamela K. Gilbert (ed.), *A Companion to Sensation Fiction*, Malden, Wiley-Blackwell, 2011, pp. 431-432.
[72] *Ibidem*, p. 434.

sensationalism, even when it was relativised[73]. Moreover, since these stories focused primarily on social underdogs whose trajectories were often scandalous (from mixed-race characters to "fallen" women), their presence and involvement in the plot often challenged and changed the understanding of social and national identities, as well[74]. Therefore, Neagu Bolboacă and Fulger perform necessary functions for the importation of new novel subgenres into Romanian literature, embodying both the fast pace of social change (the emergence of new social classes, class struggle, Roma slavery being contested and abolished etc.) and the anxieties of the dominant ethnicity[75]. In the process of their demonization and through their complicated relationship with the Romanian national identity, their affective impulses are further racialised as incompatible with social progress or any noble ideals.

What Do the Roma Feel? Part II: (Performative) Self-Pity and Social Disruption

Another stereotype which gets ample representation in our corpus is that of Roma being constantly displeased and expressing their pain, grief, or discontent in very visible and audible ways[76]: crying, begging, humbling themselves in front of more powerful social groups, performing their self-pity and, all the while, disrupting the plot of these novels, interrupting the characters' trajectory and pursuing their own interests. On the one hand, the insistent depiction of Roma *whining* reproduces the hierarchy between the class of the white, independent, authoritative Romanians (especially boyars and slaveholders) and the racialised, dependent, powerless Roma who must renounce their own dignity simply to survive in a hostile environment. A Romani woman is sent by her Romanian master to cause a scene by revealing that someone's lover is of Romani origin[77]; in another novel, when four Romani men (including a child) are to be tortured and executed, their leader pleads with the authorities and even asks them to execute the child first[78]; although

[73] *Ibidem*, pp. 439-440.
[74] Lyn Pykett, *The Nineteenth Century Sensation Novel*, Tavistock, Northcote, 2011, p. 18.
[75] In Anindita Bhaumik's words, "Victorian preoccupation with the 'others' can be interpreted as an attempt to recognise and assert the superiority of the dominant collective 'self'", with some Victorian novelists channelling *and* interrogating this preoccupation. See "Beyond the Conceptual Peripheries of Race: A Study of the 'Racial Others' in Wilkie Collins's Sensation Fiction", *Middle Flight*, 6, 2017, 1, p. 33.
[76] Based on data provided by the Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities, Tamás Kiss has shown that, when it comes to the Roma, "attributes such as lazy, backward, stinking, and filthy" are frequently used by Romanian people, alongside "slyness, sanguine temperament, verbosity, and loudness", which "associate the Roma also with the Balkan mentality". See "Escaping the 'Balkanizing' Gaze? Perceptions of Global and Internal Developmental Hierarchies in Romania", *East European Politics and Societies*, 31, 2017, 3, p. 583.
[77] Dimitrie Bolintineanu, *Elena* (1862), in *Manoil – Elena*. Preface by T. Vârgolici, Buc., Editura pentru Literatură, 1971, pp. 164, 249.
[78] Hasdeu, *Ursita*, p. 184.

he refuses to renounce his (white) master when being tortured, an old Romani man is shown crying "like a woman"[79]; an old Romani woman who begs the Romanian protagonist not to pursue a love she knows to be cursed falls to her knees, hugs his feet, cries and screams[80].

The list could go on, because the "spectacle" of Romani people begging for food and medicine, writhing in the hands of their captors or lamenting their miserable situation appears in multiple novels published in the second half of the 19th century[81]. Whether they are depicted as pitiful or despicable, these characters are clearly meant to be read as inferior and weak, in contrast with the Romanian heroes forging their own destinies. Moreover, their public display of emotions such as fear, pain, and despair is also often articulated with the cliché of Roma irrationality, especially in the case of Romani women working as fortune tellers. For example, Neacșa from Iacob Negruzzi's *Mihai Vereanu* expresses her affection for a man she has known since his childhood, but her love for him is tainted by her magical worldview[82]; yet another fortune teller is described as "she kept opening her mouth wide and articulating senseless words, inspired and rabid, as if she had consulted the spirits of hell"[83]. At the same time, this focus on the performance[84] of emotion by Romani characters often implies that they are only able to experience shallow, short-lived, or selfish affects, which reaffirms their underdevelopment and the "notion of race as a relative account of the body's affective capacity"[85].

The prime example in this sense is an episode in Ionu C. Panțu's 1887 *Logofetulu Mateiu*, when a Romani woman is struck to the ground by a boyar but immediately starts laughing with delight once she is given some money[86]. To quote Samalin, "nineteenth-century elaborations of civilization often were remnants of

---

[79] N.D. Popescu, *Iancu Jianul, căpitanul de haiduci* [*Iancu Jianu, Captain of the Hajduks*], București, Editura Librăriei H. Steinberg, 1873, p. 156.
[80] Negruzzi, *Mihai Vereanu*, p. 501.
[81] See Grandea, *Vlăsia*, p. 254; Ionu C. Panțu, *Logofetulu* Mateiu, Brașov, Tipografia Alexi, 1887, pp. 7, 22; Panait Macri, *Ioan tunsu căpitan de haiduci* [*Ioan Tunsu, Captain of Hajduks*], București, Cultura Românească, 1887, p. 39; Popescu, *Radu Anghel*, p. 108; Ioan Costin, *Moara din Șișești* [*The Mill of Șișești*], Baia Mare, Tipografia lui Mihail Molnár, 1894, pp. 184-185 (including long monologues meant to show the insistence of the Roma); Petre Vulcan, *Dragomir*, Craiova, Tipografia David J. Benvenisti, 1895, p. 13; Simeon Bălănescu, *Sfârșitul blestemului* [*The End of the Curse*], București, Tipografia Gutenberg Joseph Göbl, 1895, p. 75; Duiliu Zamfirescu, *Tănase Scatiu*, București, Alcalay, 1907, pp. 91, 143; Duiliu Zamfirescu, *În război* [*During the War*], București, Tipografia Clemența, 1902, p. 117.
[82] Negruzzi, *Mihai Vereanu,* p. 500.
[83] Al. Pelimon, *Un funcționar sinucis. Fratele și sora* [*A Clerk Who Committed Suicide. The Brother and the Sister*], București, Tipografia Națională C.N. Rădulescu, 1873, p. 172.
[84] The only novel which highlights the "sincerity" of Roma affect mentions the Romani musicians' good wishes for a Romanian man, shifting the focus from their emotions to the object of their affection. Ilie Demetrescu, *Ea și el* [*Him and Her*], București, Tipografia și Fonderia de Litere Thoma Basilescu,1898, p. 86.
[85] Schuller, "Taxonomies of Feeling", p. 282.
[86] Panțu, *Logofetulu Mateiu*, p. 67.

the Enlightenment project of stadial universal history" in which irrationality and rudimentary emotions placed racialised populations in an inferior position and justified their domination[87].

What Do the Roma Feel? Part III: Exceptional Roma, Submission, and Loyalty

In response to the white fear of "black violence" and in conjunction with the stereotype of Roma "whining", many of the novels in the corpus present the Roma as submissive and passive. In this representational pattern, negative and selfish emotions such as fear, pain, grief, and despair appear as overwhelming and overshadow any possible ideal of self-determination or personal dignity. However, an even more striking form of submission is that of Roma being heroically loyal to their masters. These exceptional characters, whose morality and superior affects (devotion, bravery, patriotism) seem to derive directly from the relationship with a "white saviour", prove their self-sacrificial love by ignoring their own pain to care for their "Lord"[88] or even dying to protect the slaveholder[89].

Significantly, they are also the only Roma capable of what Cope and his peers called "sympathy", the unique and evolved quality which orients the human being towards the future and social good rather than an impulse reaction or their own survival: "those who possessed it could overcome the threats inherent in the impressible body, for sympathy allowed them to transform others' suffering into opportunities for personal growth, rather than possibilities of degeneration"[90]. The Roma who love their masters show self-restraint in their grief (unlike the Roma clamouring for freedom or help)[91] and only use violence for noble, patriotic purposes such as a national revolution[92]. However, their displays of affection and candour towards the master are still infantilised (crying, superstitious fears[93], emotional overflow[94], none of which characterising the white heroes), assimilated to childish or womanly behaviour[95] and, with very few exceptions (e.g., V.A. Urechia's *Coliba Măriucăi*), reserved for the master rather than other Romani people. Some of these instances of gratitude and devotion to a boyar or another

[87] Samalin, "Affect Theory", p. 563.
[88] N.D. Popescu, *Iancu Jianu, zapciu de plasă* [*Iancu Jianu, District Constable*], Brașov, Editura Librăriei Ciurcu, 1887, pp. 61-62.
[89] Popescu, *Radu Anghel*, p. 111.
[90] Kyla Schuller, "Taxonomies of Feeling", p. 288.
[91] Popescu, *Iancu Jianul, căpitanul de haiduci*, p. 99.
[92] A Romani man with "burning eyes" and "eyes swimming in blood" is prepared to "help" the revolution. Al. Pelimon, *Revoluțiunea română din anul 1848 – Mușătoiul* [*The Romanian Revolution in 1848 – Mușătoiul*], București, Tipografia Th. Michaiescu și Vaidescu, 1868, p. 134.
[93] Popescu, *Iancu Jianu, zapciu de plasă*, pp. 110-111.
[94] Alexandru Vlahuță, *Dan* (1894), București, Cartea Românească, 1938, pp. 124-125.
[95] Alexandru Antemireanu, *Din vremea lui căpitan Costache* [*From the Life of Captain Costache*] (1898). Edition and preface by Apriliana Medianu, București, Tipografia Universul, 1937, p. 146.

figure of authority even ensue as a result of abuse and brutality against the Roma[96], suggesting that Roma loyalty might be an organic response rather than a conscious choice. In other words, even attachment to one's master is sometimes depicted as mere submission (out of fear and self-preservation), being downgraded to a more rudimentary affective pattern. Thus, the nineteenth-century Romanian novel showcases what Erin Dwyer calls the "emotional politics of slavery"[97], i.e., an affective regime in which the master aims to own, control, and police the emotions of the oppressed, forcing them to navigate their own emotional landscape in relation to those in power and their expectations[98]. However, while Dwyer's concept refers to the complicated emotional bond between master and slave (based on mutual surveillance and influence), showing that "those in bondage used feelings to resist and survive slavery"[99], the Romanian novel prioritises the use of Roma emotion as a coping mechanism (through public displays of grief, submission, loyalty, even affection toward the master) rather than any example of Roma resistance. Not only does the corpus include no instance of slave rebellion, unless in the name of a specifically *Romanian* cause[100], but all the other violent acts perpetrated by the Roma (either randomly, collectively, and instinctively, or in the strategic, devious manner of Bujoreanu's protagonist) are presented as self-interested, destructive, and antisocial, without ever being correlated with the dire situation of the Roma and their prolonged oppression.

In short, the affective regime of the Romanian novel exclusively highlights the role of emotion in the negotiation of Roma subalternity and survival within a fixed system of oppression. Paying little to no attention to the agentive value of emotion, it reinforces a hierarchical and racialised worldview according to which even the project of Roma emancipation belongs to the white majority.

What Do the Roma Feel? Part IV: Abolitionist Prose Exposing Slave Suffering

This brings me to the final category of novels presenting Roma affect, namely two narratives with an abolitionist agenda – V.A. Urechia's *Coliba Măriucăi*, inspired by Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Toms's Cabin*, and Al. Pelimon's *Revoluțiunea română din anul 1848 – Mușătoiul* [*The Romanian Revolution in 1848 – Mușătoiul*] – which nevertheless perpetuate the trope of Roma passivity and the cliché of the Romanian heroes fighting for a minority that cannot emancipate itself.

---

[96] *Ibidem*, p. 35: When an army captain insults the Romani musicians and calls them "crows", they respond fearfully and humbly by "kissing his hands".

[97] Erin Dwyer, *Mastering Emotions: The Emotional Politics of Slavery*, Doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 2012, p. 6.

[98] *Ibidem*, pp. 8-12.

[99] *Ibidem*, p. 6.

[100] Literary representation thus contradicts the historical reality of Roma agency and activism. See Adrian-Nicolae Furtună, Anca Parvulescu, and Manuela Boatcă, "Three Documents from the Archive of Roma Enslavement", *PMLA*, 139, 2024, 5, pp. 872-876.

The moralising narrators of the two novels uphold anti-slavery beliefs, explicitly condemning the boyars' hypocrisy (teaching their children the values of the French Enlightenment while torturing the Romani slaves[101]) and presenting abolition as the greatest achievement of the 19th century[102]. But they also describe the Roma as exceptionally forgiving, docile, and loyal, implicitly reassuring the white reader that Roma emancipation would contribute to the process of Romanian nation-building rather than posing a threat. Just like Beecher Stowe in her famous abolitionist story[103], Urechia and Pelimon highlight the patience of the Roma, their gentleness and delicacy when raising white children, their obedience in spite of the sorrows of slavery (e.g., Romani women do not protest when their children are sold, even though it brings them great sadness[104]), i.e., the Christian profile[105] which prevents them from becoming vengeful revolutionaries seeking reparations from their oppressors[106].

On the one hand, Urechia uses the detailed depiction of slave suffering – the protagonist Vasile being unfairly punished, his mother dying alone – to the same end as Beecher Stowe and other American and British abolitionists: to prove the slaves' ability to feel pain, grief, and love, rehumanising them in the eyes of the public and using "indignation" or "moral outrage" to make anti-slavery attitudes commonplace and commonsense[107]. So, even though these melodramatic episodes risk fetishizing Roma pain (both physical and emotional) and struggle against the affective limits of language[108], they are nevertheless meant to cause sympathy for the suffering body, which "intimates the possibility of responding to other bodies as singular entities, that is, in a non-conceptual way that does not reduce their otherness"[109].

On the other hand, while positing the "emotional equality" of all human beings, which animated the abolitionist struggle in America and Britain long before

---

[101] V.A. Urechia, *Coliba Măriucăi* [*Măriuca's Hut*] (1855), in *Opere complete* [*Complete Works*], București, Tipografia Göbl, 1883, p. 188.
[102] Pelimon, *Revoluțiunea,* p. 113.
[103] See Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin. A Tale of Life among the Lowly*, London, G. Routledge, 1853, p. 121: "Their gentleness, their lowly docility of heart, their aptitude to repose on a superior mind and rest on a higher power, their childlike simplicity of affection, and facility of forgiveness".
[104] Pelimon, *Revoluțiunea,* p. 114.
[105] Urechia, *Coliba*, p. 179.
[106] For a discussion of Urechia's collaborative work with Marie Boucher and its ideological implications, see Cătălina Stanislav, "Hardly a Room of One's Own. Gender and Collaborative Writing in the Prewar Romanian Novel", *Dacoromania litteraria*, 2025, 12, pp. 218-238.
[107] Michael E. Woods, "A Theory of Moral Outrage: Indignation and Eighteenth-century British Abolitionism", *Slavery & Abolition*, 36, 2015, 4, pp. 676-677.
[108] See Mike Marais, "Violence, Postcolonial Fiction, and the Limits of Sympathy", *Studies in the Novel*, 43, 2011, 1, p. 95: "For sympathy to gain ethical potential, writers must recognize and negotiate the tension between body and the language that informs it".
[109] *Ibidem*, pp. 94-95.

the 1850s[110], Urechia, Pelimon and the other novelists who depict the Roma as capable of noble emotions (such as affection and devotion) still view emancipation as the project of Romanian intellectuals. Despite the Roma being allowed to affirm their own humanity ("I have a heart just like you, the masters"[111]), their praiseworthy docility stops them from ever directly contesting and fighting against the institution of slavery, reminding us, as Nicola Westwood explains, that "whilst most abolitionists advocated emotional equality between different races, they did not all believe that this racial equality extended to intellectual capabilities"[112]. This also serves to show that, while many narrative strategies were deployed in the sentimental novel in order to cause "racial moves" and challenge the racialised order at play in the 19th century, the ideological limitations of abolitionist thought also impacted the mixed agenda of sentimentalism, which invoked "racial bonds for both appropriative and subversive ends"[113].

Conclusions

This short and by no means exhaustive survey of Roma affect in the nineteenth-century Romanian novel has highlighted the malleability of emotion when used to portray oppressed and marginalised characters. While many novelists in the MDRR1 reinforce the stereotype of a violent, uncivilised, irrational, and antisocial Roma minority which threatens the process of Romanian nation-building and modernisation, others introduce representational nuances which rehumanise the Roma and showcase the "emotional equality" of all people. Yet other authors adopt an explicitly abolitionist agenda, striving to depict their Romani subjects as superior, virtuous individuals who are worthy of inclusion in the body politic and whose suffering at the hands of their owners is bound to trigger the indignation of the Christian readership. However, throughout the corpus, a racialised worldview is still in place. The few Roma who are shown feeling sympathy (depicted as an evolved emotion) do so only in relation to their masters. Most of the affects they experience are rudimentary and short-lived rather than complex or intellectualised, confirming the emotional hierarchy (or, in Kyla Schuller's words, the "taxonomy of feeling") generated by the circulation of evolutionary theory and its racial interpretations. Finally, even the exceptional Roma depicted in abolitionist fiction are reduced to passive, meek, and non-threatening spectators of their own fate,

---

[110] Nicola Westwood, *Emotion in Abolitionist Literature during the British Slavery Debate, 1770–1833*, Dissertation University of Birmingham, 2023, pp. 11, 22, 44.
[111] Panait Macri, *Haiducul Ţandură* [*Ţandură, the Outlaw*], București, Editura Librăriei H. Steinberg, 1894, p. 125. See also Urechia, *Coliba,* pp. 193, 206, and Dimitrie Bolintineanu, *Manoil* (1855), București, Alcalay, 1903, p. 181.
[112] Westwood, *Emotion in Abolitionist Literature*, p. 3.
[113] Laura Doyle, "The Folk, the Nobles, and the Novel: The Racial Subtext of Sentimentality", *Narrative*, 3, 1995, 2, p. 183.

waiting to be freed by a white saviour rather than pursuing their own emancipation. Thus, while some Romanian novels in the MDRR1 do test the boundaries of the racialised social structure which characterised the 19th century, the limits of their emancipatory vision are inflexible and especially visible in the continued racialisation of Roma affect.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ACHIM, Viorel, *The Roma in Romanian History*, Budapest, CEU Press, 2004.

AHMED, Sarah, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2014.

ANDERSON, Ben, HARRISON, Paul, *Taking-Place: Non-Representational Theories*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2010.

ANDERSON, Benedict, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London & New York, Verso, 2006.

ANTEMIREANU, Alexandru, *Din vremea lui căpitan Costache* [*From the Life of Captain Costache*] (1898). Edition and preface by Apriliana Medianu, București, Tipografia Universul, 1937.

BAGHIU, Ștefan, "Translations of Novels in the Romanian Culture during the Long Nineteenth Century (1794–1914): A Quantitative Perspective", *Metacritic Journal for Comparative Studies and Theory,* 2020, 2, pp. 87-106.

BAGHIU, Ștefan, POJOGA, Vlad, BORZA, Cosmin, COROIAN-GOLDIȘ, Andreea, GÂRDAN, Daiana, MODOC, Emanuel, MORARIU, David, SUSARENCO, Teodora, VANCU, Radu, VARGA, Dragoș, *Muzeul Digital al Romanului Românesc: secolul al XIX-lea* [*The Digital Museum of the Romanian Novel: The 19th Century*], Sibiu, Complexul Național Muzeal ASTRA, 2019. https://revistatransilvania.ro/mdrr. Accessed June 20, 2025.

BĂLĂNESCU, Simeon, *Sfârșitul blestemului* [*The End of the Curse*], București, Tipografia Gutenberg Joseph Göbl, 1895.

BEECHER STOWE, Harriet, *Uncle Tom's Cabin. A Tale of Life among the Lowly*, London, G. Routledge, 1853.

BEISSINGER, Margaret, "'Lăutar Space': Marriage, Weddings, and Identity among Romani Musicians in Romania", *Martor*, 2020, 25, pp. 97-114.

BHABHA, Homi K, *The Location of Culture*, London & New York, Routledge, 2004.

BHAUMIK, Anindita, "Beyond the Conceptual peripheries of Race: A Study of the 'Racial Others' in Wilkie Collins's Sensation Fiction", *Middle Flight*, 6, 2017, 1, pp. 33-41.

BOLINTINEANU, Dimitrie, *Elena* (1862), in *Manoil – Elena*. Preface by T. Vârgolici, Buc., Editura pentru Literatură, 1971, pp. 123-333.

BOLINTINEANU, Dimitrie, *Manoil* (1855), București, Alcalay, 1903.

BRANTLINGER, Patrick, "Class and Race in Sensation Fiction", in Pamela K. Gilbert (ed.), *A Companion to Sensation Fiction*, Malden, Wiley-Blackwell, 2011, pp. 430-442.

BUJOREANU, Ioan M., *Mistere din București* [*Mysteries of Bucharest*], București, Editura N. Cernovodeanu, 1862.

CORNEA, Paul, *Originile romantismului românesc. Spiritul public, mișcarea ideilor și literatura între 1780–1840* [*The Origins of the Romanian Romanticism Public Spirit, Intellectual Trends and Literature Between 1780 and 1840*], București, Cartea Românească, 2008.

COROIAN-GOLDIȘ, Andreea, GÂRDAN, Daiana, MODOC, Emanuel, SUSARENCO, Teodora, MORARIU, David, BORZA, Cosmin, „Arhivele romanului românesc și posibilități de digitizare" ["The Archives of the Romanian Novel and Digitization Possibilities"], *Transilvania*, 2019, 10, pp. 1-8.

COSTIN, Ioan, *Moara din Șișești* [*The Mill of Șișești*], Baia Mare, Tipografia lui Mihail Molnár, 1894.

DEMETRESCU, Ilie, *Ea și el* [*Him and Her*], București, Tipografia și Fonderia de Litere Thoma Basilescu,1898.
DOBROGEANU-GHEREA, Constantin, „Tendenționismul și tezismul în artă", ["The Role of Tendency and Thesis in Art"], in *Studii critice* [*Critical Approaches*], vol. I. Edited by George Ivașcu, București, Editura pentru Literatură, 1967, pp. 112-134.
DONOVAN, Josephine, "A Source for Stowe's Ideas on Race in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*", *NWSA Journal*, 7, 1995, 3, pp. 24-34.
DOYLE, Laura, "The Folk, the Nobles, and the Novel: The Racial Subtext of Sentimentality", *Narrative*, 3, 1995, 2, pp. 161–187.
DUMITRU, Teodora, "About the Mechanistic-Scientist Origins of the First Theory of Poetry in the History of Romanian Literature: The Influence of Schopenhauer and Herbart on Titu Maiorescu", in Maria Sass, Ovio Olaru, Andrei Terian (eds.), *The German Model in Romanian Culture*, Berlin, Peter Lang, 2023, pp. 25-53.
DWYER, Erin, *Mastering Emotions: The Emotional Politics of Slavery*. Doctoral Dissertation, Harvard University, 2012.
FANON, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Transl. by Charles Lam Markmann, London, Pluto Press, 2008.
FILIMON, N., *Ciocoii vechi și noi. Roman social* [*Upstarts Old and New*] (1862). Interpreted by George Baiculescu, Craiova, Scrisul Românesc, 1934.
FURTUNĂ, Adrian-Nicolae, PARVULESCU, Anca, BOATCĂ, Manuela, "Three Documents from the Archive of Roma Enslavement", *PMLA*, 139, 2024, 5, pp. 872-876.
GRANDEA, Gr., *Vlăsia sau ciocoii noi* [*Vlăsia or the New Upstarts*], București, Tipografia Govora, 1887.
HALILIUC, Alina, "Manele Music and the Discourse of Balkanism in Romania", *Communication, Culture & Critique*, 2015, 8, pp. 290-308.
HASDEU, B.P., *Ursita* [*Fate*]. With a preface by Iuliu Dragomirescu, București, Minerva, 1910.
IGHEL, Ilie, *Tâlharul Fulger* [*The Outlaw Fulger*], București, Editura Librăriei H. Steinberg, 1892.
KALNAČS, Benedikts, "The Historical Contexts and Aesthetic Self-Reflexiveness of Nineteenth-Century Latvian Literary", *Dacoromania litteraria*, 2025, 12, pp. 135-154.
KISS, Tamás, "Escaping the 'Balkanizing' Gaze? Perceptions of Global and Internal Developmental Hierarchies in Romania", *East European Politics and Societies*, 2017, 3, pp. 565-595.
KOGĂLNICEANU, Mihail, „Dezrobirea țiganilor, ștergerea privilegiilor boierești, emanciparea țăranilor" ["The Liberation of the Gypsies, the Abolition of the Boyars' Privileges, and the Emancipation of the Peasants"], in *Scrieri literare, istorice, politice* [*Literary, Historical, Political Wirtings*]. Edited by Geo Șerban, București, Editura Tineretului, 1967, pp. 239-280.
KOSZOR-CODREA, Cosmin, "Authorities of Erudition: Reshaping the Categories of Race and Gender in Romania, 1850–1900", *Revista De Antropologie Urbana*, VIII, 2020, 15, pp. 17-29.
KOSZOR-CODREA, Cosmin, *The Word of Science: Popularising Darwinism in Romania, 1859–1918*, Dissertation Oxford Brookes University, 2021.
MACRI, Panait, *Crima misterioasă din Calea Mogoșoaiei* [*The Mysterious Murder in the Calea Mogoşoaiei Boulevard*], București, Editura Librăriei H. Steinberg, 1893.
MACRI, Panait, *Haiducul Țandură* [*Țandură, the Outlaw*], București, Editura Librăriei H. Steinberg, 1894.
MACRI, Panait, *Ioan tunsu căpitan de haiduci* [*Ioan Tunsu, Captain of Hajduks*], București, Cultura Românească, 1887.
MARAIS, Mike, "Violence, Postcolonial Fiction, and the Limits of Sympathy", *Studies in the Novel*, 43, 2011, 1, pp. 94-114.
McMAHON, Richard, *The Races of Europe: Anthropological Race Classification of Europeans 1839–1939*, Florence, European University Institute, 2007.
MEMMI, Alberti, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1967.

MISHKOVA, Diana, "Introduction: Towards a Framework for Studying the Politics of National Peculiarity in the 19th Century", in Diana Mishkova (ed.), *We, the People. Politics of National Peculiarity in Southeastern Europe*, Budapest & New York, CEU Press, 2009, pp. 1-43.
MYLLER, Th., *În Iassy* [*In Iassy*], București, Tip. Ioanovici, 1871.
NEGRUZZI, Iacob, *Mihai Vereanu*, Iași, Tipografia Națională, 1873.
OPREA, Alexandra, MATACHE, Margareta, "Reclaiming the Narrative: A Critical Assessment of Terminology in the Fight for Roma Rights", *Dimensions of Antigypsyism in Europe*, 2019, pp. 276-299.
PANȚU, Ionu C., *Liniștea casei* [*Domestic Peace*], Brașov, Tipografia A. Mureșianu, 1890.
PANȚU, Ionu C., *Logofetulu Mateiu*, Brașov, Tipografia Alexi, 1887.
PELIMON, Al., *Jidovul cămătar* [*The Jewish Moneylender*], București, Tip. Stephan Rassidescu, 1863.
PELIMON, Al., *Un funcționar sinucis. Fratele și sora* [*A Clerk Who Committed Suicide. The Brother and the Sister*], București, Tipografia Națională C.N. Rădulescu, 1873.
POJOGA, Vlad, GÂRDAN, Daiana, BAGHIU, Ștefan, BORZA, Cosmin, MINCULETE, Iunis, FRĂTEAN, Denisa, „Diversitate identitară în romanul românesc (1844–1932)" ["Diversity and Identity in the Romanian Novel (1844–1932)"], *Transilvania*, 2020, 10, pp. 33-44.
POPESCU, N.D., *Amasoana de la Rachova* [*The Amazonian Woman from Rachova*], București, Tipografia Fraților Ioanițiu, 1879.
POPESCU, N.D., *Bujor haiducul* [*Bujor the Outlaw*], București, Editura Librăriei H. Steinberg, 1872.
POPESCU, N.D., *Iancu Jianu, zapciu de plasă* [*Iancu Jianu, District Constable*], Brașov, Editura Librăriei Ciurcu, 1887.
POPESCU, N.D., *Iancu Jianul, căpitanul de haiduci* [*Iancu Jianu, Captain of the Hajduks*], București, Editura Librăriei H. Steinberg, 1873.
POPESCU, N.D., *Radu Anghel*, Brașov, Editura Librăriei Ciurcu, 1893.
PYKETT, Lyn, *The Nineteenth Century Sensation Novel*, Tavistock, Northcote, 2011.
RISS, Arthur, "Racial Essentialism and Family Values in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*", *American Quarterly*, 46, 1994, 4, pp. 513-544.
SAID, Edward, *Culture and Imperialism*, New York, Vintage Books, 1994.
SAID, Edward, *Orientalism*, London, Penguin, 1977.
SAMALIN, Zachary, "Affect Theory's Colonial Sources", *Victorian Studies*, 64, 2022, 4, pp. 561-566.
SCHULLER, Kyla C., "Taxonomies of Feeling: The Epistemology of Sentimentalism in Late-Nineteenth-Century Racial and Sexual Science", *American Quarterly*, 64, 2012, 2, pp. 277–299.
SCHULLER, Kyla C., "The Biology of Intimacy: Lamarckian Evolution and the Sentimental Novel", *American Literature*, 92, 2020, 3, pp. 457-484.
SCHWARZFELD, E., *Gângavul* [*The Stammerer*], București, Tipografia ziarului *Egalitatea*, 1895.
SILVERMAN, Carol, "Music, Emotion, and the 'Other'. Balkan Roma and the Negotiation of Exoticism", in Mark D. Steinberg and Valeria Sobol (eds.), *Interpreting Emotions in Russia and Eastern Europe*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2011, pp. 224-247.
SPIVAK, Gayatri Chakravorty, "Can the Subaltern Speak?", in Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (eds.), *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory. A Reader*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1994, pp. 66-111.
STANISLAV, Cătălina, "Hardly a Room of One's Own. Gender and Collaborative Writing in the Prewar Romanian Novel", *Dacoromania litteraria*, 2025, 12, pp. 218-238.
TERIAN, Andrei, „Oameni, câini și alte dobitoace: O lectură pseudo-darwinistă a romanului *Ion* de Liviu Rebreanu" ["Men, Dogs and Other Beasts: A Pseudo-Darwinian Reading of Liviu Rebreanu's *Ion*"], *Transilvania*, 2018, 11-12, pp. 18-23.
TERIAN, Andrei, GÂRDAN, Daiana, BORZA, Cosmin, MORARIU, David, VARGA, Dragoș, „Genurile romanului românesc în secolul al XIX-lea. O analiză cantitativă" ["The Genres of the 19th Century Romanian Novel. A Quantitative Analysis"], *Transilvania*, 2019, 10, pp. 17-28.
THOMAS, James M., "Affect and the Sociology of Race: A Program for Critical Inquiry", *Ethnicities*, 14, 2014, 1, pp. 72-90.

TRENCSÉNYI, Balázs, "History and Character: Visions of National Peculiarity in the Romanian Political Discourse of the 19th Century", in Diana Mishkova (ed.), *We, the People. Politics of National Peculiarity in Southeastern Europe*, Budapest & New York, CEU Press, 2009, pp. 139-180.
TURDA, Marius, "The Nation as Object: Race, Blood, and Biopolitics in Interwar Romania", *Slavic Review*, 66, 2007, 3, pp. 413-441.
URECHIA, V.A., *Coliba Măriucăi* [*Măriuca's Hut*] (1855), in *Opere complete* [*Complete Works*], București, Tipografia Göbl, 1883, pp. 177-293.
VLAHUȚĂ, Alexandru, *Dan* (1894), București, Cartea Românească, 1938.
VULCAN, Petre, *Dragomir*, Craiova, Tipografia David J. Benvenisti, 1895.
WESTWOOD, Nicola, *Emotion in Abolitionist Literature during the British Slavery Debate, 1770–1833*, Dissertation University of Birmingham, 2023.
WOODS, Michael E., "A Theory of Moral Outrage: Indignation and Eighteenth-century British Abolitionism", *Slavery & Abolition*, 36, 2015, 4, pp. 662-683.
XENOPOL, N.D., *Brazi și putregaiu* [*Fir Trees and Rot*], București, Leon Alcalay, 1880.
ZAMFIRESCU, Duiliu, *În război* [*During the War*], București, Tipografia Clemența, 1902.
ZAMFIRESCU, Duiliu, *Tănase Scatiu*, București, Alcalay, 1907.
ZAMFIRESCU, Duiliu, *Viața la țară* [*Love in the Countryside*], București, Carol Müller, 1898.

EMOTIONAL EXCESS AND RACIALISATION IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY ROMANIAN NOVEL (*Abstract*)

Based on the Digital Museum of the Romanian Novel (MDRR1: 1845–1900), this paper discusses the depiction and racialisation of Roma affect at a time when Roma slavery in Moldavia and Wallachia was either still in the process of being abolished or recently dismantled. The analysis relies on complex lexical searches within the corpus, using keywords pertaining to ethnicity, lifestyle, labour, and even pejorative terms associated with this minority, in order to showcase the Romani characters and their emotional response to their environment. By combining distant and close reading, my main objective is to demonstrate that, in the nineteenth-century Romanian novel, emotion and emotional excess were used programmatically: either as a racialised trope signalling the inferiority and uncivilised nature of the Roma or as a rehumanising strategy meant to cause an empathetic reaction and moral outrage among the readers of abolitionist prose (Woods 2015). Thus, this racially conscious investigation into the depiction of affectivity should highlight the replication of colonial representational patterns in a semi-peripheral literature vying for international recognition (Parvulescu & Boatcă 2022) while also negotiating its own understanding of the body politic (Trencsényi 2009). For this purpose, I will be drawing on postcolonial classics like Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Spivak, as well as more recent writing on "the emotional politics of slavery" (Dwyer 2012), which reveals the transnational network of abolitionist thought (connecting America, Britain, and Eastern Europe) and its shortcomings. On the one hand, this sheds light on the ambivalence of emotion and its malleable ethical function rooted in the psychological theories of emotion circulating at the time (Westwood 2023). On the other hand, starting from Kyla Schuller's (2012) and Zachary Samalin's (2022) historical accounts of affect theory and its colonial sources, I aim to trace the influence of nineteenth-century scientific dogma on the Romanian intellectual landscape, the import of evolutionary theories (Koszor-Codrea 2021), and the consequent racialisation of affectivity as depicted in fiction.

Keywords: emotional excess, Roma slavery, abolitionist literature, affect theory, racialisation.

EXCES AFECTIV ȘI RASIALIZARE ÎN ROMANUL ROMÂNESC DIN SECOLUL AL XIX-LEA
(*Rezumat*)

Pornind de la *Muzeul Digital al Romanului Românesc* (MDRR1: 1845–1900), acest articol discută reprezentarea și rasializarea experiențelor afective ale personajelor de etnie romă, într-un moment istoric în care sclavia romilor era fie încă în vigoare, fie o amintire recentă în Moldova și Țara Românească. Analiza se bazează pe căutări lexicale complexe în corpus, folosind cuvinte-cheie asociate etniei, stilului de viață și muncii, dar și termeni peiorativi la adresa acestei minorități, cu scopul de a pune în lumină personajele rome și reacțiile lor emoționale la mediul social în care trăiesc. Printr-o combinație de *distant* și *close reading*, demonstrez că, în romanul românesc din secolul al XIX-lea, emoția și excesul emoțional erau folosite programatic: fie ca un clișeu rasializat indicând natura așa-zis inferioară și necivilizată a romilor, fie ca strategie reumanizantă menită să genereze empatie și revoltă morală în rândul cititorilor de proză abolițională (Woods 2015). Astfel, această investigație evidențiază reproducerea unor tipare reprezentaționale tipic coloniale într-o literatură semiperiferică, ce concura cu alte literaturi minore pentru recunoașterea internațională (Parvulescu & Boatcă 2022) și negocia în același timp sensul conceptului de „națiune” (Trencsényi 2009). Apelez la clasici ai postcolonialismului precum Homi Bhabha și Gayatri Spivak, dar și la texte mai recente despre „politica emoțională a sclaviei” (Dwyer 2012), care expun rețeaua transnațională a abolиționismului (între America, Marea Britanie și Europa de Est). Pe de o parte, discut ambivalența și funcția etică a emoției, înrădăcinate în teoriile psihologice ale secolului al XIX-lea (Westwood 2023). Pe de altă parte, pornind de la textele Kylei Schuller (2012) și ale lui Zachary Samalin (2022) despre sursele coloniale ale teoriei afectelor, urmăresc influența dogmelor științifice din acea perioadă în spațiul românesc, importul teoriilor evoluționiste (Koszor-Codrea 2021) și contribuția lor la rasializarea afectivității.

Cuvinte-cheie: exces afectiv, sclavia romilor, literatură abolițională, affect theory, rasializare.

ÁGNES HANSÁGI

MÓR JÓKAI, A CONTEMPORARY OF PIERRE MÉNARD: METAFICTION, HYPOTYPOSIS AND METALEPSIS IN JÓKAI'S PROSE OF THE 1880s

After taking stock of his protagonist's visible oeuvre, the narrator of Jorge Luis Borges's emblematic short story *Pierre Menard, Author of the Quixote* turns to the realization of the actual purpose of his writing, namely to become a "contemporary of William James"[1] and at the same time to bear witness to Menard's *invisible* oeuvre, since "there is not a single draft to bear witness to that yearslong labor"[2]. *The pseudo-summary*, or the "simulated summary of an imaginary text"[3] makes the text a hypertext whose hypotext is fictitious, that is, a pseudo-hypotext[4]. Mór Jókai's[5] 1886 short novel *A ki holta után áll boszut* [*The One Who Takes Revenge After His Death*][6] does not evoke Borges' 1939 short story in the reader's mind primarily because it makes use of the popular (and variously applied) world literary topos[7] of the "burnt manuscript". Nor is it simply because Jókai's text is essentially built up of pseudo-hypotexts (a translation of a poem and a letter by his poet friend Sándor Petőfi, both certainly written by Mór Jókai, are also "published" in the text)

---

[1] Jorge Luis Borges, *Pierre Menard, Author of the Quixote* (1939). Transl. by Andrew Hurley, in *Collected Fictions*, New York, Penguin Books, 1999, p. 94.
[2] *Ibidem*, p. 91.
[3] Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*. Transl. by Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky, Lincoln & London, Nebraska University Press, 1997, pp. 251ff.
[4] Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 381ff.
[5] Mór Jókai (Maurus Jókai, 1825–1904) was the most influential prose writer of the 19th century in Hungarian literature. He was known and respected worldwide in his time, but his international reputation faded as his translations became dated.
[6] *A ki holta után áll boszut* [*The One Who Takes Revenge After His Death*] was published in the third volume of the Hungarian monthly magazine *Magyar Szalon* in 8 instalments, from January to August 1886. The serial publication of *A Maglay-család* [*The Maglay Family*] was completed in the December 1885 issue of the journal, and the following year's subscription was advertised by the publisher with reference to a circulation of 10,000, and to Jókai's "brilliant new story", which was to be launched in January. The first book edition is Mór Jókai, *A Maglay-család – A ki holta után áll boszut: Két elbeszélés* [*The Maglay Family – The One Who Takes Revenge After His Death: Two Stories*], Budapest, Révai, 1887.
[7] Just a few examples that demonstrate the prevalence of the motif: Henrik Ibsen, *Hedda Gabler* (1890); Hermann Broch, *Der Tod des Vergil* (1945); Imre Kertész, *Felszámolás* (*Liquidation*, transl. by Tim Wilkinson); Christoph Ransmayr, *Die letzte Welt* (1988); Mikhail Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita* (1928–1940). One of the most frequently quoted sentences in world literature reads as follows (in Michael Glenny's translation): "'I'm sorry but I don't believe you', said Woland. 'You can't have. Manuscripts don't burn'.". Mikhail Bulgakov, *The Master and Margarita*. Transl. by Michael Glenny, New York, The New American Library, 1967, p. 281.

DACOROMANIA LITTERARIA, XII, 2025, pp. 121–134 | DOI: 10.33993/drl.2025.12.121.134

and pseudo-summaries ("Czifra asszony" ["Fancy Lady"]), which are organised around hypotexts, self-quotations and identifiable cultural codes that are easily recognisable by the reader (many of these are still meaningful today, not only to philologists). The burnt manuscript is already a metafictional device in Jókai's short story *A remete hagyománya* [*The Legacy of the Hermit*], dated 1846, insofar as the embedded narrative is here also a pseudo-summary. The first-person narrator is the finder and destroyer of the hermit's manuscript; the embedded narrative is thus a form of *re-scripturalisation*[8]. Relating Borges' text from 1939 to the 1886 short novel can be exonerated from the charge of readerly arbitrariness, above all by the fact that Jókai's narrative is based on variations of metadiegetic transgressions, of fictional and figural forms of metalepsis, and of the metaleptic staging of the author. Not only does "the author intervene in his own fiction", but "his fiction also entangles itself in real life"[9].

The short story consists of two parts. The peritext of the title of the first, shorter chapter establishes a hierarchy between the two parts. According to the subtitle, this chapter[10] is a prologue, an introduction to the "real" narrative ("And here begins the real narrative, the one promised by the title; for what I have told

[8] By *re-scripturalisation* I mean that the destroyed manuscript, which in this sense has lost its materiality, becomes an immaterial piece of writing that is still vividly present and thus identifiable as a *work* in the memory of its first and at the same time last reader (and annihilator). Although no longer tangible, it is made identifiable for the reader and those who remember it by the powerful effect of a reading that concludes in a single, closed-off meaning (See Roland Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*. Translated by Richard Howard, New York, Hill and Wang, 1986). The primary narrator, who attempts to re-record, to grasp the lost original, reflects on the fact that he is "recording" something which, due to the specificities of the work of memory, cannot be self-identical. In other words, it is a re-construction, a re-creation that is at an uncertain distance from its non-existent original. See Mór Jókai, *A remete hagyománya* [*The Legacy of the Hermit*], in *Elbeszélések (1842–1848)* [*Stories (1842–1848)*]. Edited by Ambrus Oltványi, Budapest, Akadémiai, 1971, p. 154: "A kunyhót szépen kitakarították, ami elvihető volt, elvitték belőle, csupán egy csomag megsárgult, megfoltosult írott papírt hagytak ott egy szegletbe vetve, mit én gondosan felszedtem, s mohón elolvasék. Ez iratok minden szavát szívembe oltottam akkor. Mint pokoli balzsam, úgy esett keserv-éhes lelkemnek. Ez lett embergyűlöletem katekizmusa. Később eszem megtérvén, az egészet a tűzbe dobtam. Most sajnálom. Sok ábrándos bohóság volt benne. Amennyire emlékemben maradt, megpróbálok néhányat közülök kuriózum gyanánt ide feljegyezni" ("The hut was neatly cleaned, what could be taken away was taken away from it, leaving only a packet of yellowed, faded writing paper in a corner, which I carefully picked up and eagerly read. I took every word of this paper to my heart. Like balm from hell it was to my bitter and hungry soul. It became the catechism of my misanthropy. Later, when I came to my senses, I threw it all into the fire. Now I am sorry. There was much fanciful folly in it. As far as I remember, I shall try to record some of them here as curiosities"). On the history of the short story's genesis and editions see *Ibidem*, pp. 600ff. Unless otherwise stated, the quotations are translated into English by the author of this paper.

[9] Gérard Genette, *Métalepse. De la figure à la fiction*, Paris, Seuil, 2004, p. 27.

[10] Mór Jókai, *A ki holta után áll boszut*, in *A Magláy-család – A ki holta után áll boszut: Két elbeszélés* [*The Magláy Family – The One Who Takes Revenge After His Death: Two Stories*], Budapest, Révai, 1887, pp. 81-129.

you so far is only a preface"[11]), where the autobiographer appears only as a frame narrator. In the „real narrative"[12], the narrator of the second part is a minor character from the first, autobiographical narrative: the horse doctor, Szepi. It is his narrative that the autobiographer listens to, comments on and publishes. The temporal ellipsis between the two parts spans four decades, with the autobiography telling the story of the autobiographer's becoming a writer in the period between the autumn of 1844 and the autumn of 1846[13].

The key scene in the autobiography plays on one specific night when the first short story is being composed. The excerpt narrative that prepares the key scene introduces the theme of the short story, its plot and material, while a second excerpt narrative that follows the writing scene first tells the success of this very short story (the "premiere" on the next day: the author's reading for the Bántód society; Szepi copies the short story and, in return, asks for and receives the manuscript as a gift, as a "reward" for the clarified version; the presentation of a copy of the short story to Petőfi; Adolf Frankenburg commissions it for the magazine *Életképek*[14]; Rayée's translation offer for the *Journal de Demoiselles*[15]), and then recounts its failure (Reseta, the censor, omits the horror story from the journal[16], the author decides to burn the manuscript). The second part is set in a past much closer to the present of the narrative recollection. While the narrated protagonist of the first part, the nineteen-year-old Mór Jókai, a law clerk in Komárom, could only dream of becoming a writer and of literary success at that time, i.e. he is quite remote from the narrator-self not only in a temporal sense but also in his habitus, taste and social status, the narrated self of the second part is, with regard to time and position, almost identical with the narrator, "Mór Jókai": "Last year, during the national exhibition, the devil of vanity made me exhibit all my works. A whole library was filled with them"[17]. Readers of *Magyar Szalon* (an illustrated literary magazine representing the programme of modernism) where the short story was published, might have remembered the press reports on the 1885 Budapest National Exhibition that covered all the details of the Jókai exhibition too[18].

---

[11] *Ibidem*, p. 130: "S itt kezdődik már most a valóságos igazi elbeszélés, a mit a czim igér; mert amit eddig elfecsegtem, az mind csak elöljáró beszéd volt".
[12] *Ibidem*, p. 130. Part two: pp. 130-168.
[13] The referential allusions and cultural codes (the Komárom law clerk, Jókai's move to Pest, the publication of the short story *Sonkolyi Gergely*) allow us to reconstruct the time span of the narrative; however, the temporal ellipses of the short novel do not provide a firm basis. In the narrated time of the autobiography this period might be as short as one single year.
[14] Jókai, *A ki holta*, pp. 119-120.
[15] *Ibidem*, p. 123.
[16] *Ibidem*, pp. 124-127.
[17] *Ibidem*, p. 132: "Tavaly, az országos kiállitás alkalmával, a hiuság ördöge rávett, hogy kiállitsam az összes munkáimat. Megtelt velük egy egész könyvtár".
[18] The national exhibition of 1885 became a regular feature in the daily papers as early as January. For example, on 11 January 1885, the newspaper *Nemzet* announced that the Budapest National Exhibition would be opened by Franz Joseph on 2 May, and that Crown Prince Rudolf would

The second section of the short story is set in 1885, and the embedded, excerpted narrative recounts an encounter with a good friend from youth. The reader already knows from the first part that Szepi is not only a witness to the birth and successful premiere of the *first* short story, but also the *first* copyist, that is, the "reproducer", the first to record it:

> He kept asking me to give him my short story: let him write it down for himself, he will never show it to anyone until I was willing to agree; and I gave it to him, so I let him capture it – at least in ink[19].

The manuscript, though supposed to have been burnt, is returned by him to its author and annihilator, and, later on, it is also Szepi who tells the rest of the story of the Fancy Lady. The listener of Szepi's oral storytelling is the autobiographer. The act of storytelling takes as long as it takes the storyteller to smoke four cigars. The embedded oral narration is intended by Szepi as a continuation of the short story *Fancy Lady*, the manuscript of which he kept as a relic for forty years. From the autobiographer's point of view, it belongs, in turn, to those series of narratives, also embedded, which he had listened to in the Bántód company forty years ago, and the ending of which he then figured out in order to compose his horror story. From the reader's point of view, moreover, it is a continuation of the pseudo-summary that is the focus of the short story, taking shape during the act of writing, i.e. in the course of the self-reflexive narration that reports about the composition of the horror story. Structurally, the two parts of the short story mirror each other inasmuch as the central scene of the first part depicts *the act of writing* the gothic short story about the Fancy Lady, whereas the second focuses on *the performance*

---

welcome the King as the protector of the exhibition. In the news section of the 1 May 1885 issue of *Nemzet*, under the title "The Court in Budapest", the newspaper reported on the arrival and reception of the Crown Prince on 30 April. Jókai was a member of the welcoming committee, and the article tells us that Rudolf intended to drive with him to the exhibition the following day. At the beginning of May, *Nemzet's* "exhibition supplement" gives readers an almost hour-by-hour account of the events of the exhibition. Crown Prince Rudolf and princess Stéphanie visited the exhibition on the afternoon of 2 May, in preparation for the opening, and at the end of the visit the couple "returned to the Jókai exhibition at the Crown Prince's request". See "Kiállítási hírek" ["Exhibition News"], *Nemzet*, IV, 2 May 1885, p. 4. Also, the exhibition supplement of *Nemzet* features a map of the 1885 Budapest national general exhibition. The report on the court banquet (*Nemzet*, IV, 4 May 1885, p. 2.) quotes the emperor stating that the Jókai collection "gave the exhibition a special light". Although we know that the sentence was uttered at a protocol event and that the front page of Nemzet lists Mór Jókai as editor-in-chief, a review of the newspapers of the period does not give us the impression that Franz Joseph's words to Jókai were of mere formal nature. János Temple's portrait of Mór Jókai was exhibited among the portraits at the fine arts exhibition (cf. József Keszler, "A képzőművészetek a kiállításon II" ["The Fine Arts at the Exhibition II"], *Nemzet*, IV, 7 May 1885, pp. 1-2). On the Jókai statue displayed at the exhibition see Sándor Adorján, "Jókai mint kiállító" ["Jókai as an Exhibitor"], *Nemzet*, IV, 10 May 1885, pp. 1-2.

[19] Jókai, *A ki holta*, p. 115: "[A]ddig kért, hogy adjam neki oda a novellámat: hadd irja ő azt le magának, bizony soha sem fogja mutatni senkinek, a mig hajlandó lettem ráállni; s oda adtam neki, örökitse hát meg – legalább tintában".

of the storyteller Szepi, who continues the Fancy Lady story. While smoking the four cigars, Szepi tells the fate of the Fancy Lady to the now famous writer between the writer's last visit to Bántód, 1844, and 1885, the present time of the narrative, thus filling in the four decades that the temporal ellipsis has torn out of the autobiography. This story remains, of course, open-ended, since there is no "end".

This insertion, however, does not introduce the reader to the missing decades of the writer's life, but to the fate of one of his "short story protagonists". In the extradiegetic perspective of the autobiographical frame narrative, Szepi's narrative is intended as the recounting of events that have taken place, while the *mimesis of* the narrative *is* a retelling of the "first" short story that has been (arbitrarily) removed from the oeuvre of a young friend who became a famous writer, i.e. a sequel to a literary text *that does not exist* for the literary public and in the textual network of literature:

> […] But his collection is not yet complete.
> I wouldn't think so.
> But I certainly do. There's something missing. Well guess what? Can't even guess? Need a little help? What about the very first job? Surely you don't remember the name? Well, the "Fancy Lady"[20].

The autobiographer thus stages the scene in such a way that, at the moment of the encounter, the burnt short story no longer exists for him as a (textual) memory – he has forgotten it. The young friend, moreover, wants the famous writer to write what he is about to tell him because the manuscript of the short story "is only fantasy; but what follows is a true story; and it exceeds even the wildest poetic imagination. I came here to tell you that"[21]. Szepi wants to persuade the writer to listen to the "sequel" to the story, claiming that its reality is even more "fantastic", more "inventive" than what literary fiction may be able to create. The romantic horror story is thus more "realistic" than the fantastic reality, while Szepi's request is, after all, still motivated by the consideration that literature's task is to retell reality by a mimetic approach.

In the key scene of part I of *A ki holta után áll boszut* ("Hogyan támadt ez az elbeszélés? Olyan előljáró-beszéd forma" ["How did this narrative come about? Something of a foreword-speech"]), the first-person narrator, who is supposed to be Mór Jókai, produces a pseudo-summary of his "own" "burnt manuscript" of his young age (that is, a manuscript that had been written and annihilated by the narrated self) from the distance of forty years. Embedded in the autobiographical

---

[20] *Ibidem*, p. 134: "[…] Hanem hát még sem teljes a gyüjteménye. Nem gondolnám. De én bizonyosan tudom. Hiányzik belőle valami. No találja ki, hogy mi? Még azt sem találja ki? Segitsek egy kicsit? Hát a legelső munkája? Bizony talán már a nevére sem emlékezik? Hát a 'czifra asszony'".

[21] *Ibidem*, p. 138: "az csak fantázia; de a mi ezután következik, az igaz történet; és az tulmegy a legvakmerőbb költői képzelődésen is. Azért jöttem ide, hogy azt önnek elmondjam".

narrative of part I is the scene of the composition of the short story *Fancy Lady* and, step by step, the mentioned pseudo-summary as the result of the act of writing, which at certain points in the text turns into the pseudo-hypotext itself, due to the diegetic transgressions between the narrator-self and the narrated self. In the scene of the search for a title, we can observe how the retrospective, past tense narration shifts at first to the status of reported speech with an imperative, encouraging statement, since, here, it cannot yet be decided who is speaking: the remembering narrator, who calls on himself to report on the act of writing and implicitly addresses the reader who is also present in the scene due to the presence effect generated by hypotyposis, or the protagonist of the narrative, namely the narrated "self" of the evoked youth:

> The single candle I lit only helped to dim the room.
> So let's start with soul-evocation.
> Are these walls locking your still unquiet soul, innocent murdered "white woman"?
> Should "White woman" be the title? No! For this title is so worn out that it can no longer be truly white. "Black woman", then? No. For it is the symbol of death in the land of poetry; besides, there is plenty of that around. So what is she? a blue, yellow, pink woman? None of them fit here. I found it! I've found it! "Fancy Lady" will be her name. According to Hungarian folk myth, it means a fairy from the otherworld. Besides, I will explain in my short story why that lady deserved to be called "fancy". She will be a bizarre, an extraordinary character: she who is fancy because she wants to please her husband – no one else[22].

The questioning sentences already make the metalepsis obvious. The questions are asked by the young clerk, the protagonist of the story, Móric Jókay, who aspires to be a writer. The narration thus shifts from an extradiegetic position to an intradiegetic, present-time narration that allows for an inner speech that highlights, in contrast to the retrospective perspective of the autobiography, immediacy, momentary moods and impressions in the present tense of the story being told.

The search for words, the staging of the dilemmas and "professional" difficulties of writing reflect not only on the creation process of the literary texture, the "artificial" nature of fictional prose, but also on the contingency that is an inevitable part of the author's choices. *Writing* in this scene has little to do with the

[22] *Ibidem*, p. 99: "Az egy szál gyertya, a mit meggyujtottam, csak homályosabbá segitett tenni a szobát. Tehát lássunk a lélekidézéshez. Ezek a falak zárják be talán most is nyugodni nem tudó lelkedet, ártatlanul megölt 'fehér asszony'? 'Fehér asszony' legyen a czime? Nem! Hisz ez a czim már ugy el van viselve, hogy nem is lehet többé igazán fehér. Tehát 'fekete asszony?' Az sem. Hisz ez a döghalál jelképe a költészet országában: azután ebből is van már elég. Tehát micsoda? kék, sárga, rózsaszinü asszony? Egy sem illik ide. Megtaláltam! 'czifra asszony' lesz a neve. Ez a magyar népmythosz szerint tulvilági tündért jelent. Azonkivül pedig majd kifejtem én azt a novellámban, hogy miért szolgált az a hölgy a 'czifra' elnevezésre. Valami bizarr, valami rendkivüli alak lesz belőle: a ki czifrálkodik azért, mert a férjének akar tetszeni: senki másnak".

Romantic idea of automatic writing[23], nor is it the outpouring of inspiration. It is a series of decisions in which the author weighs up and chooses between different options according to his or her best knowledge at a specific moment. In doing so, he not only de-mythologises the artistic process and its outcome but also dismantles the notion of the closed nature of the work of art, in so far as his decisions and choices are based on his momentary attunement and technical knowledge (the same ambition lies behind the scenic editing, the *cut-at-will form* in Jókai's novel *Egy ember, aki mindent tud* [*A Man who Knows Everything*])[24]. This is why the narrative self of the autobiographer can also attempt to reproduce the pseudo-hypotext, simultaneously with the reconstruction of his former self in the character of the narrated self. Like recollection, rewriting is as much possible as it is impossible:

> The start went quickly. I depicted the charming Eglantine with such a plethora of ladylike charms that when I read it I began to fear not the woman but the husband, that suddenly he would strike my table with his mace and shout in my ear, "Where did you see all this? Weakling!"
> I used much more dark layers to describe the husband. He really can be satisfied with his portrait. These domestic tyrants do not deserve to be spared.
> And yet she loves him and is faithful to him.
> "An angel faithful to his devil!"
> (This is such a nice phrase that it would fit into the Stammbuch of the officer's wife)
> But how do we unravel the intrigue now?
> If I were of the honest realist school, I'd let the pretty woman get mixed up with some handsome young man. I could, on the basis of the actual data, bring her sweetheart up to her with the trapdoor, and have the dining-room table sent up to her, and the husband himself could lurk this through the Judas holes and the ears of Dionysus; however, according to the idealistic romantics, there are such women in the world – who are faithful yet very boring, and even poets who write even more boring novels about such boring women; and Apollo destined me to be one of the latter.
> How, then, are we to contrive that she remains purely innocent; and yet that the impression bears such infallible testimony that the husband's murderous anger should be seen to be quite justified before the riddle is solved?
> I was busy with this until midnight: picking and choosing the tools. A speaking parrot spilling secrets? A dwarf hidden in a vase of flowers, listening unnoticed? – This wouldn't apply, either[25].

---

[23] See Ludwig Börne, *Sämtliche Schriften* [*Complete Works*]. Revised edition by Inge and Peter Rippmann, Düsseldorf, J. Melzer, 1964.

[24] See Franco Moretti, *Modern Epic: The World System from Goethe to García Marquez*. Transl. by Quintin Hoare, London, Verso, 1996, p. 96 "Organization imposes fetters; as does organic form. Mechanical form, by contrast, with its parts constructed one at a time, like the acts of Faust, or the chapters of *Bouvard et Pécuchet* and of *Ulysses*, leaves more freedom – more space for experimentation. […] A form that may be cut at will".

[25] Jókai, "A ki holta", pp. 100-101: "A kezdet gyorsan ment. Leirtam én a bűbájos Eglantinét oly pazarlásával a hölgyi bájaknak, hogy mikor elolvastam, már nem az asszonytól, hanem a férjtől

At the beginning of the quoted passage, it is the autobiographer who speaks, and the shift between diegetic levels is clearly indicated by the verb tenses. The speech in the present tense is the speech of the protagonist of the autobiography, the narrated self, but it is interesting to note that within the intradiegetic level the verb "ordit" ("shout") introduces a literal quotation that can come from two different diegetic and fictional levels of fiction within fiction. On the one hand, it can be understood as *the hero of the short story "Fancy Lady"*, the story being written, addressing his own creator, the protagonist of the autobiography, the narrated self. However, it can also be interpreted as though the narrated self is being addressed by the hero of the true story (true in the imaginary world of the narrated story), namely the "ghost" of Count Palárdy, the builder of the castle in Bántód, the spot where the writing act takes place, because he does not want to be a model of a character, or to become literature. And since the beginning of the Palárdy legend has already been told earlier in an anecdotical manner, as an embedded story by one of the minor characters in the autobiography, the quotation can be linked to further levels of fiction.

Similarly, the origin of the phrase quoted by the narrator cannot be clearly stated either. It may be a quotation from a fictional hypotext but also a cliché that comes to the mind of the narrator (i.e. the protagonist of the autobiographical narrative), who is considering whether to include it in the short story he is writing. The parenthetical reflection does not exclude this latter possibility, but the present tense comment points, however, to the ironic distance of the narrative self from the quoted cliché. The narrator of this passage, the narrated self, defines the cultural register to which the sentence belongs as fitting the taste of a member of the Bántód society (the officer's wife). The possibilities formulated as questions draw attention to the junctions in the act of writing, to the multiplicity of decision situations, the juxtaposition of "realistic" and "romantic" solutions, that is, to the constructed nature of the literary text.

---

kezdtem félni, hogy egyszer csak odaüt a buzogányával az asztalomra, s a fülembe ordit: 'Hol láttad te mindezeket? kákompille!' A férj jellemzésére annál több sötét szint használtam el. No az meg lehet elégedve az arczképével. Megérdemlik ezek a házi zsarnokok, hogy az ember ne kímélje őket. És a nő mégis szereti őt és hűséges hozzá. 'Egy angyal, a ki hűséges az ördögéhez!' (Ez olyan szép frázis, hogy a tiszttartóné Stammbuchjába is beválnék) De most hogyan bogozzuk a cselszövényt? Ha becsületes realisticus iskolát követnék, hagynám a szép asszonyt szép fiatal legénynyel összeviszonyulni. A tényleges adatok nyomán felhozhatnám hozzá az emelősülyesztővel a kedvesét a hogy az étkező asztalát felküldik hozzá s ezt maga a férj kileshetné a Judáslyukakon és Dyonisius füleken keresztül; de hát az idealista romantikusok szerint még olyan asszonyok is vannak a világon: a kik hűségesek; de nagyon unalmasak, sőt olyan poéták is, a kik az ilyen unalmas asszonyokról még unalmasabb regényeket irnak; s engemet azzal vert meg Apolló, hogy az utóbbiak közé tartozzam. Tehát hogyan furfangoljuk ki, hogy ő tiszta ártatlan maradjon; de a látszat mégis oly csalhatlan tanubizonyság erejével birjon, miszerint a férj embergyilkos haragja egészen indokoltnak láttassék a talány megoldása előtt? Éjfélig elbajlódtam vele: válogatva az eszközökben. Beszélő papagáj, mely titkokat kifecseg? Nem való ide. — Virágvázába elrejtett törpe, a ki észrevétlenül hallgatózik? – Ez sem alkalmatos".

That the pseudo-summary is close, at some points even identical, to the pseudo-hypotext, is most clearly shown in the dialogic passages. The reader, however, cannot be sure *what* he is reading: (1) a successful or failed "reconstruction"; (2) a fiction opposed to the extradiegetic level of autobiography that outlines an idea of what the never-published short story written four decades earlier might have been like; (3) or a fiction of a first novel that was never actually written. The present tense narrative of the pseudo-summary shifts to past tense after the dialogue between the Fancy Lady and her murderous husband. However, reflections on the literariness of the text are not absent in this passage either:

> She opened her arms to embrace him: she opened her lips to kiss him, and he hugged her with such force, pressing his lips to hers, that he killed her with this embrace.
> (It was more beautifully described in my short story, this murder by a love embrace, but an old gipsy forgets a song every day.)
> So, the woman was killed by the most desirable way to die.
> But already the corpse should be hidden somewhere[26].

The "floating" between the diegetic levels, i.e. the reported speech that could finally be attributed even to the protagonist of the fictional hypotext, takes place just after the narrator's self-reflection, when the autobiographer's statement reminds the reader of the distance between the recalled pseudo-summary and the pseudo-hypotext.

From the passage that ends with the interjected utterance of the narrator self, it becomes also clear how convincingly the pseudo-summary produces a parody of the genre. The story told in the pseudo-summary is grotesque not only because it summarises a "premature" work, a story written according to the literary taste of forty years earlier. The shortened, summed up version appears as the most important device of grotesquerie, thus the pseudo-summary becomes (among others) a parody of the text it summarises. In addition to the contradictory information about the fictitious hypotext, it is summarisation that can be made responsible for the insight that we do not know "what" the text referred to might have been like, since such a method is always capable of producing a caricature of anything. The narrator of the grotesque murder scene in the pseudo-summary is the remembering primary narrator of the autobiography, but precisely because of the quoted previous dialogues, the distance between the hypotext and the pseudo-summary is not clear. In the parenthesised interjection, the autobiographer turns to the reader; the following sentence may be attributed to the narrator-self as well as (in worst case, when the pseudo-summary is not so much a parody but captures the

[26] *Ibidem*, p. 106: "A nő széttárta karjait ölelkezésre: ajkait nyujtá csókolásra, s arra a férj oly erővel szorítá őt magához, ajkait ajkaira nyomva, hogy ezzel az ölelkezéssel megölte az asszonyt. (Sokkal szebben volt ez abban az én novellámban leirva, ez a gyilkosság szerelmi öleléssel, hanem hát a vén czigány minden nap egy nótát felejt.) Az asszony tehát meg volt ölve a legideálisabb halál nemével. Hanem már most a hullát el is kell rejteni valahová".

essence of the hypotext) to the narrated self, whereas the next phrase could also be uttered by the murderous protagonist of the pseudo-summary or the hypotext, i.e. it could be interpreted as the inner speech of the protagonist of the embedded story, just as the preceding sentence can be interpreted as the parody of this inner speech.

Shifting between the diegetic levels of rewriting and the original writing act, the narrator-self often gives the floor to the narrated self. However, the transitions between extradiegetic and intradiegetic narration can also be read as a simultaneous parody of two opposing strategies of relating to literary texts. These two models represent two mutually exclusive extremes of understanding, conceived as rewriting. While the first respects the textual whole as a linguistic work of art and aims at capturing its complexity, the second is not interested in the linguistic complexity of the text, but rather in its reduction. The narrator of *Pierre Menard, Author of the Quixote* was inspired by precisely these two opposed strategies, represented by texts of "unequal value", to reveal Pierre Menard's invisible work. The method of "*total identification* with a given author" is linked to a philological fragment of Novalis, while the reductive, simplifying procedure of naïve actualization is identified with the "pointless travesties" of "those parasitic books" that set "Christ on a boulevard, Hamlet on La Cannabière, or Don Quixote on Wall Street". It is also important to note that, compared to the latter, Borges' protagonist Pierre Menard found it "more interesting […], though of contradictory and superficial execution, to attempt what Daudet had so famously suggested: conjoin in a single figure (Tartarin, say) both the Ingenious Gentleman don Quixote and his squire"[27]. It is a curious and ironic coincidence that *Magyar Szalon* began serialising Alphonse Daudet's novel *Tartarin sur les Alpes* in their April 1886 issue, meaning that for a few months the two texts, Jókai's and Daudet's, appeared simultaneously in the journal[28].

Genette discusses the autobiographical narrative as a genuine case of metalepsis, the implied statements "I was there" and "I am still here" (for example, as narrator and as characters in the text), i.e. *the presence effect* of hypotyposis extends not only to the presence of the author in his own text, but also to the presence of the *object(s)* described (in the mimetic sense of the scenic liveliness) and, consequently, to the reader of the autobiography[29]. Genette traces the narrative paradox of the autobiography to the role of *reality effects*[30]. To the reader, the

[27] Borges, *Pierre Menard*, pp. 90-91.

[28] The summary of the April issue of *Magyar Szalon* (III, 1886, 4, p. 112), which also serves as an advertisement, comments on the publication in a back blurb as follows: "Our reading public will surely be pleasantly surprised to learn that we have managed to acquire the latest novel *Tartarin sur les Alpes* by Alphonse Daudet, the most popular French writer, and that we can start publishing this amusing novel right in this issue. As much as we intend to publish preferably original contributions, we consider the publication of a work by such a distinguished author to be a credit to our journal. In our next issue we shall already present the Tarascon hero's adventures in splendid drawings, too".

[29] Genette, *Métalepse*, p. 93.

[30] See Barthes, *The Rustle of Language.*

elements that are recognisable from the real world (which Barthes calls the cultural codes of lexia in *S/Z*) produce, while creating the *illusion of* realism through the scenic liveliness of mimesis, precisely the effect of presence that only pure fiction can do. In short, they "fictionalise" the "historical" narrative[31]. The figures of hypotyposis and metalepsis play a prominent role in Jókai's prose from the 1880s onwards. What is also a striking common feature of these autobiographically framed first-person narratives is that the narrating author breaks the "autobiographical" and the "fictional" "pact" at the same time, i.e. he acts as a notorious metadiegetic "border crosser". (Along with his most typical narrative and/or poetic techniques, Jókai had used this method earlier, but it had not become dominant in his oeuvre before the 1880s.).

The predominance of diverse forms of first-person narration is discussed in Viktor Žmegač' historical poetics of the novel as a characteristic feature of the modern novel[32], as are the self-reflective references to the genre woven into the texture of the novel[33], or the narrative techniques based on metatextuality and meta-narration which make the authorial "interventions" and the construction of the text transparent, revealing the text's relation to other literary texts[34]. These conclusions of Žmegač' analysis are worth considering especially if we take seriously what he says about the "paradox" of modern novel, namely that the characteristics of the "modern novel" must be considered "conditionally specific" because the significance of diachronic relations often overshadows the synchronic ones[35]. Further, Žmegač argues, while the dismantling of the fabular order, or even "plotlessness" is a leitmotif of modern novel poetics, "modern" novels often document contradictory tendencies[36]. As he puts it somewhere else: "the novel [...] can do anything"[37].

A ki holta után áll boszut is not a "plotless" narrative in the strict sense. However, the fabular order is broken at several points and due to several metaleptic techniques. On the one hand, the narrator makes the transitions between the diegetic levels visible. On the other, the continuous references to the act of writing, the back-and-forth interplay between the extra- *and* intradiegetic reflections of the narrator-self and the narrated self, between the "narrator" and the "protagonist" reveal the temporality and variability of genre concepts, poetic techniques, aesthetic values, the changing material conditions of writing as recording and copying, of publishing and of the literary marketplace (technological background,

---

[31] Genette, *Métalepse*, pp. 92-93.
[32] Cf. Viktor Žmegač, *Povijesna poetika romana* [*The Historical Poetics of the Novel*], Zagreb, Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1987, p. 291.
[33] Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 298.
[34] Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 328-329.
[35] Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 277.
[36] Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 279ff.
[37] *Ibidem*, p. 300.

relation networks, ideologies). The autobiographical framing thus serves not to create an illusion of reality and to free the reader from doubt, but rather to "produce" *the instability of* "reality", "literature" and the "self". The "Fancy Lady" plot is constructed by a series of embedded narratives, but it contains fragmented, disjointed elements. What the narrators of the different diegetic levels (the fiscal law director; the officer; the narrated self, i.e. the clerk Móric Jókay; Szepi the horse doctor) tell as the story of the "Fancy Lady" varies in terms of historical time and relation to reality (historical fact, which is also recorded in the chronicles; a legend living in the oral tradition and in local context; a feared family secret; a short story/horror story known from the pseudo-summary of a fictional hypotext; press news; an anecdote). The title, which holds the disparate narratives together, comes from the narrated self, a self-proclaimed writer, and his creation is enacted in a key scene of the text. This is, among others, why I believe that *A ki holta után áll boszut* can provide a compelling argument that Jókai's late prose had reached the threshold of modernity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

***, "Kiállítási hírek" ["Exhibition News"], *Nemzet*, IV, 2 May 1885, p. 4.

ADORJÁN, Sándor, "Jókai mint kiállító" ["Jókai as an Exhibitor"], *Nemzet*, IV, 10 May 1885, pp.1-2.

BARTHES, Roland, *The Rustle of Language*. Translated by Richard Howard, New York, Hill and Wang, 1986.

BORGES, Jorge Luis, *Pierre Menard, Author of the Quixote* (1939). Transl. by Andrew Hurley, in *Collected Fictions*, New York, Penguin Books, 1999, pp. 88-95.

BÖRNE, Ludwig, *Sämtliche Schriften* [*Complete Works*]. Revised edition by Inge and Peter Rippmann, Düsseldorf, J. Melzer, 1964.

BULGAKOV, Mikhail, *The Master and Margarita*. Transl. by Michael Glenny, New York, The New American Library, 1967.

GENETTE, Gérard, *Métalepse. De la figure à la fiction*, Paris, Seuil, 2004.

GENETTE, Gérard, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*. Transl. by Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky, Lincoln & London, Nebraska University Press, 1997.

JÓKAI, Mór, *A Maglay-család – A ki holta után áll boszut: Két elbeszélés*, [*The Maglay Family – The One Who Takes Revenge After His Death: Two Stories*], Budapest, Révai, 1887.

JÓKAI, Mór, *A remete hagyománya* [*The Legacy of the Hermit*], in *Elbeszélések (1842–1848)* [*Stories (1842–1848)*]. Edited by Ambrus Oltványi, Budapest, Akadémiai, 1971, pp. 147-172.

KESZLER, József, "A képzőművészetek a kiállításon II" ["The Fine Arts at the Exhibition II"], *Nemzet*, IV, 7 May 1885, pp. 1-2.

MORETTI, Franco, *Modern Epic: The World System from Goethe to García Marquez*. Transl. by Quintin Hoare, London, Verso, 1996.

ŽMEGAČ, Viktor, *Povijesna poetika romana* [*The Historical Poetics of the Novel*], Zagreb, Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1987.

MÓR JÓKAI, A CONTEMPORARY OF PIERRE MÉNARD: METAFICTION, HYPOTYPOSIS AND METALEPSIS IN JÓKAI'S PROSE OF THE 1880s (*Abstract*)

In the world literary network of the second half of the 19th century, the Hungarian novelist Mór Jókai was a real "hub", a node to which almost all the significant authors of the time were connected. Anton Pavlovich Chekhov, for example, managed to reach the Russian literary audience with an imitation of Jókai. The plot of Jókai's 1886 short story *A ki holta után áll boszut* [*The One Who Takes Revenge After His Death*] unfolds with the modern topic of the "burnt manuscript" also used by Ibsen, Hermann Broch, Mihail Bulgakov, Imre Kertész and Christoph Ransmayr. But this is not the only reason why it can be read as a 19th-century variant of Borges' 1939 short story *Pierre Menard, Author of Don Quixote*. The narrator of Borges's emblematic narrative sets himself the goal of reporting and bearing witness to Pierre Ménard's invisible oeuvre, since "there is not a single draft to bear witness to that yearslong labor". Seven decades earlier, Jókai's short novel was based on the same technique as Borges' short story. The pseudo-summary, or "the simulated summary of an imaginary text" (Gérard Genette), makes the text of the short novel a hypertext whose hypotext is fictitious, i.e. a pseudo-hypotext. Jókai's text is built from pseudo-hypotexts (letters, translations of poems), pseudo-summaries which are embedded in hypotexts, self-quotations and identifiable cultural codes easily recognisable by the reader. The burnt manuscript, moreover, is already a device of metafiction in his short story *A remete hagyománya* [*The Legacy of the Hermit*], dated 1846, insofar as the embedded narrative is a pseudo-summary, the first-person narrator being the finder and annihilator of the hermit's manuscript. The embedded narrative is a re-scripturalisation. To relate Borges' text to Jókai's can be exonerated from the charge of readerly arbitrariness primarily by the fact that Jókai's narrative is based on variations of metadiegetic transgressions, of fictional and figural forms of metalepsis, and of the metaleptic staging of the author. To quote Genette again, not only does "the author intervene in his own fiction", but "his fiction also entangles itself in real life".

Keywords: burnt manuscript, metalepsis, modern novel, pseudo-hypotext, pseudo-summary.

MÓR JÓKAI, CONTEMPORANUL LUI PIERRE MÉNARD: METAFICȚIUNE, HIPOTIPOZĂ ȘI METALEPSĂ ÎN PROZA LUI JÓKAI DIN ANII 1880 (*Rezumat*)

În rețeaua literară mondială a celei de-a doua jumătăți a secolului al XIX-lea, romancierul maghiar Mór Jókai reprezenta un veritabil „nod", un punct de convergență la care erau conectați aproape toți autorii importanți ai epocii. Anton Pavlovici Cehov, de exemplu, a reușit să dobândească notorietate în spațiul literar rus prin imitarea lui Jókai. Intriga prozei scurte a lui Jókai din 1886, *A ki holta után áll boszut* [*Cel care se răzbună după moartea sa*], se construiește pe baza tematicii moderne a „manuscrisului ars", exploatată, printre alții, de Henrik Ibsen, Hermann Broch, Mihail Bulgakov, Imre Kertész și Christoph Ransmayr. Totuși, acesta nu este singurul motiv pentru care textul lui Jókai poate fi interpretat ca o variantă din secolul al XIX-lea a prozei lui Jorge Luis Borges din 1939, *Pierre Menard, autorul lui Don Quijote*. Naratorul ficțiunii emblematice a lui Borges își propune să relateze și să ateste opera invizibilă a lui Pierre Ménard, întrucât „nu există nici măcar o ciornă care să dea mărturie despre această muncă de ani de zile". Cu șapte decenii mai devreme, proza lui Jókai se fundamenta pe aceeași tehnică narativă ca textul lui Borges. Pseudo-rezumatul sau, în termenii lui

Gérard Genette, „rezumatul simulat al unui text imaginar”, transformă textul prozei scurte într-un hipertext al cărui hipotext este fictiv, adică un pseudo-hipotext. Textul lui Jókai este construit din pseudo-hipotexte (scrisori, traduceri de poeme), pseudo-rezumate încorporate în hipotexte, auto-citări și coduri culturale ușor recognoscibile de către cititorul avizat. De altfel, formula manuscrisului ars constituise un procedeu metaficțional și în nuvela sa din 1846, *A remete hagyománya* [*Moștenirea pustnicului*], întrucât narațiunea încorporată funcționa ca un pseudo-rezumat, iar naratorul subiectiv era deopotrivă descoperitorul și distrugătorul manuscrisului pustnicului. Narațiunea încorporată se constituie, astfel, ca o re-scripturalizare. Raportarea textului lui Borges la cel al lui Jókai poate fi absolvită de acuzația de arbitrariatate a lecturii, în primul rând prin faptul că narațiunea lui Jókai se bazează pe variații ale transgresiunilor metadiegetice, pe forme ficționale și figurale ale metalepsei, precum și pe înscenarea metaleptică a autorului. Pentru a-l cita din nou pe Genette, nu numai că „autorul intervine în propria sa ficțiune”, ci și „ficțiunea sa se întrepătrunde, la rândul ei, cu viața reală”.

Cuvinte-cheie: manuscrisul ars, metalepsă, proză modernă, pseudo-hipotext, pseudo-rezumat.

BENEDIKTS KALNAČS[1]

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXTS AND AESTHETIC SELF-REFLEXIVENESS OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY LATVIAN LITERARY REALISM

Introduction

The nineteenth century was a time of great political, economic, and social upheavals. In the words of Spanish novelist Benito Pérez Galdós,

> there is to be noted a breakdown of those ancient social classes forged by history which have been powerful in organization right up to our own times. Common people and aristocracy are both losing their traditional characteristics, on the one hand by the diffusion of wealth, on the other by the progress of education, and the distance we still have to go before the [time when] basic classes losing their physiognomy will be traversed rapidly[2].

The direction of these changes was determined by the global nature of ongoing transformations variously echoed by different local communities[3]. Imperial ambitions coexisted with raising the self-awareness of national movements, the latter trying to expand the ranks of their supporters to demonstrate shared concerns and aims that would include previously underrepresented social and ethnic groups[4]. Various forms of art, such as historical painting as well as operas dealing with the national past and mythological motifs, written by such distinguished composers as Verdi, Wagner, Moniuszko, or Smetana, played a significant role in the process of national and social mobilization. The growing role of national movements was manifested in the creation of institutions that set as their task the collection, preservation, and promotion of cultural artefacts. John Neubauer argues that "[i]nstitutionalising literature was a matter of national self-consciousness rather

[1] Acknowledgement: This research is funded by the Latvian Council of Science within the terms and conditions of the project *Reclaiming Latvian Realism: Literary Innovation as Identity Quest* (project no. lzp-2024/1-0341), carried out at the Institute of Literature, Folklore and Art, University of Latvia, Riga.

[2] Benito Pérez Galdós, "Contemporary Society as Novelistic Material", in George J. Becker (ed.), *Documents of Modern Literary Realism*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1963, p. 149.

[3] See Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt: Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* [*The Transformation of the World. A History of the 19th Century*], München, Verlag C.H. Beck, 2010; Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire 1875–1914*, New York, Vintage Books, 1989; Jörn Leonhard, Ulrike Hirschhausen, *Comparing Empires: Encounters and Transfers in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Göttingen, Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, 2011.

[4] See Joep Leerssen, *The National Thought in Europe*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2018; Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985.

than of economics", and refers to these processes as "textual construction"[5]. An important part of the rising ambitions of local communities was the growing interest in the everyday living conditions of various social strata, and in their representation. In these contexts, vernacular literatures had an important role to play.

This article explores the above issues by tracing the trajectory of nineteenth-century Latvian literature in comparative historical and aesthetic contexts. The investigation focuses on the ways nineteenth-century social changes preconditioned the importance of literature and literary communication more generally, on the relevance of literary realism and its themes, as well as its poetic innovations, and on the role realist literary efforts played in stimulating the self-reflexiveness of literature in response to the challenges of modernity.

The Importance and Legitimacy of Nineteenth-century Literature

One of the most significant factors in the transition from eighteenth to nineteenth century culture was the secularization of literature. This was especially acute for societies supposedly finding themselves on the periphery or semi-periphery of the European literary system[6]. The Latvian example is a case in point here. The beginnings of secular literature in the Latvian language are placed in the second half of the eighteenth century. Literary developments at the time were shaped by the so-called Popular Enlightenment, with its roots in German literary culture and aimed at peasant education[7]. However, communication models differed when transferred from ethnically German lands to the Baltic provinces where, despite the political rule of the Russian Empire established in the eighteenth century, the economic and cultural dominance of the Baltic Germans remained largely intact. Thus, the educational tasks set by the Popular Enlightenment in the Baltic provinces were aimed at the ethnically different Latvian peasants, who did not speak the language of the educators. In their turn, Baltic German pastors and *literati* were not native speakers of Latvian. For these reasons, the Latvian-language texts they created had relatively restricted aims and primarily practical purposes. The main outcomes of the Popular Enlightenment were nevertheless important, while reading secular texts was considered potentially valuable and was gradually accepted among the peasants.

---

[5] John Neubauer, "General Introduction", in Marcel Cornis-Pope, John Neubauer (eds.), *History of the Literary Cultures of East Central Europe. Junctures and Disjunctures in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, vol. III: *The Making and Remaking of Literary Institutions*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2007, p. 2.

[6] Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-systems Analysis: An Introduction*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2004; Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*. Translated by M. B. DeBevoise, Cambridge and London, Harvard University Press, 2004.

[7] Pauls Daija, *Literary History and Popular Enlightenment in Latvian Culture*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017.

Another important factor that, alongside the secularization of literature, started to change reading habits, was the growing literacy of the Latvian population. This created preconditions for the gradual strengthening of the public sphere[8]. The first calendars in the Latvian language appeared in the late eighteenth century, and their popularity grew swiftly. The first newspaper in Latvian, *Latviešu Avīzes* [*Latvian Newspaper*], was initiated in 1822 by a group of Baltic German intellectuals who were also the founders of the so-called *Lettisch-literärische Gesellschaft* [*Latvian Literary Society*], established in 1824[9]. The declared undertaking of the Society was to provide the local population with more information and secular literary texts that considered the needs of education and pleasure[10]. A combination of moral lesson and curiosity as motivation for reading remained intact in the Latvian public sphere for a considerable time. The rules of the market also played a significant role, especially regarding the emergence of new publishers as the competition in this field was constantly growing. Publications of so-called popular literature became widespread, leading to the publication of the first best-selling books in the Latvian language[11]. Despite the sometimes dubious literary quality of these texts, it is nevertheless vital to see the secularization of literature and the growing readership as two sides of the same coin.

A qualitatively new step was taken by the generation of so-called New Latvians who commenced their activities in the 1850s. The New Latvians, who had a wide range of aims including political and economic advances of the Latvian population, were keen to address their compatriots and to promote new ideas through different media, including the publication of a radical weekly, *Pēterburgas Avīzes* [*St. Petersburg Newspaper*], from 1862 to 1865[12]. Already in the 1850s, when this group of people met for the first time at the University of Tartu (then Dorpat) in Estonia, they looked at literary publications as an important part of carrying out their ideological programme. The most radical of their demands, leading to severe conflicts with the Baltic German intellectuals, was that of

---

[8] Aiga Šemeta, "The Media History of the Early Periodical Press in Latvia", in Pauls Daija, Benedikts Kalnačs (eds.), *A New History of Latvian Literature: The Long Nineteenth Century*, Berlin, Peter Lang, 2022, pp. 57-63.

[9] Māra Grudule, Benedikts Kalnačs, "Introduction: An Outline of the Political and Cultural Development of Latvia", in Liisa Steinby, Benedikts Kalnačs, Mikhail Oshukov, Viola Parente-Čapková (eds.), *The Politics of Literary History. Literary Historiography in Russia, Latvia, the Czech Republic and Finland after 1990*, Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2024, p. 148.

[10] Pauls Daija, "Baltic German Literary Societies", in Daija, Kalnačs (eds.), *A New History of Latvian Literature*, pp. 36-45.

[11] Lidija Limane, "Garais lasīšanas gadsimts. Daži grāmatu lasīšanas aspekti 19. gadsimtā" ["The Long Century of Reading. Some Aspects of Book Reading in the 19th Century"], in Maija Treile (ed.), *Lasīšanas pandēmija: esejas par lasīšanas vēsturi Latvijā* [*The Reading Pandemic. Essays on the History of Reading in Latvia*], Rīga, Latvijas Nacionālā bibliotēka, 2020, p. 88.

[12] Gints Apals, *Pēterburgas Avīzes. Latviešu pirmā saskare ar Eiropas politiskajām idejām* [*St. Petersburg Newspaper. The First Latvian Contacts with European Political Ideas*], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 2011.

creating a Latvian elite culture[13]. However, if we look at the literary activities the New Latvians initiated, alongside other aims such as the promotion of significant social and economic reforms, it is striking that publications with the rather modest aims of providing light entertainment could peacefully co-exist with declarations of the need to significantly raise the quality of Latvian letters. These two trends find their early examples in Krišjānis Valdemārs's story collection, *300 stāsti* [*300 Stories*] (1853), and Juris Alunāns's translated poetry volume, *Dziesmiņas, latviešu valodai pārtulkotas* [*Little Songs, Translated for the Latvian Language*] (1856), respectively. While Valdemārs, uncompromising in terms of economic development, still considered the Latvian public as having rather limited literary interests, Alunāns' volume of translations of both ancient and modern poetry, which included some of the most radical nineteenth-century German authors, provided a challenge not only to the Baltic German community that found these texts unsuited for the Latvian readership, but also for the intended readers themselves. In terms of sold copies, *Dziesmiņas* obviously could not achieve commercial success, even though in retrospect this publication has been considered a turning point in the development of Latvian letters. Nevertheless, regarding the versatility of literary trends, it was the impact of both elite and popular culture that significantly shaped nineteenth-century reading habits at a time when the difference between these two types of cultural production was less pronounced.

Such difference, on the other hand, was important for Johann Wolfgang von Goethe as he developed his vision of world literature. Theo D'haen comments that, for Goethe, the concept of world literature

> assumes the double guise of on the one hand signalling, positively, the intimate "commerce" or exchange of ideas between like-minded writers across Europe, and on the other hand, negatively, that of the ever faster and ever-increasing commercialization, including in the province of "letters", that Goethe saw taking place all around him[14].

Being more peripheral, and small in terms of readers, nineteenth-century Latvian literature could not yet make a division between the two realms but rather tried to benefit from both. This pattern was not unusual; for related reasons it was, in fact, familiar elsewhere in Central Europe.

The most important aspect in establishing the legitimacy of literary efforts was a conscious approach to the building of a literary community. Marko Juvan observes this regarding the development of nineteenth-century Slovenian literature and points to the role played by philologist Matija Čop and poet France Prešeren who "endeavored to place world literature in the emerging Slovenian literary

---

[13] Ivars Ijabs, "Another Baltic Postcolonialism: Young Latvians, Baltic Germans, and the Emergence of Latvian National Movement", *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 42, 2013, 1, pp. 88-107.

[14] Theo D'haen, *A History of World Literature*, London and New York, Routledge, 2024, p. 8.

system, even as they also attempted – at least at the level of aesthetic and imaginative potentialities – to include domestic literature in the world literary system"[15]. These aims were shared by other Central European cultures that, despite their innovations, for reasons of historical and social inequality could not quite match the level of distribution of English or French literature. Tomasz Bilczewski, Stanley Bill, and Magdalena Popiel justly state that the long-term goal of scholarly efforts should be to demonstrate how (in their example) Polish literature "has always belonged to the global currents of 'world literature'. The latter claim is not to deny that such currents have often been asymmetrical, subject to the operations of cultural and political power"[16]. Belonging to both local and world literary systems through their efforts of reception and interpretation, on one hand, and looking for their own voice and innovation, on the other, has been significant for East-Central European literatures.

Realist Issues in Nineteenth-Century Literature

While significant differences remained, the nineteenth century nevertheless showed a tendency toward synchronization in the development of European literary cultures. This meant above all raising the level of originality of literary production in various parts of Europe. In preceding centuries, the most important cultural trends such as the Baroque or the Enlightenment had already reached out to literary peripheries (even if not necessarily providing sufficient foundation for creating texts in the vernacular), but this communication often worked at the level of appropriation and imitation. In the nineteenth century, however, local literary trends started to catch up with European developments in a much shorter time, with authors being able to participate in or at least follow an ongoing exchange of opinions. For Polish and Slovenian literatures, this was arguably the case already in the period of Romanticism. In the case of other, more oppressed cultures, such as the Lithuanian one, the synchronization with European trends was even more difficult and could depend on the author's intuition. Regarding the topic of arranged marriages versus marriages for love in the late nineteenth-century prose by the Lithuanian author Žemaitė, Violeta Kelertas observes: "Using only her feelings and experiences, relying on her acute observational powers, she captured the zeitgeist and verbalized the solution that she intuited on her own far from any centers of culture and influence"[17]. Thus, in the last decades of the nineteenth

[15] Marko Juvan, "World Literature in Carniola", *Interlitteraria*, 2012, 17, p. 28.
[16] Tomasz Bilczewski, Stanley Bill, Magdalena Popiel, "Introduction: Polish Literature and Its Worlds", in Tomasz Bilczewski, Stanley Bill, Magdalena Popiel (eds.), *The Routledge World Companion to Polish Literature*, London and New York, Routledge, 2022, p. 4.
[17] Violeta Kelertas, "Introduction", in Žemaitė, *Marriage for Love. A 19th Century Lithuanian Woman's Fight for Justice*. Translated by Violeta Kelertas and Maryte Racys, Los Angeles, Birchwood Press, 2020, p. 11.

century, the rising vernacular cultures were, in different ways, getting more and more up to speed with the Western European trends. In this process, realism had a prominent role to play.

By the time Latvian literature was heading toward maturity, realist literary efforts had already been well developed, even sophisticated, in many parts of Europe. This was not only the case of French or English literature but also, for example, of Polish culture. Important social factors, such as the defeat of the 1863 uprising in the Russian Empire, initiated a more pragmatic approach to the continuing social struggle as well as influencing the positivist trend (an analogue to realism) in Polish literature. Characteristically, some of those in the positivist camp used elements of popular literature in their representational strategies. Such was the case of Henrik Sienkiewicz, who turned from contemporary social criticism to the genre of the historical novel, enjoying great success and popularity[18]. Sienkiewicz's approach corresponded to similar strategies of the generation of the New Latvians and their followers. In the case of nineteenth-century Latvian literature, the mixture of sentimentalism and realism remained present and, in the given contexts, can largely be considered productive.

The specific features of Latvian realism can be partially explained by the impact of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German literary trends that Latvian authors often considered to be their models. In his analysis of Friedrich Schiller's domestic tragedy *Kabale und Liebe* [*Intrigue and Love*] (1784), Erich Auerbach argues:

> In the Germany of those days, the revolt against the classicistic and rationalistic taste of France was also carried further than anywhere else. In the process the thing we call separation of styles, the exclusion of realism from high tragedy, was overcome, and this is a basic prerequisite both for a historical and for a contemporary realism of tragic dimensions. And yet at least the second of these, contemporary realism, did not achieve complete development[19].

More recent research pays attention to the presence of marginalized shorter forms in the German literary tradition, with the authors often turning "these short forms into catalysts of literary modernity after the demise of the old hierarchical system of genres in the later eighteenth century"[20]. Stimulated by the recognition that the separation of styles was outdated, the growing multiplicity of genres was instrumental for introducing realist poetics, in various ways and alongside the

---

[18] Monika Woźniak, "Toward Mass Culture: The Global Renown of Henryk Sienkiewicz's *Quo Vadis*", in Bilczewski, Bill, Popiel (eds.), *The Routledge World Companion*, p. 173.

[19] Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis. The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*. Translated by Willard R. Trask, Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2013, p. 444.

[20] Dirk Göttsche et al., "Routes into Realism. Multiple Beginnings, Shared Catalysts, Transformative Dynamics", in Dirk Göttsche, Rosa Mucignat, Robert Weninger (eds.), *Landscapes of Realism. Rethinking Literary Realism in Comparative Perspectives*, vol. I: *Mapping Realism*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 2021, p. 143.

impact of other trends such as sentimentalism. Looking at the complexity of ongoing aesthetic processes elsewhere, nineteenth-century Latvian literature tried to employ various stylistic approaches to communicate its messages to different groups of a potentially interested readership.

By the late 1880s realism had reached sufficient prestige as an innovative trend in contemporary European letters for Latvians authors to be eager to follow. The substantial changes inspired by realist texts included the turn toward the representation of everyday experience. The realist gaze consciously touched on those areas of life and social circles that had remained underrepresented, or were considered to be worth characterization only in lower literary genres, such as comedies. One of the landmarks of realist literature became "a new valuation of ordinary experience and its ordinary settings and things"[21]. Contrary to normative poetics with its emphasis on decorum, the realist approach significantly broadened the aesthetic scope. The presence of bourgeois or middle-class characters was already noticeable in eighteenth-century novel and drama, defined by Denis Diderot as the midway genre of dramaturgy with serious content. As Eric Bentley writes:

> The story begins with the establishment in the early eighteenth century of a genre midway between the older tragedy and comedy, a genre that was called *tragédie bourgeoise* – "bourgeois tragedy" – when it tended toward tragedy, and *comédie larmoyante* – "tearful comedy" – when it tended toward comedy[22].

These aesthetic tensions and interrelated generic moves remained intact throughout the nineteenth century. Realist aspects were developed in different forms by constant efforts of minute observation of the everyday experience of characters from different social milieus.

These changes contributed to the understanding of "the importance of making characters comparable to their supposed readers"[23]. This led not only to the growing impact of middle-class drama but also to a cross-sectional depiction of society in its totality in nineteenth-century realist and naturalist prose and dramaturgy. For Latvian authors, this shift in representation strategies opened the possibility of dealing seriously with socially lower strata of peasants and workers. Up to the 1860s, these groups were either shown with the purpose of providing a moral message, as in the concept of an "ideal peasant"[24] developed by Baltic Germans writing in Latvian, or marginalized, as in the German language novels and stories where the indigenous population was depicted, if at all, in anecdotal

---

[21] Peter Brooks, *Realist Vision*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2005, p. 7.
[22] Eric Bentley, *The Playwright as Thinker*, San Diego, New York, London, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1987, p. 46.
[23] Brooks, *Realist Vision*, p. 5.
[24] Daija, *Literary History*, pp. 77-104.

scenes taking place on the periphery of the main events[25]. Quite to the contrary, Latvian realist authors place these people at the centre of their fiction, thus substantially changing the contemporary literary scene. Consequently, a certain tension arose between their literary inspiration, taken from high culture such as the Enlightenment drama, and close observation of the everyday.

Compared to economically more advanced societies, an important aspect of nineteenth-century Latvian realism was the attention paid to social mobility and transformation in rural areas. Whereas, considering the French realist literature of the period, it is possible to argue that realist interests were predominantly linked to urban centres[26], in various other cases, such as Scandinavian, Polish, or Russian literatures things were different. At the same time, however, there were shared features. Perhaps the most important of those was the feeling of transformation, including swift economic changes that consciously or unconsciously affected the traditional way of life in the countryside. As Peter Brooks states, "[i]t is in particular the movement from country to city that might be said to trigger the realist impulse"[27]. This observation also fits the cases when people did not undertake any moves, but stayed in their traditional milieus. The difference from earlier ways of life, however, was marked by the inevitable impact of growing social tensions and economic changes. The Danish critic Georg Brandes argued this regarding the situation of Scandinavian literatures in his inaugural lecture at the Copenhagen University in the early 1870s, claiming that radical innovation should become the utmost priority for contemporary writers[28]. Small literatures such as the Danish – and Scandinavian ones in general – had to maintain their specificity and to address local readers while at the same time getting inspiration from the most topical literary trends. To achieve these tasks, an intellectual effort was necessary, as well as an acute sense of how ordinary people could be represented.

This led to important poetic changes, as Pam Morris shows by pointing to such significant aesthetic effects as the empirical effect and the truth effect at the core of the realist form[29]. While the link to aesthetic traditions still played a considerable role, the specificity of details as opposed to the universalizing approach of the Enlightenment was among the principal innovations of realist literature. New trends were inspired both from above and from below, as David Damrosch shows in his analysis of the related viewpoints and aesthetic demands made by the

---

[25] Benedikts Kalnačs, "The Genesis, Ideology and Poetics of Nineteenth-Century Latvian Novels", in Daija, Kalnačs (eds.), *A New History of Latvian Literature*, pp. 152-157.
[26] Brooks, *Realist Vision*, p. 131.
[27] *Ibidem*, p. 131.
[28] Dan Ringgaard, Mats Rosenthal Thomsen, "Introduction: Danish Literature as World Literature", in Dan Ringgaard, Mats Rosenthal Thomsen (eds.), *Danish Literature as World Literature*, New York, Bloomsbury Academic, 2018, p. 3.
[29] Pam Morris, *Realism*, London and New York, Routledge, 2003, pp. 101-113.

aristocratically minded Madame de Staël, on one hand, and the democratically inclined Johann Gottfried Herder, on the other[30].

Tensions in approaching nineteenth-century literature marked a move toward the diversity of literary fields across Europe. One of the principal contributions of realism was the openness of poetic expression as authors opted "to reconsider realist form not as yet another rule-based structure, but rather as an ongoing process of formal innovation through which authors seek to capture the ever changing sense of reality"[31]. The dynamics of form was inspired by the growing interconnectedness of various social strata as well as by nineteenth-century reading practices. As literary texts were often first serialized in newspapers and literary magazines, this contributed to the fragmentation of composition and structure due to the publication of the parts of larger texts in separate instalments. The elaboration of characters and plots in realist fiction could accordingly be advanced and modified in response to readers' perception of the already published parts. Social contexts could thus have a direct influence on the concepts developed by writers who, as in the case of Balzac, had "the ambition to offer a detailed representation of an entire society"[32]. Without necessarily setting themselves the aim to reach a scale of interpretation comparable to the French writer's achievements, for realist authors, delving into consideration of the driving forces of the social fabric as well as into the motivations of individual actions and decisions reflected their consciousness of the changing tasks in terms of both content and poetic expression of their work.

The "Self-reflexiveness" of Latvian Realist Literature. The Case of Rūdolfs Blaumanis

In their investigation of the dynamics of realist forms, Steen Bille Jørgensen and Margaret R. Higonnet pay special attention to two important notions, the "composition" of a literary text, and the "self-reflexiveness" of the authors' approaches to the represented reality. They take the position that self-reflexiveness

> evokes a notion of form as an open process unfolding in the work as an attempt to give shape to reality without stable contours or meaning. Form as a process of self-reflexiveness embraces the textual dynamism of the entire work with regard to its setting, characters, themes and composition[33].

---

[30] David Damrosch, *Comparing the Literatures: Literary Studies in a Global Age*, Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2020.

[31] Steen Bille Jørgensen, Margaret R. Higonnet, "Dynamics of Realist Forms", in Svend Erik Larsen, Steen Bille Jørgensen, Margaret R. Higonnet (eds.), *Landscapes of Realism. Rethinking Literary Realism in Comparative Perspectives*, vol. II: *Pathways through Realism*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2022, pp. 368-369.

[32] Thomas Pavel, Galin Tihanov, "What is Realism? Ideas and Debates", in Göttsche, Mucignat, Weninger (eds.), *Landscapes of Realism*, p. 45.

[33] Jørgensen, Higonnet, "Dynamics of Realist Forms", p. 369.

This includes the growing subjectivity of fiction, manifested both as an attempt by the authors to let their characters speak, as well as the necessity to develop a deeply personal emotional involvement. As Flaubert writes, "exterior reality must penetrate us, almost make us cry out with it, if we are to reproduce it well"[34]. The double role, that of narrator and character, assumed by the author, opened the way to such formal experiments as free indirect discourse. In elaborating his prose style, Flaubert was keen to preserve a certain indirectness, not revealing his intentions fully, but rather asking the reader to contribute to the creation of meaning. From this perspective, Flaubert criticized the prefaces to Emile Zola's works considering them too direct in postulating the author's viewpoint[35]. Flaubert recognized that the self-reflexiveness of an author could be shown in various ways. On appropriate occasions it might be voiced in different paratexts widespread in nineteenth-century literary culture, but preferably it could be integrated in the literary structure itself.

In what follows, I will trace some of the literary practices of nineteenth-century Latvian realist author Rūdolfs Blaumanis, considered one of the most important turn-of-the-century Latvian writers. More to the point, I will examine Blaumanis's take on "self-reflexiveness" in some of his prose and drama texts.

In the context of late nineteenth-century Latvian literature, Blaumanis differed significantly from most of his contemporaries. While looking at the same rural milieus as many of his colleagues, and describing the life of ordinary peasants as well as servants of the landlords' manors, Blaumanis provided a much more complex aesthetic perspective in his novellas and plays. Through his narrative techniques as well as through character constellations in his dramaturgy, he was able to combine a direct involvement, looking at the events from the persons' perspective, while also employing tools of estrangement that allowed for distance and self-reflexiveness.

Blaumanis' poetic intentions were only seldom outspoken, and in those cases mostly in his literary and theatre criticism. His occasional theoretical remarks testify to his profound knowledge of the contemporary art scene that helped pursue his aims. Social and cultural contexts implicated in literary works provide important clues to his aspirations, and the analysis of poetic form helps to explain these in more detail. As for many of his Latvian contemporaries, of special importance for Blaumanis were German literary models. He considered Goethe one of the principal influences when evaluating the literary tradition. He admired Nietzsche as one of the most radical thinkers of the late nineteenth century, and followed the efforts of many German language realist writers such as Peter Rosegger, Ludwig Anzengruber, Gottfried Keller, Theodor Storm, Gerhart

[34] Gustave Flaubert, "On Realism", in George J. Becker (ed.), *Documents of Modern Literary Realism*, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1963, p. 93.
[35] *Ibidem*, p. 96.

Hauptmann, and Herman Sudermann with great interest. When evaluating the complex and multi-layered poetics of Blaumanis, it is important to examine these stylistically heterogeneous and diverse inspirations, coming from literary contributions of different quality. At the early stages in his career, Blaumanis also wrote in German, and his efforts were intended to address educated readers[36].

To begin with his prose, late nineteenth-century Latvian literary contexts help to explain why the novella became the most characteristic genre for Blaumanis, who never attempted to write a novel. In practical terms, his constant employment as a journalist never allowed him to concentrate on his literary works for longer and uninterrupted periods of time. Thus, Blaumanis needed to be satisfied with brief spells of intense writing, and preferred shorter forms of fiction. This was a characteristic feature of Latvian letters, as the first Latvian novels appeared only in 1879[37]. Importantly for Blaumanis, however, this also became an issue of evaluating the most appropriate scale for a literary text, a subject of consideration in European realism at the time[38]. This is already obvious in his first published work, the short German-language *Skizze* (sketch) *Wiedergefunden* [*Found Again*] (1882), a reflection on an artist who has returned home after a period of travel.

In the 1890s, when Latvian novel writing was finally gaining pace, in many parts of Europe the most important period of the realist novel had already passed its peak. Blaumanis felt that his exploits of the novella genre and other short forms were well suited to satisfy impatient readers already used to modern living conditions, while at the same time still developing their skills of grasping the more sophisticated details of literary texts. His approach had a lot in common with that of many contemporary authors who, in their attempts, "began more systematically to reconsider literary form as a way to affect readers, for some in order to cater to the popular aesthetic taste, for others to influence them worldwide, and for many realist writers to do both"[39].

Regarding links to German literary trends, a characteristic example is provided by Blaumanis's novella *Romeo un Jūlija* [*Romeo and Juliet*] (1897). It is written in the tradition of Neo-Renaissance literature trending in Germany in the last quarter of the nineteenth century[40]. Contrary to the prevailing models of relocating events

---

[36] Benedikts Kalnačs, Rolf Füllmann, "Der lettische Schriftsteller Rūdolfs Blaumanis um 1900: Tradition, Symbolismus und Revolution" ["The Latvian Writer Rūdolfs Blaumanis around 1900: Tradition, Symbolism, and Revolution"], in Agnese Dubova, Ineta Balode, Konrad Schröder (eds.), *Sprach- und Kulturkontakte im Ostseeraum* [*Linguistic and Cultural Contacts in the Baltic Sea Region*], Bamberg, University of Bamberg Press, 2022, p. 252.

[37] Kalnačs, "The Genesis, Ideology and Poetics", pp. 157-162.

[38] Jørgensen, Higonnet, "Dynamics of Realist Forms", pp. 434-435.

[39] *Ibidem*, p. 397.

[40] See Rolf Füllmann, *Die Novelle der Neorenaissance zwischen "Gründerzeit" und "Untergang" (1870–1945): Reflexionen im Rückspiegel* [*The Novella of the Neo-Renaissance between the "Founding Era" and "Downfall" (1870–1945): Reflections in the Rearview Mirror*], Marburg, Tectum Verlag, 2016.

to earlier centuries, Blaumanis picked up and elaborated the topic of two hostile families leading to the tragedy of their children within the Latvian peasant milieu. He drew inspiration from Shakespeare's tragedy *Romeo and Juliet* (1595) and the nineteenth-century novella *Romeo und Julia auf dem Dorfe* [*A Village Romeo and Juliet*] (1855) by the German language Swiss author Gottfried Keller. However, there are several differences from Keller's approach. Thus, contrary to the omnipresent narrator of Keller's novella, Blaumanis' narration works on the level of the protagonists, mostly looking at the events from their perspective. At the same time, the author's implicit comments allow for an alienated view with sharp-eyed observations of the Latvian peasant milieu. Specific details include the relatively advanced age of the protagonists who had not been allowed to settle their own lives. An important addition to the conflict is the implication of the potential incest in the relations of the protagonists, which eventually leads to their intended double suicide. This might be considered as an indication of the limited conditions in which they live. However, in Blaumanis' novella the truth of their parents' claim, intended to prevent the potential marriage, is never confirmed. Indecisiveness remains a significant aspect of the narrative strategy.

Another example of self-reflexiveness in Blaumanis' fiction is his novella *Baltais* [*The White One*] (1896). Here, the story is told by an artist who, upon his short-term visit home after graduating from the Art Academy in St. Petersburg, encounters a young farmhand who catches his interest and whom the artist wants to portray. The exchange of opinions between the two men reveals their different characters and signals the gap regarding their different experiences and world views.

The character of the artist in the novella was inspired by Blaumanis' friend, the young Latvian painter Janis Rozentāls. Among the most intriguing aspects of this work are those provided by the contexts of its creation and publication. *Baltais* was printed in the fall of 1896, at the time when there was a Latvian ethnographic exhibition in Riga, featuring important achievements in all spheres of life. This exhibition became hugely popular and well-attended. There was also widespread enthusiasm in broad circles of the local population already during the period of preparations, when people were asked to participate with available information and artefacts, and indeed many got involved. At the same time, however, there were disagreements as to what priorities should be set. Specific contexts were also provided by this exhibition being an integral part of the Tenth All-Russian Archaeological Congress, which revealed an implicit orientalist dimension. In *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward W. Said comments on the popular nineteenth-century "universal" exhibitions that "routinely contained models of colonial villages, towns, courts, and the like […]. These subaltern cultures were exhibited before Westerners as microcosms of the larger imperial domain"[41]. Such contexts

[41] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, New York, Vintage Books, 1994, p. 112.

could, in the case of the Latvian intellectual community, contribute to the feeling of alienation, and it certainly provided the whole undertaking with a double meaning. For example, the artist Rozentāls, featured in Blaumanis' novella, was among the organizers of the exhibition. At the same time, he could perceive the distance between his own understanding of the principles of modern art, on one hand, and the artefacts of the traditional way of peasant life featured by the exhibition, on the other. To a considerable extent, Blaumanis' narrative in *Baltais* draws on such inner tensions which the writer not only projects into the character of the artist, who is also the first-person narrator of the novella, but also, by extension, recognizes as personally experienced. An implicit internal dialogue between the academically educated and self-assured Rozentāls, and Blaumanis, whose education only included a German-language commercial school in Riga (and who, despite the good foundation of his knowledge, was always at pains to broaden his knowledge), was also at play here. Arguably, Blaumanis, who continued to live alternatively in Riga and at his familial farmstead *Braki*, still felt close to peasant life, while considering it from a distant perspective. The contrast between the setting of the events in his novella, and the broader contexts of the Ethnographic Exhibition that took place in Riga, are also markers of this duality.

In Blaumanis' dramaturgy, the duality between the traditional and the modern way of life on the poetic level is expressed through the constantly employed motif of return, which is employed in his dramas as well as in his comedies. Throughout the history of dramaturgy, the return (or arrival) of an important character had been adapted as a technical device, helping to introduce the situation and providing the principal figure with an opportunity to evaluate earlier events anew. Shakespeare's tragedy *Hamlet* (1601) is among well-known examples of this approach. In the nineteenth century, Ibsen carefully elaborated the so-called retrospective technique in his family dramas such as *Gengangere* [*Ghosts*] (1881). Blaumanis followed in these footsteps while focusing on the Latvian peasant milieu.

In Blaumanis' first play, *Zagļi* [*The Robbers*] (1890), two of the protagonists return to their native region from the Russian mainland where, as was a familiar nineteenth-century trend, they had acquired land in the hope of achieving more prosperous living conditions. The comic situations in the play are partly based on the inability of their former neighbours to recognize them. However, larger issues at stake are the rather painful experience of the two men regarding their emigration, as well as the inevitable differences created by their prolonged absence. The experience of being away from the familiar living space allows some deliberation concerning the traditional and seemingly well-known milieu, which leads to seeing it in a new light.

In another comedy, *Ļaunais gars* [*The Evil Spirit*] (1891), even a short-term absence is working in the same direction. A peasant couple has had the luck of winning a huge amount of money in a lottery. During the husband's trip to the city to collect their gain, the mistress of the farm organizes a party during which the consciousness of her newly acquired wealth leads to her sense of superiority and

causes immediate disputes with relatives and neighbours. On the return of the husband, however, it turns out that the supposedly winning number was printed in the newspaper by mistake. The sudden crush of ambitions allows the husband to take notice of his usual milieu in a new light that motivates him, and subsequently also his wife, to reconsider their true values, while abandoning their air of superiority. In his later play, *Skroderdienas Silmačos* [*Tailor-Days in Silmači*] (1905), Blaumanis used the figure of a traveling tailor to reevaluate the relations within a farmstead, solving all misunderstandings by the end of the play.

More complex cases are provided by Blaumanis' dramas; I wish to comment on two of them. As was the case with *Romeo un Jūlija*, discussed above, in his literary works Blaumanis employed motives that had long-established roots in European culture, providing them with new meanings. Yet another such example is his drama *Pazudušais dēls* [*The Prodigal Son*] (1893), which traces the tragic story of a young man, Krustiņš, raised on his parents' farm but growing gradually impatient with the living conditions there, even though he is unable to find an escape route. This leads him to a more and more frivolous life that eventually derails Krustiņš during the prolonged absence of his father, who needs treatment in the city hospital. During this time, Krustiņš falls into debt and is unable to pay the annual rent on the farm. On his return, the father not only notices these problems, but also sees the issues his son has been struggling with in a new light, and recognizes that these had to have been caused to a considerable extent by the isolation in a remote farmstead, with little echo of the contemporary social transformations.

However, all attempts to find an escape route are doomed to failure while the amount of debt which Krustiņš is not ready to reveal to his father already appears too large to be paid. An ill-advised attempt to steal some money from his father's closet to try his luck at gambling leads to the catastrophic final scene of the play, when Krustiņš's robbery is discovered and he is shot dead by his father. Importantly, although this appears to be too late, an evaluation of earlier events triggered in the play by the father's absence and by his return is important for the implicit self-reflexiveness of this drama on the level of both character and plot elaboration[42].

Another example of the broad perspective Blaumanis was looking for in his dramas was his interpretation of the storyline reflecting the fate of Potiphar's wife, featured in the Bible (Genesis 39: 1-23). This story was used as an indirect allusion in the title and the plot of Blaumanis' drama *Potivāra nams* [*Potiphar's House*] (1897). Dealing with the subject of marital infidelity, and preserving the traditional milieu of the countryside, the difference of this drama compared to other plays by Blaumanis was provided by its geographical scope introduced through one of its

[42] Benedikts Kalnačs, "The Blaumanis Moment: National Literature Enters the Stage of Art", *Interlitteraria*, 2012, 17, pp. 318-326.

protagonists, Ringolts, who, as a result of his travels, has acquired significant wealth and experience.

The events of the play unfold, characteristically, on Ringolts' return to his brother's country house following a long absence. Fresh insights help Ringolts to notice his brother Matīss's problematic situation in his marriage to a younger and lustful woman. Ringolts undertakes an effort to raise his brother's awareness of the problem. Even if these efforts are initially met with a passionate resistance, Matīss finally recognizes the accuracy of Ringolts' observations. As the action unfolds, Matīss separates from his wife, leaves his estate, and, with the support of Ringolts, finds peace of mind in a remote and idyllic foreign location, even though he is still longing to return home. What Matīss gains from this experience is the capacity of a critical evaluation of the conditions of his family life. Despite this acknowledgement of a relatively narrow segment of reality, and revealed partly with the help of melodramatic imagination often exploited in popular theatre throughout the nineteenth century[43], Blaumanis once again employs the double perspective of the local and the global, of the immersion of persons in unfolding events and a distanced look at them.

Blaumanis himself was not a frequent traveller. Only at the age of nearly forty did he, in 1901, take up a post as one of the editors of a Latvian language newspaper published in St. Petersburg, for several years. Still, he benefited from the evolving genre of travel writing that had started gaining ground in the Latvian public sphere. He communicated with a lot of people who had sufficient travel experience. His interest in meeting people from different backgrounds grew from his reading, conversations and reflections. The recognition of the importance of such contacts also helped to portray human character more convincingly and to provide various perspectives on the same events. Starting with the observation of local people, Blaumanis developed insights into broader patterns of human encounters in his literary texts, where he revealed an excellent knowledge of everyday habits and personal relations.

Conclusion

In 1855, Charles Baudelaire wrote a long review of the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, in which he stated:

> There can be few occupations so interesting, so attractive, so full of surprises and revelations for a critic, a dreamer whose mind is given to generalization as well as to

[43] Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1995.

> the study of details – or, to put it even better, to the idea of a universal order and hierarchy – as a comparison of the nations and their respective products[44].

The writer further dealt with the concept of hierarchy but the tone of his review was most appreciative of cultural varieties pointing to "their *equal* utility"[45]. The freshness of Baudelaire's insights, alongside the depth of his intellectual observations, suggests a comparison with the way Blaumanis approached the Latvian Ethnographic Exhibition in 1896. To him the exhibits he saw there were familiar and distant at the same time, just as in his art he relied on a detailed knowledge of the ordinary, but also developed his poetic insights by including the inspiration he got from other literatures. To some extent, Blaumanis' search for the poetics of literary form was close to that of a comparatist, "[p]ursuing similarity, but using similarity as a starting point for discovering what is different"[46]. César Dominguez, Haun Saussy, and Dario Villanueva further specify their take on the issue of ethnography:

> Some ethnographic collections are organized by geographical area [..]. But some collections [..] are organized by task. In one area the visitor can examine dozens of types of small boats from different cultures. In another, dozens of scythes, spinning-wheels, or shoes. The needs, we see, are more or less the same, but they are satisfied using different materials, employing different tools and techniques, under different conditions of use[47].

Nineteenth-century literature was, arguably, also organized by tasks. Those can be defined as the necessity to legitimize literary efforts, to pay attention to previously underrepresented spheres of experience such as the ordinary, to look for and find an adequate poetic form, and to make literary texts be both attractive and serious intellectual work, resulting in self-reflexiveness stimulated by writing and reading alike. The spread of these efforts across territories created the basis for the concept of world literature. It led to the intense circulation of ideas and literary texts either in translation or in languages immediately accessible for the local readership and beyond. The "new, truly secular"[48] approach to representing the ordinary helped to create a shared basis of experience across societies and cultures. From this perspective, each literary system that was going to be created intersected with others that kept looking for similar issues while overcoming the persistent feelings

---

[44] Charles Baudelaire, "Critical Method – on the Modern Idea of Progress as Applied to the Fine Arts", in Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, Jason Gaiger (eds.), *Art in Theory 1815–1900: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 1998, p. 485.
[45] *Ibidem*, p. 485. Baudelaire's emphasis.
[46] César Domínguez, Haun Saussy, Darío Villanueva, *Introducing Comparative Literature: New Trends and Applications*, London and New York, Routledge, 2015, p. 75.
[47] *Ibidem*, p. 73.
[48] Franco Moretti, *The Bourgeois: Between History and Literature*, London and New York, Verso, 2014, p. 75.

of belatedness regarding the position of small and peripheral cultures[49]. Through their efforts, Latvian realist authors contributed to the intellectual and aesthetic diversity and growing self-reflexiveness of nineteenth-century literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

APALS, Gints, *Pēterburgas Avīzes. Latviešu pirmā saskare ar Eiropas politiskajām idejām* [*St. Petersburg Newspaper. The First Latvian Contacts with European Political Ideas*], Rīga, Zvaigzne ABC, 2011.

AUERBACH, Erich, *Mimesis. The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*. Transl. by Willard R. Trask, Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2013.

BAUDELAIRE, Charles, "Critical Method – on the Modern Idea of Progress as Applied to the Fine Arts", in Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, Jason Gaiger (eds.), *Art in Theory 1815–1900: An Anthology of Changing Ideas*, Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 1998, pp. 485-489.

BENTLEY, Eric, *The Playwright as Thinker*, San Diego, New York, London, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1987.

BILCZEWSKI, Tomasz, BILL, Stanley, POPIEL, Magdalena, "Introduction: Polish Literature and Its Worlds", in Tomasz Bilczewski, Stanley Bill, Magdalena Popiel (eds.), *The Routledge World Companion to Polish Literature*, London and New York, Routledge, 2022, pp. 1-5.

BROOKS, Peter, *Realist Vision*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2005.

BROOKS, Peter, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1995.

CASANOVA, Pascale, *The World Republic of Letters*. Transl. by M. B. DeBevoise, Cambridge and London, Harvard University Press, 2004.

DAIJA, Pauls, "Baltic German Literary Societies", in Pauls Daija, Benedikts Kalnačs (eds.), *A New History of Latvian Literature: The Long Nineteenth Century*, Berlin, Peter Lang, 2022, pp. 27-47.

DAIJA, Pauls, *Literary History and Popular Enlightenment in Latvian Culture*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017.

D'HAEN, Theo, *A History of World Literature*, London and New York, Routledge, 2024.

DAMROSCH, David, *Comparing the Literatures: Literary Studies in a Global Age*, Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2020.

DOMÍNGUEZ, César, SAUSSY, Haun, VILLANUEVA, Darío, *Introducing Comparative Literature: New Trends and Applications*, London and New York, Routledge, 2015.

FLAUBERT, Gustave, "On Realism", in George J. Becker (ed.), *Documents of Modern Literary Realism*, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1963, pp. 89-96.

FÜLLMANN, Rolf, *Die Novelle der Neorenaissance zwischen "Gründerzeit" und "Untergang" (1870–1945): Reflexionen im Rückspiegel* [*The Novella of the Neo-Renaissance between the "Founding Era" and "Downfall" (1870–1945): Reflections in the Rearview Mirror*], Marburg, Tectum Verlag, 2016.

GALDÓS, Benito Pérez, "Contemporary Society as Novelistic Material", in George J. Becker (ed.), *Documents of Modern Literary Realism*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1963, pp. 147-153.

[49] Gregory Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Change: Inventing National Literature,* Minneapolis and Oxford, University of Minnesota Press, 1991.

GŐTTSCHE, Dirk, et al., "Routes into Realism. Multiple Beginnings, Shared Catalysts, Transformative Dynamics", in Dirk Göttsche, Rosa Mucignat, Robert Weninger (eds.), *Landscapes of Realism. Rethinking Literary Realism in Comparative Perspectives*, vol. I: *Mapping Realism*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins 2021, pp. 103-190.

GRUDULE, Māra, KALNAČS, Benedikts, "Introduction: An Outline of the Political and Cultural Development of Latvia", in Liisa Steinby, Benedikts Kalnačs, Mikhail Oshukov and Viola Parente-Čapková (eds.), *The Politics of Literary History. Literary Historiography in Russia, Latvia, the Czech Republic and Finland after 1990*, Cham, Palgrave Macmillan, 2024, pp. 141-153.

HOBSBAWM, Eric, *The Age of Empire 1875–1914*, New York, Vintage Books, 1989.

HROCH, Miroslav, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985.

IJABS, Ivars, "Another Baltic Postcolonialism: Young Latvians, Baltic Germans, and the Emergence of Latvian National Movement", *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*, 42, 2013, 1, pp. 88-107.

JØRGENSEN, Steen Bille, HIGONNET, Margaret R., "Dynamics of Realist Forms", in Svend Erik Larsen, Steen Bille Jørgensen, Margaret R. Higonnet (eds.), *Landscapes of Realism. Rethinking Literary Realism in Comparative Perspectives*, vol. II: *Pathways through Realism*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2022, pp. 367-472.

JUSDANIS, Gregory, *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Change: Inventing National Literature*, Minneapolis and Oxford, University of Minnesota Press, 1991.

JUVAN, Marko, "World Literature in Carniola", *Interlitteraria*, 2012, 17, pp. 27-49.

KALNAČS Benedikts, FÜLLMANN, Rolf, "Der lettische Schriftsteller Rūdolfs Blaumanis um 1900: Tradition, Symbolismus und Revolution" ["The Latvian Writer Rūdolfs Blaumanis around 1900: Tradition, Symbolism, and Revolution"], in Agnese Dubova, Ineta Balode, Konrad Schröder (eds.), *Sprach- und Kulturkontakte im Ostseeraum* [*Linguistic and Cultural Contacts in the Baltic Sea Region*], Bamberg, University of Bamberg Press, 2022, pp. 251-261.

KALNAČS, Benedikts, "The Blaumanis Moment: National Literature Enters the Stage of Art", *Interlitteraria*, 2012, 17, pp. 314-326.

KALNAČS, Benedikts, "The Genesis, Ideology and Poetics of Nineteenth-Century Latvian Novels", in Pauls Daija, Benedikts Kalnačs (eds.), *A New History of Latvian Literature: The Long Nineteenth Century*, Berlin, Peter Lang, 2022, pp. 149-169.

KELERTAS, Violeta, "Introduction", in Žemaitė, *Marriage for Love. A 19th Century Lithuanian Woman's Fight for Justice*. Translated by Violeta Kelertas and Maryte Racys, Los Angeles, Birchwood Press, 2020, pp. 1-15.

LEERSSEN, Joep, *The National Thought in Europe*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press, 2018.

LEONHARD, Jörn, HIRSCHHAUSEN, Ulrike (eds.), *Comparing Empires: Encounters and Transfers in the Long Nineteenth Century*, Göttingen, Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, 2011.

LIMANE, Lidija, "Garais lasīšanas gadsimts. Daži grāmatu lasīšanas aspekti 19. gadsimtā" ["The Long Century of Reading. Some Aspects of Book Reading in the 19th Century"], in Maija Treile (ed.), *Lasīšanas pandēmija: esejas par lasīšanas vēsturi Latvijā* [*The Reading Pandemic. Essays on the History of Reading in Latvia*], Rīga, Latvijas Nacionālā bibliotēka, 2020, pp. 85-93.

MORETTI, Franco, *The Bourgeois: Between History and Literature*, London and New York, Verso, 2014.

MORRIS, Pam, *Realism*, London and New York, Routledge, 2003.

NEUBAUER, John, "General Introduction", in Marcel Cornis-Pope, John Neubauer (eds.), *History of the Literary Cultures of East Central Europe. Junctures and Disjunctures in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, vol. III: *The Making and Remaking of Literary Institutions*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2007, pp. 1-38.

OSTERHAMMEL, Jürgen, *Die Verwandlung der Welt: Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* [*The Transformation of the World. A History of the 19th Century*], München, Verlag C.H. Beck, 2010.

PAVEL, Thomas, TIHANOV, Galin, "What is Realism? Ideas and Debates", in Dirk Göttsche, Rosa Mucignat, Robert Weninger (eds.), *Landscapes of Realism. Rethinking Literary Realism in Comparative Perspectives*, vol. I: *Mapping Realism*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 2021, pp. 31-64.

RINGGAARD, Dan, THOMSEN, Mats Rosenthal, "Introduction: Danish Literature as World Literature", in Dan Ringgaard, Mats Rosenthal Thomsen (eds.), *Danish Literature as World Literature*, New York etc., Bloomsbury Academic, 2018, pp. 1-10.

SAID, Edward W., *Culture and Imperialism*, New York, Vintage Books, 1994.

ŠEMETA, Aiga, "The Media History of the Early Periodical Press in Latvia", in Pauls Daija, Benedikts Kalnačs (eds.), *A New History of Latvian Literature: The Long Nineteenth Century*, Berlin, Peter Lang, 2022, pp. 49-65.

WALLERSTEIN, Immanuel, *World-systems Analysis: An Introduction*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2004.

WOŹNIAK, Monika, "Toward Mass Culture: The Global Renown of Henryk Sienkiewicz's *Quo Vadis*", in Tomasz Bilczewski, Stanley Bill, Magdalena Popiel (eds.), *The Routledge World Companion to Polish Literature*, London and New York, Routledge, 2022, pp. 171-184.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXTS AND AESTHETIC SELF-REFLEXIVENESS OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY LATVIAN LITERARY REALISM
(*Abstract*)

This article traces the trajectory of nineteenth-century Latvian literature in comparative historical and aesthetic contexts. The investigation focuses on the ways nineteenth-century social changes preconditioned the importance of literature and literary communication more generally, on the relevance of literary realism and its thematic as well as poetic innovations, and on the role realist literary efforts played in stimulating the self-reflexiveness of literature in response to the challenges of modernity. The main tasks of nineteenth-century literature can be defined as the necessity to legitimize literary efforts, to pay attention to previously underrepresented spheres of experience such as the ordinary, to look for and find an adequate poetic form, and to render literary texts both attractive and serious as intellectual work, this resulting in self-reflexiveness stimulated by writing and reading alike. The article emphasizes the role of Latvian literary realism in shaping the contours of nineteenth-century literature.

Keywords: Latvian literature, literary communication, literary realism, Rūdolfs Blaumanis, self-reflexiveness.

CONTEXTELE ISTORICE ȘI AUTOREFLEXIVITATEA ESTETICĂ ALE REALISMULUI LITERAR LETON DIN SECOLUL AL XIX-LEA
(*Rezumat*)

Acest articol urmărește dezvoltarea literaturii letone din secolul al XIX-lea în contexte istorice și estetice comparative. Analiza se concentrează pe modurile în care schimbările sociale din secolul al XIX-lea au condiționat importanța literaturii și a comunicării literare în general, pe relevanța realismului literar și a inovațiilor sale tematice, precum și poetice, precum și pe rolul pe care proiectele literare realiste l-au jucat în stimularea autoreflexivității literaturii ca răspuns la provocările modernității. Principalele sarcini ale literaturii din secolul al XIX-lea pot fi definite ca necesitatea de a legitima demersurile literare, de a acorda atenție unor sfere ale experienței anterior subreprezentate, precum cea a cotidianului, de a căuta și a găsi o formă poetică adecvată și de a face ca textele literare să fie atât atractive, cât și substanțiale ca demers intelectual, ceea ce a dus la o autoreflexivitate stimulată deopotrivă prin scriere și lectură. Articolul subliniază rolul realismului literar leton în delimitarea specificității literaturii secolului al XIX-lea.

Cuvinte-cheie: literatură letonă, comunicare literară, realism literar, Rūdolfs Blaumanis, autoreflexivitate.

GÁBOR PALKÓ

THE RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF INNER-LIFE VERBS AS SIGNIFIER OF CHANGE IN 19TH- AND 20TH-CENTURY FICTION? DISTANT READING OF A CORPUS OF HUNGARIAN NOVELS[1]

Introduction

In this study, I aim to integrate the investigation of historical developments and specific characteristics of prose fiction from the past two centuries of Hungarian literary history, with a computational linguistic and statistical analysis of a corpus comprising Hungarian novels. Additionally, I situate this methodological integration within the broader landscape of scholarship pursuing similar objectives. Before outlining the methodology and presenting the results of my research, I provide a concise theoretical reflection on the relationship between digital and analogue literary analysis, which constitutes the theoretical underpinning of this study. Subsequently, I survey the relevant antecedents within Hungarian scholarship, alongside significant international examples and parallels. This overview leads into a detailed account of the corpus development and analytical methods, concluding with a discussion of the study's key findings.

Literary Studies and Distant Reading: Actual or Potential Influence?

> I am not saying that there are no results at all; but, in general, we must admit that they [computational literary studies] have a limited impact in the mainstream literary-critical or historical discourse (especially if we compare the momentum of other approaches in the past, say Structuralism, Deconstruction, Cultural studies or New Historicism)[2].

Fabio Ciotti's argument is difficult to dispute: there is a significant gap between computational literary studies (CLS) and traditional literary scholarship. Researchers engaged in CLS and scholars employing conventional methodologies strive to satisfy fundamentally different scholarly norms. These differences are notably visible in the editorial policies of scholarly journals. Journals dedicated to

[1] The research was supported by the National Laboratory for Digital Heritage (Project no. 2022-2.1.1-NL-2022-00009). The project has been implemented with the support provided by the Ministry of Culture and Innovation of Hungary from the National Research, Development and Innovation Fund, financed under the 2022-2.1.1-NL funding scheme.

[2] Fabio Ciotti, "Distant Reading in Literary Studies: A Methodology in Quest of Theory", *Testo e Senso*, 2021, 23, pp. 195-213.

digital humanities and CLS (such as the Digital Scholarship in the Humanities or the International Journal of Digital Humanities or, more specifically, the Journal of Computational Literary Studies), typically discourage arguments built exclusively on the user-level application of ready-made tools that operate as "black boxes", where processes remain opaque to users (as is the case with Voyant Tools or Gephi). These journals increasingly demand open publication of data and code and emphasize technological transparency along with critical reflection on digital methodologies. This shift aligns with broader trends towards data-driven scholarship, exemplified by the institutional pressure to comply with FAIR principles, exerted through research funding policies across nearly all academic fields.

In literary studies specifically, an additional factor warrants attention regarding the relationship between computational methods and traditional research approaches. The "digital turn" in literary studies, predicted and celebrated by some, yet deemed non-existent or incomplete by others, coincides with a crisis of legitimacy most accurately described by the concept of "reproducibility".

In 2019 when Nan Z. Da's high-profile critique attempted to reproduce prominent computational literary studies and found many results could not be duplicated, calls intensified for greater methodological rigor and transparency. Reproducibility has since become both a methodological gold standard and a point of contention – hailed as essential for rigor and scientific accountability, yet seen by some as potentially misaligned with the interpretive ethos and broader humanistic values of literary scholarship[3].

Undoubtedly, the increasing emphasis on the transparency of data and the processes applied to them, as well as the reproducibility of digital methodologies, represents a positive development. This trend aligns closely with methodological standards from hard(er)-science fields closely associated with digital humanities, such as quantitative social sciences and computer science. Nevertheless, the shift toward data awareness in computational literary studies (CLS) can also be interpreted as symptomatic of the aforementioned crisis of legitimacy.

Yet it remains far from certain that this data-driven turn in CLS will bridge the divide between mainstream literary-critical or historical discourse, and the increasingly technical discourse of distant reading. Indeed, the gap appears to be widening for two primary reasons. First, as a consequence of the legitimacy crisis outlined above, the notion of reproducibility inherently privileges methodologies rooted in data-driven scientific thinking. Second, the technologies shaping contemporary digital scholarship, which increasingly dominate the technical toolkit of digital humanities and literary research, are undergoing rapid and transformative

[3] Nan Z. Da, "The Computational Case against Computational Literary Studies", *Critical Inquiry*, 45, 2019, 3, pp. 601-639. From a broader perspective see Thorsten Ries, van Dalen-Oskam, Fabian Offert, "Reproducibility and Explainability in Digital Humanities", *International Journal of Digital Humanities*, 2024, 6, pp. 1-7.

change. Consequently, these technologies – e.g. those enumerated by Ciotti[4] – become increasingly opaque and less accessible to traditional humanities scholars.

Yet there is a third factor contributing to the widening of this divide. Moretti's provocative prediction regarding the global transformation of literary studies as a consequence of distant reading (here understood primarily as quantitative rather than exclusively computational) seems particularly relevant[5]. This logic seems to manifest itself concretely in the current trend within digital humanities, which is characterized by technologically sophisticated arguments that confidently make claims about cultural phenomena – such as literary periods, stylistic movements, or individual authors – about which the scholars themselves lack disciplinary knowledge. Indeed, practitioners of computational reading methods sometimes produce interpretations of texts they cannot read in the original languages. Within traditional literary scholarship, this represents a fundamental breach of scholarly norms. Expertise in traditional literary studies is defined precisely by proficiency in the linguistic and discursive worlds of a given literary period, and, equally importantly, thorough familiarity with the relevant scholarly literature. According to the paradigm of "close reading", scholarly legitimacy is established through publications demonstrating significant expertise in both primary texts and secondary literature.

Equally problematic, and perhaps even irritating, for literary scholars who consider themselves expert interpreters of literary texts, is the use of literary works stripped of their aesthetic function and employed merely as illustrative examples for technologies or methodologies largely disconnected from what Niklas Luhmann describes as the social system of art – the medium through which literary works gain meaning[6].

This study does not aim to offer further explication of the above issues, much less propose a definitive bridging of the gap between computational literary studies (CLS) and traditional literary scholarship. Nevertheless, it seeks to adhere methodologically and argumentatively to the expectations of both domains, reflecting critically on their contrasting norms within the context of the research presented.

The relevance of this endeavour in the context of the current study is heightened by recent developments surrounding openly accessible Hungarian

---

[4] Ciotti, "Distant Reading", p. 195: "… probabilistic topic modeling, support vector machines, naïve Bayes classifiers, word embedding, and machine learning".

[5] Franco Moretti, "Conjectures on World Literature", *New Left Review*, 2000, 1, p. 57: "Literary history will quickly become very different from what it is now: it will become 'second hand': a patchwork of other people's research, without a single direct textual reading. Still ambitious, and actually even more so than before (world literature!); but the ambition is now directly proportional to the distance from the text: the more ambitious the project, the greater must the distance be".

[6] Niklas Luhmann, *Art as a Social System*. Transl. by Eva M. Knodt, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2000.

literary corpora from Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE)[7], which have increasingly served as resources for computer-assisted literary analyses. These corpora have also been the basis for studies conducted by scholars unfamiliar with Hungarian literary discourse, by researchers who do not read Hungarian. From the perspective of CLS standards, this is an accepted practice, given that the primary scholarly focus of such research typically lies beyond the aesthetic qualities or linguistic construction of the texts themselves[8]. Conversely, for traditional literary scholars, this methodological practice may represent a significant breach of disciplinary norms.

Previous Research in Hungary

After establishing the theoretical context, it is necessary to examine the historical antecedents of the present research. Just as scholarly handbooks often cite Roberto Busa's Index Thomisticus as one of the earliest significant examples of computer-assisted textual analysis for humanities purposes, the pioneering figure in the computational processing of Hungarian literature is undoubtedly Iván Horváth. His database-building project, initiated in the 1970s, marks a foundational moment in this domain[9].

The historical background of this project is closely related to the sudden emergence of quantitative literary studies at the end of the 1960s. As András Kappanyos aptly observes in a brief essay in 2012[10], the prominence of quantitative methodologies at that time could be interpreted as promising a form of ideological independence from the Marxist orthodoxy imposed by the communist regime. What is particularly interesting, however, is that Kappanyos not only classifies the developments in quantitative literary studies of the 1960s and 1970s as ephemeral

---

[7] Péter Horváth et al., "ELTE Verskorpusz: a magyar kanonikus költészet gépileg annotált adatbázisa" ["ELTE Poetry Corpus: A Machine Annotated Database of Canonical Hungarian Poetry"], in Gábor Berend et al. (eds.), *XVIII. Magyar Számítógépes Nyelvészeti Konferencia (MSZNY 2022)* [*18th Hungarian Conference on Computational Linguistics*], Szeged, JATEPress, 2022, pp. 375-388; Botond Szemes et al., "Az ELTE Drámakorpuszának létrehozása és lehetőségei" ["The Creation and Potential Applications of ELTE Drama Corpus"], in József Tick, Károly Kokas, András Holl (eds.), *Valós térben, Az online térért: Networkshop 31: országos konferencia* [*In Real Space, for Online Space: Networkshop 31 – National Conference*], Budapest, HUNGARNET Egyesület, pp. 170-178.

[8] See, for example, Christof Schöch, Julia Dudar, Evgeniia Fileva, Artjoms Šeļa, "Multilingual Stylometry: The Influence of Language on the Performance of Authorship Attribution using Corpora from the European Literary Text Collection (ELTeC)", in Wouter Haverals, Marijn Koolen, Laure Thompson (eds.), *Proceedings of the Computational Humanities Research Conference 2024*, Aachen, PublisherCEUR-WS.org, 2024, pp. 386-408.

[9] Zsófia Fellegi, *A digitális filológia Magyarországon: elvek és gyakorlatok* [*Digital Philology in Hungary: Principles and Practices*], Doctoral Thesis, Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Budapest, 2024, p. 17, https://disszertacio.ppke.hu/id/eprint/583/. Accessed March 12, 2025.

[10] András Kappanyos, "Az egzakt irodalomtudomány kalandja" ["The Adventure of Quantitative Literary Studies"], *Alföld*, 63, 2012, 7, pp. 46-51.

phenomena, but also questions the legitimacy of this type of literary analysis in general. In other words, embodying the gap analysed above, he ignores the results of distant reading in the analysis of literary texts, and rejects quantitative methods in literary studies, whether based on manual or machine-based methods.

The beginnings and contemporary practice of computer-assisted distant reading have been strongly associated with the analysis of lyrical texts. Spanning nearly four decades, from the RPHA project initiated by Iván Horváth, to the ELTE Poetry Corpus[11], these efforts are less relevant to the present study's argument. One of the earliest attempts to undertake computational distant reading of novels, or at least to outline such a project, dates from the mid-2010's, and finds its theoretical foundation in Moretti's argument.

In his 2015 article, Gergely Labádi sketches a large-scale project aimed at creating a database of Hungarian novels encompassing not only the texts themselves but also their metadata and peritextual information. According to Labádi,

> Ideally, a database record should contain the precise text of the novel, along with structural and physical frameworks and functions related to the text (such as page numbers, chapters, mottos, etc.). Beyond the primary text, the record should also include peritextual elements (title page, dedication, engraving, advertisement, etc.). However, the database record does not merely transcribe these elements but organizes them into a schema adhering to the recommendations of TEI-XML, thus enriching them with metadata[12].

Although Labádi's ambitious plan to establish a comprehensive novel corpus was never realized due to his illness and untimely death, his conceptual framework anticipated several aspects of the research initiatives that have emerged in recent years concerning the computational distant reading of Hungarian novels. These aspects include the integrated handling of metadata and novel text on a single platform, which allows for both bibliographic and statistical linguistic analysis. Perhaps even more significantly, Labádi envisioned describing data in accordance with the guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), thereby providing a structured, metadata-enriched approach with a potential of international comparison.

Interestingly, the first Hungarian "novel database" was not established according to Labádi's proposal, nor was it initiated by Hungarian researchers. Instead, it emerged as part of an international project. Studies that analyse

---

[11] See https://github.com/ELTE-DH/poetry-corpus. Accessed March 12, 2025. See also the papers by Péter Horváth, e.g., Péter Horváth, "Két eljárás Magyar Nyelvű Versek metrumának gépi felismertetéséhez" ["Two Computational Methods for Detecting Meter in Hungarian Poetry"], *Digitális Bölcsészet*, 2021, 4, pp. 79-103.

[12] Gergely Labádi, "A magyar regény adatbázisa" ["The Database of the Hungarian Novels"], *Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum: Acta Universitatis Szegediensis,* 2016, 1, pp. 11-30. Unless otherwise stated, the quotations are translated into English by the author of this paper.

Hungarian literary history through computational linguistic analysis of large numbers of novels have relied on this corpus[13]. The project that fundamentally enabled these studies bears the highly evocative title *Distant Reading for European Literary History*.

Distant Reading for European Literary History (COST Action CA16204) is a project aiming to create a vibrant and diverse network of researchers jointly developing the resources and methods necessary to change the way European literary history is written. Grounded in the Distant Reading paradigm (i.e. using computational methods of analysis for large collections of literary texts), the Action will create a shared theoretical and practical framework to enable innovative, sophisticated, data-driven, computational methods of literary text analysis across at least 10 European languages. Fostering insight into cross-national, large-scale patterns and evolutions across European literary traditions, the Action will facilitate the creation of a broader, more inclusive and better-grounded account of European literary history and cultural identity[14].

The ambitious claim – reminiscent of Moretti's concept of "distant reading"[15] – that the methodology of literary historiography itself will change under the influence of CLS practice, remains difficult to verify, especially given the widening rather than narrowing gap between traditional and digital methodologies. However, it is undeniable that the multilingual novel corpus created within the framework of this project can reveal patterns accessible only through the perspective of distant reading, patterns that remain invisible to analogue methods and/or close reading.

The present study undertakes to present a previous scholarly experiment of reading novels "distantly", reproduce its results, extend its analysis, and evaluate the new findings thus obtained.

The Concept of the "Inward Turn"

The article titled "Towards a Computational History of Modernism in European Literary History: Mapping the Inner Lives of Characters in the European Novel, 1840–1920"[16] aims to investigate the inner worlds of characters through statistical linguistic tools, drawing upon Erich Kahler's concept of the "inward turn". The

[13] E.g. Botond Szemes, "A Sentence-Based Stylistic History of the Hungarian Novel", *Journal of Computational Literary Studies*, 2, 2023, 1, pp. 1-25.
[14] See the project website, https://www.distant-reading.net/ Accessed March 12, 2025.
[15] See Moretti, "Conjectures". While Moretti explicitly references Goethe's concept of world literature, he thereby seeks to elevate his own project – at least rhetorically – to Goethean heights.
[16] Tamara Radak, Lou Burnard, Pieter Francois et al., "Towards a Computational History of Modernism in European Literary History: Mapping the Inner Lives of Characters in the European Novel (1840–1920) [version 2; peer review: 2 approved, 1 approved with reservations], *Open Research Europe*, 2024, 3, 128, https://doi.org/10.12688/openreseurope.16290.2. Accessed March 12, 2025.

study attempts to derive insights regarding European literary history and the evolution of modernist prose from this quantitative approach. Although Kahler's influential essay from the late 1950s traces the "inward turn" only up to the end of the eighteenth century – precisely until the publication of *Tristram Shandy*[17], where the process reaches its peak and conclusion – he addresses the development of the European novel in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in other essays. As R. Robertson summarizes it:

> The German émigré Erich Kahler composed a well-known study, *The Inward Turn of Narrative*, which traces the internalization of the novel from antiquity down to the eighteenth century. He pursued the topic in relation to modernism in a lecture given in 1958 and published as an appendix to his study, entitled "The Transformation of the Novel". Here Kahler pursues the inward turn through a number of stages. In the late nineteenth century, he argues, literature moved in one of two directions. One direction was collective: people were presented not primarily as isolated individuals but as members of a group, a crowd, a family, a social class, as in Zola's naturalist fiction or in Mann's Buddenbrooks where the individual is subordinate to the family. If collectivism looked outward toward society, the other direction moved inward, into the depths of the individual psyche. The visible surface of reality was decomposed to permit a minute analysis of sensations, emotions, psychological nuances[18].

According to Kahler's argument, the "inward turn" and the "outward turn" emerge as parallel processes at the beginning of the twentieth century, although the "outward turn" never became a commonplace concept in literary history, like its counter-notion. This tension is addressed by Melanie Conroy in her 2014 article[19], which effectively balances the fault line between quantitative and traditional literary analysis. Her study, which focuses on French prose history, serves as a significant precursor to both Radak et al. and the present study:

> One of the most common but seldom tested presuppositions about the alleged "inward turn" is that the linguistic innovations of the modernist period helped portray the mental states of characters in a more advanced manner. This article reviews the debates on the differences between realist and modernist forms of thought

---

[17] Erich Kahler, *The Inward Turn of Narrative* (1973). Transl. from the German by Richard and Clara Winston, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2017, pp. 6-7: "For numerous reasons, personal as well as objective, our analysis stops at the end of the eighteenth century". Zoltán Abádi Nagy, one of the few Hungarian scholars referencing Kahler's literary-historical ideas, alludes precisely to this argument in connection with minimalist prose. See Zoltán Abádi Nagy, "Minimalizmus és narratív technika" ["Minimalism and Narrative Technique"], *Irodalomtörténet*, 1993, 1-2, p. 312. Kahler is not frequently cited in Hungarian literary history; his works are more often referenced in the context of national characterology.

[18] Ritchie Robertson, "Modernist Style and the 'Inward Turn' in German-Language Fiction", in Gregory Castle (ed.), *A History of the Modernist Novel*, New York and Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 293-310.

[19] Melanie Conroy, "Before the 'Inward Turn': Tracing Represented Thought in the French Novel (1800–1929)", *Poetics Today*, 35, 2014, 1-2, pp. 117-171.

> representation and uses quantitative techniques to determine whether, and to what extent, there was linguistic and stylistic innovation in how the French novel represented thought before and during the "inward turn" of the 1910's and 1920's.[20]

Conroy's conclusion is somewhat inconclusive; her quantitative examination of the linguistic representation of the "inward turn" does not reveal sharp trends or drastic shifts in the examined French novels. However, she identifies clear, albeit less radical, tendencies:

> The sharp increase in the frequency of mental verbs [...] provides strong evidence for the softer version of the modernist narrative advanced by critics like Lewis (2007), Matz (2006), and Schoenbach (2011). Accordingly, there is a gradual rise in interest in the mental states of characters through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries[21].

When Radak et al. attempted similar investigations on a multilingual corpus in the above-mentioned study, they inevitably faced the fact that even within a single literary culture, there is no consensus on whether modernism (or its "opposite", realist prose) should be identified as a literary-historical period, an aesthetic category, or a narrative style (Conroy favours the former). Moreover, moving from the centre (e.g. English, German, French literature) to the periphery (such as Hungarian or Portuguese literature) – to invoke the contested centre-periphery model from contemporary discourse on modernism[22] – the temporal configurations of "literary movements" can take remarkably different forms. Indeed, it remains debatable whether such a comparison contributes productively to the literary-historical interpretation of a "national literature" at all[23].

Nevertheless, this does not diminish the significance of employing computational tools for linguistic statistical analysis on large, multilingual literary corpora. However, as Radak et al. themselves acknowledge, the question remains whether an analysis comparing the texts of only 100 novels per language can effectively reveal relevant correlations and patterns.

In light of the above, the following sections will briefly outline the methodology employed by Radak et al. in examining the novel corpus and then present the twofold extension of that research. This expansion involves the applying the methodology to a much larger Hungarian corpus, both in terms of time span and scope, compared to the original study conducted on 100 novels only.

---

[20] *Ibidem*, p. 117.
[21] *Ibidem*, p. 165.
[22] See Laura Winkiel, "The Modernist Novel in the World-System", in Gregory Castle (ed.), *A History*, pp. 408-428.
[23] Mihály Szegedy-Maszák, one of the few internationally known figures of Hungarian comparative literary studies, makes a sharp observation ("Comparative investigation often distorts national literature"), challenging the rhetoric of periodization in Hans Robert Jauss's *Studien zum Epochenwandel der ästhetischen Moderne*. See Mihály Szegedy-Maszák, "A kánonok szerepe az összehasonlító kutatásokban" ["The Comparative Analysis of Canons"], *Irodalomtörténet*, 76, 1995, 1, p. 7.

Examining Hungarian Novels: The Corpora

The investigations conducted by Radak et al. on Hungarian novels were based on 100 novels from the ELTeC corpus. The limited number of novels raises concerns about the generalizability of the findings to the broader historical processes of Hungarian literary history. Additionally, the logic underlying the construction of the corpus significantly influences the validity of the results.

The ELTeC corpus was assembled according to strict principles, and the composition of the Hungarian sub-corpus fully adhered to these guidelines. It is worth highlighting that these principles were not developed with the historical specificity of Hungarian literature (or other "peripheral" literature on the map of modernist fiction) in mind, nor were they based on literary-historical arguments. Rather, they were designed to ensure comparability between languages and the commensurability of sub-corpora. While it is impossible to quantify which sub-corpus or national literature is better or worse served by these compilation criteria, some aspects of representativeness can be addressed concerning the Hungarian sub-corpus. The goal of this study, however, is not to offer a critical analysis of previous quantitative research conducted on the ELTeC corpus, but to expand it. Radak et al. applied a similar method when they examined the relative frequency of certain verbs in an expanded corpus of French novels.

The compilation principles of the ELTeC corpus will be examined not in isolation, but in relation to the original Hungarian-language corpus and the expanded corpora utilized for this study. Accordingly, the remainder of this study analyses three distinct corpora in parallel.

The first corpus, ELTeC-hun, fully complies with the principles established by the *Distant Reading* project. It contains the texts and metadata of 100 novels, all of which are in the public domain and freely accessible via the project's GitHub repository. As required by the project's standards, this corpus includes only public domain texts.

The second corpus, ELTE Novel Corpus II, is being continuously developed by the Department of Digital Humanities at Eötvös Loránd University[24]. Like ELTeC-hun, it consists exclusively of public domain works, follows the same principles of markup and metadata encoding, and is freely accessible. This expanded corpus includes an additional 300 novels, incorporating all novels from ELTeC-hun I within its dataset. The 400 novels are sourced from the Hungarian Electronic Library (Magyar Elektronikus Könyvtár) in PDF, RTF, or HTML format, with two novels obtained from the Google Books service. The text layer of these works originates from the digital sources, comprising both corrected and uncorrected

[24] See ELTE Novel Corpus, https://github.com/ELTE-DH/regenykorpusz. Accessed March 12, 2025.

OCR results. During corpus construction, due to the lack of human resources, no efforts were made to correct OCR errors.

The third corpus, Novel Corpus III, diverges significantly from the previous two in that it also includes copyrighted texts, making it unavailable for public distribution. This corpus contains all novels from ELTE Novel Corpus II while also incorporating approximately 900 additional texts sourced from various repositories, including the Internet Archive, Google Books, the Digital Literary Academy (Digitális Irodalmi Akadémia), Project Gutenberg, and other Hungarian and international databases, as well as e-books.

The novels were selected based on their affiliation with the literary canon as suggested by high school textbooks, post-1989 literary history handbooks, and lists of literary prize winners. Due to the nature of text acquisition – employing web scraping technology where the base is an HTML code of a webpage rather than a document, or through the automated extraction of texts from formats such as EPUB using pre-existing tools – it is not possible to guarantee a constant high philological quality or completeness of the texts at the level of individual works[25]. The total size of the corpus is 1,297 works. The presumed date of first publication for each novel was assigned automatically through Python scripts using data from the MOKKA ODR service, the ISBN Database, and Wikidata. These dates were subsequently verified using ChatGPT (GPT-4o model) through a prompt including the name of the author and the title. In cases where publication dates from different sources showed discrepancies of more than five years, dates were manually corrected. When a novel was first published posthumously, the author's year of death was recorded instead of the publication date. During the semi-automated data correction process, numerous inaccuracies were also identified within the ELTE Novel Corpus II, which are currently being corrected. Since this corpus is versioned through a GitHub repository, all corrections will remain traceable.

The novels included in ELTeC-hun I and ELTE Novel Corpus II were annotated using the *emtsv pipeline* natural language processing (NLP) toolkit[26].

[25] See Fellegi, *A digitális filológia*, p. 132: "Moretti and the practice of distant reading in general have been frequently criticized for two main reasons. First, they do not strive for transparency in terms of their corpus and methodology, which raises concerns about reproducibility. Second, they often rely on texts of poor or questionable quality from a philological standpoint, which can also call their results into question". See also James Dobson, Scott Sanders, "Distant Approaches to the Printed Page", *Digital Studies/Le champ numérique*, 12, 2022, 1, pp. 1-28, and Katherine Bode, "The Equivalence of 'Close' and 'Distant' Reading; or, Toward a New Object for Data-Rich Literary History", *Modern Language Quarterly*, 2017, 1, pp. 77-106.

[26] See Balázs Indig, Bálint Sass, Eszter Simon, Iván Mittelholcz, Noémi Vadász, and Márton Makrai, "One Format to Rule Them All – The emtsv Pipeline for Hungarian", in Annemarie Friedrich, Deniz Zeyrek, and Jet Hoek (eds.), *Proceedings of the 13th Linguistic Annotation Workshop*, Florence, Association for Computational Linguistics, 2019, pp. 155-165, and Balázs Indig, Bálint Sass, and Iván Mittelholcz. "The xtsv Framework and the Twelve Virtues of Pipelines", in Nicoletta Calzolari et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Twelfth Language Resources and Evaluation Conference*, Marseille, European Language Resources Association, 2020, pp. 7044-7052.

The statistical linguistic findings presented in the study by Radak et al. are based on data tagged with part-of-speech (POS) annotations, represented in separate XML files following the "level2" annotation scheme. For the linguistic annotation of Novel Corpus III, we initially relied on the HuSpaCy library, utilizing its most accurate model built on the RoBERTa architecture[27]. However, the annotation quality – particularly in the case of punctuation and verbs – proved to be significantly weaker than that produced by the *emtsv* toolkit. Consequently, after applying whitespace normalization and deduplication across the entire corpus, we re-annotated the texts using the *emtsv pipeline* to ensure consistency and higher linguistic accuracy.

Table 4. Text parsing accuracy of the novel pipelines compared to HuSpaCy, Stanza, UDify, Trankit and `emtsv`. Results for non-comparable models are shown in italics.

	Sent. F_1-score	PoS Acc.	Morph. Acc.	Lemma Acc.	UAS	LAS	NER F_1-score
emtsv	*98.11*	*89.19%*	*87.95%*	*96.16%*	–	–	**92.99**
Trankit	*98.00*	*97.49%*	*95.23%*	*94.45%*	***91.31***	***87.78***	–
UDify	–	96.15%	90.54%	88.70%	88.03	83.92	–
Stanza	97.77	96.12%	93.58%	94.68%	84.05	78.75	83.75
HuSpaCy	97.54	96.58%	93.23%	95.53%	79.39	74.22	83.68
md	97.88	96.26%	93.29%	97.38%	79.25	73.99	85.35
lg	98.33	96.91%	93.93%	97.58%	79.75	74.78	85.99
trf	99.33	**98.10%**	**96.97%**	98.79%	90.31	87.23	91.35
trf_xl	**99.67**	97.79%	96.53%	**98.90%**	90.22	86.67	91.84

Divergence from ELTeC Criteria in the Corpora

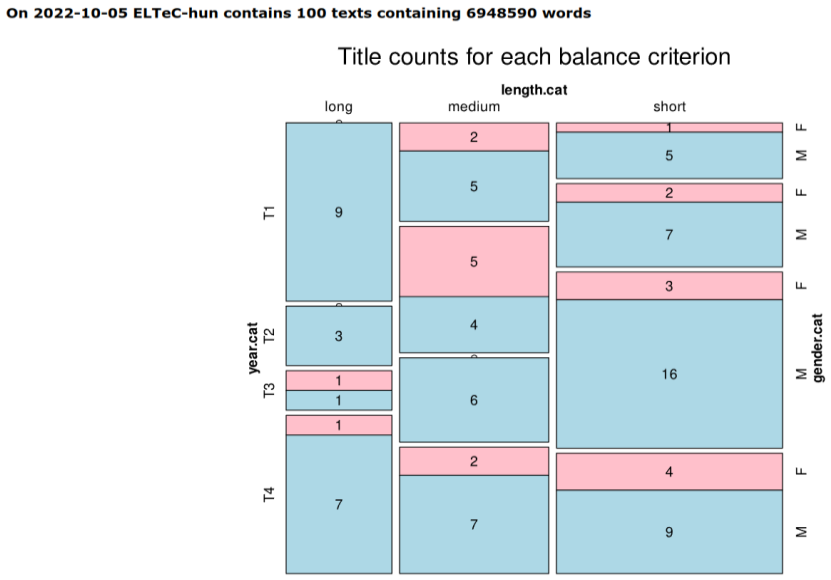
While we do not provide an exhaustive account of all ELTeC criteria here – these have been thoroughly documented in multiple studies and on the corpus's official GitHub repository[28] – we summarize the key principles, reflect on their potential implications, and highlight certain anomalies.

Since the principal motivation for creating the corpus was to uncover diachronic patterns and thereby contribute to a re-mapping of European literary history, the corpora were divided into four twenty-year periods (T1–T4). Each period was assigned a target number of works in order to ensure temporal balance.

[27] György Orosz et al., "Advancing Hungarian Text Processing with HuSpaCy: Efficient and Accurate NLP Pipelines", in Kamil Ekštein, František Pártl, Miloslav Konopík (eds.), *Text, Speech, and Dialogue. TSD 2023*, Cham, Springer, 2023, pp. 58-69.

[28] E.g. Lou Burnard, Christof Schöch and Carolin Odebrecht, "In Search of Comity: TEI for Distant Reading", *Journal of the Text Encoding Initiative*, April 2021–March 2023, 14, https://journals.openedition.org/jtei/3500. Accessed March 12, 2025.

In the case of each national ELTeC subcorpus, the aim was to achieve balance across several parameters within each time segment: text length (long, medium, and short works), author gender, and canonical status (as indicated by the frequency of reprints). The following figure visualizes the application of these criteria within the Hungarian sub-corpus of 100 novels.



Source: GitHub ELTeC repository (https://distantreading.github.io/ELTeC/hun/index.html)

The ELTE Novel Corpus II adheres to the ELTeC corpus in terms of markup and metadata structure but diverges from it in terms of corpus composition. Its purpose is not comparability with other corpora, but rather to support a broad range of statistical linguistic analyses and to expand the annotated text base underlying a search interface developed for the corpus[29].

Compared to ELTeC, the proportion of male authors and canonized works (as indicated by frequent reprints) is significantly higher. This skew reflects the canon-centric tendencies of digitization processes. The majority of texts in the corpus originate from the Hungarian Electronic Library (MEK), a service maintained by the National Széchényi Library[30]. MEK does not specify formal criteria for inclusion, nor does it prioritize first editions – likely for reasons related to conservation: protecting vulnerable old editions. Moreover, as an electronic library, MEK is oriented toward general readership needs, all of which contribute to the over-representation of canonized works in the corpus.

[29] See ELTE Novel Corpus search interface, https://regenykorpusz.elte-dh.hu/. Accessed March 12, 2025.
[30] See Magyar Elektronikus Könyvtár, https://www.mek.oszk.hu/hu/aboutus/#introduction. Accessed March 12, 2025.

In the case of Novel Corpus III, the tendencies described above are even more pronounced: the patterns of the Hungarian literary canon – most notably the disproportionate presence of male authors – are even more clearly reflected across all time periods. While the primary focus during the corpus's construction was to determine the first publication date of each novel, the tracking of subsequent reprints was not part of the process. This omission was intentional, as it would have significantly slowed corpus compilation, and our goal was to assemble a corpus of Hungarian novels comparable in size to the French corpus analysed by Radak et al.

The ELTeC corpora imposed strict limits on the number of works allowed from any single author – again, in the interest of preserving corpus diversity. However, this restriction was not applied in the construction of ELTE Novel Corpus II or III.

Relative Frequency of "Inner Life Verbs" as a Metric

Radak et al. proceed from the hypothesis that the "inward turn" – that is, the modernist novel's increasing focus on consciousness and the inner lives of characters – can be detected through changes in the frequency of certain verbs. Drawing on Bretherton and Beeghly's grouping of utterances relating to mental states[31], they derived six relevant categories that were used when compiling the list of verbs to be mapped:

- **perception:** verbs relating to sensory experience (e.g. "see" something, "listen" to something, "perceive" somebody);
- **physiology:** verbs relating to the body/bodily experience that influences one's inner life (e.g. "hurt", "feel hungry");
- **affect:** verbs relating to emotions or emotional states (e.g. "love", "hate")
- **volition and ability:** verbs relating to wishes, desires etc. and/or ability (e.g. "desire", "wish") [6];
- **cognition:** verbs relating to mental processes (e.g. "remember", "forget");
- **moral judgment and obligation**: verbs that contain evaluative statements (e.g. "she preferred x over y") and/or that refer to an obligation (e.g. "they should be careful"; "he was obliged to her").

Source: Radak et al., p. 5.

The verbs used to measure the frequency of *inner-life verbs* in the Hungarian corpus were categorized according to semantic domains, following the methodology of Radak et al. The classification is as follows:

[31] Inge Bretherton and Marjorie Beeghly, "Talking about Internal States: The Acquisition of an Explicit Theory of Mind", *Developmental Psychology*, 18, 1982, 6, pp. 906-921.

- **Perception**
  - *lát* (“sees”)
  - *néz* (“looks”)
  - *hall* (“hears”)
- **Affect**
  - *szeret* (“loves”)
  - *érez* (“feels”)
  - *tetszik* (“likes” / “pleases”)
- **Volition**
  - *akar* (“wants”)
  - *kíván* (“desires”)
  - *remél* (“hopes”)
- **Cognition**
  - *tud* (“knows” / “can”)
  - *gondol* (“thinks”)
  - *ért* (“understands”)
- **Moral Judgement / Obligation**
  - *kell* (“must”)
  - *megenged* (“permits”)
  - *engedelmeskedik* (“obeys”)

Based on their findings, Radak et al. concluded that a slight upward trend in the frequency of *inner-life verbs* could be observed in both the Hungarian and English corpora. This observation holds when the trend calculation is based on the relative frequencies of these verbs within individual novels, treating each text as a separate data point. However, because the frequencies vary considerably even within a single decade, it is methodologically more sound – especially in light of the corpus’s temporal segmentation into four periods (T1–T4) – to assess the change in aggregated relative frequencies across broader time intervals.

When viewed in this way, the increase in the frequency of *inner-life verbs* becomes much more apparent. In the case of the 100 novels in ELTeC-hun, the ratio of *inner-life verbs* to all verbs rises from 9.17% in 1840 to 11.5% in 1910. A similar trend can be observed in the ELTE Novel Corpus II, where the measured increase over a slightly longer period (1840–1930) is even more pronounced, with frequencies rising from 8.98% to 11.5% across 400 novels.

A parallel trend is observable when examining the ratio of verbs to all words in both corpora – the 100-novel ELTeC-hun and the 400-novel ELTE Novel Corpus. This raises the question of whether the observed increase in verb frequency might be an artifact of the methodology or a limitation of the natural language processing (NLP) tools used in the analysis.

The methodology adopted by Radak et al. closely follows the specifications developed within the *Distant Reading* project. During the creation of the so-called “level2” markup, NLP tools were employed to automatically segment the novel texts into sentences, then into words and punctuation marks. Words were assigned

part-of-speech (POS) tags and lemmatized. Verbs not recognized as such by the POS tagger were, by default, excluded from both the Radak et al. analysis and the frequency calculations presented above.

However, the NLP tools available for Hungarian – such as the *emtsv pipeline* used in all three phases of this research – are optimized for processing contemporary Hungarian texts. As a result, their performance is less reliable when applied to 19th-century novels, particularly in relation to morphological phenomena that have undergone significant change over time. The observed increase in verb frequency during the 19th century thus raises the suspicion that some of the trend may be attributable to tagging errors, especially within the POS tagging process.

In the history of Hungarian verb morphology, perhaps the most significant change concerns the transformation of the verbal tense system:

> The writers and poets of the Enlightenment and Reform Era undertook the task of language renewal with unprecedented determination and effectiveness. This activity left its most visible imprint […] on the system of verb suffixes. From an aesthetic perspective, driven by a desire for variety, authors reintroduced into literary usage the undeniably rich system of verbal tenses, which, in spoken language, had been gradually simplifying since the sixteenth century. Both the narrative past [*elbeszélő múlt]* and the simple past tense formed with *-t* were used, even though there had long ceased to be a functional distinction between them. At the same time, because the narrative past had almost entirely disappeared from colloquial usage, it gradually acquired a more elevated, literary stylistic value compared to the other past tense[32].

Within the discourse of Hungarian historical linguistics and literary stylistics, there is broad agreement that the literary tradition of the 19th century made extensive use of past tense verb forms that had already fallen out of use in spoken language. However, scholars differ considerably in their interpretation of the motivations behind this practice. Some argue that it reflects an aesthetic striving for variation, solemnity, or an elevated literary tone – implying, as Zsófia Sárosi suggests in the above quotation, that there was no functional difference between the various past tenses in prose language.

By contrast, Gábor Tolcsvai Nagy, in his examination of 19th-century literary language, convincingly demonstrates that the *elbeszélő múlt* (*narrative past*) fulfilled a distinct function within the literature of the period, contributing to the layered representation of the past in fictional narrative. Through the analysis of 19th-century diary texts, he quantitatively substantiates the importance of the *narrative past tense* in literary narrative[33].

---

[32] Zsófia Sárosi, "Morfématörténet" ["The Historical Development of Morphemes"], in Jenő Kiss, Ferenc Pusztai (eds)., *Magyar nyelvtörténet. A magyar nyelv története / Az újmagyar kor* [*History of the Hungarian Language. The Early Modern Period*], Budapest, Osiris, 2003, p. 131.

[33] Gábor Tolcsvai Nagy, "Mondá – mondta. A folyamatos és az egyszerű múlt idő konstruálási mintázatai 19. századi naplókban" ["Mondá – mondta. Patterns in the Use of Narrative and Simple Past Tenses in the 19th-Century Diaries"], *Magyar Nyelvőr*, 2021, 4, pp. 432-447.

For the purposes of the present study, however, it is not essential to determine the aesthetic or stylistic function of the narrative past in the literature of the period under investigation. What is far more relevant is the fact that the NLP tools used to annotate the corpus exhibit a remarkably high error rate in tagging these verb forms correctly. To demonstrate this, I deviated from the workflow employed by the ELTeC project and Radak et al., identifying the narrative past tense verb forms of *inner-life verbs* at the token level rather than the lemma level. This approach allowed me to bypass the inaccuracies introduced by the POS tagger. However, it also necessitated the exclusion of homonymous forms from the analysis. This affected three word forms:

gondol (verb) - *gondola* (past tense verb or noun meaning Venetian boat)
ért (verb) - *érte* (past tense verb or pronoun meaning "for her/him")
érez (verb) - *érzék* (past tense verb or noun meaning "sense").

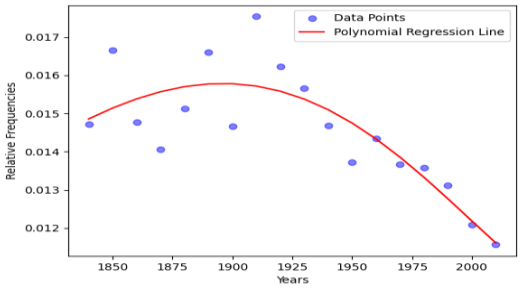
The key question, however, is how this extended verb identification affects the previously observed upward trend in the 100- and 400-novel corpora. The results are unambiguous: the previously identified increase of 2–2.5% in *inner-life verb* frequency disappears. For the 100-novel corpus, the increase falls below 1%; for the 400-novel corpus, it drops below 1.2%. Surprisingly, in the 1,200-novel corpus, the standard deviation becomes even smaller.

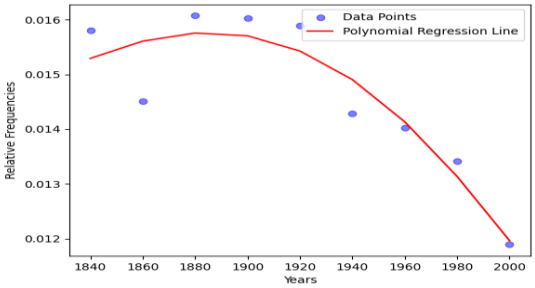
Despite the significant improvements in both methodology and corpus scale, these findings are, in essence, consistent with the conclusions drawn by Radak et al. – namely, that the phenomenon of the "inward turn" cannot be reliably identified through the statistical analysis of the relative frequency of *inner-life verbs*, as their proportion, at least for Hungarian, remains remarkably stable over the time-span examined.

Nevertheless, the study – while not elaborating on it in detail – does point toward a possible direction for further inquiry: a relative frequency of the *affect* category of *inner-life verbs* in the extended French data (1750–2000) shows a visibly decreasing trend. Building on this observation, the present study now turns to an analysis of potential patterns in the frequency changes of specific verb subgroups, categorized according to the typology proposed by Bretherton and Beeghly.

Trends in Subcategories of Inner-Life Verbs in the Novel Corpus III

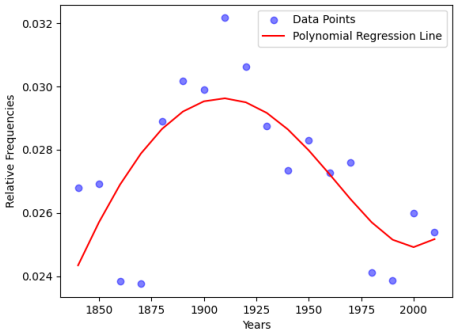
As previously noted, the overall relative frequency of *inner-life verbs* across twenty-year periods shows only minor fluctuations – variations amounting to mere fractions of a percent. In contrast, verbs associated with *affective states* exhibit a much more distinct and pronounced pattern.





In both approaches – whether examining relative frequencies across single decades or twenty-year intervals – the patterns can be considered statistically significant. This marks the first pattern in the data that may plausibly be linked to the hypothesized shift associated with turn-of-the-century modernity: the relative frequency of the three most common affective verbs peaks around 1900. Even more striking is the observation that the relative frequency of these verbs subsequently declines in a consistent downward trend, a trend that requires further interpretation.

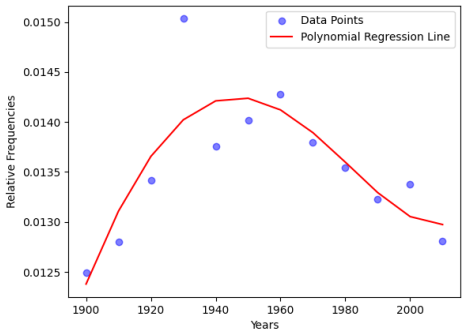
The next verb group to exhibit a statistically significant pattern consists of the most frequent verbs associated with *perception*.



The frequency of verbs denoting *sensory perception* peaks significantly at the turn of the 20th century, surpassing the values observed in both earlier 19th-century literature and in literary language from the 20th century to the present. The trend in this verb group parallels that of the *affect verbs* in two important respects: not only do both indicate a statistically traceable shift around 1900, but they also share the characteristic that no other comparable "period shifts" – in the sense of a distinct reversal or transformation – can be identified elsewhere in the timeline. While the sensory verbs seem to show a turning point at the turn of the millennium, the variation within individual decades is too great to draw firm conclusions.

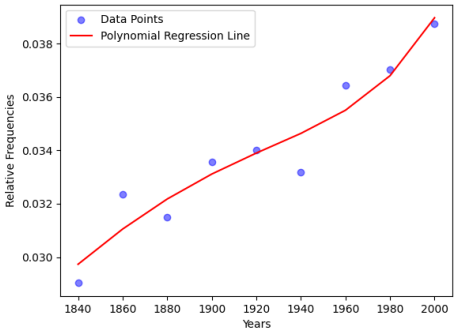
The third verb group to display a noteworthy pattern is that associated with *volition*. Although the frequency change in *volition-related verbs* is not statistically significant when considering the full corpus, a compelling pattern emerges when the data is restricted to the period between 1890 and 2010. Within this time frame, not only does the trend reach statistical significance, but it also aligns intriguingly with broader historical and cultural shifts.

The relative frequency of *volition verbs* in the corpus increases sharply within a short time span, with the upward trend appearing to reverse sometime after the 1960s. Particularly striking is the fact that the lowest frequency is measured at the turn of the century, while novels from the 1920s and 1930s show markedly elevated frequencies for this verb group.



The final verb group displaying a potentially meaningful pattern in frequency change is associated with *cognition*. Somewhat unexpectedly, this group exhibits a consistently increasing trend across the entire corpus. In this regard, it appears least relevant to the broader aims of the study, as no clear inflection points or historical shifts can be identified.

Nevertheless, a nearly 10% difference in relative frequency is observable between the earliest and the most recent 20 years periods in the corpus. While this finding does not support hypotheses regarding specific temporal breaks or turning points, it suggests an underlying long-term trend that warrants further investigation.



Conclusion: The Frequency of Inner-Life Verbs and Hungarian Literary Modernism

This study set out to examine whether a concrete practice of computational reading – developed within the framework of the *Distant Reading for European Literary History* project and centred on a comparative literary-historical analysis of the multilingual ELTeC novel corpus – might yield more meaningful results when applied to a significantly larger corpus of novels. The original application of this methodology produced only limited findings of literary-historical relevance. From this perspective, the outcome of our investigation is unambiguously negative: applying the methodology of Radak et al. to a POS-tagged corpus of 400 or even 1,200 Hungarian novels reveals no patterns that could be interpreted as meaningful from the standpoint of literary history.

At the same time, the analysis was able to demonstrate that in the statistical linguistic analysis of 19th-century Hungarian literature, the high error rate of POS tagging for *narrative past tense* verb forms introduces a measurable distortion. It can also be stated with confidence that once these tagging errors are corrected using our proposed method, the proportion of inner-life verbs – as defined in Radak et al. – remains surprisingly consistent from the early 1800s to contemporary fiction.

Following this, our analysis focused on the frequency shifts within smaller subgroups of the inner-life verb set. Two of these subgroups displayed statistically significant patterns: both the *perception* and *affect* verb groups peaked around 1900, a finding that aligns closely with the most widely accepted literary-historical interpretations of Hungarian modernism[34].

Moreover, the linguistic data also reflects two further literary paradigm shifts widely recognized within Hungarian literary history. The *volition* verb group shows a marked increase, reaching a local maximum in novels from the 1920s and

[34] See Tibor Gintli (ed.), *Magyar irodalom* [*Hungarian Literature*], Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 2010.

1930s. This change corresponds to what is often described as the period of second modernism – a post-avant-garde phase of literary renewal. This group then begins a continuous decline in the 1960s and 1970s, roughly preceding what is known as the prose turn: a linguistic and conceptual transformation in Hungarian prose fiction from the 1970s onward. One of the landmark achievements of this period is the appearance of Péter Esterházy's *Termelési-regény* [*A Production Novel*] in the late 1970's, considered symbolically significant alongside the works of the so-called "generation of the Péters"[35].

Can this be taken to mean that the methodology of CLS – promising, in the vision of Moretti and later of the *Distant Reading* project, to uncover new patterns in literary history – indeed fulfils this function? Hardly. While we have demonstrated that shifts in the relative frequency of just a handful of common verbs align with familiar literary-historical periodizations, the method is far from sophisticated enough to provide substantial arguments either in support of or against such periodizations, let alone to revise widely accepted historical boundaries.

However, the verb frequency data does reveal other types of patterns. When we examine the minimum and maximum values of verb frequency at the level of individual texts, we encounter unexpected constellations that demand explanation. Some cases are relatively straightforward. For example, it is no surprise that Péter Esterházy's *A Woman* ranks among the "winners" in the frequency of *affect verbs*. The short volume, composed of brief prose sequences, builds its poetic rhythm on the repetition of minimalist, fragmentary sentences such as "There is a woman", "She loves", and "She hates". It is much more difficult to explain why several of Iván Mándy's works appear at the bottom of the frequency list for affect verbs – where these verbs make up only 6% of the total verbs count – while many of Lajos Kassák's works exceed the 20% mark, which is a threefold difference and puts him at the top of the same list.

Intriguing contrasts also emerge among the most influential works of the so-called "generation of the Péters". *A Production Novel*, for instance, contains an exceptionally low proportion of *volition verbs,* the lowest in Esterházy's oeuvre, and similarly low values are seen in Péter Lengyel's iconic *Macskakő* [*Cobblestone*]. This stands in stark contrast to Péter Nádas's *Emlékiratok könyve* [*A book of memories*], which registers 3 times more *volition verbs*. Such findings further weaken the already tenuous claim that post-1970s changes in *volition verb* frequency correspond to the renewal of Hungarian prose.

The closer analysis of these and similar questions lies beyond the scope of the present study. My aim here has merely been to point out that even this relatively simple application of CLS technologies – analyzing verb frequency through a

[35] See Ágnes Balajthy, Katalin Bódi, Péter Szirák, *A kortárs magyar irodalom* [*Contemporary Hungarian Literature*], Debrecen, Debrecen University Press, 2021.

literary-historical lens – may still yield unexpected insights and reveal patterns that challenge and productively provoke the conventions of traditional literary-historical discourse. But in order for CLS to propose new temporal patterns in place of, or alongside, the existing literary historical periodization, and to convince sceptical traditional literary scholars, a more complex methodology than the above is required. Vector space semantics[36] offers itself as such a methodology, but that is a topic for another paper.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABÁDI NAGY, Zoltán, "Minimalizmus és narratív technika" ["Minimalism and Narrative Technique"], *Irodalomtörténet*, 1993, 1-2, pp. 311-323.

BALAJTHY, Ágnes, BÓDI, Katalin, SZIRÁK, Péter, *A kortárs magyar irodalom* [*Contemporary Hungarian Literature*], Debrecen, Debrecen University Press, 2021.

BRETHERTON, Inge, BEEGHLY, Marjorie, "Talking about Internal States: The Acquisition of an Explicit Theory of Mind", *Developmental Psychology*, 18, 1982, 6, pp. 906-921.

BODE, Katherine, "The Equivalence of 'Close' and 'Distant' Reading; or, Toward a New Object for Data-Rich Literary History", *Modern Language Quarterly*, 2017, 1, pp. 77-106.

BURNARD Lou, SCHÖCH, Christof, ODEBRECHT, Carolin, "In Search of Comity: TEI for Distant Reading", *Journal of the Text Encoding Initiative*, April 2021–March 2023, 14, https://journals.openedition.org/jtei/3500. Accessed March 12, 2025.

CIOTTI, Fabio, "Distant Reading in Literary Studies: A Methodology in Quest of Theory", *Testo e Senso*, 2021, 23, pp. 195-213.

CONROY, Melanie, "Before the 'Inward Turn': Tracing Represented Thought in the French Novel (1800–1929)", *Poetics Today*, 35, 2014, 1-2, pp. 117-171.

DA, Nan Z., "The Computational Case against Computational Literary Studies", *Critical Inquiry*, 45, 2019, 3, pp. 601-639.

DOBSON, James E., "Vector Hermeneutics: On the Interpretation of Vector Space Models of Text", *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities*, 2022, 1, pp. 81-93.

DOBSON, James, SANDERS, Scott, "Distant Approaches to the Printed Page", *Digital Studies/Le champ numérique*, 12, 2022, 1, pp. 1-28.

FELLEGI, Zsófia, *A digitális filológia Magyarországon: elvek és gyakorlatok* [*Digital Philology in Hungary: Principles and Practices*], Doctoral Thesis, Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Budapest, 2024, p. 17, https://disszertacio.ppke.hu/id/eprint/583/. Accessed March 12, 2025.

GINTLI, Tibor (ed.), *Magyar irodalom* [*Hungarian Literature*], Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 2010.

HORVÁTH Péter et al., "ELTE Verskorpusz: a magyar kanonikus költészet gépileg annotált adatbázisa" ["ELTE Poetry Corpus: A Machine Annotated Database of Canonical Hungarian Poetry"], in Gábor Berend et al. (eds.), *XVIII. Magyar Számítógépes Nyelvészeti Konferencia*

[36] See Andrey Kutuzov, Lilja Øvrelid, Terrence Szymanski, Erik Velldal, "Diachronic Word Embeddings and Semantic Shifts: A Survey", in Emily M. Bender, Leon Derczynski, and Pierre Isabelle (eds.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Conference on Computational Linguistics (COLING 2018)*, Santa Fe, Association for Computational Linguistics, 2018, pp. 1384-1397; James E. Dobson, "Vector Hermeneutics: On the Interpretation of Vector Space Models of Text", *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities*, 2022, 1, pp. 81-93.

(MSZNY 2022) [*18th Hungarian Conference on Computational Linguistics*], Szeged, JATEPress, 2022, pp. 375-388.

HORVÁTH, Péter, "Két eljárás Magyar Nyelvű Versek metrumának gépi felismertetéséhez" ["Two Computational Methods for Detecting Meter in Hungarian Poetry"], *Digitális Bölcsészet*, 2021, 4, pp. 79-103.

INDIG, Balázs, SASS, Bálint, MITTELHOLCZ, Iván, "The xtsv Framework and the Twelve Virtues of Pipelines", in Nicoletta Calzolari et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Twelfth Language Resources and Evaluation Conference*, Marseille, European Language Resources Association, 2020, pp. 7044-7052.

INDIG, Balázs, SASS, Bálint, SIMON, Eszter, MITTELHOLCZ, Iván, VADÁSZ, Noémi, MAKRAI, Márton, "One Format to Rule Them All – The emtsv Pipeline for Hungarian", in Annemarie Friedrich, Deniz Zeyrek, and Jet Hoek (eds.), *Proceedings of the 13th Linguistic Annotation Workshop*, Florence, Association for Computational Linguistics, 2019, pp. 155-165.

KAHLER, Erich, *The Inward Turn of Narrative* (1973). Transl. from the German by Richard and Clara Winston, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2017.

KAPPANYOS András, "Az egzakt irodalomtudomány kalandja" ["The Adventure of Quantitative Literary Studies"], *Alföld*, 63, 2012, 7, pp. 46-51.

KUTUZOV, Andrey, ØVRELID, Lilja, SZYMANSKI, Terrence, VELLDAL, Erik, ""Diachronic Word Embeddings and Semantic Shifts: A Survey", in Emily M. Bender, Leon Derczynski, and Pierre Isabelle (eds.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Conference on Computational Linguistics (COLING 2018)*, Santa Fe, Association for Computational Linguistics, 2018, pp. 1384-1397.

LABÁDI, Gergely, "A magyar regény adatbázisa" ["The Database of the Hungarian Novels"], *Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum: Acta Universitatis Szegediensis,* 2016, 1, pp. 11-30.

LUHMANN, Niklas, *Art as a Social System*. Transl. by Eva M. Knodt, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2000.

MORETTI, Franco, "Conjectures on World Literature", *New Left Review*, 2000, 1, pp. 54-68.

OROSZ, György et al., "Advancing Hungarian Text Processing with HuSpaCy: Efficient and Accurate NLP Pipelines", in Kamil Ekštein, František Pártl, Miloslav Konopík (eds.), *Text, Speech, and Dialogue. TSD 2023*, Cham, Springer, 2023, pp. 58-69.

RADAK, Tamara, BURNARD, Lou, FRANCOIS, Pieter et al., "Towards a Computational History of Modernism in European Literary History: Mapping the Inner Lives of Characters in the European Novel (1840–1920) [version 2; peer review: 2 approved, 1 approved with reservations], *Open Research Europe*, 2024, 3, 128, https://doi.org/10.12688/openreseurope.-16290.2. Accessed March 12, 2025.

RIES, Thorsten, van DALEN-OSKAM, Karina, OFFERT, Fabian, "Reproducibility and Explainability in Digital Humanities", *International Journal of Digital Humanities*, 2024, 6, pp. 1-7.

ROBERTSON, Ritchie, "Modernist Style and the 'Inward Turn' in German-Language Fiction", in Gregory Castle (ed.), *A History of the Modernist Novel*, New York and Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 293-310.

SÁROSI Zsófia, "Morfématörténet" ["The Historical Development of Morphemes"], in Jenő Kiss, Ferenc Pusztai (eds)., *Magyar nyelvtörténet. A magyar nyelv története / Az újmagyar kor* [*History of the Hungarian Language. The Early Modern Period*], Budapest, Osiris, 2003, pp. 129-153.

SCHÖCH, Christof, DUDAR, Julia, FILEVA, Evgeniia, ŠEĻA, Artjoms, "Multilingual Stylometry: The Influence of Language on the Performance of Authorship Attribution using Corpora from the European Literary Text Collection (ELTeC)", in Wouter Haverals, Marijn Koolen, Laure Thompson (eds.), *Proceedings of the Computational Humanities Research Conference 2024*, Aachen, PublisherCEUR-WS.org, 2024, pp. 386-408.

SZEGEDY-MASZÁK, Mihály, "A kánonok szerepe az összehasonlító kutatásokban" ["The Comparative Analysis of Canons"], *Irodalomtörténet*, 76, 1995, 1, pp. 5-36.

SZEMES, Botond et al., "Az ELTE Drámakorpuszának létrehozása és lehetőségei" ["The Creation and Potential Applications of ELTE Drama Corpus"], in József Tick, Károly Kokas, András Holl (eds.),

Valós térben, Az online térért: Networkshop 31: országos konferencia [*In Real Space, for Online Space: Networkshop 31 – National Conference*], Budapest, HUNGARNET Egyesület, pp. 170-178.

SZEMES Botond, "A Sentence-Based Stylistic History of the Hungarian Novel", *Journal of Computational Literary Studies*, 2, 2023, 1, pp. 1-25.

TOLCSVAI NAGY Gábor, "Mondá – mondta. A folyamatos és az egyszerű múlt idő konstruálási mintázatai 19. századi naplókban" ["Mondá – mondta. Patterns in the Use of Narrative and Simple Past Tenses in the 19th-Century Diaries"], *Magyar Nyelvőr*, 2021, 4, pp. 432-447.

WINKIEL, Laura, "The Modernist Novel in the World-System", in Gregory Castle (ed.) *A History of the Modernist Novel*, New York and Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 408-428.

THE RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF INNER-LIFE VERBS AS SIGNIFIER OF CHANGE IN 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY FICTION? DISTANT READING OF A CORPUS OF HUNGARIAN NOVELS
(*Abstract*)

This study reexamines a key hypothesis of computational literary studies (CLS): that long-term historical shifts in narrative style – particularly the so-called "inward turn" associated with modernist fiction – can be detected through the relative frequency of verbs related to mental and emotional states ("inner-life verbs"). Building on the methodology proposed by Radak et al. within the *Distant Reading for European Literary History* project, this research significantly expands both the corpus and the linguistic precision of the analysis. While the original study was based on 100 Hungarian novels from the ELTeC corpus, we extend the analysis to over 1,200 Hungarian novels spanning the 19th to the 21st century, annotated with enhanced natural language processing tools and corrected for systematic tagging errors – particularly those affecting past tense verb forms in historical prose. Our findings suggest that the overall frequency of inner-life verbs remains strikingly stable over the two centuries studied, undermining claims that this metric can effectively signal major literary-historical transitions. However, by examining semantic subgroups of inner-life verbs, we identify statistically significant trends that align with established periodizations in Hungarian literary history. Specifically, verbs of perception and affect peak around 1900, while volition-related verbs rise sharply between the 1920s and 1930s before declining from the 1960s onward – mirroring the "second modernism" and the later prose turn of the 1970s. At the same time, the growing prevalence of cognition-related verbs suggests a long-term, less period-specific trend. Although our findings confirm that inner-life verb frequency alone is insufficient to redefine literary periodization, they do reveal intriguing patterns at the level of individual works and authors, calling for further investigation. The study thus demonstrates both the limitations and the untapped potential of CLS methodologies. While statistical verb analysis may not yet replace traditional literary-historical reasoning, it can productively complement and challenge it. For CLS to fulfil its promise of offering new historical insights, more sophisticated semantic models – such as diachronic vector space embeddings – must be integrated into future research.

Keywords: computational literary studies, distant reading, Hungarian novel corpus, inward-turn, periodization.

FRECVENȚA RELATIVĂ A VERBELOR CARE EXPRIMĂ INTERIORITATEA CA INDICATOR AL TRANSFORMĂRILOR ÎN PROZA SECOLELOR AL XIX-LEA ȘI AL XX-LEA? UN DEMERS DE DISTANT READING AL UNUI CORPUS DE ROMANE MAGHIARE
(*Rezumat*)

Acest studiu revizitează o ipoteză centrală a studiilor literare computaționale (SLC): faptul că transformările stilului narativ de-a lungul unor etape istorice ample – în special așa-numita "întoarcere spre interior" asociată cu ficțiunea modernistă – pot fi detectate prin frecvența relativă a verbelor care exprimă stări mentale și emoționale ("verbe ale interiorității"). Bazându-se pe metodologia propusă de Radak et al. în cadrul proiectului *Distant Reading for European Literary History*, această cercetare extinde semnificativ atât corpusul, cât și precizia lingvistică a analizei. În timp ce studiul amintit se baza pe 100 de romane maghiare cuprinse în corpusul ELTeC, noi extindem analiza la peste 1.200 de romane maghiare din secolele al XIX-lea și al XXI-lea, adnotate cu instrumente avansate de procesare a limbajului natural și corectate în ceea ce privește erorile sistematice de etichetare – în special cele care vizează formele de trecut ale verbelor utilizate în proza istorică. Rezultatele noastre sugerează că frecvența globală a verbelor ce exprimă interioritatea rămâne remarcabil de stabilă de-a lungul celor două secole analizate, punând sub semnul întrebării afirmațiile conform cărora acest indicator ar putea semnala eficient marile metamorfoze istorico-literare. Totuși, prin examinarea subgrupurilor semantice ale acestor verbe, pot fi delimitate tendințe semnificative statistic, care se corelează cu periodizările consacrate ale istoriei literare maghiare. Mai precis, verbele care exprimă percepția și afectivitatea sunt utilizate mai ales în jurul anului 1900, în timp ce verbele care exprimă voința cunoscu o frecvență mai însemnată între anii 1920 și 1930, pentru ca apoi să scadă după anii 1960 – fenomen ce reflectă așa-numitul "al doilea modernism" al literaturii din Ungaria și transformarea totală a prozei din anii 1970. În același timp, creșterea constantă a frecvenței verbelor care exprimă procese cognitive indică o tendință pe termen lung, mai puțin dependentă de perioade specifice. Deși rezultatele noastre confirmă faptul că simpla constatare a frecvenței verbelor interiorității nu este suficientă pentru a redefini periodizarea literară, ele relevă totuși o serie de tipare inedite care caracterizează opere și autori particulari, legitimând astfel utilitatea unor investigații suplimentare. Studiul demonstrează astfel atât limitele, cât și potențialul neexplorat al metodologiilor SLC. Chiar dacă analiza statistică a formelor verbale nu poate încă înlocui abordările istorico-literare tradiționale, ea le poate completa și revizui. Pentru ca SLC să-și împlinească promisiunea de a oferi perspective istorico-literare noi, viitoarele cercetări trebuie să integreze modele interpretative mai sofisticate – cum ar fi reprezentările vectoriale diacronice ale construcției semnificațiilor literare.

Cuvinte-cheie: studii literare computaționale, distant reading, corpus de romane maghiare, întoarcerea spre interioritate, periodizare literară.

ALINA BAKO

TRANSLOCAL MODERNISM: THE ROLE OF PRIVATE SPACES IN SHAPING NARRATIVE DYNAMICS

"I dreamt that I woke up.
It's the oldest dream of all, and I've just had it.
I dreamt that I woke up"[1]

The way we approach modernism today is connected to an undeniable cultural heritage that has been recycled and repositioned in new paradigms by most literary currents. Even a vehement denial of a literary tradition implies, implicitly, a deep understanding of it, with new literary productions containing an indirect reference to it, dealing precisely with this subtlety that aims to do it justice and balance what congruence or incongruence with literary models means, in any period[2]. Thus, we must consider the organic evolution of literature in the Romanian space, permeable to various influences, cultural confluences and intersections that have led to active reverberations of certain literary currents or movements and their local transformations. This type of transfer that constructs a translocal kind of modernism is all the more interesting to explore as it pertains to a literary space from a peripheral region.

The fundamental thesis of our study is that the modernization of Romanian literature occurred on the ground inaugurated by the writings of the 19th century, whether we are speaking of indigenous literary works or translations that served as models for, for example, mystery novels. Everything that was written after the 19th century is indebted, whether explicitly or implicitly, to the literature – even the awkward literature – of that period. Whether referring to the Romanticism and Classicism that gathered multiple examples during that time, or to the Modernism that began to develop its directions towards the end of the 19th century in the Romanian sphere, or to Neomodernism, the Romanian Postmodernism of the 1980s, or contemporary Metamodernism, the initial reference is made to the seeds of the coagulation of the early literary product. This permanent return occurs for two reasons: on one hand, due to the need to find a term of comparison that opposes, is ironized, or complements the present; and on the other hand, the search for a balance that serves the human being's desire to operate primarily within a system characterized by coherent organic structures. Thus, even if each new

[1] Julian Barnes, *A History of the World in 10 ½ chapters*, London, Jonathan Cape, 1989, p. 283.
[2] Carl Tighe, *Tradition, Literature and Politics in East-Central Europe*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2021, p. 16: "On the contrary, what was left of the inteligencja again shouldered an enormous social, political and moral burden in what Miłosz called the business of 'the nation and productivity'".

DACOROMANIA LITTERARIA, XII, 2025, pp. 179–196 | DOI: 10.33993/drl.2025.12.179.196

movement appears to be reactionary, aiming to position itself in opposition to tradition, after some time, a new movement will take its place, becoming tradition itself. In "Rethinking Peripheral Modernisms", the role that spaces considered peripheral can play in establishing a much more coherent definition of "modernisms" is discussed. Following Laura Doyle's theory, Benita Parry elaborates on what she calls the "coproduction of cultures" as the proper source of creativity[3], underlining „an arena within which the 'European' and 'non-European' cultures, cognitive traditions and literatures had interacted cordially as equals and continue to do so in amicable transnational exchanges"[4]. Thus, Romanian modernism, which finds its starting point in the "long 19th century," proposes such a translocal formula.

We note that for countries in the Eastern European space, the second half of the 19th century brought about the most significant changes, as well as orientations that sometimes led to ideological deviations. In a volume that seeks to provide an overview of the literatures from Central and Baltic Europe, Olga Bartosiewicz-Nikolaev identifies the seeds of constant references to Western values in the desire to clarify the national identity:

> Intellectual elites, forming an immature and inexperienced academic group, were primarily occupied with the "Romanization" of the country, discovering and nurturing the so-called *specific național* (national specificity), and the identity myth built around the Dacian and Roman past. This atmosphere was the basis for the development of all the extreme ideologies in the young, multinational state, obsessed with its history – the obsession resulting from its inferiority complex, while the complex itself resulted from the intensified cultural, political and industrial contact with Western Europe. After the paradigm change in the 19th century, caused by the "constitutive overthrow of reference from the Orient to the Occident", the latter became the only correct and valuable reference point for Romania. The question, "What does it mean to be Romanian and how can our national specificity and historical continuity be explained?", gained strength. Romanian culture needed to determine the national path for itself, constantly comparing itself to the Occidental significant other[5].

In this climate rooted in the turbulent 19th century, Romanian modernism begins with the identification of embryonic seeds in the cognitive models proposed by the entire European spectrum, as well as in the tradition linked to translocal principles.

---

[3] Laura Doyle, "Modernist Studies and Inter-Imperiality in the Longue Durée", in M. Wollaeger and M. Eatough (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, p. 678.

[4] Benita Parry, "A Departure from Modernism: Stylistic Strategies in Modern Peripheral Literatures as Symptom, Mediation and Critique of Modernity", in Katia Pizzi, Roberta Gefter Wondrich (eds.), *Rethinking Peripheral Modernisms*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 20.

[5] Olga Bartosiewicz-Nikolaev, "Counter-narratives in Greater Romania: Polemical Social, Political and Cultural Engagement in the Avant-Garde Literary Magazine *Contimporanul* (January–July 1923)", in Aistė Kučinskienė, Viktorija Šeina, Brigita Speičytė (eds.), *Literary Canon Formation as Nation-Building in Central Europe and the Baltics. 19th to Early 20th Century*, Leiden, Brill, 2021, p. 137.

Audrey Wasser summarizes the foundation of any literary writing, regardless of the era, an idea that actually connects the 19th century with the 21st century: „the idea that literary works arise in response to problems"[6]. It is, therefore, a connection that never ceases between the thinking, knowledge, and complex cultural factors of a space and their mediated transposition into the work of fiction: "It means that these works articulate local transformations within already-existing ideational, symbolic, and affective fields. […] The 'expression' of a problem in a work is a reading, by the work, of the work's conditions"[7]. Thus, literature is seen as a response to various types of problems identified at a given time, in a certain era, for which the literary work constructs a solution. The reader engaged in this relationship reconstructs, remakes, or identifies what a reconstructed fictional reality proposes. The return to modernism, even from the perspective of the 21st century, seems to be justified by the so-called "bad modernism", as the elements that shocked, that provoked revolt, and that suggested a break from traditional thinking become anchors for the contemporary writer:

> Could it be, then, that the new-old appeal of modernism lies partly in a consolation of this sort, emerging from its very negatives? If so, we will not be surprised to find modernism holding special allure in times when the future of thinking seems uncertain, when anti-intellectualism seems ascendant, when resistance to all but the simplest positions and solutions has arrogated to itself the mantle of the good[8].

This permanent return, reference, and sublimation of previous literary movements into those of the present, regardless of antagonistic positioning or descent, represent the essence of understanding how the 19th century should be considered the mechanism that propagated literature as we understand it today. Gerald Graff observed that even the definition of postmodernism should be revised, from the superficial interpretation that sees it in direct opposition to Romantic and modern traditions as "an overturning of romantic and modernist traditions" to what it actually represents, namely, "rather as a logical culmination of the premises of these earlier movements"[9], a sum of the literary ideas of previous literary movements. Just as it had happened with these movements, the death of postmodernism too was announced in 2002. Linda Hutcheon did it, and what follows also revolves around the distant past. In cultural studies, several definitions have emerged, including "pseudo-modernism", "post-postmodernism", or "metamodernism". Ihab Hassan's theory discussing the simultaneity of modernism and postmodernism is well known. Also, David Antin defines the postmodern

---

[6] Audrey Wasser, *The Work of Difference: Modernism, Romanticism, and the Production of Literary Form*, New York, Fordham University Press, 2016, p. 75.
[7] *Ibidem*, p. 77.
[8] Douglas Mao, Rebecca L. Walkowitz (eds.), *Bad Modernism*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2006, p. 28.
[9] Gerald Graff, *Literature against Itself: Literary Ideas in Modern Society*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1979, p. 12.

condition as "cheerful chaotic ignorance", indicating the distance that it appears to take from modernism.

> We have seen since 1968 the collapse of virtually every necessity to which modernism bravely responded. There is no coercive dominion of reason over our other faculties… We have no measure of how constraining conventionalized discourse is, because we hardly know what discourse is, or representation, or narration, and what roles they play in the real human psychic economy and transactions… I would like to suggest that this cheerful chaotic ignorance is the postmodern condition[10].

However, the idea of permanently revisiting earlier moments is also expressed by Toma Pavel, who noted in his well-known study the inefficiency of definitive formulations in describing certain moments in cultural history:

> it is far from assured that historical changes in one location on the map of the imaginary spread with sufficient rapidity and uniformity to count as genuine transformation. Older forms coexist with, and sometimes outlive, new adventures; we all still come into contact with folktales, mythological constructs, or the classics[11].

The contact with traditions and the recourse to some images of the past, sometimes very distant, contains the aspect of integrating them into the paradigms of the modern[12]. What Pavel called "kaleidoscopic multiplicity" contributes to defining literature itself, considering the fact that, fundamentally, "history itself is but the surprising sway of colours radiated by the same few shiny splinters"[13]. This definition should not reduce everything to the idea that the artist/writer/creator cannot ultimately bring forth anything new. There are recycled forms even in contemporary literature; the confessions of major writers from both the 20th and 21st centuries are often related to literary models that are not necessarily from their temporal proximity. However, there will always be ways to integrate the old into the new, fundamental themes into the current sensitivity of the contemporary reader.

This essay starts from the hypothesis that through literature, we can demonstrate the existence of *a translocal Romanian Modernism*, valid for different eras, where there is a high percentage of amalgamated elements, always using new rules. The resulting literary product thus becomes a synthesis of the cultural, social, economic factors into which it is fully integrated.

We must also mention the Romanian literary context, which leads to the identification of such an analytical model. Thus, Eugen Lovinescu's theory

---

[10] David Antin, "Is There a Postmodernism?", in Harry R. Garvin (ed.), *Romanticism, Modernism, Postmodernism*, Lewisburg, Bucknell University Press, 1980, p. 134.
[11] Thomas G. Pavel, *Fictional Words*, Cambridge and London, Harvard University Press, 1986, p. 137.
[12] *Ibidem*, p. 148, "Distance, relevance, and dizziness, mixed in various proportions, give each period its peculiar flavor, but hardly ever is any of these components missing. Cultural arrangements may well attempt to stabilize these recurrent fictional components into durable consensual patterns".
[13] *Ibidem*, p. 147.

regarding the modernization of Romanian literature has determined numerous analyses centered, on one hand, on the discussion about the transition from the subjective to the objective, and on the other hand, on the reductionist vision of urbanism as an essential condition for a relevant discussion about new literary products. However, beyond these ideas presented in *Istoria literaturii române contemporane* [*The History of Contemporary Romanian Literature*][14], the studies of Sorin Alexandrescu, from *Paradoxul român* [*The Romanian Paradox*] and *Privind înapoi, modernitatea* [*Looking Back, Modernity*][15] are worth mentioning with regard to the coexistence of seemingly antagonistic directions. So are the theories of Virgil Nemoianu, both regarding Romanticism and *O teorie a secundarului*. *Literatură, progres și reacțiune* [*A Theory of the Secondary. Literature, Progress, and Reaction*][16], or those of Matei Călinescu in *Cinci fețe ale modernității. Modernism, Avangardă, Decadență, Kitsch, Postmodernism* [*Five Faces of Modernity. Modernism, Avant-garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism*][17].

The discussion about Romanian prose also begins in the 19th century, starting with Titu Maiorescu and, specifically, in 1890, with Nicolae Iorga's article *De ce n-avem roman*? [*Why Don't We Have a Novel?*][18], which attributes this absence to certain social elements, with its ideological direction being one of rejection of modernism in favor of the traditional. The controversies continue with Mihail Ralea's article regarding the causes of the delayed emergence of the already established genre of the novel in the West. In the 20th century, Nicolae Manolescu, in his well-known *Arca lui Noe. Eseu despre romanul românesc* [*Noah's Ark: An Essay on the Romanian Novel*][19], and somewhat later, Eugen Negrici in *Iluziile literaturii române* [*The Illusions of Romanian Literature*][20], classify and explain the evolution of the Romanian novel from the perspective of its relation to the ideas

---

[14] E. Lovinescu, *Opere. Istoria literaturii române contemporane* [*Works. The History of Contemporary Romanian Literature*], vol. I–II. Edition by Nicolae Mecu, introduction by Eugen Simion, București, Academia Română, Fundația pentru Știință și Artă, 2015.

[15] Sorin Alexandrescu în *Paradoxul român* [*The Romanian Paradox*], București, Univers, 1998, and *Privind înapoi, modernitatea* [*Looking Back, Modernity*]. Transl. by Mirela Adăscăliței, Şerban Anghelescu, Mara Chiriţescu and Ramona Jugureanu, București, Univers, 1999.

[16] Virgil Nemoianu, *O teorie a secundarului*. *Literatură, progres și reacțiune* [*A Theory of the Secondary. Literature, Progress, and Reaction*]. Transl. by Livia Szász Câmpeanu, București, Univers, 1997.

[17] Matei Călinescu *Cinci fețe ale modernității. Modernism, Avangardă, Decadență, Kitsch, Postmodernism* [*Five Faces of Modernity. Modernism, Avant-garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism*]. Transl. by Tatiana Pătrulescu and Radu Țurcanu, postface by de Mircea Martin, Iași, Polirom, 2005.

[18] Nicolae Iorga, *De ce n-avem roman*? [*Why Don't We Have a Novel*?], *Lupta*, 1890, 1090, pp. 2-6.

[19] Nicolae Manolescu, *Arca lui Noe. Eseu despre romanul românesc* [*Noah's Ark: An Essay on the Romanian Novel*], I–III, București, Minerva, 1980–1983.

[20] Eugen Negrici, *Iluziile literaturii române* [*The Illusions of Romanian Literature*], București, Cartea Românească, 2008.

that had emerged and developed in European literary movements. In an essay from 2009, Paul Cernat noted

> the way the mentality of the 19th century was modernized à rebours by the prose writers of the interwar period […]; a different modernism than the prospective one, oriented towards innovation and contemporaneity, a retrospective modernism; […] a retro modernism (which should not be confused with "antimodern modernity" in Compagnon's sense, although they partially overlap)[21].

Taking the example of Romanian literary productions, I believe it is justified to assert that antimodernism, in the sense understood by Compagnon[22], refers precisely to this impossible break from tradition, even if through a return that is not entirely acknowledged.

Private Space: Evolution and Modernism(s)

Given that these successive returns in the 19th century are meant to construct a model of modernism, we will analyze this relationship from the perspective of private space. This direction was chosen because, typically, in the definition of modernism, the main assertion, at least in the Romanian context, is related to urbanism. My demonstration aims, therefore, to show that not only urban space but also private space constituted a form of modernization for the novel, a major reference of the 19th century. Thus, the second thesis of this study emerges from the first, namely that the reflection of private space in literature becomes a means of observing the literary movements of different eras, in this particular case, that of modernism. Victoria Rosner, who provides an important theoretical background, writes, summing up the relationship of private space to modernism:

> These spaces compose a kind of grid of social relations that shifts and slips, often upending the individuals who traverse it. Modernist spatial poetics are attuned to architectural dynamics of privacy and exposure, spatial hierarchies demarcating class, the locations and routines surrounding the care of the body, and the gendering of space. But if literary modernism is explicitly preoccupied with the structure of private life, it is also shaped by the discourse of space in more subtle ways. The modernist novel draws a conceptual vocabulary from the lexicons of domestic architecture and

[21] Paul Cernat, *Modernismul retro în romanul românesc interbelic* [*Retro Modernism in the Interwar Romanian Novel*], București, Art, pp. 11-12.

[22] Antoine Compagnon, *Les antimodernes. De Joseph de Maistre à Roland Barthes*, Paris, Gallimard, 2016, p. 18, "Contre-révolution, anti-Lumières, pessimisme, ces trois premiers thèmes antimodernes sont liés à une vision du monde inspirée par l'idée du mal. C'est pourquoi la quatrième figure de l'antimoderne doit être religieuse ou théologique […] on peut associer celle-ci à sa cinquième figure, le sublime. […] Aussi la sixième et dernière figure de l'antimoderne sera-t-elle une figure de style : quelque chose comme la vitupération ou l'imprécation".

> interior design, elaborating a notion of psychic interiority, to take one example, that rests on specific ideas about architectural interiors[23].

Victoria Rosner highlights the intricate relationships between architectural concepts and the thematic preoccupation of literary modernism with private life. The design of private spaces, such as the arrangement of rooms and the choice of furnishings, became a means of expressing individuality and social aspirations. Rosner also points out the significance of spatial hierarchies demarcating class and the routines surrounding bodily care. The gendering of space is another critical aspect of Rosner's argument. Modernist literature often critiques and deconstructs traditional gender roles through the depiction of space. For example, the notion of "psychic interiority" in modernist texts often parallels the design of architectural interiors. Just as rooms are designed to accommodate specific functions and evoke certain moods, characters' inner lives are depicted with similar attention to detail and atmosphere.

For this demonstration, we will consider how this blending phenomenon occurs in two fictions: one from French literature and other from Romanian literature, a comparative approach between the private space imagined by Gustave Flaubert in *Madame Bovary* and Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu's *Fecioarele despletite* [*The Disheveled Maidens*].

The first choice I made, although it is a very well-known work, is based on how it relates to Romanticism and the construction of modernity. In *Madame Bovary*, Flaubert proposes a new vision, but one that still maintains what critics have described as a kind of "kinship" with modernism. In the article "Madame Bovary: Romanticism, Modernism, and Bourgeois Style", William A. Johnsen observes the relationship with Romanticism in this manner:

> Flaubert's attempt to go beyond the derivative romanticism of others only exposes, once again, his kinship to the bourgeois. Bourgeois style is the attempt to mask one's belatedness by slavishly imitating or competing with the modernity of others who are themselves masking their anxiety by compulsively rehearsing their antipathy to the bourgeois. By fulfilling his worst fears of self-exposure, du Camp and Bouilhet help Flaubert, in *Madame Bovary*, to render the bourgeois and the antipathy to the bourgeois as a single phenomenon endlessly repeated, to reveal Modernism as bourgeois style[24].

The choice of Flaubert's novel was also determined by its insufficient break from tradition; despite the innovations, there is a constant relation to the classics[25]. His

---

[23] Victoria Rosner, *Modernism and the Architecture of Private Life*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2005, p. 2.

[24] William A. Johnsen, "Madame Bovary: Romanticism, Modernism, and Bourgeois Style", *MLN*, 94, 1979, 4, p. 844.

[25] Dominick LaCapra writes in *Madame Bovary on Trial*, New York, Cornell University Press, 1982, p. 105: "Modernism in Flaubert came bound up with a deep respect for the classics, a conviction that they alone merited intimate study, and a belief that modern art would have to seek different paths in

"modernism," therefore, is born from a gentle reaction to the Romantic attitude, an attitude evident in the construction of the female character. *Madame Bovary* (1856) employs the technique of modernism, as it includes elements of both the traditional and the new in both its narrative structures and thematic insertions.

A representative scene serves as the starting point of our discussion: the moment when Emma Bovary enters the common room after her marriage and notices another bridal bouquet, belonging to another woman, wilted: „It was a bride's bouquet, the other one's bouquet! She stared at it. Charles, noticing this, picked it up and took it away to the attic. While her belongings were being arranged round the room, Emma sat in an armchair, thinking about her own bouquet packed in its box, and wondering dreamily what would be done with it if she were to die"[26]. The wilted bouquet represents, in this context, the old and the ephemeral, a trace that will always remain with the couple, just as any past experience permanently marks the human being. Emma and Charles' marriage is a typical example of a traditional union, lacking passion or lofty goals, centred instead around social expectations and accepted norms. Emma embodies modernity as she dreams of the freedom she had read about in modern novels and a life offering exceptional emotional and intellectual satisfaction, such as romantic adventures and urban living. She is caught between a traditional role imposed by society and her marriage to Charles, and her modern aspirations, fuelled by literature and the romanticization of a life inaccessible to her. Charles notices Emma's reaction, but his response is purely functional, formal, and lacking in emotional understanding. The wilted bouquet of "the one before" becomes a harbinger of Emma's unfulfilled destiny.

During one of her visits to the manor, Emma's gaze catches the old Marquis's father-in-law, the old Duc de Laverdière, once the favourite of the Comte d'Artois: "and Emma's eyes kept returning involuntarily to this old man with pendulous lips, as if to something extraordinary and majestic. He had lived at Court and slept in the bed of a queen!"[27]. The old Duc de Laverdière symbolizes the aristocratic and traditional past, tied to the glory and splendour of the old French nobility. He is a relic of a bygone era when high social ranks provided access to unparalleled luxury and privileges. Associated with the Court and royalty, he embodies the aristocratic heritage and traditional values of honour, protocol, and royal brilliance. This involuntary gaze towards the Duke can be interpreted as an acknowledgment that the modernity she seeks is built upon the ruins and idealizations of a past which now seems outdated.

---

part because it could not equal them. Their time had passed, and the difficulty was to take leave of them in the attempt to find a way in modern times to produce significant art".

[26] Gustave Flaubert, *Madame Bovary*. Transl. by Lowell Bair, introduction by Malcolm Cowley, Oxford, Oxford Classics, 2005, p. 31.

[27] *Ibidem*, p. 45.

An extremely powerful and modern scene due to its militant component is that of Emma noticing the peasants looking through the window at the ball, with their faces pressed against the glass: "Madame Bovary looked round and saw, in the garden, pressed against the windowpanes, the faces of peasants, staring in"[28], in a grotesque image meant to capture both the stances of the poor, watching, and those at the ball, dancing.

The ball represents a space of opulence, modernity, and refinement, accessible only to those of a certain social standing. It is a world Emma longs for, where she can be surrounded by wealth. Upon seeing the peasants, Emma is reminded of Les Bertaux, her father's farm, and her simple childhood. This nostalgic return highlights her continuing connection with her past, despite her efforts to deny or hide it. However, amidst the dazzling brilliance of the new world, these memories begin to fade. The present splendour of the ball makes Emma doubt the reality of her former life, suggesting that her desire for a different life is so strong that it overshadows and distorts her perceptions of the past. The moment symbolized by the maraschino ice and the festivity of the ball creates the illusion of a life filled with luxury and refinement for Emma. Still, the presence of the peasants and her brief reflection on her past outline the tension and dissonance between her romanticized ideals and her current reality.

Modernity in this context means luxury, sophistication, and a break from the norms and limitations of rural life. The ball thus becomes a symbol of this modernity that Emma yearns for, even if it is fleeting and illusory. The main feature of the scene is simultaneity: it captures two social categories in the same space and brings Emma's rural childhood memories into the present.

The "multiscopic" vision is constructed through the imagery of the chateau's rooms: "She gazed for a long time at the windows of the chateau, trying to guess which were the rooms of the people she had particularly noticed during the evening. She longed to know all about their lives, to penetrate them, be part of them"[29]. Gazing at the windows of the chateau for a long time represents her intense desire to scrutinise the lives of others and be part of their world. The fact that Emma tries to guess the specific windows and rooms of the people she observed suggests a way of seeing the world multiplied, in fragments.

Each window represents a different story, a different life, a different angle of reality. This multiscopic approach anticipates the tendencies of modern literature, where narratives become more complex and multiple perspectives are explored to provide an understanding of human existence and society. Flaubert uses this technique to underscore a dual vision: on one hand, the breaking of a single perspective and the modernization of narrative vision, with the novel being a turning point in the evolution of the European novel, echoing traditional

[28] *Ibidem*, p. 46.
[29] *Ibidem*, p. 49.

techniques; and on the other hand, the introduction into the novel of urbanization, the representation of rising social classes, underlying revolts, the modernization of society, and the condition of women.

The nurse's room is described in this passage from *Madame Bovary* and reflects a distinct type of domestic space that is simple, functional, and typical for a modest dwelling of the common man's social class. The fact that this is the "only room in the house" underscores the modest conditions, a lack of privacy, contrasting with the opulence of the wealthy:

> The room – the only room in the house – was at ground level, with a big uncurtained bed standing against the back wall. The kneading-trough occupied the side with the window, one pane of which had been mended with a round of blue paper. In the corner, behind the door, under the stone slab for washing, stood a row of stout boots with gleaming hobnails beside a bottle of oil with a feather in its mouth. A Mathieu Laensberg almanac lay on the dusty mantelpiece among gun flints, candle stumps and bits of tinder. As a final superfluous touch, the room boasted a picture of Fame blowing her trumpets, no doubt cut out of some perfumery advertisement; it was nailed to the wall with six cobbler's tacks. Emma's baby lay sleeping in a wicker cradle[30].

Other private spaces are linked to Charles's profession, with the consulting room being a hybrid space in which "cooking smells filtered through the wall during consultations, and, from the kitchen, you could hear the patients coughing in the consulting room and describing all their symptoms"[31], suggesting an olfactory intrusion of the private into the professional. Through the lens of domestic space theory, Victoria Rosner emphasizes the importance of distinguishing and separating spaces to maintain personal equilibrium. In this context, the odours passing through the wall metaphorically represent a constant and unpleasant interference that undermines Charles's professional authority. The remnants of the past are not discarded but rather placed together, amalgamated, they are present in the house but futile, with a "large dilapidated room with an oven in it", "empty barrels", "disused garden implements", and other things "thick with dust".

The Elements of "Bravado" in the Works of Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu

In the well-known book *Modernism and the Architecture of Private Life*, Victoria Rosner notes that modernism began with an element of "bravado", highlighting the audacious and often defiant spirit that characterized the early narratives of this movement. This "bravado" often manifested itself in bold storytelling techniques, innovative narrative structures, and a willingness to address complex themes such as identity, social change, and the fragmentation of reality:

---

[30] *Ibidem*, p. 83.
[31] *Ibidem*, p. 30.

> The anecdotal history of modernism is strewn with evidence of this involvement, from Lytton Strachey uttering the word "semen" aloud in the drawing room, seemingly for the first time in English history; to James Joyce's representation of Bloom on the toilet; to Natalie Barney's lesbian expatriate salon in her own home on Paris's Left Bank; to Woolf's famous claim to a room of her own on behalf of all women writers. All these moments are flavoured with bravura. They are flourishes designed to call attention, provoke controversy, and signal an unwillingness to carry on with things as usual. They are rebellions located in that most sacred and custom-bound site, the home[32].

The choice of the Romanian writer Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu is used to demonstrate the dual perspective: one looking towards the past, towards Romanticism, and the other towards the future, through innovations at the level of the novel. The author did not have a well-defined program and did not write manifestos about the novel: "The innovation of new forms in Romanian literature did not occur through the negation of what came before but, on the contrary, through an integration into their lineage. Therefore, the consciousness of the Romanian prose writer was never revolutionary until the two world wars, but rather integrative"[33].

The writer portrays the sideboard in the Halippa family of parvenus, showcasing her deep insight into social categories of class defectors that heavily populate her prose. The novel we are discussing, *Fecioarele despletite* (1926), predominantly focuses on various female characters during the interwar period in Romania, delving into themes related to social ascension, social and economic transformations, industrialization, and urbanization. The author does not miss any opportunity to critique the parvenu status of her characters, which serves as the focal point of her narrative:

> If that sideboard, now twisted by time, had been acquired from a good home 20 years ago, today the Hallipa family's living room would have been highly prized, but it was likely ordered from the best carpenter in Mizil... perhaps at most from Ploiesti, and its huge proportions, intricate yet poor sculpture showed not only the clumsiness of the craftsman but also the luxurious desires of the order. The Hallipa sideboard was a parvenu[34].

An old piece of furniture purchased decades ago is used to pass judgment on the family's current situation. The lack of noble roots and snobbery are characteristics

---

[32] Rosner, *Modernism and Arhitecture*, p. 5.

[33] Maria Luiza Cristescu, *Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, portret de romancier* [*Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, a Portrait of a Novelist*], București, Albatros, 1976, p. 10. See also Alina Bako, "Cognitive War Cartographies in Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu's Novel", *Dacoromania litteraria*, 2023, 10, pp. 65-85.

[34] Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, *Opere* [*Works*], vol. I: *Romane* [*Novels*]. Edited by Gabriela Omăt and Eugenia Tudor Anton, București, Academia Română, Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2012, p. 12.

of those who brought the sideboard, kitschy and crafted amateurishly, to the fore. Described as coarsely manufactured and ostentatious, the sideboard becomes a symbol of the Rim family's attempt to buy respectability by showcasing luxury, lack of cultural refinement, and noble roots. The "complicated" yet "poorly" crafted sideboard reflects the tension between the desire to display prosperity and the actual absence of taste and refinement, the signs of belonging to a family with solid roots in tradition. The author uses the sideboard to illustrate forms of parvenuism in literature, adding layers of modernist interpretation that reflect changing tastes and evolving aesthetic tendencies. The urban space created by Papadat-Bengescu in the narrative contains both traditional and modern elements simultaneously. While modernism generally incorporates the idea of the "public sphere", recent studies have shown that even the private space/home is one that challenges tradition[35].

The specificity of the writer's modernism lies in this amalgamation of old and new elements. This idea is portrayed vividly in the novel *Fecioarele despletite* through the observation of two domestic constructions: an old, small house surrounded by a garden and a new block of six stories, one of many that were to be built in interwar Bucharest. The "new house" of six stories symbolizes progress and innovation, in contrast to the traditional, modest cottage, symbolizing old structures and traditional values. There is an eruption of new urban plans "into the old picturesque" landscape, which may trigger identity conflicts and tensions between preserving tradition and embracing modernity: "From remnants and innovations, the Citadel was gathering its character through its and its inhabitants' changing aspects, constantly altering it through hasty adaptations caused by the eruption of new plans into the old picturesque" landscape[36]. Mini, a reflective character, observes the concreteness of the two houses in which the self lives: the one made of brick and the one made of feeling. A metaphorical transposition of the concrete house and the abstract one is expressed, as an analogy between body and soul, between the physical being and the ethereal one. Time and space dissolve their boundaries, turning into successive layers that overlap, into experiences: "Sporadically in space and time... To Mini, each being's two abodes, the house of brick and the house of feeling, seemed equally concrete"[37].

---

[35] Victoria Rosner provides in a historical account of this idea "With its origins thought to lie in urban culture and flânerie, modernism is widely considered an art of the public sphere. But like Reed, literary critics have recently begun to think through modernism's relationship to the domestic. Jessica Feldman characterizes domesticity as 'an important artistic accomplishment' of both Victorian and modernist writers, whose work she sees as continuous. Thomas Foster argues that works by modernist women writers 'should be read as a transitional moment between nineteenth-century domestic ideologies and postmodern concepts of space'. For these critics, domesticity is central to modernism in terms of ideology, aesthetics, materiality, and gender" (*Modernism and Architecture*, p. 13).

[36] Papadat-Bengescu, *Opere*, p. 140.

[37] *Ibidem*, p. 18.

Another embodiment of a construction containing elements of the traditional and the modern, seen as a dialogue between urban and rural, is the estate house. The one who observes it is again Mini, who associates the intimate space with a décor reminiscent of a Shakespearean tragedy:

> Mini thought of the estate house, neither rustic nor modern, with its solid, regular architecture; with its urban and yet homely comfort […]; nothing there framed that tragedy. Suddenly, she remembered the new, deserted vestibule, where she walked in her solitary wanderings. There was the Shakespearean decor of the tragedy[38].

The Hallipa family house, with its original symmetries, has a crack: an unfinished vestibule that becomes a manifestation of the vulnerability of the female character, unable to confess her sin of having a child out of wedlock with an Italian bricklayer. The discrepancy between the image presented to others is transposed to the level of the house, which is seen as new and renovated. However, the construction remains incomplete, hiding the remnants of a life devoid of truth:

> The architect's linear drawings flattered his ambitions as a homeowner, and the house, as you came from the estate, towards the Ploiesti road, had a completely renovated and beautiful appearance. He immediately started working with enthusiasm. In the course of one summer, everything was almost ready. The decoration of the vestibule, which his wife had wanted according to her taste, slowed down the process a bit. […] The unfinished vestibule remained unused, and the rooms above, unfurnished, served only as storage for various tools of the courtyard[39].

The elements that do not fit into the image of a "finished house" are the unfurnished hallway and rooms serving as storage for everything that should have been discarded. Extrapolating, they become a storage of a chaotic memory, preserving remnants of moments that ultimately lead to the family's imbalance.

A character who initially maintains an apparent state of balance is Elena Drăgănescu, who makes an observation related to the perfection of the house: "It's the only house in Bucharest where all the faucets work", boasted Elena. Her room doubled as an office. She declared that household management was "true ministry". "From 7 in the morning until 11 at night, she had work to do: order, calculations, inspections, verifications! One could not imagine how demanding household administration was"[40]. However, this domestic component becomes a subterfuge for an unfulfilled love life, leading to an imbalance in the form of an extramarital affair.

Another element related to modernism and seen from the perspective of integration is that of rupture. The domestic, intimate space is the means through which the characters are described, including the discussion of mental health

---

[38] *Ibidem*, p. 42.
[39] *Ibidem*, p. 44.
[40] *Ibidem*, p. 169.

concerning the illegitimate daughter, Mika-Le. The word serving as a warning is "overgrown", suggesting the idea of a rupture that has left traces:

> … and Hallipa pointed to the white walls, stained here and there with strange charcoal drawings, without perspective or modelling, devoid of life, primitive and absurd drawings of various imaginations: people, devils, animals, flowers, made by Mika-Lé. So, the vestibule was indeed the forest of that Puck, with hair like black moss and golden eyes, pale as faceless coins, with a dull shine like steam... – That's what happens when you overgrow the house," he looked at it amazed and shrugged[41].

This reference to the absence of the real father is considered a trait of modernism. "In Modernism, the necessary first step – the break with historical values – begins with the absence of the father"[42], explains Ricardo Quinones, and Mika-Lé is such a character who breaks away from the family tradition, is rebellious, and violates all social rules. The simultaneity of tradition and modernity is seen at the level of the duality of urban/lively city – rural/tradition/folklore: "The proximity of the lively city had pulled Mini away from the fairy tales of the stars". The decay of the Prundeni estate is followed closely: "In the bourgeois manor of the Halippas, ancient fatalities reside; the deserted vestibule resembled a parody of a temple, and Mika-Lé a wooden doll, like the ones found in the baggage of poor sarcophagi"[43]. The lack of appreciation leads to a caricature of the dwelling, which reflects onto the characters.

This type of translocal modernism, as seen in the discussed novel, proposes a constant tension between heritage – even at the level of ideas – plunging into the tradition of the past, and a spectacular return to the present through transformations that involve "integration". The transformation occurs gradually, from objects that need renewal to people who need to accept new social transfigurations: "Ideas, as well as appearances, took clear, measured forms today. The estate, the garden, the house, the bright vestibule, with patches of matte white on the laundry, everything separated lights from shadows, everything was static, not circulating, not infused as it once was. […] She watched admiringly once more, and for the last time, the portrait of Mrs. Calliope, the grandmother"[44]. The use of the artistic image of the grandmother's portrait becomes a way of preserving the past, but also implies an aesthetic positioning towards it.

The analysis of translocal modernism reveals a sophisticated mechanism that integrates traditional and innovative elements, blending local and imported narrative forms to highlight their dynamic coexistence. In his scholarly works, Toma Pavel elucidates the way in which fictional worlds are constructed and

---

[41] *Ibidem*, p. 170.
[42] Ricardo J. Quinones, *Mapping Literary Modernism. Time and Development*, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1985, p. 56.
[43] Papadat-Bengescu, *Opere*, p. 47.
[44] *Ibidem*, p. 154.

mirrored through distinct rules and structures, creating self-contained yet reflective narrative universes. This interplay of fragmentation and juxtaposition between traditional and modern elements fosters a complex fictional landscape where the past and present continuously interact.

In Gustave Flaubert's oeuvre, this complexity manifests itself through fragmented perspectives, achieved via the successive layering of experiential dimensions. A notable example is the delineation of private and public spheres, underscored by class distinctions, as exemplified in the scene where peasants, faces pressed against windows, observe the aristocratic couples dancing at a ball. This tableau encapsulates the simultaneous coexistence of disparate social strata within a single narrative plane. Similarly, the concept of "kaleidoscopic multiplicity", as articulated in the works of both Flaubert and Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, is expressed through the fragmented depiction of characters' lived experiences and elements, creating a multifaceted narrative texture. Furthermore, the analysis of spatial dynamics in Papadat-Bengescu's *Fecioarele despletite* reveals the way modernity infiltrates picturesque urban settings, appropriating remnants of the past to forge a distinctly modern aesthetic.

The forms of "modernisms" discerned through the examination of the two literary works are deeply rooted in 19th-century literary trajectories, which serve both as a foundation and as a catalyst for subsequent innovations. The authors engage with these earlier traditions not through outright rejection but by selectively integrating and transforming their components. This approach reflects a respectful acknowledgment – what may be termed a "benevolent engagement" – with the literary currents of the past, as the authors build upon their predecessors' contributions while adapting them to new contexts.

For instance, thematic concerns such as identity, societal transformation, and the complexities of human experience, which are central to 19th-century literature, are reinterpreted in these works to resonate with 20th-century sensibilities and beyond. The authors employ innovative narrative techniques – such as stream-of-consciousness, nonlinear storytelling, and fragmented perspectives – to challenge conventional narrative structures, thereby crafting a modernized mode of storytelling that aligns with contemporary readership.

Moreover, the geographical diversity of these authors enriches the literary landscape, fostering an intersection of influences that underscores the interconnectedness of global literary movements. This diversity positions modernism as a multifaceted, evolving phenomenon that transcends national boundaries, weaving a rich tapestry of narrative innovation and cultural dialogue.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALEXANDRESCU, Sorin, *Paradoxul român* [*The Romanian Paradox*], București, Univers, 1998.

ALEXANDRESCU, Sorin, *Privind înapoi, modernitatea* [*Looking Back, Modernity*], București, Univers, 1999.

ANTIN, David, "Is There a Postmodernism?", in Harry R. Garvin (ed.), *Romanticism, Modernism, Postmodernism*, Lewisburg, Bucknell University Press, 1980.

BAKO, Alina, "Cognitive War Cartographies in Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu's Novel", *Dacoromania litteraria*, 2023, 10, pp. 65-85.

BARNES, Julian, *A History of the World in 10 ½ Chapters*, London, Jonathan Cape, 1989.

BARTOSIEWICZ-NIKOLAEV, Olga, "Counter-narratives in Greater Romania: Polemical Social, Political and Cultural Engagement in the Avant-Garde Literary Magazine *Contimporanul* (January–July 1923)", in Aistė Kučinskienė, Viktorija Šeina, and Brigita Speičytė (eds.), *Literary Canon Formation as Nation-Building in Central Europe and the Baltics: 19th to Early 20th Century*, Leiden, Brill, 2021, pp. 135-151.

CALINESCU, Matei, *Cinci fețe ale modernității. Modernism, Avangardă, Decadență, Kitsch, Postmodernism* [*Five Faces of Modernity. Modernism, Avant-garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism*]. Transl. by Tatiana Pătrulescu and Radu Țurcanu, postface by de Mircea Martin, Iași, Polirom, 2005.

CERNAT, Paul, *Modernismul retro în romanul românesc interbelic* [*Retro Modernism in the Interwar Romanian Novel*], București, Art, 2009.

COMPAGNON, Antoine, *Les antimodernes. De Joseph de Maistre à Roland Barthes*, Paris, Gallimard, 2016.

CRISTESCU, Maria Luiza, *Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, portret de romancier* [*Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, a Portrait of a Novelist*], București, Albatros, 1976.

DOYLE, Laura, "Modernist Studies and Inter-Imperiality in the Longue Durée", in M. Wollaeger and M. Eatough (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 669-696.

FLAUBERT, Gustave, *Madame Bovary*. Transl. by Lowell Bair, introduction by Malcolm Cowley, Oxford, Oxford Classics, 2005.

GRAFF, Gerald, *Literature against Itself: Literary Ideas in Modern Society*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1979.

IORGA, Nicolae, *De ce n-avem roman?* [*Why Don't We Have a Novel?*], *Lupta*, 1890, 1090, pp. 2-6.

JOHNSEN, William A., "Madame Bovary: Romanticism, Modernism, and Bourgeois Style", *MLN*, 94, 1979, no. 4, pp. 843-850.

LACAPRA, Dominick, *Madame Bovary on Trial*, New York, Cornell University Press, 1982.

LOVINESCU, E. *Opere. Istoria literaturii române contemporane* [*Works. The History of Contemporary Romanian Literature*], vol. I–II. Edition by Nicolae Mecu, introduction by Eugen Simion, București, Academia Română, Fundația pentru Știință și Artă, 2015.

MANOLESCU, Nicolae, *Arca lui Noe. Eseu despre romanul românesc* [*Noah's Ark: An Essay on the Romanian Novel*], I–III, București, Minerva, 1980–1983.

MAO, Douglas, WALKOWITZ, Rebecca L. (eds.), *Bad Modernism*, Durham, Duke University Press, 2006.

NEGRICI, Eugen, *Iluziile literaturii române* [*The Illusions of Romanian Literature*], Iași, Polirom, 2008.

NEMOIANU, Virgil, *O teorie a secundarului. Literatură, progres și reacțiune* [*A Theory of the Secondary. Literature, Progress, and Reaction*]. Transl. by Livia Szász Câmpeanu, București, Univers, 1997.

PAPADAT-BENGESCU, Hortensia, *Opere* [*Works*], vol. I: *Romane* [*Novels*]. Edited by Gabriela Omăt and Eugenia Tudor Anton, București, Academia Română, Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2012.
PARRY, Benita, "A Departure from Modernism: Stylistic Strategies in Modern Peripheral Literatures as Symptom, Mediation and Critique of Modernity", in Katia Pizzi and Roberta Gefter Wondrich (eds.), *Rethinking Peripheral Modernisms*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 15-41.
PAVEL, Thomas G., *Fictional Worlds*, Cambridge and London, Harvard University Press, 1986.
QUINONES, Ricardo, *Mapping Literary Modernism: Time and Development*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1985.
ROSNER, Victoria, *Modernism and the Architecture of Private Life*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2005.
TIGHE, Carl, *Tradition, Literature and Politics in East-Central Europe*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2021.
WASSER, Audrey, *The Work of Difference: Modernism, Romanticism, and the Production of Literary Form*, New York, Fordham University Press, 2016.

TRANSLOCAL MODERNISM: THE ROLE OF PRIVATE SPACES IN SHAPING NARRATIVE DYNAMICS
(*Abstract*)

This article aims to demonstrate that modernism is closely linked to the way literature began to use private space as a narrative framework for character development. Whether we consider dissociations such as private space versus public space, or whether we refer to the characterization of social relations as seen in private space and outwardly, modern prose reveals real observations emphasizing the definition of this space. Literary modernism proposes a new way of observing the domestic interior while simultaneously constructing the female character, who evolves through her clear connection with this décor. A translocal modernism, in my opinion, refers to a literary approach that combines elements of traditional styles with innovative techniques and themes characteristic of European modernist literature. In the works of authors such as Gustave Flaubert and Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, modernism may manifest as a fusion of conventional narrative structures with experimental storytelling methods, the exploration of complex psychological depths alongside social critiques, and the integration of multiple perspectives to depict a layered and nuanced understanding of human experience within evolving societal contexts. The present demonstration concerns a comparative approach between the private space imagined by Gustave Flaubert in *Madame Bovary*, and Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu's *Fecioarele despletite* [*Disheveled Maidens*]. Although unequal in terms of notoriety, the chosen texts illustrate a real relationship between private space and the construction of modern fiction.

Keywords: Translocal Modernism, novel, Flaubert, Papadat-Bengescu, private space.

MODERNISM TRANSLOCAL: ROLUL SPAȚIILOR PRIVATE ÎN CONFIGURAREA DINAMICILOR NARATIVE
(*Rezumat*)

Acest articol își propune să demonstreze că modernismul este strâns legat de modul în care literatura a început să utilizeze spațiul privat drept cadru narativ pentru dezvoltarea personajelor. Fie că luăm în considerare disocieri precum spațiul privat versus spațiul public, fie că ne referim la caracterizarea relațiilor sociale așa cum sunt văzute în spațiul privat și în exterior, proza modernă dezvăluie observații reale care pun accent pe definirea spațiului interior. Modernismul literar propune o nouă modalitate de a observa decorul domestic în timp ce construiește simultan personajul feminin, care evoluează printr-o legătură clară cu acesta. Un modernism translocal, în opinia mea, se referă la o abordare literară care combină elemente ale stilurilor tradiționale cu tehnici și teme inovatoare caracteristice literaturii moderniste europene. În operele unor autori precum Gustave Flaubert și Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu, modernismul se poate manifesta ca o fuziune a structurilor narative convenționale cu metode experimentale de narare, explorarea profunzimilor psihologice complexe alături de critici sociale și integrarea unor perspective multiple pentru a ilustra o înțelegere stratificată și nuanțată a experienței umane în contexte sociale în evoluție. Demonstrația de față privește o abordare comparativă între spațiul privat imaginat de Gustave Flaubert în *Madame Bovary* și de Hortensia Papadat-Bengescu în *Fecioarele despletite*. Deși inegale în ceea ce privește notorietatea, textele alese ilustrează o relație reală între spațiul privat și construcția ficțiunii moderne.

Cuvinte cheie: modernism translocal, roman, Flaubert, Papadat-Bengescu, spațiu privat.

ANNA PEKANIEC

19TH-CENTURY POLISH WOMEN'S LITERATURE OF PERSONAL DOCUMENT – 21ST-CENTURY RECEPTION

> Insofar as I live a literary life, I write this journal by living. There is no *literature* here. When writing – I am always in a hurry to put in as much as possible, to leave out as little as possible – I do not care about form, I crowd the facts on top of one another, I leave out reflections and effects. In this way, I try to achieve a certain immediacy, a certain freshness of life – which I value highly. (Zofia Nałkowska)[1]

Zofia Nałkowska (1884–1954) kept diaries for 55 years. Their editor, Hanna Kirchner, called them "a document of existing"[2]. They are a key component of the Polish feminine diaristic discourse – because of their refined form and because they are testimony of the transition from the nineteenth century into the twentieth. The diarist emphasises the inextricable link between the diary and existence, which the diaristic records are meant to capture as far away from experiencing it as possible. One's diary (by generalising, any autobiographical text) understood as a writing practice[3] is supposed to represent "happening" subjected to post factum reflection. The quotation indirectly introduces the issue of the work of memory, activated by and stored in writing. The feedback between the (re)remembered and the (re)written is important insofar as it makes the autobiographical text a prosthesis of memory, and memory – a prosthesis of autobiography, both in its individual and social dimension, and even by negation, or, more gently, by negotiation[4].

---

[1] Zofia Nałkowska, *Dzienniki 1899–1905* [*Diaries 1899–1905*], vol. I. Edition, introduction and commentary by Hanna Kirchner, Warszawa, Czytelnik, 1975, p. 196. Unless otherwise stated, the quotations are translated into English by the author of this paper.

[2] Hanna Kirchner, "Wstęp" ["Introduction"], in Nałkowska, *Dzienniki 1899–1905*, p. 5.

[3] The concept was proposed by Philippe Lejeune. It was developed by Pawel Rodak in relation to domestic diaries. See Philippe Lejeune, *"Drogi zeszycie…", "drogi ekranie…". O dziennikach osobistych* [*"Dear notebook…", "Dear screen…". On Diaries*]. Transl. by Agnieszka Karpowicz, M. and P. Rodak, selection, introduction and edition by P. Rodak, Warszawa, WUW, 2010; Paweł Rodak, *Między zapisem a literaturą. Dziennik polskiego pisarza w XX wieku (Żeromski, Nałkowska, Dąbrowska, Gombrowicz, Herling-Grudziński)* [*Between Written Practice of Everyday Life and Literature. Polish Writer's Diary in the 20th Century (Żeromski, Nałkowska, Dąbrowska, Gombrowicz, Herling-Grudziński)*], Warszawa, WUW, 2011.

[4] Cf. Douwe Draaisma, *Machina metafor. Historia pamięci* [*The Mechanism of Metaphors. A History of Memory*, original title: *Metaphors of Memory: A History of Ideas about the Mind*]. Transl. by Robert Pucek, Warszawa, Aletheia, 2009; Maurice Halbwachs, *Społeczne ramy pamięci* [*The Social Frameworks of Memory*]. Transl. and introduction by Marcin Król, Warszawa, PWN, 2008. Halbwachs emphasises the reconstructive nature of history and makes diaries and autobiographies its

Increasing knowledge of the mechanisms of memory work and how they condition the private and the public allows for a reconstruction of the past – and the past of Polish autobiographies, which mostly interests me – in which a feminocentric perspective is brought to the fore, rather than the androcentric one of so far.

This issue has already been mentioned by Danuta Dąbrowska, who combines a study of nineteenth-century women's autobiographies, especially those from the November and January uprisings, with records of women's political activity from the Solidarity in Poland in the 1980s – making us aware of the usefulness of nineteenth-century texts in diagnosing contemporaneity, pointing to present-day modifications of earlier perceptions of the nineteenth century. These modes of reading are linked by a renewed attempt to reconstruct tradition and women's history, emphasising the (self-)consciousness of its creators seen beyond a primarily male-centric mode of analysing and/or valuing[5]. The focus on the specificity of women's experience, while echoing a gesture made by second-wave feminist scholars, reminds us, in the 21st century, of the need to revise findings once made, and at the same time warns not to consider critical feminist revisions as closing ones – they are a source of new research questions indeed. A similar point is made by Linda Anderson:

> If connecting autobiography with testimony has the effect of foregrounding an ethical dimension, a political seriousness, it also has the effect of drawing attention to it as a mode of communication, an encounter which could involve and, indeed, surprise us. In this way autobiography could have much to teach us not only about others but also about what we have yet to know about ourselves[6].

The combination of the mentioned elements in twenty-first-century readings has the effect of profiling women's autobiography not only as a document, a culturally modified genre, but also as a type of communication. Focusing on women's personal documentary literature from 1800–1900 from the perspective of already more than two decades of the twenty-first century is more than just a nostalgic return of retromania or another instalment of historical-literary research. It is such an important critical-feminist work, enabling us to find the great-great-grandmothers of contemporary women authors presenting their life stories, an intriguing opportunity to trace the formation of effective genological formulas and understand the creativity of native women writers.

---

media – reinforcing the treatment of women's autobiography as a genre, cultural and identity construct.

[5] See Danuta Dąbrowska, *Udomowiony świat. O kobiecym doświadczeniu historii* [*Domesticated World: Women's Experience of History*], Szczecin, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2004, pp. 8–9.

[6] Linda Anderson, "Autobiography and the Feminist Subject", in Ellen Rooney (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Feminist Literary Theory*, New York and Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 132.

Nałkowska's diaristic notes close the 19th century of Polish women's autobiography, which was opened, among others, by Henrietta (Henryka), *née* Działyńska Błędowska (1764–1869)[7]. The texts of both authors, exposing the fluidity of boundaries – of epochs, worldviews, genres – set the framework for the present discussion. I will also consider texts by Helena Szymanowska Malewska (1811–1861), Zofia Szeptycka (1837–1924), Emilia Heurichowa (1804–1905) and her daughter Teodora Kiślańska (1844–1920), Eliza Orzeszkowa (1841–1910), Jadwiga Ostromęcka (1862–1944), Narcyza Żmichowska (1819–1876), Helena Mickiewiczówna (1864–1896) and Zofia Trzeszczkowska (1847–1911)[8]. I juxtapose professional authors – Orzeszkowa, Żmichowska, Trzeszczkowska and Nałkowska, but also non-professional authors – Błędowska, Malewska, Ms Heurich, Ostromęcka and Mickiewiczówna – which allows for a diversification of genological solutions and autobiographical strategies, as well as realising the assumptions of Stephen Greenblatt's cultural poetics enriched by Helen M. Buss with a feminist component. The latter researcher has warned against overlooking the meanings of autobiographical texts, which, for a long time, were considered to be materials of historical, not literary value, and against ignoring the gendered locations of female diarists and correspondents, by constantly bearing in mind the

[7] Also worth to remember: *Wspomnienia naocznego świadka* [*Eyewitness Memoirs*] by Anna z Tyszkiewiczów Potocka-Wąsowiczowa and *Dzieje moje własne i osób postronnych. Wiązanka spraw poważnych, ciekawych* [*My Own Story and Those of Others: A Collection of Serious and Interesting Matters*] by Wirydianna Fiszerowa.

[8] Texts will be quoted from the following editions: Henrietta z Działyńskich Błędowska, *Pamiątka przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794–1832* [*A Souvenir of the Past. Memoirs from 1794–1832*]. Edition and introduction by Ksenia Kostenicz and Zofia Makowiecka, Warszawa, PIW, 1960; Helena Szymanowska-Malewska, *Dziennik (1827–1857)* [*Diary (1827–1857)*]. Edition, introduction and footnotes by Zbigniew Sudolski, consulting by Siemion S. Łanda, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Ancher, 1990; Zofia z Fredrów Szeptycka, *Wspomnienia z lat ubiegłych* [*Memoirs of Bygone Years*]. Edition, introduction and footnotes by Bogdan Zakrzewski, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, Zakład Narodowy Ossolińskich, 1967; *Wspomnienia Emilii ze Szwarców Heurichowej (1819–1905) i jej córki Teodory z Heurichów Kiślańskiej (1844–1920)* [*Memoirs of Emilia ze Szwarców Heurichowa (1819–1905) and her daughter Teodora z Heurichów Kiślańska (1844–1920)*]. Edition, comments and footnotes by Lidia Michalska-Bracha, Emil Noiński, Warszawa, DiG, 2023; Eliza Orzeszkowa, *O sobie…* [*About Myself…*]. Introduction by Julian Krzyżanowski, Warszawa, Czytelnik, 1974; Jadwiga Ostromęcka, *Pamiętnik z lat 1862–1911* [*Diary 1862–1911*]. Edition by Anna Brus, Warszawa, DiG, 2004; *Narcyssa i Wanda. Listy Narcyzy Żmichowskiej do Wandy Grabowskiej (Żeleńskiej)* [*Narcyssa and Wanda. Letters from Narcyza Żmichowska to Wanda Grabowska (Żeleńska)*]. Edition and introduction by Tadeusz Żeleński (Boy), Warszawa, Dom Książki Polskiej Spółka Akcyjna, 1930; Teofil Lenartowicz, Helena Mickiewiczówna*, Korespondencja* [*Correspondence*]. Edition by Józef Fret, Lublin, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1997; Zofia Trzeszczkowska (Adam M-ski), *Listy do Zenona Przesmyckiego z lat 1887–1901* [*Letters to Zenon Przesmycki 1887–1901*]. Edition and introduction by Aleksandra Błasińska, Warszawa, IBL PAN, 2019; Nałkowska, *Dzienniki 1899–1905*, and of the same author *Dzienniki 1909–1917* [*Dzienniki 1909–1917*], vol. II. Edition and introduction by Hanna Kirchner, Warszawa, Czytelnik, 1976.

individual and social (e.g. class) positioning of women writers – *nota bene*, changing due to contexts[9] or selected methodologies.

The nineteenth century was extremely conducive to diaristics and epistolography, created on an ad hoc as well as on a long-term basis. From the perspective of the twenty-first century, in which autobiographical formulas are gaining new spaces every now and then (blogs, Facebook, Instagram, videoblogs, reels inherited from the twentieth century), and emerging interpretive and analytical tools (continuing concepts from the previous century, or proposing innovative modes of reading), nineteenth-century authors should be treated as fully-fledged creators of the literary field of Polish autobiography, an immanent part of the national – but also the Central European – personal document literature[10]. Autobiographical growth was linked to the development of Romanticism – which provided the substrate for autobiographical discourse[11] divided into sections including diaries, memoirs, diaries and autobiographies. Nineteenth-century understanding of autobiography accurately reflect, to this day, the nature of the genre (or perhaps, a distinct literary genre). In 1911 Georg Misch summarised it as follows:

> Autobiography is not a literary genre like the others. Its boundaries are more fluid and less externally graspable and defined by form than those of lyric, epic or drama [...]. In

---

[9] See Helen M. Buss, "A Feminist Revision of New Historicism to Give a Fuller Readings of Women's Private Writings", in Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson (eds.), *Women, Autobiography, Theory. A Reader*, Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1998, pp. 222-231. Buss urges us not to underestimate the fact that, for many female autobiographers, self-narration is not only metaphorically synonymous with survival, and her proposed strategy of "reading between the lines" (*Ibidem*, p. 229) – while retaining the directive of sensitivity and insight – is uniquely malleable.

[10] Urszula Górska asked about (re)constructing a Central European identity for women, signalling its complexity related to the complicated history of the region. See Urszula Górska, *Drogi wolności. Ruch emancypacyjny kobiet w monarchii habsburskiej na podstawie publicystyki i twórczości literackiej w latach 1867–1918* [*Paths to Freedom: The Women's Emancipation Movement in the Habsburg Monarchy as Reflected in Journalism and Literature, 1867–1918*], Warszawa, IBL PAN, 2016, p. 15 and following.

[11] Cf. *Kufer Kasyldy, czyli wspomnienia z lat dziewczęcych* [*Kasylda's Trunk, or Memories from Girlhood*]. A selection from the diaries of the 18th and 19th centuries made by Danuta Stępniewska and Barbara Walczyna, Warszawa, Nasza Księgarnia, 1974; Anna Pekaniec, *Czy jest kobieta w tej autobiografii. Kobieca literatura dokumentu osobistego od początku XIX wieku do wybuchu II wojny światowej* [*Is There a Woman in This Autobiography? Women's Personal-Documentary Literature from the Early Nineteenth Century to the Outbreak of the Second World War*], Kraków, Księgarnia Akademicka, 2013 (further bibliography there); Anna Pekaniec, *Autobiografki. Szkice o literaturze dokumentu osobistego kobiet* [*Women Autobiographers: Essays on Women's Personal-Documentary Literature*], Kraków, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2020 (further bibliography there); German Ritz, *Poeta romantyczny i nieromantyczne czasy*. *Juliusz Słowacki w drodze do Europy – pamiętniki polskie na tropach narodowej tożsamości* [*A Romantic Poet in Unromantic Times: Juliusz Słowacki on the Road to Europe – Polish Memoirs in Search of National Identity*]. Transl. by Małgorzata Łukasiewicz, Kraków, Universitas, 2011; Zbigniew Sudolski, *Polski list romantyczny* [*Polish Romantic Letters*], Kraków, Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1997.

> its essence, it belongs to the newer formations of the higher stages of culture, and yet it is based on the most natural attitude, on the need to express oneself and to meet the interest of other people, which goes hand in hand with the human need for self-assertion in humanity (Selbstbehauptung); it is a certain life expression, not bound to any specific form[12].

Although Misch (and his intellectual heir Philippe Lejeune) focused on the male-centric autobiographical tradition, the above characterisation is applicable to women's autobiography – while it is necessary to supplement it with a critical-feminist, but also specifically native, element. I am referring to the historical aspect – the nineteenth century was a time when Poland formally disappeared from the map of Europe, parcelled out between the three partitioning states: Prussia, Russia and Austria. The restrictions and injunctions imposed by the partitioners' legislation influenced the lives of the authors of memoir texts, which themselves also protected Polish identity. The writers oscillated between the patriotic duty to preserve the memory of lost statehood and the hope of regaining it (i.e. the public), and the much-needed nurturing and appreciation of privacy, revealing an aspect of the times other than strictly national liberation[13], from the decline of the Enlightenment, to the end of Young Poland (located here in 1918, Poland's independence closes the native nineteenth-century), also associated with the increasingly intense development of emancipation discourse. Nineteenth-century women's autobiography was strongly intertwined with pre-feminist and feminist, or at least emancipatory, tendencies – if understood as a striving for independence and self-determination (even on the smallest, domestic scale). For it realised one of the most essential functions of women's personal documentary literature, that is, the right to their own story, an individual narrative, although sometimes, as Carolyn Heilbrun rightly pointed out, the female authors, "having written the only autobiography possible for her"[14], could otherwise be conservative, upholding the patriarchal rules of family and society[15]. Nevertheless, a twenty-first-century

---

[12] Georg Misch, *O postaciach osobowości. Pojęcie i źródło autobiografii* [*On the Forms of Personality. The Concept and Source of Autobiography*]. Transl., edition, and afterword by Elżbieta Paczkowska-Łagowska, Kraków, Księgarnia Akademicka, 2020, p. 89. In the 19th century, the term "autobiography" began to appear with increasing frequency, although isolated references may be found in the late 18th century. Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 92-93. This term was used by Eliza Orzeszkowa and, earlier, by Narcyza Żmichowska, e.g., in a letter to Wanda Grabowska in November 1867: "Nor renounce our autobiography (sic!) […]" (*Narcyssa i Wanda*, p. 156)

[13] See Ritz, *Poeta romantyczny…*, pp. 176-177.

[14] Carolyn Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman's Life*, New York, Ballantaine Books, 1988, p. 14.

[15] See Ritz, *Poeta romantyczny…*, pp. 178-179. German Ritz explains the conservatism of some of the diaries written by Polish women authors in the 19th century by their focus on the family and their concern for the cultivation of the memory of their ancestors, treated as a concern for the preservation of national identity and class specificity (mainly nobility and aristocracy). He points out that a considerable number of diary writers linked their private lives with the public activities of their families, combining the personal with the social. Moreover, the writers always appeared as

perspective shows that even the conservative texts of the nineteenth century are testimonies to the autonomy of those who wrote them. The diction they chose, whether conservative or emancipatory, caused women to cease to be "storyless"[16] and gain an "own story", i.e. a self-created representation in historical discourse, sometimes with a distinctly nostalgic trait, but also underpinned (and often masked as inappropriate for women by patriarchal society) by anger[17], which resulted from the denial of their rights, including the right to create a story about themselves, beyond male-centric norms. The creative function of anger also contributes to the emergence of novelistic autobiographical schemes. The act of writing brings to life new autobiographical genres, sometimes based on familiar patterns[18] but modifying them according to individual needs or competences.

When interpreting women's personal documentary literature from more than a century ago, it is worth treating it, following Janet Varner Gunn's lead, not only as an act of writing but also an act of reading. Such an autobiographical situation makes it clear that writing about oneself also presupposes a reading of oneself – as a potential story and a real recorded one – by the authors, and a reading of autobiography by those interpret it[19], which brings us back to the already signalled cultural determinant of autobiographical genres. I would point out that in contemporary thinking about women's diaries or epistolography it is even necessary to define their specificity, and furthermore to connect them with the implications of the peasant or cultural turns, so important for Polish literature, which sensitise the class or metaphorical step on the social ladder from which the author speaks/writes. Following Celeste Schenck, Linda Anderson argues that the connection between genology and culture is so evident[20], often seen as so obvious as to be invisible. The genres chosen by writers are not just a form of expression; they are also a testament to their competence, their reading, their writing flexibility manifested, among other things, in the combined features of two, sometimes three, genres. Hence, the conceptual term of autogynography – that is, women writing about themselves – proposed by Domna Stanton is a good solution, indicating the gender of the author of the text, making it clear that it differs from agender autobiography[21]. It activates the socio-cultural contexts related to the perception of

representatives of families – daughters, wives, mothers, grandmothers, which automatically located them as people who first belonged to the domestic sphere.

[16] *Ibidem*, p. 12.

[17] See *Ibidem*, pp. 15-17.

[18] See *Ibidem*, p. 37. This underlines the intertextual nature of women's autobiography, using the mechanisms of self-storytelling known from fictional literature as well.

[19] Cf. Janet Varner Gunn, "Sytuacja autobiograficzna" ["The Autobiographical Situation"]. Transl. by Jadwiga Węgrodzka, in Małgorzata Czermińska (ed.), *Autobiografia* [*Autobiography*], Gdańsk, Słowo/obraz-terytoria, 2009, pp.150-151.

[20] Cf. Linda Anderson, *Autobiography*, second edition, London and New York, Routledge, 2011, pp. 9-10.

[21] See *Ibidem*, pp. 81-82.

women, enables a closer view of a given text (or group of texts), but also implies the need to update contextual information and the analytical and interpretative tools depending on the publication (or manuscript) under consideration.

The nineteenth-century autobiographies of Polish women coincide with the intimist turn visible in the domestic literary field. Elżbieta Wichrowska characterises it as a progressive intimisation of the diaristic-memoiristic discourse (outlined as early as the last decades of the eighteenth century), signifying a focus on the personal and the emotional, not opposite but alongside the public and/or the political[22]. Wichrowska also gives examples of names of female diarists, e.g. Zofia Matuszewiczówna, Helena Massalska, Aniela Łubieńska, emphasising their diversity and oscillation between writing strictly about themselves and about what they witnessed[23].

Wichrowska demonstrates the increasing confessional nature of nineteenth-century personal documentary literature, meaning the disclosure of secrets, weaknesses, traits considered shameful, besides several enumerations of family collations, familial alliances and conflicts, journeys, illnesses, joys interspersed with sorrows of bereavement, disappointments mixed with successes. Such a heterogeneous amalgam is *Pamiątka przeszłości* by Henrietta *née* Działyńska Błędowska (*secundo voto* Rottermundowa). The text, compiled in the 1960s and covering the years 1794–1832, is a combination of autobiography and diary. From the narrative point of view, it resembles a dynamic autobiographical novel merging features of the three attitudes forming an autobiographical triangle[24]. The first one – the testimony – is seen in Działyńska's remarks about family connections, events in the lives of neighbours or acquaintances, domestic and foreign travels[25], comments on the beginning and the course of the November Uprising[26]. Her husband, Aleksander Błędowski, died of cholera in 1831 in Krzeszowice, where he arrived after being wounded (and having had his leg amputated) during the battle near Wawer (now a district of Warsaw). The marriage was a misalliance: she was aristocratic, and he was a soldier, but Henrietta's mother, Szczęsna Działyńska,

---

[22] Cf. Elżbieta Wichrowska, *Twoja śmierć. Początki dziennika intymnego w Polsce na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku* [*Your Death. The Beginnings of the Intimate Diary in Poland at the Turn of 18th and 18th Centuries*], Warszawa, Spectrum Press, 2012, pp. 15-47.

[23] Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 48-58.

[24] Cf. Małgorzata Czermińska, *Autobiograficzny trójkąt. Świadectwo, wyznanie, wyzwania* [*The Autobiographical Triangle: Testimony, Confession, Challenges*], revised edition no. 2, Kraków, Universitas, 2020, pp. 25-32.

[25] The recapitulation of her stay in Paris is interesting because the author, while not shying away from reconstructing a picture of the city, focuses most on her own impressions: "to myself only I return". (Błędowska, *Pamiątka przeszłości*, p. 100). She declares that the places she visited are already described, and she wants to break the impasse of progressive forgetting: "True to form, these distant events have crushed to dust in my memory, and I am left with slivers that I hasten to put on the page, like students wishing to dispose of the calligraphy they have been tasked with". (*Ibidem*, p. 103).

[26] Błędowska's memoirs are part of Danuta Dąbrowska's reflections on the specificity of women's historical experience. See Dąbrowska, *Udomowiony świat*.

agreed to their relationship, although the wedding was discreet. The second attitude – the confession – characteristic mostly of diaries, although not unfamiliar in other autobiographical genres – manifests itself in the author's focus on reconstructing feelings, revealing secrets, talking fearlessly about joyful moments, but also about unpleasant situations, disappointments, traumas (the deaths of her children, the departure of her mother – described with one of the few daily dates in the text, emphasising the painful turning point it represented), emotional wounds. Although Działyńska focused on the qualities of her family members (particularly on the women who were important to her, her two grandmothers and her mother – they raised her, taking care of her education at the convent school of the Vienna Visitation Nuns[27]), she did not overlook the faults or annoyances experienced by her loved ones. Thus, she breaks one of the unwritten rules of women's autobiography – one should speak about one's family only in superlatives. The third attitude – the challenge – can be detected in the auto-thematic remarks, scattered throughout the text, addressed to the inspirer of the autobiographical commitment:

> It is a little late for me to start writing my memoirs, because I am sixty; but this is what my dear and only Wicia demands and it is impossible to refuse her, even though I feel that my memory is not working well anymore and I do not have the ability to convey the feelings and impressions I have experienced accurately. But since it is only for you that I am writing, my dear, I will endeavour to collect my scattered thoughts and, although in disorder, describe the greater and lesser incidents of my life[28].
>
> Well, I also digress, assuming only to describe facts, not being able to express my thoughts and feelings in a good way. Moreover – I have never learnt Polish grammar or spelling, so any mistakes you find in the composition of phrases should be forgiven, as I am an unskilled person[29].

They began to write down the past (regardless of their genre qualification) at the request of the daughter or as a gift for her, in a duet with the mother (like the already mentioned Teodora and Emilia Heurich, or the poets Maryla Wolska and Beata Obertyńska, or Maria *née* Łubieńska Górska and her daughter Pia – the mother kept a diary, while the daughter, in the 20th century, chose a collage of essay and autobiography), or for the mother (not infrequently as a posthumous gift, a kind of autobiographical epitaph), constitutes another important rule of women's autobiography[30].

There is a matrilineal lineage of family narrative traditions, activating relationality and dialogicity – on the mother-daughter line. One can also see a

---

[27] Cf. Błędowska, *Pamiątka przeszłości*, pp. 21-23.
[28] *Ibidem*, p. 17.
[29] *Ibidem*, p. 18.
[30] See Pekaniec, *Czy w tej autobiografii…*, pp. 63-64, and Helen M. Buss, *Repossessing the World Reading Memoirs by Contemporary Women*, Waterloo, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2002, pp. 85-119.

strategy of self-deprecation, of explaining one's faults, of apologising for shortcomings – another recurring motif in women's autobiographies, largely rhetorical in nature, meant not to actually expiate, but to dismiss the suspicion that they want to focus attention on themselves. With a clear caesura, Błędowska separates the memories of her childhood and youth, written "with pleasure, though without order"[31], from the accounts of her marriage and widowhood, when she looked at reality not so freely, but with greater maturity. For today's readers, the author of *Pamiątka przeszłości* has left behind an excellent story of a dynamic woman who was as independent as possible (her mother not only took care of her education, but also taught her how to embroider and sew – including dresses and corsets. Henrietta was proud of the cattle she kept, the apiary she tended and the manor farms she managed). Raised in an aristocratic household by strong women, she became one herself.

Helena Szymanowska-Malewska (daughter of the famous pianist Maria Szymanowska) showed herself to be less independent in her daily life, but much freer in her private narratives. Her diary, kept over several decades – from 1827 onwards – has been compiled by Zbigniew Sudolski and described by him as a "unique document"[32], providing a source of information for historians studying the history of Polish Romanticism or nineteenth-century customs. In his introduction to Malewska's notes, the editor[33] stressed the fact that without contextual information and set in the biography of her husband – that is, Franciszek Malewski, a friend of Adam Mickiewicz[34] – the notes could give the impression of a "dull register"[35], as if Helena's life, her sorrows, joys, remarks about her loved ones, were irrelevant. Thus, a contradiction can be seen – on the one hand, Malewska's diary is considered valuable, while on the other hand, what determines its idiomaticity, i.e. the record of a woman's private experiences in the first decades of the 19th century, is treated as triviality. Valuing the everyday life of women (from different classes) is a task for contemporaries interpreting autobiographies from earlier centuries.

Szymanowska-Malewska's diary is part of an ever-complete catalogue of nineteenth-century female diary writing, and analytical and historical issues connected with it were presented by Philippe Lejeune[36]. The teenage diarist opens

---

[31] Błędowska, *Pamiątka przeszłości*, p. 165.

[32] See Szymanowska-Malewska, *Dziennik*, p. 10

[33] He also compiled the letters of Eliza *née* Branicka Krasińska, wife of Zygmunt Krasiński, and the correspondence of the Lviv family of booksellers Karol and Leonia Wild. Suffering from tuberculosis, Leonia was a friend of Zofia Romanowiczówna, a Lviv teacher and activist. Her diaries, covering the years 1842–1930, were also published by Sudolski.

[34] *Nota bene*, the poet's son, Władysław, married the Malewskis' daughter, Maria. It was she who received the diary after her mother's death, and the correspondence of Helena, their daughter, will be referred to in the article.

[35] Błędowska, *Pamiątka przeszłości*, p. 10.

[36] See Lejeune, *"Drogi zeszycie…"*, pp. 186-222. The French researcher recalled that in the 19th century, the diaries of girls and young women – if not kept secret – could be a disciplinary tool (read

her story with a note about a journey which began in Warsaw and ended in Moscow. In addition to a list of towns and villages passed by or in which stops were made, Helena comments on her mother and marvels at nature. The daily notes – a dozen or so, sometimes one-sentence long, taken down not as written but as spoken – quickly reveal her sympathies and antipathies. They are a diaristic account of her friendship with "dearest Natalia"[37], turning the author's life into a barrage of waiting for and writing back letters – later, those from her fiancé. Malewska writes down her meetings with her future husband, the strong emotions accompanying them, the most intimate issues written down in a cipher or in French. The cipher will be maintained, but will change its use, masking annoyances or disappointments (e.g. her husband's behaviour or his dislike of her children). As a fiancée, she wrote quite openly, enthusiastically, about erotic experiences; after her marriage, she begins to note the number of marital intercourse meetings – which has an almost revolutionary value; daring to write about one's sexuality was not a regular feature of women's autobiography, quite the contrary. The body was usually recorded here in a malady, rather than erotic, context. Surprisingly, Malewska wrote almost nothing about her pregnancies until the birth of her next children. As the years go by, the husband disappears from the pages of the diary, which becomes a list of guest visits, revisits, balls, illnesses in the family, meetings, everyday life. The diaristic subject turns into an accountant of reality, and only occasionally does a person who feels lonely, even among loved ones, emerge from the notes. It was rather common for nineteenth-century women's autobiography to be a medium for coping with feelings of separation or isolation.

The above is perfectly evident in *Wspomnienia* [*Memoirs*], written by Zofia *née* Fredro Szeptycka, a daughter of the famous comedy writer Aleksander Fredro, a painter, landowner but also a writer. Her collected texts were compiled posthumously, in 1906, by Stanisław Tarnowski[38]. In terms of genre, the text is a combination of autobiography and memoir, and was sometimes referred to as a storytelling[39] – probably because of its connotations of the nobleman's storytelling, which here give way to a dialogical quality resulting from the purpose of the text. Szeptycka addressed her memoirs (written down in 1902–1903) to children, but also to future readers (the source for the reconstruction of the past was her own

by mothers, governesses or teachers at boarding schools). Often, when the writers get married they stop writing their diaries, sometimes giving the notes to their fiancé or husband to read. Szymanowska-Malewska's diary was intended only for herself; she treated it as a confidant and a personal chronicle.

[37] Szymanowska-Malewska, *Dziennik*, p. 36

[38] Not only can you read them, but you can also see reproductions (including a self-portrait) of Szeptycka attached to the publication. See Zofia z Fredrów Szeptycka, *Pisma* [*Writings*], vol. I. Edition and Preface by Stanisław Tarnowski, Kraków, Drukarnia „Czasu", 1906, https://kpbc.umk.pl/Content/257946/Magazyn_351_09.pdf. Accessed November, 2024.

[39] z Fredrów Szeptycka, *Wspomnienia*, p. 16.

memory and preserved family correspondence), giving them an educational value. And it is not so much the historical dimension (the painter's testimonies were for a long time treated mainly as a source of knowledge about her famous father), but the remarks scattered in the course of the narrative about how one should not be strict with children, how one should not curb their enthusiasm or extinguish their joy at little things. Zofia's mother, although she supported her artistic aspirations by, for example, accompanying her daughter to study painting in Paris[40] and enabling her to go to London[41], was a demanding parent. Years later, Szeptycka notes:

> There were times when I had the feeling that Mother didn't like me at all, that she did without me, but she loved me very much still. From the vague dawn of childhood, a relationship of strange love and friendship between us emerged over time. Having grown up with her heart, I have understood with my own – all its treasures, guessed its sufferings, loved its weaknesses[42].

The relationship with her mother with its constant balancing act between love and rejection, contrasted only slightly with the relationship with her father, who was warm-hearted to his daughter, took care of her health, and they went on horse rides together out of town, where Sophie trotted and galloped to her heart's content without being exposed to comments about the young girl's inappropriate riding style. A great support to her was her Swiss governess, Adela Defforel, softening the emotional times inflicted on her by her relatives. Women's autobiography from the nineteenth century provides a wealth of information to write a cultural history of the Polish family, beyond the context of the figure of the Polish Mother[43], the protector of family and national identity, beyond the treatment of blood ties as an inviolable monolith. Returning to Szeptycka, she, like Błędowska, belittled the importance of her writing by calling it "idle scribbling"[44] or by arguing for its irrelevance: "I write all these little things basically without any interest to anyone, because from the point of view of a silly child or a juvenile, all this talk is not worth a hoot [...]"[45]. At the same time, seemingly despite herself, she continued to write, meticulously reproducing not so much what she remembered as "what I see in my mind"[46]. The painter's memoirs undoubtedly also have a therapeutic value, giving her the opportunity for much less restrained expression, allowing Sophie,

---

[40] See *Ibidem*, pp. 152-238.
[41] *Ibidem*, pp. 210-214.
[42] *Ibidem*, p. 42
[43] I refer to Aneta Bołdyrew's monograph entitled *Matka i dziecko w rodzinie polskiej. Ewolucja modelu życia rodzinnego w latach 1795–1918* [*Mother and Child in the Polish Family: The Evolution of the Family Life Model in 1795–1918*], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2008.
[44] z Fredrów Szeptycka, *Wspomnienia*, p. 238.
[45] *Ibidem*, p. 217.
[46] *Ibidem*, p. 218.

curious about the world and endowed with a considerable appetite for life, to speak.

Extremely vivid and dynamic are the autobiographical notes of mother and daughter Emilia *née* Szwarc Heurichowa and Teodora[47] *née* Heurich Kiślańska. The whole family (besides Teodora, there were other three sisters, Emilia, the namesake of her mother, Julia and Helena) took an active part in the conspiracy of the January Uprising[48], and their Warsaw flat on Widok Street was often searched. Both mother and daughters were arrested and imprisoned in the Cytadela and the Pawiak prison, among other places. Emilia hid from the tsarist authorities near Poznań, while her daughters also stayed outside the capital[49]. *Z pamiętnika* of Emilia Heurichowa begins with a characteristic recapitulation of the family genealogy, indicating patriotism and a readiness to serve the homeland. The involvement of women, not in direct combat but in activities punishable from the point of view of the invaders, was seen as a matter of priority by Emilia and her daughter. Gender was not an obstacle for them, but it was so for the insurgents. Teodora points out that efforts were made to question their usefulness not only on the basis of their gender, but also their age; it was thought that "[...] we, so young, do not provide sufficient guarantee of silence in case everything is discovered. Others demanded an oath. [...] Some were also annoyed by the continued presence of the nine-year-old Helen"[50]. The youth aroused distrust – "What do you mean, such a kid!"[51], a fear that girls, when captured, might betray the conspirators. Even incarcerated in cells, they did not snitch on anyone, showing considerable fortitude. It is hard to resist the impression that Theodora's memoirs resemble a morality-

[47] In her introduction, dated 1918, Emilia notes that she is writing at her mother's express request, being the last of her surviving daughters: "so to honour her memory and the memory of my sisters I have undertaken this work" (*Wspomnienia Emilii*, p. 25). Kiślańska adds that she incorporates into her story excerpts from her mother's records as a "direct participant" (*Ibidem*). The symbiosis of the two women's narratives reinforces the message.

[48] A priceless monograph on the January Uprising was published in 1933 by Maria Bruchnalska, Lviv historian and publicist. *Ciche bohaterki. Udział kobiet w powstaniu styczniowym* [*Silent Heroines. The Participation of Women in the January Uprising*] is a combination of historical reconstruction, a series of micro-biographies, and reports of interviews with veteran women. The publication is available online at: https://polona.pl/preview/454fd617-b966-4ad9-9141-137b45e63647. Accessed November 20, 2025. See also Anna Pekaniec, "Uczestniczki, obserwatorki, komentatorki. Powstanie styczniowe w autobiografiach kobiet" ["Participants, Observers, Commentators. The January Uprising in Women's Autobiographies"], in *Autobiografki*, pp. 99-122. Further bibliography and guidance there.

[49] Thus, avoiding deportation deep into Russia, which became the fate of Jadwiga Ostromęcka's family – befriended by Eliza Orzeszkowa and sharing her aspirations for women's independence and economic self-sufficiency. In a diary written at the end of her life in the 1940s recording "shreds of memories" (Ostromęcka, *Pamiętnik*, p. 27) in wartime Warsaw, Ostromęcka reconstructs the backstage of life in exile – the author's father was sentenced to exile in the Tomsk gubernia, and the girl's mother and children followed him.

[50] *Wspomnienia Emilii*, p. 86.

[51] *Ibidem*, p. 107.

suspense novel, firmly rooted in historical realities, proving that crossing the boundaries between domestic and social involvement was not as rare for women as it may seem.

The closer we get to the end of the nineteenth century, the more numerous the autobiographies of professional women writers. Their character also changes, showing considerable ingenuity in creating idiomatic genre formulas. This ingenuity, combined with reflection on the essence of autobiography, can be seen in the short personal texts written by Eliza Orzeszkowa, who was encouraged by friendly journalists to do so. *Pamiętnik*, *Wspomnienia*, *Autobiografia w listach* and *Zwierzenia* are four different, precisely constructed micro-autobiographies. The first begins with a truly Mickiewiczian description of the family manor in Milkowszczyzna, followed by a presentation of the family – with emphasis on the figure of the deceased father, whose library provided great intellectual support for the future writer; the mother – her daughter's reluctant supporter of literary aspirations; and her sister Klementyna, who died as a child, the first such significant loss in Eliza's life. The entire *Pamiętnik* is continued up to the girl's marriage, shortly after she leaves her boarding school. In the elegant narrative, one can see the strategy of silence so characteristic of the author of *Nad Niemnem*, e.g. "circumstances about which I decided never to speak"[52]. The sparing distribution of facts organises the poetics of *Zwierzenia*, in which the statement of the obligation to autobiographically reconstruct experiences is juxtaposed with the proviso that she cannot write about certain issues because "my heart and conscience disagree"[53]. Treating the act of reminiscing as a verbal stroll through a cemetery where loved ones are buried, but also focusing on important emotions for her[54], Orzeszkowa creates the text according to her own rules: "It will not be an autobiography strictly linked to dates, names, so-called circumstances. It will be a handful of images and confessions […]"[55]. These images are meant to be testimonies of participation and an indication of the emotional and intellectual dispositions that made her a writer. Nevertheless, she juxtaposes them in such a way as to say a lot without saying too much. This is done, among other things, by means of another strategy, that of retardation, of splitting the mainstream of narration into smaller strands in which she diverts attention away from herself. She uses yet another tactic in *Autobiografia w listach*. Already combining two autobiographical genres in the title, she intertwines the detail and person-directedness of the author, with the indispensable non-direction, to the "you" of the addressee, which is problematic for Orzeszkowa insofar as it evokes a sense of embarrassment or shame, and a desire to protect her most precious memories or to hide traumatic experiences. In a hybrid personal narrative, the author focuses on

[52] Orzeszkowa, *O sobie...*, p. 21
[53] *Ibidem*, p. 52.
[54] Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 51.
[55] *Ibidem*, p. 53.

recreating her path to professional writing, monitoring her own progress, finding joy in creating: "In writing, I feel that I am transforming reality, adding, capturing, inventing […]"[56]. In *Zwierzenia* the focus is shifted to the meaning and motivation of the title activity. It is supposed to be more appropriate for younger people, to maintain contact and exchange experiences, which has a communal aspect. Nevertheless, these qualities are treated with suspicion by Orzeszkowa as a threat of excessive – in her view – exposure to ridicule. Again, there is self-limitation combined with retardations – in this case, melancholic descriptions of interiors, landscapes, rare moments of unobvious happiness. The writer's undeveloped private narratives are not only a space for testing poetics, but they also show what emotional costs and ethical complications are caused by recreating one's own past, always intertwined, after all, with the past of others.

The self-limitation of diaristic expression was rather unknown to Zofia Nałkowska[57], an author who used 19th century models (an important reference was the diaries of Maria Baszkircew, a painter who died young of tuberculosis). By transcending the unwritten injunction, evident, for example, in Orzeszkowa's work, not to focus on oneself even when recounting one's own life, the author opens a new chapter in domestic women's diaries. At first, the diary is strictly intimate, intended only for Zofia, who sometimes even resents the fact that she writes a lot about herself and little about the surrounding reality[58]: "I am indeed writing only for myself. This diary has no purpose, it only has a reason – a desire to say what I normally don't tell people, what I can't write down in poems, and what I have no hope of saying in novellas"[59]. At the same time, the future author of *Granica* (*Boundary*) consciously places herself at the centre of the diary narrative, not only in accordance with the genre specificity of the text, but also with the context of the diary as a whole, closely linked to the recording of life. She masks a certain non-concreteness of the aim of writing the diary with a desire to freeze the passing moments – "I want this life of mine to be frozen"[60], she notes in 1902. In the following years, she finds that the intensity of everyday life, and her developing literary career, distract her from writing, which she regrets. The obstacles faced by

[56] *Ibidem*, p. 108

[57] An inspiring interpretation of Nałkowska's diaries is Magdalena Marszałek's book *"Życie i papier". Autobiograficzny projekt Zofii Nałkowskiej: "Dzienniki" 1899–1954* [*"Life and Paper". The Autobiographical Project of Zofia Nałkowska. "Diaries" 1899–1954*] (introduction by German Ritz, Kraków, Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas, 2004), an insightful reading considering the findings of critical-feminist theories of autobiography, e.g. Leigh Gilmore and Sidonie Smith.

[58] This predicament would return in 1909, when, after a hiatus caused by her marriage, Nałkowska again started to keep a diary, promising to focus on facts: "life apart from me" (Nałkowska, *Dzienniki 1909–1917*, p. 68).

[59] Nałkowska, *Dzienniki 1899–1905*, p. 304.

[60] *Ibidem*, p. 195.

the novelist and those that are problematic for the diarist turn out to be identical – she enumerates them:

> It is already the case that out of the multitude of things that could be written, one chooses, out of necessity and also out of desire, an infinitesimally small part. It is not enough to write the truth about something: the second new truth is that someone has written it, the third is that someone has written this and not that, something immediately nearby – or far away. Here I avoid things not only from the world of the least important, but also from the world of the most important […][61].

The quote reveals the inevitably melancholic nature of any diary – the result of selection, of seeing that what is written is not necessarily what one had planned to record. The diary is a kind of distillate of life – one possible version of what it could have been. As a diarist, Nałkowska shows that a diary is the sum of choices, with no pretensions to holistic approaches – the most important thing is the I in the world. For those writing a hundred years earlier, the WORLD generally dominated over the I. Both approaches can coexist – this can be seen in Nałkowska's diaristic notes from World War I, in which the severity of wartime realities is juxtaposed with deep introspection. Tracing the trajectory of the formation of autobiographical strategies chosen by female authors of the nineteenth century – professional or amateur writers – reveals the diversity and, above all, the creativity of those who chose to turn their lives into texts.

A parallel trend to autobiography is that of epistolography. Letter writing by women makes it possible to create a colourful constellation. In her monograph dedicated to the letter as a borderline genre performing pragmatic functions as well as passing into the realm of literature (e.g. when collected into volumes of correspondence)[62], Stefania Skwarczyńska emphasises the indispensability of the addressee. Most important, however, is the emphasis on the performative aspect of correspondence: "The letter flows from and serves the needs of life. It is comprehensible against the background of life; it is a fragmentary reflection of it"[63]. Writing, sending, reading, responding to a letter evoke real changes in the world of the correspondents. They are a report on everyday activities, a dialogue with people who are absent at a given moment. This can be seen in the correspondence of Narcyza Żmichowska and Wanda Grabowska (future Żeleńska, mother of Tadeusz Boy Żeleński, known for his modernist essays and pioneering translations of French literature), which is a testimony to their friendship and an expert-pupil relationship, too. Żmichowska upheld the thesis that letters were more

---

[61] Nałkowska, *Dzienniki 1909–1917*, p. 211.

[62] An issue that demands attention is the editing of 19th-century collections of women's correspondence, how they should be published, and on what grounds the selection of material should be made (if at all). See Pekaniec, *Czy w tej autobiografii*, pp. 189-191.

[63] Stefania Skwarczyńska, *Teoria listu* [*The Theory of the Letter*], Lwów, Archiwum Towarzystwa Naukowego, 1937, p. 75. Written more than 80 years ago, Skwarczyńska's monograph still offers effective analytical and interpretative tools.

than a report[64], they were close to a chat or conversation, a space of freedom for women[65]. The author of *Poganka* often referred to letter writing as embroidering, sewing on canvas[66]. a contemporary reference to Nancy K. Miller's arachnology[67], but also to the artistic dimension of correspondence. The exchange of letters between the poet Teofil Lenartowicz and Helena Mickiewiczówna, granddaughter of Helena Szymanowska-Malewska, was not of this nature. Lenartowicz provided her with parochial support; being someone unrelated, he became the young woman's confidant, with a distinctly introverted disposition:

> I cannot tell you what delight, what help you have given me with your heartfelt words. Unfortunately, I am not able to conform to worldly requirements; by going beyond conventions, I irritate [!] and put people off. People think of me as original or hold me in high esteem, but I am not pleasant to them. How unspeakably grateful I am that beneath this unhappy shell of mine, you have found a human being needing warmth, being liked[68].

Mickiewiczówna treats her letters as a space for self-therapy, for unfettered expression, in which she can speak of herself as a woman who does not fulfil the standard social expectations (no husband, no children, she also does not want to be constantly seen through the prism of her grandfather's fame)[69], while at the same time being forced into them against her will. Overwhelmed by the demands, it is in her letters that she protests them.

A Young Poland poet and translator, Zofia Trzeszczkowska, like Mickiewiczówna, finds refuge in letters. She hides in them literally – under a male nickname. The correspondence with Zenon Przesmycki, conducted between 1887 and 1901, is Trzeszczkowska's consistent use of masculine generic endings (in Polish) and the use of a strategy of silence (like Orzeszkowa):

> […] by giving me a hand, you are saving a truly dying human being. I shall never touch more closely in our chats on these personal matters, but know that for some years now I have been experiencing terrible hours capable of confounding the mind. These are not the storms of the present moment, too old for that, but echoes of storms of the past, which can neither be defended, nor the consequences avoided[70].

Aleksandra Błasińska, who compiled the letters, tries to prove that Przesmycki knew the true identity of the correspondent[71], and also points out that the poet,

---

[64] V. *Narcyssa i Wanda*, p. 6.
[65] *Ibidem*, p. 93.
[66] See *Ibidem*, pp. 61, 142, 284.
[67] See Kazimiera Szczuka, *Kopciuszek, Frankstein i inne. Feminizm wobec mitu* [*Cinderella, Frankenstein, and Others: Feminism Facing the Myth*], Kraków, eFKa, 2001.
[68] Lenartowicz, Mickiewiczówna, *Korespondencja*, pp. 209-210.
[69] See Ewa K. Kossak, *Rodzina M*. [*The Family M.*], Warszawa, Czytelnik, 1991, pp. 400-420.
[70] Trzeszczkowska, *Listy*, p. 223. These "storms" were most likely the divorce proceedings between 1889 and 1891 and the perturbations that ensued.
[71] See *Ibidem*, pp. 16-18.

hiding behind a pseudonym, made use of the prerogatives afforded by the strategy of mimicry – as a "brother" she was free to speak and act, also in the field of translations[72]. It should be remembered that she used this strategy when creating poetry in which the lyrical subject is often incoherent, moving between identifications. Mystification is Trzeszczkowska's (Adam M-ski's) *modus operandi* in her letters, lyrical works, translation activity and everyday life. Mateusz Skucha described its varieties in detail in the text "'Jako cień byłam i jak cień odchodzę'. Poetyckie maskarady Zofi i Trzeszczkowskiej" ["'I Was a Shadow and Leave Like a Shadow'. The Lyrical Masquerades of Zofia Trzeszczkowska"[73], pointing out that mimicry in her work takes the form of disorientation, forcing one to be extremely careful not to get lost in contradictory constructions[74]. I think that in the correspondence with Przesmycki the male costume was also needed to inspire confidence in the addressee, to bridge the distance, as well as to exercise control over the shape of the correspondence, which was crucial for Trzeszczkowska.

Just three examples of women's correspondence mentioned above show how wide its spectrum is. It also includes the family correspondence of Eliza *née* Branicka Krasińska, the private and professional correspondence of Eliza Orzeszkowa or Maria Konopnicka, and the friendship of Dioniza Poniatowska (with the poet Józef Bogdan Zaleski). Leaving aside the informational dimension and the (now historical) connection to the needs of life at a given time, the correspondence of women, writers and amateurs, appears as a multi-voiced cultural biography of nineteenth-century women. The same is true of autobiography. An in-depth reading of autobiographical texts not only provides a more detailed understanding of nineteenth-century history. It becomes an impulse to revise stereotypical ideas about women being located only in the domestic sphere, reminding us that nineteenth-century autobiographers and epistolographers are the ones enabling their twenty-first-century heiresses to conduct research that contributes to increasing the visibility of women's participation in history – in this case, the history of the literature of personal document.

---

[72] *Ibidem*, p. 18-19.

[73] See Mateusz Skucha, "'Jako cień byłam i jak cień odchodzę'. Poetyckie maskarady Zofi i Trzeszczkowskiej" ["'I Was a Shadow and Leave Like a Shadow'. The Lyrical Masquerades of Zofia Trzeszczkowska", in *Niesytość pragnienia. W kręgu młodopolskiej liryki kobiet* [*Hunger for Desire. In the Circle of Polish Modernist Feminine Poetry*], Kraków, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2016, pp. 71-87.

[74] Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 240.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

***, *Kufer Kasyldy, czyli wspomnienia z lat dziewczęcych* [*Kasylda's Trunk, or Memories from Girlhood*]. A selection from the diaries of the 18th and 19th centuries made by Danuta Stępniewska and Barbara Walczyna, Warszawa, Nasza Księgarnia, 1974.

***, *Narcyssa i Wanda. Listy Narcyzy Żmichowskiej do Wandy Grabowskiej (Żeleńskiej)* [*Narcyssa and Wanda. Letters from Narcyza Żmichowska to Wanda Grabowska (Żeleńska)*]. Edition and introduction by Tadeusz Żeleński (Boy), Warszawa, Dom Książki Polskiej Spółka Akcyjna, 1930.

***, *Wspomnienia Emilii ze Szwarców Heurichowej (1819–1905) i jej córki Teodory z Heurichów Kiślańskiej (1844–1920)* [*Memoirs of Emilia ze Szwarców Heurichowa (1819–1905) and her daughter Teodora z Heurichów Kiślańska (1844–1920)*]. Edition, comments and footnotes by Lidia Michalska-Bracha, Emil Noiński, Warszawa, DiG, 2023.

ANDERSON, Linda, "Autobiography and the Feminist Subject", in Ellen Rooney (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Feminist Literary Theory*, New York and Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 119-135.

ANDERSON, Linda, *Autobiography*, second edition, London and New York, Routledge, 2011.

BOŁDYREW, Aneta, *Matka i dziecko w rodzinie polskiej. Ewolucja modelu życia rodzinnego w latach 1795–1918* [*Mother and Child in the Polish Family: The Evolution of the Family Life Model in 1795–1918*], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2008.

BRUCHNALSKA, Maria, *Ciche bohaterki. Udział kobiet w powstaniu styczniowym* [*Silent Heroines. The Participation of Women in the January Uprising*], Miejsce Piastowe, Towarzystwo św. Michała Archanioła, 1933.

BUSS, Helen M., *Repossessing the World Reading Memoirs by Contemporary Women*, Waterloo, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2002.

BUSS, Helen M"A Feminist Revision of New Historicism to Give a Fuller Readings of Women's Private Writings", in Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson (eds.), *Women, Autobiography, Theory. A Reader*, Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1998, pp. 222-231.

CZERMIŃSKA, Małgorzata, *Autobiograficzny trójkąt. Świadectwo, wyznanie, wyzwania* [*The Autobiographical Triangle: Testimony, Confession, Challenge*], revised edition no. 2, Kraków, Universitas, 2020.

DĄBROWSKA, Danuta, *Udomowiony świat. O kobiecym doświadczeniu historii* [*Domesticated World: Women's Experience of History*], Szczecin, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2004.

DRAAISMA, Douwe*, Machina metafor. Historia pamięci*, *pamięci* [*The Mechanism of Metaphors. A History of Memory*, original title: *Metaphors of Memory: A History of Ideas about the Mind*]. Transl. by Robert Pucek, Warszawa, Aletheia, 2009.

GÓRSKA, Urszula, *Drogi wolności. Ruch emancypacyjny kobiet w monarchii habsburskiej na podstawie publicystyki i twórczości literackiej w latach 1867-1918 1918* [*Paths to Freedom: The Women's Emancipation Movement in the Habsburg Monarchy as Reflected in Journalism and Literature, 1867–1918*], Warszawa, IBL PAN, 2016.

HALBWACHS, Maurice, *Społeczne ramy pamięci* [*The Social Frameworks of Memory*]. Transl. and introduction by Marcin Król, Warszawa, PWN, 2008.

HEILBRUN, Carolyn, *Writing a Woman's Life*, New York, Ballantaine Books, 1988.

KIRCHNER, Hanna, "Wstęp" ["Introduction"], in Zofia Nałkowska, *Dzienniki 1899–1905* [*Diaries 1899–1905*], vol. I. Edition, introduction and commentary by Hanna Kirchner, Warszawa, Czytelnik, 1975.

KOSSAK, Ewa. K., *Rodzina M*. [*The Family M.*], Warszawa, Czytelnik, 1991.

LEJEUNE, Philippe, *"Drogi zeszycie…", "drogi ekranie…". O dziennikach osobistych* [*"Dear notebook…", "Dear screen…". On Diaries*]. Transl. by Agnieszka Karpowicz, M. and P. Rodak, selection, introduction and edition by P. Rodak, Warszawa, WUW, 2010.

LENARTOWICZ, Teofil, Mickiewiczówna, Helena, *Korespondencja* [*Correspondence*]. Edition by Józef Fret, Lublin, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1997.

MARSZAŁEK, Magdalena, *"Życie i papier". Autobiograficzny projekt Zofii Nałkowskiej: "Dzienniki" 1899–1954* [*"Life and Paper". The Autobiographical Project of Zofia Nałkowska. "Diaries" 1899–1954*]. Introduction by German Ritz, Kraków, Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas, 2004.

MISCH, Georg, *O postaciach osobowości. Pojęcie i źródło autobiografii*, [*On the Forms of Personality. The Concept and Source of Autobiography*]. Transl., edition, and afterword by Elżbieta Paczkowska-Łagowska, Kraków, Księgarnia Akademicka, 2020.

NAŁKOWSKA, Zofia, *Dzienniki 1899–1905* [*Diaries 1899–1905*], vol. I. Edition, introduction and commentary by Hanna Kirchner, Warszawa, Czytelnik, 1975.

NAŁKOWSKA, Zofia, *Dzienniki 1909–1917* [*Dzienniki 1909–1917*], vol. II. Edition and introduction by Hanna Kirchner, Warszawa, Czytelnik, 1976.

ORZESZKOWA, Eliza, *O sobie…* [*About Myself…*]. Introduction by Julian Krzyżanowski, Warszawa, Czytelnik, 1974.

OSTROMĘCKA, Jadwiga, *Pamiętnik z lat 1862–1911* [*Diary 1862–1911*]. Edition by Anna Brus, Warszawa, DiG, 2004.

PEKANIEC, Anna, *Autobiografki. Szkice o literaturze dokumentu osobistego kobiet*, [*Women Autobiographers: Essays on Women's Personal-Documentary Literature*], Kraków, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2020.

PEKANIEC, Anna, *Czy jest kobieta w tej autobiografii. Kobieca literatura dokumentu osobistego od początku XIX wieku do wybuchu II wojny światowej* [*Is There a Woman in This Autobiography? Women's Personal-Documentary Literature from the Early Nineteenth Century to the Outbreak of the Second World War*], Kraków, Księgarnia Akademicka, 2013.

RITZ, German, *Poeta romantyczny i nieromantyczne czasy*. *Juliusz Słowacki w drodze do Europy – pamiętniki polskie na tropach narodowej tożsamości* [*A Romantic Poet in Unromantic Times: Juliusz Słowacki on the Road to Europe – Polish Memoirs in Search of National Identity*]. Transl. by Małgorzata Łukasiewicz, Kraków, Universitas, 2011.

RODAK, Paweł, *Między zapisem a literaturą. Dziennik polskiego pisarza w XX wieku (Żeromski, Nałkowska, Dąbrowska, Gombrowicz, Herling-Grudziński)* [*Between Written Practice of Everyday Life and Literature. Polish Writer's Diary in the 20th Century (Żeromski, Nałkowska, Dąbrowska, Gombrowicz, Herling-Grudziński)*], Warszawa, WUW, 2011.

SKUCHA, Mateusz, "'Jako cień byłam i jak cień odchodzę'. Poetyckie maskarady Zofi i Trzeszczkowskiej" ["'I Was a Shadow and Leave Like a Shadow'. The Lyrical Masquerades of Zofia Trzeszczkowska", in *Niesytość pragnienia. W kręgu młodopolskiej liryki kobiet* [*Hunger for Desire. In the Circle of Polish Modernist Feminine Poetry*], Kraków, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2016, pp. 71-87.

SKWARCZYŃSKA, Stefania, *Teoria listu* [*The Theory of the Letter*], Lwów, Archiwum Towarzystwa Naukowego, 1937.

SUDOLSKI, Zbigniew, *Polski list romantyczny* [*Polish Romantic Letters*], Kraków, Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1997.

SZCZUKA, Kazimiera, *Kopciuszek, Frankstein i inne. Feminizm wobec mitu* [*Cinderella, Frankenstein, and Others: Feminism Facing the Myth*], Kraków, eFKa, 2001.

SZYMANOWSKA-MALEWSKA, Helena, *Dziennik (1827–1857)* [*Diary (1827–1857)*]. Edition, introduction and footnotes by Zbigniew Sudolski, consulting by Siemion S. Łanda, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Ancher, 1990.

TRZESZCZKOWSKA, Zofia (Adam M-ski), [*Letters to Zenon Przesmycki 1887–1901*]. Edition and introduction by Aleksandra Błasińska, Warszawa, IBL PAN, 2019.

VARNER GUNN, Janet, "Sytuacja autobiograficzna" ["The Autobiographical Situation"]. Transl. by Jadwiga Węgrodzka, in Małgorzata Czermińska (ed.), *Autobiografia* [*Autobiography*], Gdańsk, Słowo/obraz-terytoria, 2009, pp. 145-169.

WICHROWSKA, Elżbieta, *Twoja śmierć. Początki dziennika intymnego w Polsce na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku* [*Your Death. The Beginnings of the Intimate Diary in Poland at the Turn of 18th and 18th Centuries*], Warszawa, Spectrum Press, 2012.

Z DZIAŁYŃSKICH BŁĘDOWSKA, Henrietta, *Pamiątka przeszłości. Wspomnienia z lat 1794–1832* [*A Souvenir of the Past. Memoirs from 1794–1832*]. Edition and introduction by Ksenia Kostenicz and Zofia Makowiecka, Warszawa, PIW, 1960.

Z FREDRÓW SZEPTYCKA, Zofia, *Pisma* [*Writings*], vol. I. Edition and Preface by Stanisław Tarnowski, Kraków, Drukarnia „Czasu", 1906, https://kpbc.umk.pl/Content/257946/Magazyn_-351_09.pdf. Accessed November 20, 2024.

Z FREDRÓW SZEPTYCKA, Zofia, *Wspomnienia z lat ubiegłych* [*Memoirs of Bygone Years*]. Edition, introduction and footnotes by Bogdan Zakrzewski, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1967.

19TH-CENTURY POLISH WOMEN'S LITERATURE OF PERSONAL DOCUMENT – 21ST CENTURY RECEPTION
(*Abstract*)

The aim of this article is to present a contemporary view of memoirs, diaries, letters, and autobiographies of nineteenth-century Polish women authors, seen from the perspective of feminist literary criticism. It draws on feminist-profiled theories of autobiography, cultural theory of literature including gendered readings, in this case taking into account the social, political, moral, historical contexts that shaped women's perception in the 19th century Central and Eastern Europe. The corpus of the article is composed of texts by Henrietta Błędowska, née Działyńska, Helena Szymanowska-Malewska, Zofia Szeptycka, née Fredro, Emilia Heurich, née Szwarc and her daughter Teodora, Eliza Orzeszkowa, Helena Mickiewiczówna, Jadwiga Ostromęcka and Zofia Nałkowska. The wide chronological spectrum (Błędowska closes the 18th century and opens the 19th, Orzeszkowa symbolically closes the 19th century, and Nałkowska shows how 19th-century diarism begins to turn into 20th-century, modernist writing), the genological diversity of texts, the juxtaposition of professional women authors and those for whom autobiographical (epistolary) narratives were the only form of literary activity, enable the demonstration trajectory of women's emancipation in Poland under the partitions. Moreover, this study illustrates the way nineteenth-century autobiography builds and complements history in its broad sense, the history of development of genres belonging to women's literature of personal document, the way it becomes a component of individual and collective biographies, and, above all, the way it can contribute to changing the hitherto optics (e.g. seeing women's autobiography only as factography and not as a separate literary genre). The 19th century was favourable to diaristics and epistolography authored by both men and by women (frequently being the only form of female expression), and from the perspective of the twenty-first century, with an increasing number of interpretative and analytical tools, nineteenth-century female authors are seen as fully-fledged creators of the literary field of Polish autobiography, which is part of the current national, but also Central European, literature.

Keywords: women's autobiography, literature of personal document, epistolography, feminist literary criticism, nineteenth-century Poland.

SCRIERILE PERSONALE ALE FEMEILOR POLONEZE DIN SECOLUL AL XIX-LEA – PERSPECTIVE DE RECEPTARE ÎN SECOLUL AL XXI-LEA (*Rezumat*)

Scopul articolului este de a revizita memoriile, jurnalele, scrisorile și autobiografiile autoarelor poloneze din secolul al XIX-lea din perspectiva criticii literare feministe contemporane. Studiul valorifică teorii feministe ale autobiografiei și studii de teorie critică, în special, cele centrate pe analize de gen, pe care le contextualizează social, politic, moral și istoric în funcție de modul în care secolul al XIX-lea a modelat definirea de sine a femeilor și percepția asupra lor în Europa Centrală și de Est. Corpusul de texte este alcătuit din scrieri ale autoarelor Henrietta Błędowska, născută Działyńska, Helena Szymanowska-Malewska, Zofia Szeptycka, născută Fredro, Emilia Heurich, născută Szwarc, și fiica ei Teodora, Eliza Orzeszkowa, Helena Mickiewiczówna, Jadwiga Ostromęcka și Zofia Nałkowska. Acoperirea cronologică amplă (Błędowska închide secolul al XVIII-lea și deschide secolul al XIX-lea, Orzeszkowa închide simbolic secolul al XIX-lea, iar Nałkowska arată cum diaristica secolului al XIX-lea începe să se transforme sub influența literaturii moderniste a secolului al XX-lea), diversitatea de gen a textelor, precum și juxtapunerea autoarelor profesioniste cu acelea pentru care narațiunile autobiografice (epistolare) au reprezentat singura formă de activitate literară permit urmărirea traiectoriei emancipării feminine în Polonia (împărțită între mai multe imperii pe parcursul secolului al XIX-lea). Mai mult, acest studiu ilustrează modul în care autobiografia secolului al XIX-lea construiește și completează reprezentarea istoriei generale a epocii, dar și istoria dezvoltării genurilor care aparțin literaturii feminine confesive, urmărind modul în care aceasta devine o componentă a biografiilor individuale și colective și, mai ales, modul în care ea poate contribui la schimbarea opticii tradiționale despre autoare (de exemplu, perceperea autobiografiei feminine doar ca „factografie" și nu ca gen literar distinct). Secolul al XIX-lea a favorizat dezvoltarea diaristicii și a corespondenței, forme literare practicate atât de bărbați, cât și de femei (pentru care au constituit adesea singurele forme de exprimare). Abordate din perspectiva secolului al XXI-lea, care prilejuiește apariția unui număr tot mai mare de perspective interpretative și analitice, autoarele secolului al XIX-lea ajung să fie considerate creatoare pe deplin legitime ale câmpului literar al autobiografiei poloneze ca parte integrantă a literaturii naționale actuale, dar și a celei central-europene.

Cuvinte-cheie: autobiografii scrise de femei, literatura scrierilor personale, corespondență, critică literară feministă, Polonia secolului al XIX-lea.

CĂTĂLINA STANISLAV

HARDLY A ROOM OF ONE'S OWN. GENDER AND COLLABORATIVE WRITING IN THE PREWAR ROMANIAN NOVEL[1]

Throughout literary history, collaboration between writers has been a recurring and significant phenomenon, ranging from formal co-authorships to more informal yet deeply intertwined intellectual partnerships. Informal collaborations are particularly interesting, as they often involve sustained personal and intellectual exchanges that blur the boundaries of individual authorship[2]. A notable and common example is the relationship between Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir. Although they did not exactly publish co-authored works, their philosophical and literary projects were developed in close proximity over decades. Feminist scholars, such as Margaret Simons, have rightly disputed the reductive claim that Beauvoir's work was in any way derivative of Sartre's. However, the closeness of their personal and intellectual bond inevitably fostered a form of reciprocal influence[3].

Other literary relationships reveal similar dynamics of support and collaboration, even when only one partner was formally recognized as a writer. Vera Nabokov, for example, played a crucial editorial and managerial role in the career of Vladimir Nabokov, acting as his typist, translator, editor, and literary advocate. Though rarely acknowledged in traditional literary histories, her contribution was indispensable to the production and preservation of his work. Further back, Sophia Tolstaya, wife of Leo Tolstoy, not only served as the copyist for his voluminous manuscripts but also managed their household and raised thirteen children, an amount of labour without which Tolstoy's writing life would scarcely have been possible.

Conversely, the case of Virginia Woolf and Leonard Woolf exemplifies a collaborative partnership in which editorial and publishing support flowed in the opposite direction. As co-founder of the Hogarth Press and Virginia's editor, Leonard played a critical role in shaping the trajectory of her career. Their

[1] This work was funded by the EU's NextGenerationEU instrument through the National Recovery and Resilience Plan of Romania - Pillar III-C9-I8, managed by the Ministry of Research, Innovation and Digitalization, within the project entitled *Networks of (Dis)similarities: The Circulation of Western Romance Literatures in Eastern Europe* (NETSIM), contract no. 760075/23.05.2023, code CF 292/30.11.2022.

[2] Lisa Ede, Andrea Lunsford, *Singular Texts/Plural Authors: Perspectives on Collaborative Writing*, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1990, p. 13.

[3] Margaret A. Simons, *Beauvoir and The Second Sex: Feminism, Race, and the Origins of Existentialism*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001; reprinted 2013, p. 107 (EPUB).

relationship underscores the way creative labour often depends on forms of collaboration that remain unacknowledged by conventional literary narratives. Not only did he make sure she had "a room of her own", but, as we find out from Elaine Showalter's book *A Literature of Their Own*, Leonard was also taking care of her physical health and her diet, as she suffered from anorexia[4].

Taken together, these examples demonstrate that literary production is frequently embedded in relational contexts, romantic, intellectual, or domestic, that challenge the myth of the isolated genius.

When examining instances of same-gender collaborative writing in literary history, we find that such collaborations have been far more visible among male authors. Notable examples include the partnership between Ford Madox Ford and Joseph Conrad[5], whose co-authored works exemplify an enduring literary alliance, as well as the collaboration between Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner in *The Gilded Age* (1873). The British Romantic period also offers the famed intellectual and poetic companionship of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Wordsworth, whose mutual influence helped define an entire literary movement. But they weren't the only ones. Shelley too was "keen to establish such a communal site of productivity"[6].

By contrast, examples of literary collaboration between women are significantly less visible, often obscured by the constraints of patriarchy and the historical marginalization of women's authorship. When women did collaborate, it was frequently under a shared male pseudonym, which complicates both recognition and attribution. Two key cases are that of Michael Field, the pen name adopted by Katherine Bradley, and Edith Cooper, an aunt and niece who co-authored numerous works of poetry and drama in Victorian England[7], and that of E.D. Gerard, the pseudonym adopted by sisters Emily and Dorothea Gerard[8]. The deliberate concealment of their identities, while allowing for greater public acceptance of their work, simultaneously reinforced the structural invisibility of female literary partnership. At the same time, female writers created true feminist bonds when writing together, and this is very well exemplified by Violet Martin and Edith Somerville. As Elaine Showalter puts it:

> In the lives of feminists, the bonds of the female subculture were particularly strong. The feminists were intensely devoted to each other and needed the support of close,

---

[4] Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1977, p. 269.

[5] Joseph Conrad, Ford Madox Ford, *The Inheritors: An Extravagant Story*, Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1920.

[6] Heather Bozant Witcher, *Collaborative Writing in the Long Nineteenth Century: Sympathetic Partnerships and Artistic Creation*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2022, p. 33.

[7] *Ibidem*, p. 8.

[8] Annachiara Cozzi, "Exploring Late Victorian (Co-)Authorship: Two Models of Popular Literary Collaboration", *Victorian Popular Fictions*, 3, 2021, 1, p. 44.

> emotional friendships with other women as well as the loving adulation of a female audience. In this generation, which mainly comprises women born between 1860 and 1880, one finds sympathetically attuned women writing in teams[9].

Yet not even these powerful teams that worked their way through the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s stood out sufficiently. This erasure extends to certain male-female collaborations as well, particularly when women's contributions were subsumed under male names, or obscured through joint pseudonyms. The early 19th-century novel *Rose et Blanche* (1831), published under the name Jules Sand, was in fact co-authored by Amantine Lucile Aurore Dupin (later known as George Sand) and Jules Sandeau. While Sand would go on to establish her own formidable career, this early instance reflects the broader dynamics of gender and authorship that have shaped how collaboration is recorded and also remembered in literary history.

These patterns suggest that gender not only influences who collaborates, but also how such collaborations are perceived, preserved, and canonized. The collaborative work of women, and especially of gender-marginalized individuals, has too often been rendered invisible by publishing conventions and historical biases, highlighting the need to revisit authorship as a relational and often political fact[10]. As Zöe Thomas observes, there were numerous literary couples, many of them co-authors, where "the middle-class wife's historic role as behind-the-scenes 'helpmate' who enabled her husband to build his career – through clerical support, hosting soirées, or even as unrecognized author"[11] was central to the couple's literary output. Thomas also highlights this dynamic by noting that in some cases, couples preferred to publish under the man's name alone, reinforcing existing gender hierarchies in authorship and public recognition. This pattern reveals the way women's literary labour was often made invisible to preserve the cultural authority of the male partner:

> Certain couples began by only listing the husband's name on their book covers, but from the 1890s there was realization that including both names could provide the unique recipe for literary success in an ever more competitive marketplace. For Egerton and Agnes Castle's first "four or five books", they used solely his name "because we fancied that they would sell better under a name that was already known" and out of concern there would be "prejudice against what some people will look upon as a divided, instead of a united, authorship"[12].

Bette London makes the same point in her book *Writing Double: Women's Literary Partnerships*:

---

[9] Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own*, pp. 29-30.
[10] See Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, "Infection in the Sentence: The Woman Writer and the Anxiety of Authorship", in *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979, pp. 78-121.
[11] Zoë Thomas, "Marriage, Collaboration, and the Literary Mass Market in the English-Speaking World, c. 1870–1939", *The Historical Journal* (first view, published online March 12), 2025, p. 2.
[12] *Ibidem*, p. 7.

> Women's more complex authorial engagements, however, have tended to be dwarfed by the dominant model of spousal collaboration that defines most cross-gender writing arrangements – a model that relegates women to the roles of helpmeet and amanuensis[13].

This article, however, does not seek to present writers in abstract or romanticized terms, as some of the existing literature on collaborative writing tends to do. For instance, Linda Brodkey's *Academic Writing as Social Practice* portrays the writer as a solitary figure, detached from broader social contexts. A similar stance is evident in Andrea A. Lunsford and Lisa S. Ede's *Singular Texts/Plural Authors*, where they offer a historical overview of joint authorship and collaborative writing practices, but often remain within traditional frameworks. Nevertheless, Brodkey's work, despite its primary focus on academic writing, offers an important insight: collaboration frequently serves as a crucial facilitator for marginalized communities[14]. Moreover, her observations resonate with feminist critiques, particularly those of Elaine Showalter, who highlights the fact that women writers of the nineteenth-century English novel similarly embraced collaboration as both a strategy for survival and a means of creative empowerment. Besides, collaboration did not even have to necessarily mean co-authorship, as Bette London highlights:

> As these instances suggest, collaborations exist in a range of "authorial" activities not necessarily named authorship: acts of assistance and inspiration; acts of mentoring or mutual influence; acts of revision or editorial input. Seen in this larger context, "collaboration" plays a more central role in the history of women's authorship than might at first appear evident, taking in such examples as Marianne Moore and Elizabeth Bishop, H. D. and Bryher, Virginia Woolf and Vita Sackville-West, Vera Brittain and Winifred Holtby. It includes the Bronte sisters, not just in their juvenilia, where collaboration was a constitutive feature, but in the novels they wrote and published in close consultation with each other[15].

This initial exploration into the realm of global literature, largely shaped by Eurocentric canons and dominant literary traditions like the English one, serves as a preliminary framework for a broader, more critical inquiry on peripheral literatures, like Romanian literature. While the collaborative dimensions of literary production in these contexts offer valuable insights, they also reflect a set of assumptions about authorship, visibility, and literary value that are not universally applicable. Collaboration, whether explicit or implicit, has indeed been a persistent but frequently undervalued aspect of literary history. However, this article seeks to shift the analytical focus: rather than treating collaboration as a hidden or supplemental feature of literary creation, it investigates the political and cultural

---

[13] Bette London, *Writing Double: Women's Literary Partnerships*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2002, p. 20.
[14] Linda Brodkey, *Academic Writing as Social Practice*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1987, p. 47.
[15] London, *Writing Double*, p. 19.

significance of collaborative writing practices within marginal literatures, specifically within the late 19th century and early 20th century Romanian novel. Therefore, I would first like to know if collaborative writing has historically supported the marginal novel written by women – whether due to the author's gender, the language of composition, or country of origin. In the case of Romania's first women novelists, these marginalizing factors often converge[16]. Notably, the first Romanian novel written by a woman recorded in the *Dicționarul cronologic al romanului românesc de la origini până în 2000* [*Chronological Dictionary of the Romanian Novel from Its Origins to 2000*][17] was a collaborative work between a female and a male author. Published in 1857–1858 under the pseudonym Doamna L. [Madam L.], *Omul muntelui* [*The Mountain Man*] was co-authored by V.A. Urechia and Marie Boucher. One cannot help but question why the first recorded Romanian novel by a woman was, in fact, a collaborative effort – written by both a man and a woman, yet presented under a (seemingly) female pseudonym.

While scholars like Elaine Showalter, Bette London and Lorraine York have shown that collaboration and shared literary labour could empower women writers in more established literary traditions, a more peripheral space like the Romanian space complicates this notion. When the first female-authored novel is, in fact, a collaboration between a man and a woman, one must ask whether this was a revolutionary act or merely a reflection of the limitations placed on women in peripheral literatures. Lorraine York presents all collaborations as challenges to the *status quo*[18]. Rather than a liberating strategy, collaboration in this context may have been a necessary condition for a woman to enter the literary field at all – an indication that legitimacy required male partnership, established connections, or access to an accepted literary genealogy. In such a system, co-authorship was not necessarily a space of creative equality, but a means of negotiating access to publication in a deeply gendered and hierarchical cultural landscape. But above all, I agree with York's stance about the fluidity of the act of collaboration:

> More recently, women collaborators have mused over an array of other possible metaphors: sibling relationship, erotic bond, mixed salad, stew, operatic duets, and much else from this ongoing I take as a cautionary note besides. But what is a

[16] See Daiana Gârdan, "The Great Female Unread. Romanian Women Novelists in the First Half of the Twentieth Century: A Quantitative Approach", *Metacritic Journal for Comparative Studies and Theory*, 4, 2018, 1, pp. 109-124.

[17] See Adrian Tudurachi (ed.), *Dicționarul cronologic al romanului românesc de la origini până în 2000* [*Chronological Dictionary of the Romanian Novel from Its Origins to 2000*], vol. I–II, revised and expanded edition, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2023, p. 9. See also Ștefan Baghiu et al., *Muzeul Digital al Romanului Românesc: secolul al XIX-lea* [*The Digital Museum of the Romanian Novel: The 19th Century*], Sibiu, Complexul Național Muzeal ASTRA, 2019, and *Muzeul Digital al Romanului Românesc: 1901–1932* [*The Digital Museum of the Romanian Novel: 1901–1932*], Sibiu, Complexul Național Muzeal ASTRA, 2020.

[18] Lorraine York, *Rethinking Women's Collaborative Writing: Power, Difference, Property*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2002, p. 3.

> valuable reminder to define collaborative writing challenge are not relationships (like all others) that collaborative writing classifiable objects. static, austerely classifiable objects[19].

Let us turn our attention to some of the most prominent writers of late 19th- and early 20th-century Romania. At first glance, it becomes apparent that those who engaged in literary collaboration tend to be lesser-known figures. Beyond the previously mentioned Marie Boucher, other examples include Olimpia Teodoru, who collaborated with her brother Doru Teodoru, a partnership I intend to revisit later, and Carmen Sylva, who often wrote under the pseudonym *Dito*. Sylva collaborated with Mite Kremnitz, herself known by the pseudonym *Idem* (as well as others like *Allen George*). While the primary focus of this article will be on mixed-gender writing partnerships, I wish to briefly address the collaboration between Dito and Idem. This female-female partnership is particularly noteworthy as it represents one of the few examples of women collaborating in Romanian literature during this period, exemplified by their 1887 novel *Astra*[20]. Its significance lies not only in its rarity but also in the way it challenges the predominant literary norms of the time:

> We are dealing with a handwritten book, born out of the friendship between two erudite German-speaking authors whom life brought together in the second half of the 19th century among Romanians, two women separated at times by social constraints, yet united by their passion for writing, the circles they frequented, and a shared feeling of a kind of exile in a world different from the one in which they were born. *Astra* is an epistolary novel in which the strong echoes of late Romanticism clearly resonate[21].

Furthermore, as Ioana Moroșan notes, in the nineteenth century women's restricted access to formal authorship often redirected their literary expression toward correspondence, which gradually came to substitute fictional writing[22]. Therefore, as has been accurately observed, these two women came from markedly different worlds, one of them being Elisabeth of Wied (1843–1916), the first Queen of Romania and wife of King Carol I. This example illustrates a common pattern in literary partnerships, where the social status of one partner provides certain advantages or greater visibility than the other's. However, unlike many cases

---

[19] *Ibidem*, p. 5.

[20] See Dito și Idem, *Astra. Roman epistolar* [*Astra. Epistolary Novel*]. Transl. from German, preface and notes by Grete Tartler, București, Humanitas, 2011.

[21] Răzvan Mihai Năstase, "Luceafărul uitat" ["The Forgotten Evening Star"], *România literară*, 44, 2012, 13, p. 22: "Avem de-a face cu o carte la patru mâini, izvorâtă din prietenia a două erudite autoare de limbă germană pe care viața le-a adus în cea de-a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea printre români, două femei despărțite uneori de rigorile sociale, dar apropiate de pasiunea pentru scris, de cercurile pe care le frecventau și de sentimentul unui soi de exil într-o lume diferită de cea în care s-au născut. *Astra* este un roman epistolar în care răzbat limpede ecouri puternice ale unui romantism târziu". Unless otherwise stated, the quotations are translated into English by the author of this paper.

[22] Ioana Moroșan, "From the Revolutionary Patriotic Mothers to the Contemporary Nationalist Discourse", *Dacoromania Litteraria*, 2025, 12, pp. 80-97.

where gender is a defining factor in such dynamics, here the distinction lies primarily in social class and rank. Their collaboration therefore sheds light on how social hierarchies, rather than gender alone, shaped literary relationships and opportunities during this period.

Before turning to mixed-gender literary partnerships, it is important to consider the broader context of women writers in Romania during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Many of these women who pursued careers in writing maintained significant connections with male writers or other influential figures, which often shaped their literary trajectories and public reception. Many of the women who wrote collaboratively or under pseudonyms remained relatively obscure in Romanian literary history, suggesting that those who achieved greater recognition, such as it was, were often closely connected to men. In an article published in *Metacritic Journal*, Ioana Moroșan explores the mechanisms of masculine domination within Romanian literature and the writing profession, revealing how women writers were systematically excluded from the structures of literary production, largely controlled by male elites. Even those women who managed to gain some visibility, particularly those who gathered around various platforms and journals like *Femeia română* [*The Romanian Woman*], often did so by inheriting or relying on the cultural, social, or economic capital of their husbands, fathers, or brothers:

> In other words, the occupation of writing remains tributary to the acceptance of the father's heritage and his literary capital. In this way, they reproduce the cultural and social capital gained by the writer/intellectual – fathers or male relatives – without homologating their dominant position due to restrictions imposed by their gender identity. So, during the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century, many important women from the Romanian literary field accede to the literary (liberal) professions through the status of their fathers', relatives', or husbands' intellectual affiliation, mobilising either paternal inherited capital or their relational capital[23].

Thus, although "female writers who were proposing a feminist imagery and topics through their writing, such as Sofia Nădejde, Eugenia Ianculescu, Adela Xenopol or Aida Vrioni and Natalia Negru delimit themselves and their writing from the male-dominated literary doxa"[24], it is also true that these women had undeniable connections to paternal or male family figures, which could distinguish their careers from those writers lesser known than themselves (like the ones I will later discuss in this article). The fact that, as Moroșan notes, "these authors had never been mentioned within activity reports such as *Sburătorul*"[25] only underscores their determination to distance themselves from male counterparts.

---

[23] Ioana Moroșan, "Romanian Women Writers and the Literary Profession during the First Half of the 20th Century: Exclusion, Feminisation and Professionalisation of Writing", *Metacritic Journal for Comparative Studies and Theory*, 8, 2022, 1, p. 108.
[24] *Ibidem*, p. 120.
[25] *Ibidem*.

With this context in mind, let us consider some of the most prominent names among Romanian women writers of the time. One of the best-known is Sofia Nădejde, married to Ioan Nădejde, a Romanian publicist and translator. Another key figure is Eugenia de Reuss Ianculescu, an important voice in early feminist activism. Coming from an aristocratic family on her father's side, she grew up on an estate in Bucovina and had the opportunity to travel frequently to France and Italy. Her access to education abroad was instrumental in shaping her involvement in feminist movements and publications[26].

Similarly, Elena Bacaloglu, often mentioned alongside Nădejde as a major Romanian literary figure, also came from a prominent and well-educated family. She was initially married to Radu D. Rosetti, a successful lawyer and poet, and later to literary historian Ovid Densusianu, from whom she eventually divorced before moving to Italy, where she became involved with the Fascist Party[27]. Another notable example is Adela Xenopol, a feminist writer and journalist associated with publications such as *Femeia română* and *Dochia*. She was the sister of historian A.D. Xenopol and also benefited from studies abroad[28].

This is not to say that these women's feminist commitments should be discredited because of their privileged backgrounds. Rather, the point is to recognize that their ability to articulate and promote a feminist agenda was made possible, at least in part, by the social and cultural capital they inherited. It is also worth noting that in the cases of Bacaloglu, Nădejde, and Adela Xenopol, literary historians often foreground these biographical details as central to understanding their intellectual and public trajectories, which can be harmful.

Thus, the question I wish to raise is whether, in peripheral literary cultures such as Romania's at the turn of the 20th century, the mixed-gender novel serves less as a neutral collaboration or purely artistic partnership, and more as a strategic avenue for women writers to access male cultural capital. In other words, could the mixed-gender novel often be a pretext through which women could gain entry into the literary sphere by aligning themselves with male authority, whether through co-authorship, pseudonymous collaboration, or association with a well-positioned male figure?

Moreover, can such collaborations still be considered subversive, even when they are grounded in inherited forms of power, whether paternal, fraternal, or marital? If a woman writer's access to publication, readership, or recognition is facilitated by her relationship to a man, does that invalidate the feminist or

---

[26] See the entry for Eugenia Ianculescu de Reuss in Francisca de Haan, Krassimira Daskalova, and Anna Loutfi (eds.), *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms: Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Budapest, Central European University Press, 2006, pp. 463-466.

[27] Maria Bucur, "Romania", in Kevin Passmore (ed.), *Women, Gender and Fascism in Europe, 1919–45*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2003, pp. 107-108.

[28] See "Adela Xenopol", in de Haan, Daskalova, and Loutfi (eds.), *A Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 613-615.

disruptive potential of her work? Or can we understand these strategies as a form of negotiation with the structures of literary authority, where subversion does not necessarily require full independence, but rather operates from within systems of inherited privilege?

In order to better understand this phenomenon and to answer these questions within the Romanian context, I will further structure this article in two main sections. The first will examine the broader literary and socio-political landscape at the time of the publication of the first novel co-authored by a woman and a man, a moment which also marks the appearance of the first novel written by a woman in Romania. This section will explore the surrounding cultural context, including press coverage, contemporary newspaper articles, and women's literary activity in periodicals of the time. The second section (and last before the conclusions) will focus on the reception of a small corpus of novels written by women in collaboration with men, as well as the individual works authored by these same women, where relevant. This will allow for a comparative perspective on collaborative versus solo authorship by women, tracing developments up to the outbreak of the Great War.

Contextualizing Romania's First Mixed-Gender Collaborative Novel

First and foremost, I would like to examine the Romanian literary and socio-cultural landscape around the time of the publication of *Omul muntelui*. Beginning in the mid-19th century, particularly from the 1850s onward, we witness the emergence of the first organized efforts toward women's empowerment in Romanian society. One of the earliest such initiatives was the founding of *The Romanian Women's Association for the Support of Raising Poorer Romanian Orphan Girls* in 1850, in Brașov, Transylvania[29]. This marked a significant step toward social engagement by and for women. Similar associations soon followed in other Transylvanian cities such as Sibiu, Blaj, Hunedoara, and Deva, signalling a growing awareness of women's roles in both education and public life.

However, the ideological groundwork for the emancipation of women had been laid even earlier in the Romanian Principalities. In 1837, the prominent writer and intellectual Ion Heliade Rădulescu founded a literary and scientific journal entitled *Curier de ambe sexe* [*Courier of Either Sex*]. His motivation for setting up this publication was rooted in the belief that public opinion needed to be cultivated and prepared to accept what he referred to as "advanced ideas of women's emancipation". Rădulescu emphasized this need by declaring: "Half of

[29] Ștefania Mihăilescu, *Din istoria feminismului românesc. Antologie de texte (1838–1929)* [*From the History of Romanian Feminism. An Anthology of Texts (1838–1929)*], Iași, Polirom, 2002, p. 23.

contemporary humanity is of the fair and distinct sex, and it too can claim in society the human rights pertaining to its nature"[30].

This early advocacy for gender equality was echoed by other influential figures of the time, including the main actors of the 1848 generation, who strongly believed women's emancipation will imply "the achievement of the fundamental objectives of the bourgeois-democratic revolution: the elimination of feudal privileges, the end of foreign domination, and the realization of state unity"[31]. In 1853, politician and writer C.A. Rosetti addressed Romanian women directly in an open letter. He reminded them that political and social transformations, including revolutions and reforms, were not abstract phenomena but matters that concerned them intimately. He wrote:

> There is no political or social matter, no change, no revolution […] that does not directly concern you [the women, ed. note], your happiness, and your life. You can see that those who wish the Romanian nation to be one single body, just as it is one single soul, know very well that unity will not be complete and lasting if the family remains enslaved and mutilated, as ours is today. You can see that those who demand freedom and equality for all are also demanding your liberation and happiness. You can see that those who ask for laws to be made and upheld by all, without distinction, protecting everyone's rights without wronging anyone, are through this also asking for your liberation and your rights[32].

It is fair to say that women had begun to enter spaces that were traditionally and predominantly male-dominated. However, it remains ambiguous whether some political figures genuinely supported these changes out of a sincere commitment to women's rights, or if their alignment with such progressive shifts was motivated more pragmatically, out of the realisation that appearing in step with global movements could secure them certain privileges and liberties as well. This tension invites a deeper theoretical reflection, which can be illuminated by Nirmal Puwar's influential work, *Space Invaders* (2004). Puwar interrogates what transpires when bodies that are traditionally marginalized or deemed "out of place" occupy positions of power or visibility within established institutions. She describes a dynamic reminiscent of a primordial response, where the presence of the "unexpected" or "strange" generates unease, disruption, or even a form of symbolic

---

[30] *Ibidem*, p. 55.

[31] *Ibidem*, p. 13.

[32] C.A. Rosetti, *Prima epistolă către femeile claselor privilegiate* [*The First Letter to the Women of the Priviliged Classes*], Paris, Tipografia E. Soye, 1853, apud Mihăilescu, *Din istoria feminismului*, p. 13: "Nu este nici o chestie politică şi socială, nici o schimbare, nici o revoluţie […] care să nu se atingă de-a-dreptul de tine [de femeie – n.n.], de fericirea şi de viaţa ta. Vezi că cei ce voiesc ca naţia română să fie un singur trup, precum este un singur suflet, ştiu foarte bine că unirea nu va fi deplină şi temeinică dacă familia va fi robită şi trunchiată, precum este astăzi a noastră. Vezi că cei ce cer libertatea şi egalitatea pentru toţi, cer dezrobirea şi fericirea ta, [...] vezi că cei ce cer ca legile să fie făcute şi păzite de toţi, fără osebire, apărând dreptul fiecăruia fără a năpăstui pe nici unul, cer prin aceasta dezrobirea şi drepturile tale".

terror. This framework helps us understand the complex social anxieties and resistances triggered by women entering (and sometimes challenging) male-dominated domains, as well as the ways institutions and individuals negotiate these shifts in power and identity:

> Intrinsic to the dynamics involved in the amplification of numbers is the phenomenon of visibility, threat and terror. As bodies out of place or unexpected bodies, they are highly conspicuous. This is a visibility that comes from not being the norm. It is a process that is not all that different from the way in which racialized minorities are visible on the street, and especially in particular locations heavily demarcated as white places. Lest we think that what is involved here is simply a curiosity about newcomers, strangers or the unknown, coupled with the issue of numbers is the question of terror. The amplification occurs not only because they are unknown, but precisely because they are already "known" in ways which are seen to threaten the spurious claims on space for a coherent superior identity. There is a terror of numbers, a fear of being swamped[33].

Publications such as *Femeia română* (1878–1881), a biweekly periodical under the supervision of Maria Flechtenmacher and *Revista noastră* [*Our Magazine*], guided by Constanța Hodoș, contributed significantly to the broader development of Romania's first women's organizations. These periodicals provided a platform for articulating early feminist concerns and for fostering a sense of collective identity among women involved in cultural and social reform. The first formal organization dedicated to women's emancipation in Romania was founded in 1911 by Eugenia de Reuss Ianculescu. Closely tied to this emerging movement were some of the country's earliest explicitly feminist publications, edited under the guidance of Adela Xenopol. These included *Dochia* (Iași, 1896–1898), *Românca* [*The Romanian Woman*] (Iași, 1905–1906), and *Viitorul româncelor* [*The Future of Romanian Women*] (Bucharest, 1912–1914). Yet all of these initiatives came well after the first known contribution by a woman to the Romanian novel. When what is now considered the earliest Romanian novel written by a woman appeared, the cultural climate remained cautious and unreceptive to female authorship. This context may explain why neither author chose to publicly claim authorship at the time.

The authorship of *Omul muntelui* remained a matter of debate long after its publication in 1857–1858. As late as 1959, literary critic D. Păcuraru was still attempting to determine the true identity of the novel's author. In his article, he notes that following 1855, new efforts in Romanian novel writing did not emerge until 1858, citing *Omul muntelui* as one of the few examples from that year:

> A telling example in this regard is offered by the work on the beginnings of the Romanian novel by T. Vîrgolici, published a few years ago. The author discusses the

[33] Nirmal Puwar (ed.), *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place*, 2004, Oxford, Berg Publishers, p. 49.

> novel, considered to be by a "certain Madam L.", with exaggerated and entirely unjustified severity. "After 1855", says T. Vîrgolici, "new attempts at the novel are made only in 1858. In this year, two works are published: *Radu Buzescu* by Ioan Dumitrescu and *The Man of the Mountain*, described as an original novel, by a certain Madam L... The 'novel' of Madam L., *The Man of the Mountain*, is, of course, nothing more than the result of a few bored hours of a sentimental woman, with no connection whatsoever to literature"[34].

D. Păcuraru considers the harsh assessment of *Omul muntelui* to be unjustified, arguing that it reflects a superficial reading of the text. His defence of the novel stems primarily from his belief that the work was, in fact, authored by C.A. Rosetti, a prominent political figure of the time. "Our assertion", Păcuraru writes, "is based on the fact that one of the fragments, published in *Romînul*, no. 8, January 28, 1848, under the subtitle *original romance by Madam L.*, is signed at the end by C.A. Rosetti"[35].

Another piece of evidence supporting Rosetti's authorship lies in the biographical connection: his wife, Maria Grant, of Anglo-French origin, had worked as a governess in the Odobescu household – a family closely connected to both Rosetti and Alexandru Odobescu. Notably, the plot of *Omul muntelui* revolves around a young woman of French descent who works as a governess in the home of a Moldavian noble family. Her life takes a dramatic turn when she falls in love with a political outcast, a character with clear parallels to Rosetti himself, an encounter that ultimately transforms her destiny.

It was only in 1961 that the authorship of the novel was finally clarified: Doamna L. [Madam L.] was indeed a woman writer, though not the sole author of the work:

> Since the matter seemed thus fully clarified, you can imagine our surprise when we found out that Madam L. was, in fact... a woman! In the volume *Complete Works* (*Short Stories, Reflections, Feuilletons, Various Bibliographies*) by V.A. Urechia (Bucharest, 1883), there appears, among other things, under the title *Woman*, a series of reflections dedicated to "Miss M. Boucher" (*op. cit.*, p. 63 and following). In the final notes of the volume, V.A. Urechia evokes the late Marie Boucher as a "guide

---

[34] D. Păcuraru, "Un romancier necunoscut din veacul trecut" ["An Unknown Novelist from the Past Century"], *Viața Românească*, 12, 1959, 12, p. 142: "Un exemplu edificator în această privință ni-l oferă lucrarea despre începuturile romanului romînesc a lui T. Vîrgolici apărută acum câțiva ani. Autorul discută romanul, considerat al unei 'oarecare Doamnă L' cu o severitate exagerată, întru nimic justificată. 'După 1855' – spune T. Vîrgolici – 'noi încercări de roman se fac abia în 1858. În acest an se publică două lucrări: *Radu Buzescu* de Ioan Dumitrescu și *Omul muntelui* denumit *romans original*, de o oarecare Doamnă L… 'Romanul' Doamnei L., *Omul muntelui*, nu este, desigur, decît rezultatul unor ore de plictiseală ale unei femei sentimentale, fără nici o contingență cu literature".

[35] *Ibidem*: "Afirmația noastră pornește de la faptul că unul din fragmente, publicat în nr. 8 din 28. I. 1858 al *Romînului*, purtînd în subtitlu *romantz original de Doamna L.*, este semnat la sfîrșit C.A. Rosetti".

> […] on the literary path", a "friend and adviser". "Miss Boucher", V.A. Urechia further states, "was, I might say, a co-author with me"[36].

The same two writers also collaborated under a different pseudonym, Maria Movilă, producing additional works such as *Lupu* (1870) and *Cei șapte munți* [*The Seven Mountains*] (1881). Unfortunately, there is very little information available about Marie Boucher's life, making it difficult to reconstruct her biography. The few known facts come from the same 1961 article by Șt. Cazimir, and even these are filtered through the recollections of her collaborator, V.A. Urechia, whom she met in 1850 while they were both teaching at the same institution. Although it cannot be stated with certainty, there is no indication that their relationship extended beyond literary collaboration. Urechia describes her as a 20-year-old woman, neither particularly attractive nor unattractive, raised in a French monastery, and intellectually gifted, comparing her talents to those of George Sand. Motivated by a desire to learn Romanian, she became Urechia's student. Studies show, however, that his contribution to this novel was limited:

> A number of elements in the novel lead us to believe that V.A. Urechia's contribution to its composition was quite limited. The notably poor depiction of peasant life stands in stark contrast to his earlier novel *Coliba Măriucăi* [*Măriuca's Hut*] from 1855, in which, particularly in the chapter titled "Claca", Urechia demonstrated that he was the most perceptive observer of rural life among the prose writers of the time, capable of capturing with great authenticity the psychology, gestures, and speech of the peasantry. In *Omul muntelui*, the frequent use of terms such as *român*, *româncă*, and *compatriot* suggests the perspective of a foreign author. The text also contains numerous parenthetical glosses, such as *domniță* (*demoiselle*), *deplinitate* (*perfection*), *scărpoase* (*escarpées*), *recugetat* (*recueilli*), *singuratic* (*isolé*), *viclenii* (*ruses*), and others. These suggest that the novel may have originally been written in French, with the Romanian version including the original French expressions in parentheses wherever the Romanian equivalent was inadequate or appeared unsatisfactory[37].

---

[36] Șt. Cazimir, "Misterul Doamnei L." ["Madam L.'s Mistery"], *Viața Românească*, 14, 1961, 11, p. 170: "Lucrurile părând astfel pe deplin elucidate, se înțelege surpriza noastră atunci când am aflat că doamna L. a fost totuși… o femeie! În volumul *Opere complete (Novele, cugetări, foiletoane, bibliografii varia)* de V.A Urechia (Buc., 1883), figurează între altele, sub titlul 'Femeia', o serie de cugetări dedicate 'd-rei M. Boucher' (*op. cit.*, p. 63 și urm.). În notele finale ale volumului, V.A. Urechia o evocă pe defuncta Marie Boucher, ca o 'călăuză […] în calea literară', 'amică și sfătuitoare'. 'D-ra Boucher – arată în continuare V.A. Urechia – a fost scris în colaborare, pot zice, cu mine'".

[37] *Ibidem*, p. 171: "O serie de aspecte ale romanului ne fac să susținem că participarea lui V.A. Urechiă la alcătuirea lui a fost foarte limitată. Prezentarea cu totul deficitară a vieții țăranilor contrastează cu romanul *Coliba Măriucăi* din 1855, prin care (mai ales în capitolul "Claca") V.A. Urechia se dovedise, între prozatorii epocii, cel mai bun observator al satului, capabil să surprindă cu mult adevăr psihologia, gesturile și vorbirea țărănească. Prezența frecventă în *Omul muntelui* a unor termeni ca *român*, *româncă*, *compatriot*, atestă perspectiva autoarei străine. Apar de asemeni numeroase paranteze – glose: *domniță* (*demoiselle*), *deplinitate* (*perfection*), *scărpoase* (*escarpées*), *recugetat* (*recueilli*), *singuratic* (*isolé*), *viclenii* (*ruses*) etc. Ele ne fac să bănuim o redactare inițială

Thus, it appears that V.A. Urechia enjoyed a relatively prolific literary and scholarly career[38]. Among his most important works are *Istoria românilor* [*The History of Romanians*] and the four-volume *Istoria școalelor de la 1800–1864* [*The History of the Schools between 1800 and 1864*] (1892–1901), which was awarded the Romanian Academy Prize. In addition to his work as a historian, Urechia played a prominent role in the Romanian press. He served as director of several periodicals, including *Adunarea națională* [*The National Assembly*] (1869) and *Informațiunile bucureștene* [*The Information from Bucharest*], and was an editor at publications such as *Revista contimporană* [*The Contemporary Magazine*], *Revista literară și științifică* [*The Literary and Scientific Magazine*], and *Pagini literare* [*Literary Pages*]. His writing also appeared in numerous other journals and newspapers, including *Literatorul* [*The Literator*], *Revista literară* [*The Literary Magazane*], *Convorbiri literare* [*Literary Talks*], *Revista nouă* [*The New Magazine*], *Viața* [*Life*], *Universul* [*The Universe*], *Universul literar* [*The Literary Universe*] *Apărarea națională* [*The National Defence*], and *Secolul XX* [*Twentieth Century*], among others.[39]

By contrast, Marie Boucher, his collaborator on several novels (either under Doamna L., like the novel mentioned before, or under Maria Movilă) published only in conjunction with his name and did not pursue a separate literary career. She lacked access to the public platforms and intellectual networks that supported male writers of the period. Coming from a poor family, she did not benefit from the structural advantages that enabled other women to engage in literary and feminist activity. As I have shown earlier, the early movement for women's emancipation in Romania was largely driven by women from educated, bourgeois families who had access to formal schooling, cultural capital, and social influence. As Moroșan aptly notices in the article quoted before:

> Writing is either an act of acceptance of the father's heritage, or it is regulated by the male relatives, mainly partners, and, as such, the access to writing and women's writing tradition remain mainly a bourgeois and urban calling […]. As a consequence, the plots of many women's literary works are largely inspired by the bourgeois, middle-class or upper middle-class lifestyle. The initial insertion of women as literary agents through a preponderantly masculine vision predicts right from the beginning a statutory predicament that will continuously affect women's literary careers. As an effect, the institutionalisation of masculine domination and women's exclusion from

---

franceză, din care traducerea a consemnat în paranteză expresia originală de cite ori echivalentul romînesc era sau părea nesatisfăcător".

[38] For an analysis of V.A. Urechia's individual literary contributions, including his novel *Coliba Măriucăi*, inspired by Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, see Maria Chiorean, "Emotional Excess and Racialisation in the 19th-Century Romanian Novel", *Dacoromania litteraria*, 2025, 12, pp. 98-120.

[39] Gabriela Drăgoi, "Urechia, V.A.", in Eugen Simion (ed.) *Dicționarul general al literaturii române* [General Dictionary of Romanian Literature], second revised and extended edition, vol. 8, București, Muzeul Literaturii Române, 2021, pp. 486-489.

> the hierarchical structure of the field becomes immanent and foretells a challenging struggle for women as it regards the acquisition of literary legitimacy[40].

In this context, Marie Boucher's limited presence in the literary field reflects the broader exclusion of working-class and impoverished women from the early stages of feminist and intellectual history in Romania.

Women's Literary Voices in Collaboration and Alone

The other collaborative novel I would like to highlight has received even less attention and remains largely obscure in literary histories. Although at first glance it appears similar to other joint writing efforts of the time, this case is markedly different. Olimpia Teodoru, who also wrote under the pseudonym Olteo, was both a writer and a schoolteacher. Very little biographical information is available about her, aside from her decades-long career in education and her contributions to children's literature. A 1939 article in *Universul*, titled "Romanele d-nei Olimpia Teodoru-Olteo" ["Mrs. Olimpia Teodoru-Olteo's Novels"], notes that she initially gained recognition for her patriotic poetry, later turning to prose fiction. Among her most notable works are *Iubire fatală* [*Deadly Love*] and *Un proces pierdut* [*A Lost Trial*], the latter written in collaboration with her brother, V. Teodoru-Doru. The dedication to their parents on the opening page of the novel suggests that this literary project was more of a sentimental family undertaking than a professional or commercial venture – especially since neither sibling went on to establish themselves as prominent literary figures. Unlike the other authors previously discussed, V. Teodoru-Doru was not well received by contemporary critics. In fact, one review regarding his novel *Vlahula* (1925) was particularly harsh:

> Why was Mr. V. T. unable to develop a novel? Because he lacks imagination, because he does not have the gift of seeing into souls and naturally expressing what they feel, because he is not a poet, because even the dictionary of his own language does not assist him... (Etc.!)[41].

This biting critique reflects not only the literary standards of the time but also the challenges faced by amateur or semi-professional writers who attempted to enter a field dominated by more institutionally supported voices. The literary collaboration between the Teodoru siblings, though modest and largely overlooked by critics, can serve as a poignant example of personal investment in literary expression outside the mainstream canon. In contrast, Western literary partnerships have often followed a seemingly different trajectory. As Zoë Thomas highlights in her article

---

[40] Moroșan, *Romanian Women Writers*, p. 108.

[41] G. Bogdan-Duică, "V. Teodoru (Doru), *Vlahula*", *Națiunea*, 1, 1927, 181, p. 2: "Pentru ce dl V. T. nu a putut desvolta un roman? Pentru că i lipsește fantasia, pentru că nu are darul de-a vedea în suflete și de-a exprima firește ce ele simt, pentru că nu este poet, pentru că și dicționarul limbei sale nu-l ajută... (Etc.!)".

on married authorial partnerships, such collaborations frequently involved couples who jointly carved out enviable new positions within the literary field. Thomas argues that these partnerships should be recognized as a growing socio-cultural phenomenon of the era, rather than viewing women's professional paths solely through the lens of marital status[42]. This framework, however, does not necessarily apply to the Teodoru siblings, nor does it accurately reflect the nature of most collaborative novels produced in prewar Romania. The fact that Olimpia Teodoru went on to write two additional novels, forming a trilogy with *Un proces pierdut* under the title *Cununa tinereții* [*The Garland of Youth*], suggests that her partnership with her brother was primarily sentimental. Her literary career appears to have developed independently and did not rely on his involvement. Her career, however, was never as promising as that of the women writers discussed in the first half of this paper, yet her name was not as obscure as that of Marie Boucher, Romania's first woman novelist, whose existence was practically hidden for a little over a century.

Before drawing any firm conclusions, it is worth revisiting briefly *Dito & Idem*, the only known case of women's collaborative authorship in the Romanian prewar literary context. This situation mirrors developments in the West, where such examples were also rare. As Lorraine York notes, "before the last few years, women's collaborative authorship has been as 'vast' an unlit 'chamber' as Virginia Woolf imagined for her Chloe and Olivia"[43]. Carmen Sylva and Mite Kremnitz shared a long and prolific literary partnership, co-authoring several volumes, many of which remain untranslated and unpublished in Romanian. Importantly, both women also cultivated independent literary careers. Their collaboration was marked by a unique creative bond, yet it was undoubtedly facilitated by their social privilege: Carmen Sylva was of royal blood, and Mite Kremnitz, married to the royal family's physician, entered that elite circle through marriage. Their proximity to power and cultural capital played a central role in enabling both their individual visibility and their sustained literary partnership[44]. While both authors appeared to have prolific literary careers, there is little substantive commentary on the reception of this novel at the time of its publication, aside from the single observation mentioned earlier[45].

---

[42] Thomas, "Marriage, Collaboration", pp. 1-2.
[43] York, *Rethinking*, p. 15.
[44] See "Informațiuni" ["News"], *Ziua*, 1916, 696, p. 2: "Moartea dnei Mite Kremnite – Miercuri a încetat din viață, după o lungă suferință, la Wilmersdorf lângă Berlin, cunoscuta scriitoare Mite Kremniz, fiica ilustrului chirurg profesor de Bardeleben, măritată la 1875 cu dr. Wilhelm Kremnitz, medicul familiei regale române" ("The Death of Mrs. Mite Kremnitz – On Wednesday, after a long illness, the well-known writer Mite Kremnitz passed away in Wilmersdorf near Berlin. She was the daughter of the distinguished surgeon Professor von Bardeleben, having married Dr. Wilhelm Kremnitz in 1875, who had served as the physician to the Romanian royal family").
[45] See Năstase, "Luceafărul uitat".

Conclusion

As Heather Bozant Witcher notes in *Collaborative Writing in the Long Nineteenth Century*, her work aims to offer "a fresh framework for viewing art and personal expression with an eye toward community building and solidarity"[46]. This article takes inspiration from that goal but also turns a critical eye toward the subversive dimensions of cross-gender literary collaborations. Specifically, it asks whether male–female co-authorships might have masked an unequal power dynamics or concealed strategic motivations, particularly on the part of male collaborators. Witcher offers a broad definition of collaboration that includes not only co-authorship but also companionship, mutual inspiration, and shared intellectual space[47]. This capacious understanding allows for a re-examination of how gendered collaboration operates beneath the surface of literary production. This concern resonates with Lorraine York's observation that

> once collaboration became the object of greater scrutiny in the early 1990s, the male–female collaborative relationship tended to attract most attention, particularly those cases where a man received credit for what was, in actuality, a joint production and a silencing of women's creative labour[48].

With this in mind, the article also seeks to uncover how such dynamics might have played out in Romanian literary history, where collaborative practices often went unexamined and where the female contributor's role was easily overshadowed or erased. I observed a notable rise in women's organizations beginning as early as the 1850s, accompanied by the emergence of journals dedicated to women's writing and a nascent form of feminist activism, exemplified by the publication of *Femeia română* in 1878. These spaces were not isolated but were actively shaped by influential cultural figures of the period, including Sofia and Ion Nădejde, Panait Mușoiu, Constantin Mille, Paul Scorțeanu, Adela Xenopol, and C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea, among others. At the same time, as previously noted, novel writing in Romania experienced a period of decline around the 1850s, although the early prewar novel is marked by this urge to try to rebuild, in the space of half a century, "many of the novelistic trends of continental modernity"[49]. This historical moment may help explain why the collaborative work of V.A. Urechia and Marie Boucher failed to gain significant attention, perhaps a result of unfortunate timing, or perhaps due to the unconventional choice of pseudonyms. Notably, both of the names used to sign their joint work were feminine (Doamna L. – Madam L. – and

---

[46] Witcher, *Collaborative Writing*, p. 9.
[47] See chapter "(Re) Defining Collaboration", in Witcher, *Collaborative Writing*.
[48] York, *Rethinking*, p. 17.
[49] Ștefan Baghiu, "Patimile și banii" ["Passions and Money"], in Sofia Nădejde, *Patimi* [*Passions*], second edition, București, Publisol, 2021, 12. See also Anca-Simina Martin, Ștefan Baghiu, "Writing the Life of Servants in Early Romanian Feminist Novels", *Dacoromania litteraria*, 2023, 10, pp. 103-125.

Maria Movilă), a decision that raises questions about authorial identity, reception, and the strategic use of gender in public literary discourse.

My focus here was specifically on collaborative writing in the form of the novel, understood as a concrete, published object, in order to examine whether women writers in Romania relied on this kind of platform to enter the literary field. As it turns out, they did not necessarily require collaboration with male writers. Rather, as Ioana Moroșan also points out in her article, what many women needed was not the act of writing alongside a man, but the presence of a man willing to offer them a platform. This access often came through family lineage, marriage, or broader social connections. Such dynamics are particularly visible in the trajectories of prewar female publicists, essayists, and established literary figures like Sofia Nădejde, Adela Xenopol, and Elena Bacaloglu. These women did not always collaborate with male authors, yet their professional visibility was frequently mediated by male authority or approval. To return to the perspective offered by Zoë Thomas:

> The elevated reputation of these couples relied on being viewed as more unusual than they actually were. Couples, and the press, constructed the idea they were exceptional in their intellectual partnerships, which enabled their "modern" collaborative working lives to be tolerated and even extolled. As part of this, such couples contributed to the formalization of a pervasive professional, creative culture where marital status played a significant role in accruing and maintaining social status, for instance through positioning the prestigious "married literary home" as a central node for network building and socialization[50].

For some women writers, however, collaborative work may have functioned as a strategy for surviving the broader erasure that women were experiencing in the literary field during that period. This possibility is suggested by the choice of female pseudonyms in the collaborative works of Marie Boucher and V.A. Urechia, which may reflect an effort to foreground a feminine authorial identity despite the constraints of their time.

[50] Thomas, "Marriage, Collaboration", p. 24.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

***, "Informațiuni" ["News"], *Ziua*, 1916, 696, p. 2

BAGHIU, Ștefan, "Patimile și banii" ["Passions and Money"], in Sofia Nădejde, *Patimi* [*Passions*], second edition. Preface by Ștefan Baghiu, București, Publisol, 2021, pp. 5-32.

BAGHIU, Ștefan, POJOGA, Vlad, BORZA, Cosmin, COROIAN GOLDIȘ, Andreea, FRĂTEAN, Denisa, GÂRDAN, Daiana, GOLDIȘ, Alex, MODOC, Emanuel, MINCULETE, Iunis, MORARIU, David, OLARU, Ovio, SUSARENCO, Teodora, TERIAN, Andrei, VANCU, Radu, VARGA, Dragoș, *Muzeul Digital al Romanului Românesc: 1901–1932* [*The Digital Museum of the Romanian Novel: 1901–1932*], Sibiu, Complexul Național Muzeal ASTRA, 2020, https://revistatransilvania.ro/mdrr1901-1932. Accessed June 23, 2025.

BAGHIU, Ștefan, POJOGA, Vlad, BORZA, Cosmin, COROIAN-GOLDIȘ, Andreea, GÂRDAN, Daiana, MODOC, Emanuel, MORARIU, David, SUSARENCO, Teodora, VANCU, Radu, VARGA, Dragoș, *Muzeul Digital al Romanului Românesc: secolul al XIX-lea* [*The Digital Museum of the Romanian Novel: The 19th Century*], Sibiu, Complexul Național Muzeal ASTRA, 2019. https://revistatransilvania.ro/mdrr. Accessed June 23, 2025.

BOGDAN-DUICĂ, G., "V. Teodoru (Doru), *Vlahula*", *Națiunea*, 1, 1927, 181, p. 2.

BRODKEY, Linda, *Academic Writing as Social Practice*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1987.

BUCUR, Maria, "Romania", in Kevin Passmore (ed.), *Women, Gender and Fascism in Europe, 1919–45*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2003, pp. 57–78.

CAZIMIR, Șt, "Misterul Doamnei L." ["Madam L.'s Mistery"], *Viața Românească*, 14, 1961, 11, p. 170.

CHIOREAN, Maria, "Emotional Excess and Racialisation in the 19th-Century Romanian Novel", *Dacoromania litteraria*, 2025, 12, pp. 98-120.

COHEN, Margaret, *The Sentimental Education of the Novel*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1999.

CONRAD, Joseph, FORD, Ford Madox, *The Inheritors: An Extravagant Story*, Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1920.

COZZI, Annachiara, "Exploring Late Victorian (Co-)Authorship: Two Models of Popular Literary Collaboration", *Victorian Popular Fictions*, 3, 2021, 1, pp. 33-54.

DE HAAN, Francisca, DASKALOVA, Krassimira, LOUTFI, Anna (eds.), *A Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms: Central, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, 19th and 20th Centuries*, Budapest, Central European University Press, 2006.

DITO & IDEM, *Astra. Roman epistolar* [*Astra. Epistolary Novel*]. Transl. from German, preface and notes by Grete Tartler, București, Humanitas, 2011.

DRĂGOI, Gabriela, "Urechia, V.A.", in Eugen Simion (ed.) *Dicționarul general al literaturii române* [*General Dictionary of Romanian Literature*], second revised and extended edition, vol. 8, București, Muzeul Literaturii Române, 2021, pp. 486-489.

EDE, Lisa, LUNSFORD, Andrea, *Singular Texts/Plural Authors: Perspectives on Collaborative Writing*, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1990.

GÂRDAN, Daiana. "The Great Female Unread. Romanian Women Novelists in the First Half of the Twentieth Century: A Quantitative Approach", *Metacritic Journal for Comparative Studies and Theory*, 4, 2018, 1, pp. 109-124.

GILBERT, Sandra M., GUBAR, Susan, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2014.

LONDON, Bette, *Writing Double: Women's Literary Partnerships*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2002.

MARTIN, Anca-Simina, BAGHIU, Ștefan, "Writing the Life of Servants in Early Romanian Feminist Novels", *Dacoromania litteraria*, 2023, 10, pp. 103-125.

MIHĂILESCU, Ștefania, *Din istoria feminismului românesc. Antologie de texte (1838–1929)*, [*From the History of Romanian Feminism. An Anthology of Texts (1838–1929)*], Iași, Polirom, 2002.

MOROȘAN, Ioana, "From the Revolutionary Patriotic Mothers to the Contemporary Nationalist Discourse", *Dacoromania Litteraria*, 2025, 12, pp. 80-97.
MOROȘAN, Ioana, "Romanian Women Writers and the Literary Profession during the First Half of the 20th Century: Exclusion, Feminisation and Professionalisation of Writing", *Metacritic Journal for Comparative Studies and Theory*, 8, 2022, 1, pp. 105-125.
NĂSTASE, Răzvan Mihai, "Luceafărul uitat" ["The Forgotten Evening Star"], *România literară*, 44, 2012, 13, p. 22.
PĂCURARU, D., "Un romancier necunoscut din veacul trecut", ["An Unknown Novelist from the Past Century"], *Viața Românească*, 12, 1959, 12, pp. 142-145.
PUWAR, Nirmal (ed.), *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place*, Oxford, Berg Publishers, 2004.
ROSETTI, C.A., *Prima epistolă către femeile claselor privilegiate* [*The First Letter to the Women of the Priviliged Classes*], Paris, Tipografia E. Soye, 1853, apud Mihăilescu, *Din istoria feminismului*, p. 13.
SHOWALTER, Elaine, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1977.
SIMONS, Margaret A., *Beauvoir and The Second Sex: Feminism, Race, and the Origins of Existentialism*, Lanham, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2001; reprinted 2013 (EPUB).
THOMAS, Zoë, "Marriage, Collaboration, and the Literary Mass Market in the English-Speaking World, c. 1870–1939", *The Historical Journal* (first view, published online March 12), 2025, pp. 1-25.
TUDURACHI, Adrian (ed.), *Dicționarul cronologic al romanului românesc de la origini până în 2000* [*Chronological Dictionary of the Romanian Novel from Its Origins to 2000*], vol. I–II, revised and expanded edition, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2023.
WITCHER, Heather Bozant, *Collaborative Writing in the Long Nineteenth Century: Sympathetic Partnerships and Artistic Creation*. of *Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2022.
YORK, Lorraine, *Rethinking Women's Collaborative Writing: Power, Difference, Property*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2002.

HARDLY A ROOM OF ONE'S OWN. GENDER AND COLLABORATIVE WRITING IN THE PREWAR ROMANIAN NOVEL (*Abstract*)

This paper examines the early contributions of Romania's first women novelists, who frequently collaborated with male writers in their literary endeavours. Prior to the 19th century, women were almost entirely excluded from public discourse, facing significant barriers to participation in both literary and broader intellectual domains. It was not until the latter half of the century that women began to gain limited representation, often facilitated by their connections to prominent men, either as daughters or wives, or through intellectual exchanges with male contemporaries. Figures such as Sofia Nădejde, Adela Xenopol, and Constanța Dunca-Șchiau exemplify this dynamic, reflecting the way familial or social ties often provided the initial platform for their literary presence (Baghiu 2021; Moroșan 2022). The gradual incorporation of social and political themes into female-authored novels during the pre-war period, where mostly sentimental novels were emerging, parallels the broader sociopolitical instability and the systemic under-representation of women (Cohen 1999). This tentative engagement with social and political narratives may also reflect the fear of public ostracism and severe criticism, which likely compelled many women to collaborate with male authors as a strategic approach to gain credibility and avoid marginalization (Gârdan 2018). Working around the novels of V.A Urechia and Marie Boucher, as well as the writer duo Olteo (Olimpia Teodoru) and Doru Teodoru, this paper aims to investigate the driving forces behind these collaborations and the

broader implications for women's representation in Romanian literature during this period. Alternatively, this paper seeks to explore whether women novelists who lacked connections to prominent male literary figures had any realistic prospects of gaining recognition or achieving success in the pre-war Romanian literary scene. By delving into the socio-cultural and literary dynamics of the era, the article examines the extent to which independence from male networks or patronage influenced the visibility and reception of female-authored works during this formative period in Romanian literature.

Keywords: collaborative writing, prewar Romanian novel, feminist literature, sentimental novel, Romanian women novelists.

NICI MĂCAR O CAMERĂ DOAR A EI. GENUL ȘI SCRIITURA COLABORATIVĂ ÎN ROMANUL ROMÂNESC INTERBELIC (*Rezumat*)

Acest studiu analizează contribuțiile timpurii ale primelor romanciere din România, care au colaborat frecvent cu autori bărbați în demersurile lor literare. Până în secolul al XIX-lea, femeile au fost aproape complet excluse din discursul public, confruntându-se cu bariere semnificative în ceea ce privește participarea atât în domeniul literar, cât și în cel intelectual, în sens larg. Abia în a doua jumătate a secolului femeile au început să obțină o reprezentare limitată, adesea facilitată de legăturile lor cu bărbați influenți, fie în calitate de fiice sau soții, fie prin schimburi intelectuale cu contemporani de sex masculin. Figuri precum Sofia Nădejde, Adela Xenopol și Constanța Dunca-Șchiau ilustrează această dinamică, reflectând modul în care relațiile familiale sau sociale au constituit, de multe ori, prima platformă pentru afirmarea lor literară (Baghiu 2021; Moroșan 2022). Integrarea treptată a temelor sociale și politice în romanele scrise de femei în perioada premergătoare Primului Război Mondial, într-un context dominat de apariția romanelor preponderent sentimentale, este paralelă cu instabilitatea sociopolitică generală și cu subreprezentarea sistemică a femeilor (Cohen 1999). Această abordare timidă a narațiunilor sociale și politice poate reflecta, de asemenea, teama de ostracizare publică și de critici severe, care le-a determinat probabil pe multe scriitoare să colaboreze cu autori bărbați ca strategie de obținere a credibilității și de evitare a marginalizării (Gârdan 2018). Plecând de la romanele lui V.A. Urechia și Marie Boucher, precum și de la cuplul de scriitori Olteo (Olimpia Teodoru) și Doru Teodoru, acest articol își propune să investigheze forțele care au stat la baza acestor colaborări și implicațiile mai largi asupra reprezentării femeilor în literatura română a perioadei. În același timp, studiul urmărește să exploreze dacă romancierele lipsite de conexiuni cu figuri masculine proeminente din câmpul literar aveau șanse reale de a obține recunoaștere sau de a cunoaște succesul în scena literară românească antebelică. Prin analiza dinamicilor socioculturale și literare ale epocii, articolul examinează în ce măsură independența față de rețelele sau patronajul masculin a influențat vizibilitatea și receptarea operelor scrise de femei în această perioadă de formare a literaturii române moderne.

Cuvinte-cheie: scrisul colaborativ, roman românesc antebelic, literatură feministă, roman sentimental, romanciere române.

DOCUMENT

Editors' note: This article is a revised and updated translation of a text originally published in Polish. We are pleased to include it in this issue, as it offers a lucid and compelling perspective on how contemporary Polish literature engages with the nineteenth century. Its insights have been particularly meaningful for shaping the thematic framework of this volume, and many of its questions resonate closely with the contributions gathered here. The English translation allows this important piece to enter a broader international discussion[1].

EWA PACZOSKA

THE POLISH NINETEENTH CENTURY IN THE MIRROR OF TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY LITERATURE – THE MEANDERS OF NEIGHBOURING

The problems of the Polish nineteenth century as a neighbour of contemporaneity appeared in various Polish intellectual debates throughout virtually the entire twentieth century. As we recall, only a few decades ago that century was solemnly declared closed, marking a new stage in the fate of Poland; yet the recurring question remained whether that century had in fact ended, and whether we could indeed part with it for good[2]. Neighbourhood, which in common parlance signifies cohabitation in a spatial sense, constitutes an important element of symbolic space, composed of what is historical and what is contemporary. This space, of course, is also shaped by official historical policy. In recent years, such policy has repeatedly returned us to the Polish nineteenth century, urging us to seek there models of national heroism, heroic rising from one's knees, traditions of family life, or, finally, "feminine virtues". In this form, the nineteenth century has often proved to be not only a troublesome neighbour, but also a dangerous or toxic one. Neighbourhood, as is well known, is always bound up with questions of community and the delineation of its borders: it "marks […] the closest public sphere, but also confronts it with the global sphere of influence"[3]. In this article I

[1] See Ewa Paczoska, "Polski wiek XIX w lustrze literatury XXI wieku – meandry sąsiadowania", *Tekstualia*, 1, 2024, 78, pp. 85-98.
[2] See Ewa Paczoska, *Prawdziwy koniec XIX wieku. Śladami nowoczesności* [*The True End of the Nineteenth Century: Tracing Modernity*], Warszawa, PIW, 2010.
[3] "*Tak sobie mieszkamy*, Marcin Żyła rozmawia z Rochem Sulimą" ["*That's How We Live*: Marcin Żyła in Conversation with Roch Sulima"], *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 2022, 26, p. 20: "wyznacza […] najbliższą strefę publiczną, ale też konfrontuje je z globalną sferą oddziaływania".

will not focus on the regressive paths of political strategies, though these undoubtedly require further analysis. The nineteenth century neighbours our present day in diverse ways that elude discourses imbued with longing for the "good old days". Moreover, it turns out to be an intriguing and inspiring neighbour, one that provokes questions about our own contemporaneity. In addition, the nineteenth-century legacy should be understood here not only in its Romantic guise, but also in its fin-de-siècle and turn-of-the-century configurations.

What Devours Us

The Romantics – the architects of the Polish symbolic imaginary, embodied in stereotypical cultural figures continually mobilised by discourses that model the community – return in contemporary literature in various guises. The plot of *Jul* (2010) by Paweł Goźliński is set in 1845 among the Polish émigré community in Paris. By that point in history the milieu is already a shadow of its former greatness, gathering the frustrated and the deranged, further riven by the messianic movement of Andrzej Towiański, who had just departed the French capital. The leading protagonists do not in fact take the stage – Adam Mickiewicz, for example, is glimpsed from afar, through a windowpane, or filtered through the opinions of others ("Mickiewicz – bah! – born of a foreign mother"[4]). Instead, historical secondary figures appear, yet – like the great men themselves – they are entangled in a web of politics, poetry, and madness. Each of these Romantic "lost causes" (recalling the favoured protagonists of film noir) trails secrets, disappointed political illusions and affections, and the shadow of betrayal.

Although in terms of genre the novel comes closest to retro-crime fiction, with its plot structured around a crime and a dual investigation conducted by Poles and Frenchmen, Goźliński undoubtedly "confronts messianism as a sequence of historiosophical stereotypes, while not forgetting the specificities of Polish émigré culture"[5]. Jakub Rawski is right to stress that the crime-novel form is here nothing more than staffage, a decorative backdrop[6]. Goźliński (himself the author of a doctoral dissertation written under the supervision of Maria Janion, Poland's foremost scholar of Romanticism) draws extensively on documents of the period, invoking numerous quotations from Romantic literature[7]. The criminal investigation assumes the form of a historical inquiry, posing questions about the

[4] Paweł Goźliński, *Jul*, Wołowiec, Wydawnictwo Czarne, 2010, p. 52: "Mickiewicz, tfu, z matki obcej".
[5] Jakub Rawski, "Kryminalny rozrachunek z romantycznym mesjanizmem w *Julu* Pawła Goźlińskiego" ["A Crime-Fiction Reckoning with Romantic Messianism in Paweł Goźliński's *Jul*"], *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego*, 2016, 5, p. 193: "mierzy się z mesjanizmem jako ciągiem stereotypów historiozofi cznych, nie zapominając o specyfi ce polskiej kultury na emigracji".
[6] *Ibidem*, 194.
[7] Goźliński also draws on numerous documents and studies, employing the formula "while writing, I was reading".

condition of the Polish mentality both in the nineteenth century – when messianism still held its appeal – and today. The author depicts Poles as "imprisoned in cramped rooms of obsession, where scraps of yesterday's newspapers flutter, mingling with the stench of musty ideas and the smoke of expired prophecies"[8]. The Frenchmen who encounter the émigré milieu formulate diagnoses such as those of Commissioner Lang:

> Do you really think God has nothing better to do than to carve crosses for you, so that you can die on them for that Poland of yours? You're in love with martyrdom! And you'd even hang each other with tears of brotherly love in your eyes[9].

Jul can also be read as a political novel, inscribed within the various discourses that reactivated Romantic scenarios during and in connection with the mourning after the 2010 Smolensk air disaster[10]. The author refers to them directly in his subsequent quasi-crime novel, *Dziady* [*Forefathers' Eve*] (2015). Here, the fantastic and sensational plot rests on a satirical conceit: leading figures of contemporary Polish culture mysteriously perish, and the crimes turn out to enact the scenario from Słowacki's *Król-Duch* [*King Spirit*]. The poison of Romantic heroism exposed in *Jul* becomes a tangible threat here, though one that often assumes a caricatural form. Yet the novel is concerned not only with caricature and sensationalism; it may also be read as a political work of reckoning. Thus, authentic figures appear – those responsible for activating this poison, which, spreading uncontrollably and avalanching through the Internet, ensures that, as one character puts it, "our life is a conspiracy of all Poles against all Poles"[11]. Among the novel's *dramatis personae* is Jarosław Marek Rymkiewicz, a poet and essayist

---

[8] Goźliński, *Jul*, p. 82: "uwięzionych w ciasnych pokoikach obsesji, w których fruwają skrawki zawsze wczorajszych gazet, zmieszane ze swądem zapyziałych idei, dymem przeterminowanych proroctw".

[9] *Ibidem*, p. 314: "Wy naprawdę myślicie, że Bóg nie ma nic do roboty, tylko strugać dla was krzyże, żebyście mogli na nich zdychać dla tej waszej Polski? Bo wy się kochacie w męczeństwie! I siebie wzajem byście ze łzami braterskiej miłości w oczach powywieszali".

[10] See Sławomir Sierakowski (ed.), *Żałoba* [*Mourning*], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo "Krytyki Politycznej", 2010, and Jarosław Marek Rymkiewicz, *Wiersze polityczne* [*Political Poems*], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo "Sic!", 2010. The author appended the collection with an afterword entitled "Czego uczy nas Adam Mickiewicz?" ["What Can We Learn from Adam Mickiewicz?"].

[11] Paweł Goźliński, *Dziady*, Wołowiec, Wydawnictwo Czarne, 2015, p. 341: "nasze życie jest spiskiem wszystkich Polaków przeciw wszystkim Polakom". In April 2010, a Polish government plane crashed near Smolensk in Russia while carrying the presidential couple, members of parliament, and other officials to the commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the Katyń Massacre. All 96 people on board died. The interpretation of this event remains the subject of ongoing debate and intense controversy. According to the available evidence and the reports of official investigative commissions, the crash resulted from an unfortunate chain of circumstances of the kind that often lead to aviation accidents. This explanation has not been accepted by part of the Polish public (particularly those affiliated with the political right), who maintain that the crash was an assassination orchestrated by the Russian authorities. This vision of the Smolensk catastrophe resonates strongly with certain nineteenth-century narrative patterns, which were widely invoked in numerous occasional texts written in the immediate aftermath of the event.

who later emerged as a leading voice of the national-conservative discourse in Poland, portrayed by the narrator in the following terms:

> The Last Bard. That's what they called him. Probably hooligans – there's no other way to describe that band of ageing fanatics with white-and-red scarves, who came to support him at literary evenings that turned into party congresses, and party congresses that turned back into poetry readings[12].

Goźliński's protagonist, proclaiming a return to the age of conspiracies, voices opinions that directly echo many of Rymkiewicz's texts (for example, from the collection *Political Poems* [*Wiersze polityczne*]): "Some Poles are no longer worthy of having Poland"[13]. The nineteenth century, invoked as the direct neighbour of the twenty-first, reinforces a peculiar bubble of Polishness, which not only blocks engagement with an ever-changing reality, but also fosters a climate conducive to crime. In the novel, the murders of prominent cultural figures are absurd in character – yet at the same time, behind these caricatural events emerges a thoroughly real image of mounting contemporary tensions, tensions that may be discharged through a return to nineteenth-century spectres, so deeply lodged in the social imagination[14].

Another kind of literary play, also asking about the place of Romanticism in contemporary Polish life, is the narrative poem *Wypiór* by Grzegorz Uzdański, a writer of literary pastiches and an accomplished imitator and rhymer (*Nowe wiersze sławnych poetów* [*New Poems by Famous Poets*]). Its metrical form, evoking Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz*, is used here to tell the story of a couple of thirty-somethings from Warsaw's Plac Zbawiciela (a central square, known both as a hub of hip urban life and as a symbolic site of cultural and political tensions), living in an apartment inherited from an uncle, where the titular *wypiór* (cf. Polish *upiór*) – the spectre of Adam Mickiewicz – has taken up residence. He becomes their flatmate, and thus their closest neighbour. The protagonists, forming a partnership typical of today's social mores – without serious commitments – are people living from day to day, disappointed with their own lives, constantly

---

[12] *Ibidem*, pp. 232-233: "Ostatni wieszcz. Tak go nazywali. Chyba kibole, inaczej nie można nazwać tej grupy przekwitających fanatyków z biało-czerwonymi szalikami, którzy przychodzili wspierać go w czasie wieczorków autorskich zmieniających się w parteitagi i parteitagów zmieniających się w wieczory poetyckie".

[13] *Ibidem*, p. 273: "Niektórzy Polacy nie są już warci tego, żeby mieć Polskę".

[14] It is worth recalling, in this context, the scene in which a televised debate between Professor Zbigniew Mikołejko (a Polish historian of religion, often engaged in public debates) and Father Tadeusz Rydzyk (a Catholic priest and founder of Radio Maryja, a key institution of Poland's right-wing Catholic media) is interrupted by women in the audience shouting "Only under the Cross" (*Tylko pod krzyżem* – a slogan from nationalist-religious protests), and the discussion ends with the declaration: "We, true Poles, will not apologise for Jedwabne" (Jedwabne was the site of an anti-Jewish pogrom on 10 July 1941 in which local Polish inhabitants, acting under German supervision, murdered and burned many Jewish residents – an episode whose later exposure [notably in 2000] provoked a major public reckoning in Poland).

weaving rather vague plans of artistic careers that come to little. This generational portrait is rendered realistically, though it is not without satirical accents.

Who is this uncanny and irritating neighbour of the couple? Mickiewicz's spectre (*upiór*) becomes a distinctive point of reference for the banality of Marta and Łukasz's lives. He compels them to probe their own complexes and frustrations, their expectations and dreams. He also makes them ask whether they truly wish to go on living in the same way – addicted to social media, to the opinions of others, to the trivial rituals of everyday life. Can the meaning of life really be found in skimming along the surface of events and emotions? Paradoxically, it is the titular *Wypiór* who proves to be more of a flesh-and-blood character than they are. Recalling his own life, and comparing it with that of Warsaw's inhabitants in the second decade of the twenty-first century, Mickiewicz returns to the knots of his own biography – to love, to his troubled relations with women, to his reactions to his wife's madness, to his sense of guilt towards her. And he may, in reckoning, declare: it was a full, genuine life, so I have nothing to regret, though now, as a spectre, I atone for my sins. Uzdański presents Romanticism as an age of sharp contrasts, powerful emotions, glaring dilemmas – set here against the lukewarm mediocrity of the present. This is not Romanticism cast in the heroic mould of a suffering and martyred nation. It is Romanticism of dreams of freedom, of crossing boundaries, of expressing individual longings and spiritual discoveries. The Romantic idiom, seemingly appropriated irretrievably by politics, is shown here – as Justyna Jaworska aptly writes in her afterword to Uzdański's book[15] – to retain its ever-fascinating dimension.

Progenitors out of the Closet

For today's author and reader, the nineteenth century is of interest above all as a drawer of hitherto undiscovered stories (to which I shall return later), while the biographies of Romantic poets become the subject of interpretations different from earlier ones – sometimes radically so. This was already called for, as we know, by Tadeusz Boy-Żeleński in his *Brązownicy* [*The Bronze Casters*] (a 1930 collection of essays that demythologises Poland's Romantic national poets) and by Jan Lechoń. The "other" Juliusz Słowacki – the European dandy, experimenting with love and narcotics – was of course presented earlier, for instance, by Jan Zieliński in his book with the provocative title *SzatAnioł* [*SatAngel*][16]. Following similar paths, though directing the reader elsewhere, is Maria Justyna Nowicka, author of *Juliusz Słowacki. Wychodzenie z szafy* [*Juliusz Słowacki. Coming Out of the*

[15] Justyna Jaworska, "Posłowie" ["Afterword"], in Grzegorz Uzdański, *Wypiór*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo "Filtry", 2021, p. 211.
[16] See Jan Zieliński, *Słowacki. SzatAnioł* [*Słowacki. SatAngel*], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo W.A.B., 2009.

Closet][17]. The main questions of this essentially biographical inquiry concern the secrets of the poet concealed beneath the myth of the Romantic misfit. According to the author's theses, the principal cause of the poet's existential dilemmas – and the artistic strategies integrally bound up with them – was his non-heteronormativity. Donning various masks and playing multiple roles in his relations with women and men, in her reading Słowacki continually positioned himself at the boundary of gender norms. His frequently assumed identity as an outsider and eternal nomad, his fascination with androgyny, his dream of becoming an angel – all, in the monographer's view, signal the poet's struggles with his own gender and sexuality. Nowicka thus discerns in Słowacki a patron of today's identity choices, one close to our contemporaneity through his mode of feeling and his fight for subjectivity. Although not all of her arguments in support of this thesis convince me, what remains important in her book is the proposal of a Romanticism that – with its cult of individualism – encouraged in a particularly forceful way the crossing of social conventions, including those related to gender identity. Here Słowacki also appears, as the author shows, more closely akin to European Romantics such as Byron or Chateaubriand, passionate seekers of freedom who defended the right to their individual choices.

A good context for Nowicka's scholarly book can be found in two recently published novels: *To przez ten wiatr* [*Blame It on the Wind*] .by Jakub Nowak[18] and *Odmieniec* [*The Misfit*] by Natalia Fiedorczuk[19]. The author of the former uses as the basis of his plot an intriguing episode from the biography of Henryk Sienkiewicz, one that remains significant and fascinating to both readers and scholars. Nowak depicts Sienkiewicz and his friends in California at the end of the 1870s, attempting to realise their dream of living in a free world. The novel's plot thus draws on well-known historical facts, presenting the circumstances of the departure of this Warsaw group of friends and artists. Its central motif is Sienkiewicz's obsessive love for Helena Modrzejewska (Modjeska), but also, through the eyes of newcomers from nineteenth-century Poland, the image of the American West. It is an image familiar from westerns, for the novel deploys the full repertoire of strategies characteristic of popular literature: Wild West stories, sensational intrigue, romance. The Sienkiewicz portrayed here is a man unhinged, tossed between conflicting emotions and ambitions stoked by his new environment – one rife with violence, crime, and fraught relations, not least those stemming from a multiculturalism unfamiliar to Poles. It is an environment in which the Polish intellectual phalanstery are far from exceptional in the eyes of the locals,

[17] Marta Justyna Nowicka, *Słowacki. Wychodzenie z szafy* [*Juliusz Słowacki. Coming Out of the Closet*], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo "Krytyki Politycznej", 2021.
[18] Jakub Nowak, *To przez ten wiatr* [*Blame It on the Wind*], Warszawa, Powergraph, 2022.
[19] Natalia Fiedorczuk, *Odmieniec. Vie romancée* [*The Outsider: A Vie Romancée*], Warszawa, Wielka Litera, 2021.

their eccentricities simply adding to the mosaic of oddities in the wild Californian world.

The Sienkiewicz of this incarnation is a fantasist, a trickster, vainly dreaming of manly strength and a firm masculine identity. Of course, as we know, in 1876–1877, when the novel's plot is set in accordance with historical realities, Sienkiewicz was still a fledgling writer and journalist. In America he experiences the longed-for masculine adventures, yet at the same time his Californian dream – and perhaps his love – begins to unravel. The novelist concludes the chosen episode from Sienkiewicz's biography with the hero's death, thereby inscribing his work within the model of alternative narration. The reader, however, knows that Sienkiewicz returned to his homeland, soon to begin his triumphant march towards becoming the favourite writer of Poles and virtually a national bard. The disappointed and frustrated participant in the Californian utopia was transformed into a successful man who drew on his American experiences in various ways in his own oeuvre – an oeuvre that would bring him renown not only in Poland.

What, then, is the purpose of this strategy of alternative biography? First of all, it prompts us to ask about the unknown Sienkiewicz – unknown because appropriated by those who wished, and still wish, to see in him above all the "father of the nation". The novelistic image of a fantasist and a mad artist consumed by complexes and ambitions appears to me, as a scholar of nineteenth-century literature, to be accurate. This is, after all, the same Sienkiewicz who, defending himself against the reproaches of critics of his historical novels, wrote: "it is difficult to demand of a self-sown meadow that it should blossom with flowers other than its own"[20].

A different kind of "misfit" is portrayed by Natalia Fiedorczuk, who turns to the biography of the modernist artist, sculptor and painter Bolesław Biegas. The author here recalls one of the most enigmatic figures of Polish culture at the end of the nineteenth century and in the first decades of the twentieth. The novel's protagonist is an artist constantly struggling for recognition of his individual path. Particularly compelling are Biegas's struggles with various patrons and "benefactors" who attempt to inscribe him into their own projects – from the priest who takes a talented peasant child under his care, through Aleksander Świętochowski (a leading ideologue of Polish Positivism), who envisions for Biegas a positivist model of biography and career, to the moderators from among the Polish émigré community in Paris. The hero of Fiedorczuk's book is a "total" modernist artist. As the author writes in the afterword, "*Odmieniec* [*The Misfit*] was born out of a fascination with otherness, out of a captivation with the neo-Romantic myth of the prophetic artist, the mediator between the mystical and the

[20] Henryk Sienkiewicz, "O powieści historycznej" ["On the Historical Novel"], in Henryk Sienkiewicz, *Dzieła* [*Works*]. Ed. by Julian Krzyżanowski, vol. 45, Warszawa, Ossolineum, 1951, p. 124: "rudno żądać od samorodnej łąki, by takimi a nie innymi kwiatami zakwitała".

earthly"[21]. Such a figure stands at the antipodes of today's artistic strategies, tied to transformations of the art market and to the phenomenon of the celebrity-artist. The modernist "neighbour" of Fiedorczuk's novel may in this sense be taken as a mirror of our contemporaneity.

From the Drawer of Forgotten Stories

Reaching into the nineteenth century as a drawer of forgotten stories, contemporary writers search for those that can reveal overlooked or neglected paths of Polish cultural narratives deriving directly from that century. Among the most fascinating of these is the Romantic-era tale of Mother Makryna, the "holy impostor" of the "Great" Polish political Emigration[22]. Jacek Dehnel returns to this story in his 2014 novel, drawing on numerous documents of the time, including the correspondence of the Resurrectionist Fathers from the 1840s. The story of Makryna Mieczysławska shows, on the one hand, the circumstances of the formation of her legend in the milieu of the Great Emigration. When Makryna arrived in Paris with her account of persecutions heroically endured, this milieu was in urgent need of another identity-forming narrative. Speaking of a homeland the émigrés had not seen for years, the heroic exile provided the moral fuel for a story in which the figures of Nation, Christ, Victim, and "Polish-Mother" (pol. *Matka Polka* – a nineteenth-century symbolic figure of the suffering mother identified with the fate of the nation) coalesced. In the eyes of the émigrés, Makryna, as Dehnel shows, embodied all suffering Poles, and appeared to them as yet another symbolic "voice from Lithuania". She also became a habituée of Parisian and Roman salons, a celebrity whose tales were avidly recounted by the press. The point of returning to this story is not merely to recall a fraud long since unmasked[23], but to examine the mechanisms by which identity-creating legends were shaped within a messianic framework.

What interests the author most is the true story – concealed beneath the narrative that so fascinated the Paris émigrés of the 1840s – of Irena Wińcowa, who passed herself off as Mother Makryna. This story also inscribes itself within a tale of rape and female suffering, though from a very different register. It is the narrative of a Jewish woman converted to Catholicism, then widow of a violent Russian officer, a prisoner, an escapee from a convoy – who, finding herself at the

[21] Natalia Fiedorczuk, "Posłowie – o Bolesławie Biegalskim" ["Afterword: On Bolesław Biegalski"], in Fiedorczuk, *Odmieniec*, p. 204: "Odmieniec powstał z fascynacji innością, z zafrapowania neoromantycznym mitem artysty profety, pośrednikiem między sferą mistyczną a ziemską".

[22] Jacek Dehnel, *Matka Makryna* [*Mother Makryna*], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo W.A.B., 2014. See also Jacek Dehnel, "Makryna Mieczysławska – oszustka w habicie" ["Makryna Mieczysławska: The Impostor Nun"], *Polityka*, 16 December 2014, https://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/historia/-1602681,1,makryna-mieczyslawska--oszustka-w-habicie.read. Accessed October 20, 2025.

[23] It is well known that Makryna was neither a nun, nor a prioress or a noblewoman.

very bottom of the social ladder, survived only thanks to her talent for storytelling. The emancipatory dimension of this story exposes the underside of the Polish heroic myths of Romanticism, myths forged by frustrated men deaf to the transformations of reality. They would never have been interested in the true story of a woman from the social underclass, for – as the beguiling female narrator well knew – they craved a therapeutic legend to sustain their sense of Polish and masculine mission. Dehnel demonstrates how easily such an appetite can be satisfied by means of mystification, through the discourse of catastrophe and martyrdom, with its characteristic motifs of national necrophilia and sacred sadism. In Dehnel's novel, the story of Mother Makryna becomes a lens through which the Polish nineteenth century is revealed both in what is foregrounded in cultural memory, and in what is concealed. What is both important and intriguing here is the use of one of the iconic figures shaping the symbolic imaginary of that time – namely the heroine of Juliusz Słowacki's poem *Rozmowa z Matką Makryną* [*Conversation with Mother Makryna*].

Another well-known figure from this imaginary has been evoked by Radek Rak in his novel *Baśń o wężowym sercu albo Wtóre słowo o Jakóbie Szeli* [*A Fairytale about Snake's Heart, or a Second Word about Jakob Szela*] (2018)[24]. The image, entrenched in nineteenth-century culture, of the leader of the Galician peasant uprising of 1846 as murderer and traitor is here deconstructed and reconstructed anew from sometimes surprising elements. The figure of Szela assumes a protean character, composed of the multiplicity of disguises, masks, energies, and beings deployed by the protagonist – showing, for instance, the absurdity of the traditional division between nobility and peasantry. The story of Szela's fate and that of his noble adversary, Bogusz, unfolds as a dark parable of transformation, and of the role of chaos and chance in the world and in history, a world that does not allow the individual to escape social conditions, yet which, once transcended through the magic of successive metamorphoses, proves to be a space of eternal potentiality.

In Radek Rak's novel, the instruments and props of the fantasy genre are deployed. The story of Jakub Szela, inscribed within the history of social injustice, mechanisms of power and subjugation, the anatomy of fear, and the consuming, destructive drive for revenge – destructive both for social relations and for the individual psyche – acquires a universal dimension here. Interestingly, at the same time, the local character of the tale remains crucial: a locality at once tinged with Mickiewicz and Bolesław Leśmian, and directed towards regional legends and folk rituals from the author's native Beskid region, where, as the novel itself observes, "in these parts it is sometimes hard to tell who is who"[25]. In accordance with the

[24] Radek Rak, *Baśń o wężowym sercu albo Wtóre słowo o Jakóbie Szeli* [*A Fairytale about Snake's Heart, or a Second Word about Jakob Szela*], Warszawa, Powergraph, 2018.
[25] *Ibidem*, p. 88: "w tych stronach trudno niekiedy odróżnić, kto jest kim".

conventions of the fantasy world, this space becomes the primeval ground of mystery: "They say that the beech forest, which begins in the merry valley of the Wisłoka, stretches across the entire Beskids, and the Beskids reach the very edge of the world, and beyond there is nothing, only the black sea".[26] It is here that the struggle for the world unfolds – along with Szela's struggle, and that of his peasant descendants (figured in Polish discourse as the accursed offspring of Ham [pol. *cham*]), to reclaim a history long usurped by the "lordly" version[27].

Characteristically, the fantastic world created by Radek Rak emerges in contemporary literature almost exactly at the moment when a boom begins around the "people's history" of Poland. In the same year as the novel, Adam Leszczyński's widely discussed book *Ludowa historia Polski. Historia wyzysku i oporu. Mitologia panowania* [*The People's History of Poland: A History of Exploitation and Resistance. The Mythology of Domination*][28], as well as Piotr Korczyński's *Śladami Szeli czyli diabły polskie* [*In Szela's Footsteps, or Polish Devils*][29] were also published. This coincidence was noted by critics, although, for instance, Dariusz Nowacki argued[30] that we should see in contemporary writers' interest in the figure of Jakub Szela nothing more than a pop-cultural game. The matter, however, seems to me more complex. Even if Rak's novel cannot be inscribed within the "plebeian turn" that initiates a re-reading of Polish history from the perspective of socially weak peasant subjects, it certainly directs the reader towards the forgotten or falsified stories of the Polish nineteenth century. Built upon the prefabricated elements of the fantasy novel's repertoire, Rak's work simultaneously draws upon regional fantastic motifs and, as I have said, local tales rooted in a concrete place and tied to a precisely defined time. Here Radek Rak

---

[26] *Ibidem*, p. 90: "Powiadają, że buczynowy las, który zaczyna się w wesołej dolinie Wisłoki, ciągnie się przez cały Beskid, a Beskid sięga aż po kraniec świata i dalej nie ma już nic, tylko czarne morze".

[27] See *Ibidem*, p. 78. As the fictional Szela reflects, "memory of one's ancestors is all very good for the lords, who supposedly can trace their lineage back to Adam himself" ("pamięć o przodkach dobra jest dla panów, którzy podobno potrafią prześledzić swój ród od samego praojca Adama"), whereas "the first *chamy* [peasants] emerged […] from the soil, from rot and roots" ("pierwsze chamy wyszły […] z ziemi, próchna i korzeni").

[28] Adam Leszczyński, *Ludowa historia Polski. Historia wyzysku i oporu. Mitologia panowania* [*The People's History of Poland: A History of Exploitation and Resistance. The Mythology of Domination*], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo W.A.B., 2020.

[29] Piotr Korczyński, *Śladami Szeli czyli diabły Polskie* [*In Szela's Footsteps, or Polish Devils*], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo RM, 2020. A year earlier saw the publication of Arkadiusz S. Więch's book, *O galicyjskich krwawych zapustach, czyli chłopskim zrywie Jakuba Szeli* [*On the Galician Bloody Shrovetide, or the Peasant Uprising of Jakub Szela*], Kraków, Powergraph, 2019.

[30] See Dariusz Nowacki, "Obecność Szeli. Trzy przykłady z nowej prozy" ["The Presence of Szela: Three Examples from Recent Fiction"], *Konteksty Kultury*, 17, 2020, 4, pp. 453-469. The article discusses three novels in which the figure of Jakub Szela and the theme of the Galician Peasant Uprising appear: Rak's *Baśń o wężowym* (2018), Maciej Hen's *Deutsch dla średnio zaawansowanych* [*Deutsch for Intermediate Learners*] (2019), and Stanisław Aleksander Nowak's *Galicyanie* [*The Galicians*] (2016).

finds what the master of fantasy, Tolkien, called "the Cauldron of Story"[31]. Like every writer of the genre, he presents the eternal struggle for the world as situated in some "long ago", but here it is a "pastness" not accidentally marked with the stamp of the nineteenth century. And that stamp still directs us towards dilemmas and quests bound up with questions about the substratum of our culture – about what, in its patterns and narratives, has been overlooked or remains concealed.

On the Trail of Popular Culture – and Beside It

Yet this vision of neighbourhood with a distant century differs fundamentally from the trend, fashionable for several decades now, of "recycling" the nineteenth century under the dictates of popular culture[32] – though popular culture is, to be sure, the lifeblood of nearly all the references and returns I have discussed here. This is, of course, a global trend, spanning literature of diverse genres and across the full spectrum of publishing. On the "top shelves" we find today contemporary neo-Victorian novels (such as the works of Michael Faber or Susan Waters), while on the lower ones we encounter various strands of popular genre fiction – from chick lit to crime and horror. The overarching frame for this literary activity is, of course, film, constantly reworking nineteenth-century plots in Netflix series, as well as the world of steampunk comics[33], computer games, and, finally, fan culture, which runs websites devoted to nineteenth-century literature (above all Jane Austen) or to fashion shows[34]. In Poland, the main example of this cultural vogue is retro crime fiction, which grows each year[35]. Here, too, the nineteenth century thrives: one need only recall such works as Ida Żmiejewska's three-volume cycle *Warszawianka* [*The Varsovian Woman*], Adam Węgłowski's *Pruski lód* [*Prussian Ice*] (describing a scandal of 1891), Jakub Bielikowski's *Detektyw warszawski* [*The Warsaw Detective*], or the novels of Katarzyna Kwiatkowska, which set their criminal intrigues amid the nineteenth-century life of the Greater Poland landed gentry.

The poetics of retro-crime are most intriguingly played with by the already mentioned Jacek Dehnel, who for several years now has been publishing, together

[31] John Ronald Reuel Tolkien, "On Fairy-Stories", in *Tree and Leaf*, London, Unwin Books, 1964, p. 29.
[32] See Ewa Paczoska, Bartłomiej Szleszyński (eds.), *Przerabianie XIX wieku* [*Reworking the 19th Century*], Warszawa, PIW, 2011; Anna Dunin-Dudkowska, Dariusz Piechota, Agnieszka Trześniewska-Nowak (eds.), *Reaktywacje dziewiętnastowieczności* [*Reviving Nineteenth-Century Culture*], Warszawa, PWN, 2021.
[33] See Bartłomiej Szleszyński, "Komiksowe gry z wiekiem XIX" ["Comic Games with the Nineteenth Century"], in Paczoska, Szleszyński (eds.), *Przerabianie*, pp. 246-270.
[34] See Bartłomiej Szleszyński, *Non omnis moriar? Bolesław Prus, wiek XIX i opowieści współczesne* [*Non omnis moriar? Bolesław Prus, the 19th Century, and Contemporary Tales*], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo IBL, 2019.
[35] Małgorzata Kosmala, "Kryminalne retro światy" ["Retro Crime Worlds"], in Paczoska, Szleszyński (eds.), *Przerabianie*, pp. 223-245.

with Piotr Tarczyński and under the pseudonym Maryla Szymiczkowa, a series of novels whose protagonist, Zofia Szczupaczyńska, is conducting her investigations in Kraków at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. To date, four novels have appeared in this cycle, in which the authors return not only to the realities of the time but also to its literature, enacting a strategy that might be described as a second-degree retelling[36]. The novels masterfully reconstruct the scenery of the fin de siècle, presenting Kraków on the one hand as a city of modernist artists and eccentrics, and on the other as the domain of respectable bourgeois households in the manner of the Dulskis (the hypocritical middle-class family from Gabriela Zapolska's play *Moralność pani Dulskiej* [*The Morality of Mrs Dulska*]). I have the impression, moreover, that in successive volumes of the cycle the criminal plot matters less and less, while what grows increasingly significant is the tactic of collecting nineteenth-century "curiosities" that even a scholar of that culture must appreciate, and of exploiting the immersive potential hidden among them[37].

Nor is this the first time in Dehnel's work that we encounter a return to the nineteenth century and a play with the traditions of that era's literature (apart, of course, from the already mentioned *Mother Makryna*, I am thinking here of his micro-novels entitled *Balzakiana*[38]). There he demonstrated that Poland's post-communist transformation could be described in the idiom of the author of *The Human Comedy*, while as co-author of the crime novels he chiefly amuses himself with his unconventional heroine and with a collection of historical curiosities. Yet even here questions arise about the consequences of the close neighbourhood of the nineteenth century.

I have in mind especially the 2020 novel *Złoty róg* [*The Golden Horn*][39], whose action unfolds on the night of that wedding in Bronowice well known to us, of course, from Stanisław Wyspiański's canonical 1901 play *Wesele* [*The Wedding*], and in which figures such as Włodzimierz Tetmajer and Stanisław Wyspiański appear on various narrative planes. The latter presented the central scene of these events in *Wesele*; Szymiczkowa, by contrast, peers behind the scenes, into the background, where events unfold that rework those known from the drama (for instance, the meeting of the Host with a mysterious visitor burdened with a secret

[36] Izabela Poniatowska, "'Retelling'. Kilka uwag w kontekście 'opowiadania na nowo' literackiego dziedzictwa dziewiętnastego wieku" ["'Retelling'…."], in Dunin-Dudkowska, Piechota, Trześniewska-Nowak (eds.), *Reaktywacje*, pp. 13-24.

[37] See the final novels in the series: Maryla Szymiczkowa [Jacek Dehnel and Piotr Tarczyński], *Śmierć na Wenecji* [*Death in Venice*], Kraków, Wydawnictwo Znak, Literanova, 2023, and *Szaleństwo i śmierć spłyną z gór* [*Madness and Death Flow Down from the Mountains*], Kraków, Wydawnictwo Znak, Literanova, 2025.

[38] See Ewa Paczoska, "Wiek XIX – reaktywacja" ["The 19th Century – Revival"], in Paczoska, *Prawdziwy*, pp. 254-262.

[39] Maryla Szymiczkowa [Jacek Dehnel and Piotr Tarczyński], *Złoty róg* [*The Golden Horn*], Kraków, Znak Literanova, 2020.

mission). Yet at the same time, the axis of the action shifts in quite another direction, for here we do not encounter what "each, or in his dreams, may find" (Act II, Scene 3) but rather the realities of Polish life at the beginning of the twentieth century, and these prove surprisingly close to our own present, bound up with such questions as the relation between patriotic action and everyday life, or between great poetry and national kitsch as the lifeblood of Polish identity choices.

Here the game of imitating Wyspiański or Zapolska leads to serious questions: about the consequences of a domesticated image of Polish life on the threshold of the twentieth century, about the underside of the myth of *Felix Austria*, about the issues arising from the collision of tradition and modernity in our culture. In this circle, Zofia Szczupaczyńska proves to be not only a kindred figure to Radczyni (the widow of a Kraków city councillor from *The Wedding*), but also to Wyspiański himself, whose drama showed, above all, how not to play at Poland any longer. The authors of the novel have emphasised in interviews that this return to the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a time of change also serves to examine the forms of transformation in our own culture.

The End of the World of Men

The character of Zofia Szczupaczyńska, created by Dehnel and Tarczyński, has been endowed with an emancipatory potential that at first glance seems surprising. The meticulous Kraków bourgeois housewife, obsessively devoted to the order of her household and seemingly without any ambition for agency beyond it, turns out to exploit this role in pursuit of her own aims. She is able to manipulate men, to take advantage of their hidden weaknesses, all the while never disturbing their sense of well-being or their impression that they remain in charge. This is an example of a "soft" emancipation and thus an extraordinarily effective one. The crime novels of Szymiczkowa provoke readers to ask distinctly contemporary questions about the relations of femininity to masculinity in Polish culture.

It is in a mode no longer buffo but serious that these questions return in the recently published novels of Manuela Gretkowska and Olga Tokarczuk. In *Mistrzyni* [*The Mistress*] (2021), Gretkowska revives the figure of nineteenth-century Poland's Martha Stewart – Lucyna Ćwierczakiewiczowa. The author of *365 obiadów* [*365 Dinners*] was, in the nineteenth century, as popular as Bolesław Prus, and perhaps even as Mickiewicz[40], yet in the public consciousness she was later entirely forgotten or marginalised. And still, as the recently published biography *Pani od obiadów* [*The Dinner Lady*] shows, her cookbooks, household calendars, and manuals on domestic management defined, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the practical horizon of everyday emancipation. The

[40] See Marta Sztokfisz, *Pani od obiadów. Lucyna Ćwierczakiewiczowa. Historia życia* [*The Dinner Lady: Lucyna Ćwierczakiewiczowa. A Life Story*], Kraków, Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2018.

Ćwierczakiewiczowa of Gretkowska's novel is an independent and active woman, fully conscious of the transformations taking place in Polish society and determined to make others aware of them:

> The days of young ladies of manor houses are over. The manor houses are being requisitioned by the partitioning powers, peasants no longer work for free – you must have a skill to make a living, and not squander money. A clean, orderly home is a necessity. […] Capital, accumulation, God, if one believes in him. And honesty. Not for the sake of virtue, but for social trust[41].

She is the heroine of a nineteenth-century narrative long forgotten or dismissed today as dull and barren: the narrative of the "sober enthusiasts" of broadly understood positivism. This positivism, in the women's school of everyday life, also introduces – as the novelist shows – a new formula of patriotism. It is not the patriotism stamped from a heroic mould, nor from the register of masculine phantasms.

These forgotten paths of Polish nineteenth-century history, demanding to be dusted off and brought up to date, interest the author of *Mistrzyni* just as much as the fate of an extraordinary woman whose abilities surpassed her age, whose awareness allowed her to step beyond the intelligentsia or bourgeois "bubble", and who achieved subjectivity and financial success by breaking through contemporary stereotypes about the aims and behaviours deemed appropriate for her sex. Yet the life of the heroine of Prus's chronicles is, in Gretkowska's novel, marked by a kind of fatalism – for the price of independence proves to be the fate of a woman solitary and unloved, always under the watchful gaze of public opinion, which forgives her no mistake. Especially when the "Dinner Lady" loses her head over a much younger man and seeks to live out a romantic love with him in suitably staged settings.

Here Gretkowska sharpens not only the emotional dilemmas of her heroine but also her feminist appetites and fantasies. Thus the fictional Ćwierczakiewiczowa articulates, for instance, a programme such as this: "Women in Poland will never be an independent force until they put a healthy distance between themselves and Catholicism and their husbands. […] And so it will go on, breaking human lives and breaking the country, no matter under whose partition"[42]. The author often places in her heroine's mouth opinions lifted straight from contemporary debates

---

[41] Manuela Gretkowska, *Mistrzyni. Powieść inspirowana życiem Lucyny Ćwierczakiewiczowej* [*The Mistress: A Novel Inspired by the Life of Lucyna Ćwierczakiewiczowa*], Kraków, Wydawnictwo Znak Literanova, 2021, p. 33: "Skończyły się czasy panienek z dworków. Dworki rekwiruje zaborca, chłopi darmo już nie pracują, trzeba coś umieć, żeby się utrzymać, nie szastać pieniędzmi. Czysty, estetyczny dom to konieczność. […] Kapitał, akumulacja, Bóg, jeśli ktoś w niego wierzy. I uczciwość. Nie dla cnoty, ale dla zaufania społecznego".

[42] *Ibidem*, p. 99: "Nigdy kobiety siłą niezależną w Polsce nie będą, póki od katolicyzmu i mężów na zdrowy dystans nie odejdą. […] Tak to się będzie toczyć, łamiąc ludzkie życia i kraj, obojętnie pod czyim zaborem".

and discussions about women's rights and possibilities in today's Poland, especially those connected with the "black umbrellas" movement and the mass demonstrations against abortion restrictions at the end of the second decade of the twenty-first century:

> Poland is a woman, not a Polonia weeping over corpses […]. Women are capable of reaching the moon if that's what it takes to feed and educate their children. Enough of patriotic corpses and of men drunk as a corpse. Polish women have their husbands either six feet under or up their ass[43].

Portrayed as a nineteenth-century "neighbour" of today's Polish women – who can and should still draw on her advice – Ćwierczakiewiczowa is, of course, a striking counterpoint to other figures from that century: the *Polish Mother* (*Matka Polka*) or the virgin-heroine, powerful in symbolic force but weak, of course, in subjectivity. In Gretkowska's novel it is, rather, men who struggle with subjectivity, entangled in a web of roles and props wholly inadequate to reality. This is why, in one of the opening scenes of the novel, Ćwierczakiewiczowa simply directs one of them to the cemetery rubbish heap: "That's where we sort waste – and men"[44].

From an entirely different angle, the same collapse of the male world is described by Tokarczuk, who sets the action of her novel just before the First World War, at the close of the long nineteenth century. The male community of spa patients in the mountain sanatorium portrayed in *Empuzjon* [*The Empusium*] is a characteristic collection of individuals who are not only treating various physical ailments but also their masculine impotence. This community realises itself, above all, in speech and in fantasies of agency. These dreams and debates revolve around imaginings of strength, scenarios of violence, ideals of healthy physicality, and rational judgments about the world. The participants in these debates hail from different European nations, yet within the same circle is placed the model of the Polish man, which Mieczysław Wojnicz receives from his father. The protagonists, trapped in this discourse organised around the role of the "real man" – all-knowing and, as Friedrich Nietzsche would put it, "incurably self-certain" – nonetheless feel a mounting unease, for they do not in fact conform to these seemingly obvious models. As one of the characters puts it, it makes them "tremble inside"[45]. Perceiving the coming change, registering its clear signs, they are in no way prepared for it. Standing in the way of reading the signals of reality is still the image of the male hero – the doer of great deeds – who conceals his hunger, emotional needs, fears, and phantasms. In the fantastic scenery drawn from folk

---

[43] *Ibidem,* p. 183: "Polska jest kobietą, nie Polonią opłakującą trupy […]. Kobiety są w stanie dostać się na księżyc, żeby dzieci wyżywić, wykształcić. Trupów patriotycznych albo w trupa zalanych dość. Polki mężów mają w grobach albo w dupie".

[44] *Ibidem*, p. 15: "Odpady i mężczyzn segregujemy tam".

[45] Olga Tokarczuk, *The Empusium: A Health Resort Horror Story*. Transl. by Antonia Lloyd-Jones, Melbourne, Text Publishing, 2024, p. 229.

legends, this dying world of "real men" is observed simultaneously from the perspective of the "eye of nature", or rather of a feminine energy hidden within nature and revealed in stories about witches:

> Here we are, watching them, as usual from below, we see them like big, strong columns topped by small, chattering projections – their heads. Their feet mechanically crush the forest litter […]. For a short while after they pass, beneath the forest floor the mushroom spawn quivers, that vast, immense, motherly structure transmits information to itself – where the intruders are, and in which direction they are bending their steps[46].

The world of men is shattered and defeated here not only locally but also globally. Its true end – and the consummation of the main protagonist's fate – will come with the Great War, the fruit of male ambitions and violent appetites, as well as the result of disregarding the sphere of feelings that did not fit the rational model, of failing to attend to otherness or to heed the signals of nature.

Old Stories and New Neighbours

The examples of reviving nineteenth-century neighbourhoods in recent Polish fiction, delivered here "by special dispatch", clearly call for some kind of conclusion. The meanderings of this neighbourly relation, as shown in the novels discussed, direct us towards a different picture of that century and of its significance for the shaping of our contemporary culture. Stories recovered from beneath the stereotype of "the great century of the Poles" resonate with a circle of entirely modern dilemmas and questions. The nineteenth century thus proves to be an unfamiliar neighbour, one still demanding our attention. Nineteenth-century "tales" – alternative narratives set against the mainstream of national history – expose the origins of cultural stereotypes and collective self-delusions. By loosening the cohesion of the Polish story, they reveal what continues to structure our collective thinking, both in consciousness and in the subconscious.

Of course, all these attempts can be described as instances of appropriating this neighbour, incorporating it into the repertoire of interpretive tools indispensable for understanding the present. They may also be treated as cases of disenchanting what has at times been dangerous or even toxic in Poland's cultural cohabitation with the nineteenth century. For this neighbour, as it turns out, need not encourage us to lock ourselves into regressive enclosures. Instead, it may teach attentiveness to the meanders of history and the consequences of its various readings. And, true to the custom of neighbourly favours, it may also offer good advice – or comfort us with the thought that we are not alone in having troubles with our own present.

Translated from Polish by Tomasz Krupa

[46] *Ibidem*, p. 92.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

***, "*Tak sobie mieszkamy*, Marcin Żyła rozmawia z Rochem Sulimą" ["*That's How We Live*: Marcin Żyła in Conversation with Roch Sulima"], *Tygodnik Powszechny*, 2022, 26, p. 20.

DEHNEL, Jacek, "Makryna Mieczysławska – oszustka w habicie" ["Makryna Mieczysławska: The Impostor Nun"], *Polityka*, 16 December 2014, https://www.polityka.pl/tygodnikpolityka/historia/1602681,1,makryna-mieczyslawska--oszustka-w-habicie.read. Accessed October 20, 2025.

DEHNEL, Jacek, *Matka Makryna* [*Mother Makryna*], Warszawa, W.A.B., 2014.

DUNIN-DUDKOWSKA, Anna, PIECHOTA, Dariusz, TRZEŚNIEWSKA-NOWAK, Agnieszka (ed.), *Reaktywacje dziewiętnastowieczności* [*Reviving Nineteenth-Century Culture*], Lublin, Wydawnictwo UMCS, 2021.

FIEDORCZUK, Natalia, *Odmieniec. Vie romancée* [*The Outsider: A Vie Romancée*], Warszawa, Wielka Litera, 2021.

GOŹLIŃSKI, Paweł, *Dziady*, Wołowiec, Wydawnictwo Czarne, 2015.

GOŹLIŃSKI, Paweł, *Jul*, Wołowiec, Wydawnictwo Czarne, 2010.

GRETKOWSKA, Manuela, *Mistrzyni. Powieść inspirowana życiem Lucyny Ćwierczakiewiczowej* [*The Mistress: A Novel Inspired by the Life of Lucyna Ćwierczakiewiczowa*], Kraków, Znak Literanova, 2021.

KORCZYŃSKI, Piotr, *Śladami Szeli czyli diabły polskie* [*In Szela's Footsteps, or Polish Devils*], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo RM, 2020.

KOSMALA, Małgorzata, "Kryminalne retro światy" ["Retro Crime Worlds"], in Ewa Paczoska, Bartłomiej Szleszyński (eds.), *Przerabianie XIX wieku* [*Revisiting the 19th Century*], Warszawa, PIW, 2011, pp. 223-245.

LESZCZYŃSKI, Adam, *Ludowa historia Polski. Historia wyzysku i oporu. Mitologia panowania* [*The People's History of Poland: A History of Exploitation and Resistance. The Mythology of Domination*], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo W.A.B., 2020.

NOWACKI, Dariusz, "Obecność Szeli. Trzy przykłady z nowej prozy" ["The Presence of Szela: Three Examples from Recent Fiction"], *Konteksty Kultury*, 17, 2020, 4, pp. 453-469.

NOWAK, Jakub, *To przez ten wiatr* [*Blame It on the Wind*], Warszawa, Powergraph, 2022.

NOWICKA, Marta Justyna, *Słowacki. Wychodzenie z szafy* [*Juliusz Słowacki. Coming Out of the Closet*], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo "Krytyki Politycznej", 2021.

PACZOSKA, Ewa, *Prawdziwy koniec XIX wieku. Śladami nowoczesności* [*The True End of the Nineteenth Century: Tracing Modernity*], Warszawa, PIW, 2010.

PACZOSKA, Ewa, SZLESZYŃSKI, Bartłomiej (eds.), *Przerabianie XIX wieku* [*Revisiting the 19th Century*], Warszawa, PIW, 2011.

PONIATOWSKA, Izabela, "'Retelling'. Kilka uwag w kontekście 'opowiadania na nowo' literackiego dziedzictwa dziewiętnastego wieku" ["'Retelling'…."], in Anna Dunin-Dudkowska, Dariusz Piechota, Agnieszka Trześniewska-Nowak (eds.), *Reaktywacje dziewiętnastowieczności* [*Reviving Nineteenth-Century Culture*], Warszawa, PWN, 2021, pp. 13-24.

RAK, Radek, *Baśń o wężowym sercu albo Wtóre słowo o Jakóbie Szeli* [*A Fairytale about Snake's Heart, or a Second Word about Jakob Szela*], Warszawa, Powergraph, 2018.

RAWSKI, Jakub, "Kryminalny rozrachunek z romantycznym mesjanizmem w *Julu* Pawła Goźlińskiego" ["A Crime-Fiction Reckoning with Romantic Messianism in Paweł Goźliński's *Jul*"], *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego*, 2016, 5, pp. 189-198.

RYMKIEWICZ, Jarosław Marek, *Wiersze polityczne* [*Political Poems*], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo "Sic!", 2010.

SIENKIEWICZ, Henryk, *Dzieła* [*Works*]. Ed. by Julian Krzyżanowski, vol. 45, Warszawa, Ossolineum, 1951.

SIERAKOWSKI, Sławomir (ed.), *Żałoba* [*Mourning*], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo "Krytyki Politycznej", 2010.

SZLESZYŃSKI, Bartłomiej, "Komiksowe gry z wiekiem XIX" ["Comic Games with the Nineteenth Century"], in Ewa Paczoska, Bartłomiej Szleszyński (eds.), *Przerabianie XIX wieku* [*Reworking the 19th Century*], Warszawa, PIW, 2011, pp. 246-270.
SZLESZYŃSKI, Bartłomiej, *Non omnis moriar? Bolesław Prus, wiek XIX i opowieści współczesne* [*Non omnis moriar? Bolesław Prus, the 19th Century, and Contemporary Tales*], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo IBL, 2019.
SZTOKFISZ, Marta, *Pani od obiadów. Lucyna Ćwierczakiewiczowa. Historia życia* [*The Dinner Lady: Lucyna Ćwierczakiewiczowa. A Life Story*], Kraków, Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2018.
SZYMICZKOWA, Maryla [Jacek Dehnel and Piotr Tarczyński], *Szaleństwo i śmierć spłyną z gór* [*Madness and Death Flow Down from the Mountains*], Kraków, Wydawnictwo Znak, Literanova, 2025.
SZYMICZKOWA, Maryla [Jacek Dehnel and Piotr Tarczyński], *Śmierć na Wenecji* [*Death in Venice*], Kraków, Wydawnictwo Znak, Literanova, 2023.
SZYMICZKOWA, Maryla [Jacek Dehnel and Piotr Tarczyński], *Złoty róg* [*The Golden Horn*], Kraków, Znak Literanova, 2020.
TOKARCZUK, Olga, *The Empusium: A Health Resort Horror Story*. Transl. by Antonia Lloyd-Jones, Melbourne, Text Publishing, 2024.
TOLKIEN, John Ronald Reuel, "On Fairy-Stories", in *Tree and Leaf*, London, Unwin Books, 1964, pp. 11-72.
UZDAŃSKI, Grzegorz, *Wypiór*, Warszawa, Wydawnictwo "Filtry", 2021.
WIĘCH, Arkadiusz S., *O galicyjskich krwawych zapustach, czyli chłopskim zrywie Jakuba Szeli* [*On the Galician Bloody Shrovetide, or the Peasant Uprising of Jakub Szela*], Kraków, Powergraph, 2019.
ZIELIŃSKI, Jan, *Słowacki. SzatAnioł* [*Słowacki. SatAngel*], Warszawa, Wydawnictwo W.A.B., 2009.

THE POLISH NINETEENTH CENTURY IN THE MIRROR OF TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY LITERATURE – THE MEANDERS OF NEIGHBOURING (*Abstract*)

The article discusses several ways in which the nineteenth century appears in recent Polish literature. It highlights how different elements of that legacy, especially those linked to romanticism and modernism, have been reshaped and reassessed. A century once fundamental to Polish culture during the partitions has, in contemporary times, taken on more problematic – and at moments even toxic – dimensions. Contemporary Polish writers return to that period to uncover stories previously excluded from the mainstream national narrative. The texts analysed here show that the nineteenth century remains a "neighbour" unexpectedly close to our present day.

Keywords: Romanticism, Modernism, rereading, national myths, marginalised stories.

DOCUMENT

ARLEEN IONESCU, DUMITRU TUCAN

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE HOLOCAUST AND ANTISEMITISM IN ROMANIA[1]

Numerous studies have addressed the Holocaust and antisemitism in Romania; however, no single comprehensive bibliography integrates the diverse scholarship spanning historiography, testimonial literature, representation, and memorialization. Hence, we present a synthesis of key resources on the Romanian Holocaust and antisemitism, intended as a valuable research tool for specialists and interested readers alike. We have included here titles in the original Croatian, English, French, German, Hebrew, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Romani, Romanian, Spanish, Swedish that we divided in several sections. To homogenize the various entries, we have used a slightly adapted version of Chicago Manual of Style. We have also listed translations into Romanian of the titles in foreign languages, or vice versa, if these exist. For the sake of accuracy, we have not homogenized the names of the authors who signed with diacritics in Romanian and without diacritics in English; their names are spelled exactly as they appeared in the respective book/ journal.

Inevitably, any selection requires certain omissions. We established a clear criterion: when several chapters within a single edited book were relevant (more than 2 or 3), we cited the entire book rather than individual contributions. The only exceptions made were for chapters dealing with major Holocaust writers.

In this bibliography, we have primarily focused on the Holocaust that took place within Romania's borders. However, we have also selectively included a number of works concerning the Holocaust in Northern Transylvania, which was perpetrated by the Hungarian and German administrations during the last year of WW2. These works are relevant because they address Jewish communities that had been part of Romania and Romanian cultural life prior to the 1940 annexation, and because they circulated in postwar Romania, shaping the country's Holocaust memory. The bibliography mentions only a few selective titles on what happened after WW2 (trials of the perpetrators in the immediate aftermath of the war, restitutions, rewritings during communism and post-communism). We have also included a selection of the major works that were published in relation to Holocaust remembrance from 1944 to the present.

[1] Acknowledgment: We would like to thank Edward Waysband from Hebrew University of Jerusalem and Shalem Academic College, Ivan and Nina Ross Family Fellow at University of Pennsylvania, Herbert D. Katz Center for Advanced Judaic Studies, for his help with Hebrew titles.

The trivialization, distortion, and denial of the Holocaust, alongside pervasive antisemitism, remain significant concerns in both Romanian memorialization and historical scholarship. We have explicitly excluded all titles that present revisionist accounts of this history. These comprise works published during the Gheorghiu-Dej and Ceaușescu communist regimes, as well as those produced more recently by active neo-Legionary presses that continue to circulate alternative historical narratives. From the works published by Holocaust survivors during Ceaușescu's regime we have included Oliver Lustig's volumes, since although written through a highly ideological Marxist-Leninist lens, they present facts as they happened. We included two films which rewrite history (see additional notes), as they can represent a good case study of Holocaust distortion and denial. Titles addressing antisemitism prior to the interwar period, as well as during the communist and post-communist eras, were ommitted in the current list. We also excluded titles on Holocaust education, the resurgence of far-right discourse, and the contemporary neo-legionary movement. Our academic community would greatly welcome a supplementary bibliography that incorporates these critical texts.

HISTORICAL STUDIES ON ANTISEMITISM, THE HOLOCAUST IN ROMANIA AND ITS MEMORY (A SELECTION)

Abraham, Florin. *Romania since the Second World War: A Political, Social and Economic History*. London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016.

Achim, Viorel. "Antonescu, Ion"; "Rumänen aus Nordsiebenbürgen (1940–1944)". In *Lexikon der Vertreibungen. Deportation, Zwangsaussiedlung und ethnische Säuberung im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Edited by Detlef Brandes, Holm Sundhaussen, and Stefan Troebst. Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2010. 40–1; 559–61.

Achim, Viorel. "The Antonescu Government's Policy towards the Gypsies". In *The Holocaust and Romania. History and Contemporary Significance*. Edited by Mihail E. Ionescu and Liviu Rotman. București: Institutul pentru Studii Politice de Apărare și Istorie Militară; Tel Aviv: "Goldstein Goren" Diaspora Research Center; Tel Aviv University; Centrul "Goldstein Goren" de Studii Ebraice al Universității din București, 2003. 55–60.

Achim, Viorel. "Un aspect nestudiat al deportărilor în Transnistria: utilizarea la muncă a țiganilor deportați". In *Confluențe identitare și realități demografice la est de Carpați în secolele XIX–XX*. Edited by Cătălin Turliuc and Dumitru Ivănescu. Iași: Junimea, 2010. 401–26.

Achim, Viorel. "'De ce atâta ură? Ce vină au acești nenorociți?' Deportarea țiganilor în Transnistria". *Dosarele Istoriei* VII 6 (70) (2002): 44–6.

Achim, Viorel. "Despre studiile minoritare în România în perioada interbelică". In *Hegemoniile trecutului. Evoluții românești și europene*. Edited by Mioara Anton, Florin Anghel, and Cosmin Popa. București: Curtea Veche, 2006. 89–98.

Achim, Viorel. "Despre locurile de deportare din Transnistria: lagărul de țigani din Golta (1943–1944)". In *O identitate secundă. Dennis John Deletant, Istoria, România și Românii. In honorem Dennis Deletant*. Edited by Ottmar Trașcă and Virgiliu Țârău. Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2016. 235–62.

Achim, Viorel. “Die Deportation der Roma nach Transnistrien”. In *Rumänien und der Holocaust: Zu den Massenverbrechen in Transnistrien 1941–1944*. Edited by Mariana Hausleitner, Brigitte Mihok, and Juliane Wetzel. Berlin: Metropol, 2001. 101–11.

Achim, Viorel. “Die Deportation der Juden nach Transnistrien im Kontext der Bevölkerungspolitik der Antonescu-Regierung”. In *Holocaust an der Peripherie. Judenpolitik und Judenmord in Rumänien und Transnistrien 1940–1944*. Edited by Wolfgang Benz and Brigitte Mihok. Berlin: Metropol, 2009. 151–60. Translated into Romanian as Achim, Viorel. “Deportarea evreilor în Transnistria în contextul politicii de populație a guvernului Antonescu”. Translated by Cristina Grossu-Chiriac. In *Holocaustul la periferie. Persecutarea și nimicirea evreilor în România și Transnistria în 1940–1944*. Edited by Wolfgang Benz and Brigitte Mihok. Chișinău: Cartier, 2010. 233–47.

Achim, Viorel. *Evreii în cadrul recensământului general al României din 6 aprilie 1941*. București: Editura Institutului Național pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România “Elie Wiesel”, 2008.

Achim, Viorel. “The Forced Labour of the Gypsies in Transnistria: The Regulation of December 1942 and the Reality on the Ground”. *Historical Yearbook* XI–XII (2014–2015): 209–24.

Achim, Viorel. “Fotografii ale pogromului de la Iași păstrate în Bundesarchiv și o investigație în legătură cu ele făcută la Zentrale Stelle Ludwigsburg, în 1965–1966”. *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 4–5 / 20–21 (2019–2020): Special Issue: “Discurs și violență antisemită în România modernă*”.* 311–26.

Achim, Viorel. “Gypsy Research and Gypsy Policy in Romania, 1920–1950”. In *Zwischen Erziehung und Vernichtung. Zigeunerpolitik und Zigeunerforschung im Europa des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Edited by Michael Zimmermann. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2007. 156–74.

Achim, Viorel. “O intervenție a reginei-mame Elena pentru repatrierea unei femei de origine romă deportate în Transnistria”. *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* I.2 (2) (2009): 71–81.

Achim, Viorel. *Munca forțată în Transnistria. “Organizarea muncii” evreilor și romilor, decembrie 1942 – martie 1944*. Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2015.

Achim, Viorel. “Operațiunile de deportare a romilor în Transnistria. Situația din județul Timiș-Torontal, septembrie 1942”. *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* I.1 (1) (2009): 29–39.

Achim, Viorel. “Nazismul și genocidul țiganilor”. *Dosarele Istoriei* IV 11 (39) (1999): 14–19.

Achim, Viorel. “Romanian Memory of the Persecution of Roma”. In *Roma and Sinti: Under-Studied Victims of Nazism. Symposium Proceedings*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies; United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2002. 59–77.

Achim, Viorel. “Romanian Public Reaction to the Deportation of Gypsies to Transnistria”. In *The Roma: A Minority in Europe: A Historical, Political and Social Perspectives*. Edited by Roni Stauber and Raphael Vago. Budapest: CEU Press, 2007. 89–102.

Achim, Viorel. “Romania and the Refugees from Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina after 1944”. *Annali dell’Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento* XXIX (2003). 673–89.

Achim, Viorel. “The Romanian Population Exchange Project Elaborated by Sabin Manuilă in October 1941”. *Annali dell’Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento* XXVII (2001): 593–617.

Achim, Viorel. “The Situation of Roma in Romania during the Second World War”. In *Zbornik radaova sa međunarodne konferencije: Stradanje Roma u Europi za vrijeme Drugog svjetskog rata s posebnim osvrtom na stradanje u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj*. Edited by Danijel Vojak and Ivo Pejaković. Zagreb: Spomen – područje Jasenova; Savez Roma u Republici Hrvatskoj “Kali Sara;” Institut društvenih znanosti “Ivo Pilar”, 2018. 81–95.

Achim, Viorel. *Țiganii în istoria României*. București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1998. Translated into English as Achim, Viorel. *The Roma in Romanian History*. Translated by Richard Davies. Budapest: Central European University, 2004.

Achim, Viorel, and Constantin Iordachi (Eds). *România și Transnistria: Problema Holocaustului*. București: Curtea Veche, 2004.

Ancel, Jean. “Antonescu and the Jews”. In *The Holocaust and History: The Known, the Unknown, the Disputed, and the Reexamined*. Edited by Michael Berenbaum and Abraham J. Peck. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1998. Republished in *Yad Vashem Studies* 23 (1993): 213–80.

Ancel, Jean. "The 'Christian' Regimes of Romania and the Jews, 1940–1942". *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 7.1 (Spring 1993): 14–29. https://doi.org/10.1093/hgs/7.1.14.

Ancel, Jean. *Distrugerea economică a evreilor români*. București: Editura Institutului Național pentru Studierea Holocaustului din Romania "Elie Wiesel", 2008. Translated into English from an unpublished Hebrew manuscript, presented at a symposium at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington D.C. as Ancel, Jean. *The Economic Destruction of Romanian Jewry*. Translated by Lenn J. Schramm. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, International Institute for Holocaust Research, 2007.

Ancel, Jean. "The German-Romanian Relationship and the Final Solution". *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 19.2 (Fall 2005): 252–75. https://doi.org/10.1093/hgs/dci022.

Ancel, Jean. *The History of the Holocaust in Romania*. Translated by Yaffah Murciano. Edited by Leon Volovici with the assistance of Miriam Caloianu. Lincoln and Jerusalem: University of Nebraska Press; Yad Vashem, 2011.

Ancel, Jean. ז'אן אנצ'ל / 1941 ביוני 29 ,פרעות יאסי : הקדמה לרצח [*Hakdama leretzach: pra'ot yasi, 29 biyoni 1941*]. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2003. Translated into Romanian as Ancel, Jean. *Preludiu la asasinat: Pogromul de la Iași, 29 iunie 1941*. Translated by Carol Bines. Preface by Iehuda Bauer. Iași: Polirom, 2005.

Ancel, Jean. "The Image of the Jew in the View of Romanian Anti-Semitic Movements Continuity and Change". *Shvut: Studies in Russian and East European Jewish History and Culture* 16 (1993): 39–57.

Ancel, Jean. "The Opposition to the Antonescu Regime: Its Attitude towards the Jews during the Holocaust". In *Nazi Europe and the Final Solution*. Edited by David Bankier and Israel Gutman. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, the Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, International Institute for Holocaust Research, 2003.

Ancel, Jean. "Plans for Deportation of the Rumanian Jews and their Discontinuation in Light of Documentary Evidence (July – October 1942)". *Yad Vashem Studies* 16 (1984): 381–420.

Ancel, Jean. "Le pogrom de Iasi: sur la responsabilité des autorités de l'état roumain dans la mise en scène, la préparation et l'exécution du pogrom de Iasi et sur l'établissement du nombre des victimes". *Revue d'histoire de la Shoah* 194: Special Issue: "L'horreur oubliée: la Shoah Roumaine" (janvier – juin 2011): 143–71.

Ancel, Jean. "'The New Jewish Invasion:' The Return of the Survivors from Transnistria". In *The Jews Are Coming Back: The Return of the Jews to Their Countries of Origin after WWII*. Edited by David Bankier. New York and Jerusalem: Berghahn Books and Yad Vashem, 2005. 231–56.

Ancel, Jean. "A romániai zsidók lengyelországi deportálásával kapcsolatos náci terv felfüggesztése és az erdélyi kérdés". In *A Holokauszt Magyarországon európai perspektívában*. Edited by Molnár Judit. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2005. 321–39.

Ancel, Jean. "The Romanian 'Christian' Regimes from 1940–1944 and their attitude toward Jews. The Church, the Clergy, the Press". In *Remembering for the Future: Working Papers and Addenda*. Volumes I–III. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1989. 2813–29.

Ancel, Jean. "The Romanian Way of Solving the 'Jewish Problem' in Bessarabia and Bukovina, June – July 1941". *Yad Vashem Studies* 19 (1988): 187–232.

Ancel, Jean. "La saisie des biens juifs en Roumanie". *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah* 186 (2007): 379–91.

Ancel, Jean. תולדות השואה – רומניה [Toldot hashoa – Romania]. Tel-Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Center for the History of the Jews in Romania, Institute for Diaspora Studies; Tel-Aviv University, 2003. Translated from Hebrew into Romanian as Ancel, Jean. *Contribuții la istoria României. Problema evreiască*. Volumes 1–2. Translated by Carol Bines. București: Hasefer, 2001; 2003.

Ancel, Jean. *Transnistria*. Volumes 1–3. Notes by Doina Uricariu. București: Atlas, 1998. Translation into English from Hebrew [Hebrew original may have remained in manuscript] as Ancel, Jean. *Transnistria, 1941–1942: The Romanian Mass Murder Campaign*. Volumes 1–3. Translated by Rachel Garfinkel and Karen Gold. Edited by Judy Lee. Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center; Tel Aviv University, 2003.

Andreescu, Andreea, Lucian Nastasă, and Andreea Varga (Eds). *Evreii din România (1945–1965).* Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Resurse Pentru Diversitate Etnoculturală, 2003.

Andreescu, Gabriel. *Extremismul de dreapta în România*. Cluj-Napoca: Fundația CRDE, 2003.

Antonovici, Valeriu. "The Efforts of Romanian Politicians in Developing the Holocaust Public Discourse". In *Holocaust Memoryscapes. Contemporary Memorialisation of the Holocaust in Central and Eastern Countries*. Edited by Sonia Catrina. București: Editura Universitară, 2020. 133–57.

Babeș, Adina. "Preventing and Combating Racism, Xenophobia and Hate Crimes: from the Decisions of the European Commission to the Implementation in Member States". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* IX.1 (10) (2017): 91–114.

Babeș, Adina. "Romanian Jewish Emigration in the 1940s". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* V.1 (6) (2013): 32–42.

Babeș, Adina, and Alexandru Florian. "The Emigration of the Jews in the Antonescu Era". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* IV.1 (5) (2012):16–34.

Babeș, Adina, and Alexandru Florian. "The Beginning of War in the East and Hastening the Approaches". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VI.1 (7) (2014): 30–44.

Babeș-Fruchter, Adina, and Ana Bărbulescu (Eds.). *The Holocaust in South-Eastern Europe: Historiography, Archives Resources and Remembrance.* Wilmington: Vernon Press, 2021.

Babeș-Fruchter, Adina, and Ana Bărbulescu. "The Holocaust under Romanian Authority. Archival Resources and Historiography". In *Holocaust in South-Eastern Europe: Historiography, Archives Resources and Remembrance*. Edited by Adina Babeș-Fruchter, and Ana Bărbulescu. Wilmington: Vernon Press, 2021. 3–28.

Balta, Sebastian. *Rumänien und die Grossmächte in der Ära Antonescu, 1940–1944*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005.

Bancoș, Dorel. *Social și național în politica guvernului Ion Antonescu*. București: Eminescu, 2000.

Bălan, Anca-Diana. "Holocaust Memory in the Post-communist Romanian Orthodox Church". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XVI.1 (17) (2024): 249–80.

Bălan, Emanuel. "Evreii din Tîrgu Neamț în timpul dictaturii Antonescu: septembrie 1940 – august 1944". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 1/17 (2016): 319–33.

Bănică, Mirel. *Biserica Ortodoxă Română: Stat și societate în anii '30*. Preface by Marius Turda. Iași: Polirom, 2007.

Bărbulescu, Ana. "A. C. Cuza, the Jews, and the Struggle against Satan". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XIV.1 (15) (2022): 125–44.

Bărbulescu, Ana. "Anti-Jewish Caricatures in Interwar Romania: Religious Antisemitism in *Porunca vremii*". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XV.1 (16) (2023): 169–93.

Bărbulescu, Ana. "Crainic's Imagined Community: Framing Romanianhood and its Enemy(ies)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* IX.1 (10) (2017): 69–90.

Bărbulescu, Ana. "Discovering the Holocaust in Our Past: Competing Memories in Post-Communist Romanian Textbooks". *Holocaust Studies* 21.3 (2015): 139–56.

Bărbulescu, Ana. "The Djurin Ghetto: Official Order, Internal Structure, and Networking Strategies". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XI.1 (12) (2019): 95–120.

Bărbulescu, Ana. "Identity Construction and Consonant Memories: The Holocaust or the Exquisiteness of the Dacians?". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* V.1 (6) (2013): 118–33.

Bărbulescu, Ana. "In Dialogue with the Authorities: Petitions Referring to the Jews Deported to Transnistria, 1941–1944". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XIII.1 (14) (2021): 311–37.

Bărbulescu, Ana. "Life, Death, and Survival in the Vapniarka Camp". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VIII.1 (9) (2016): 73–91.

Bărbulescu, Ana. "Muncă obligatorie în România anului 1941: ideologie vs. randament economic". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* I.2 (2) (2009): 59–70.

Bărbulescu, Ana. "Nae Ionescu's Impenetrable Boundaries: Romanianness, Otherness, Jewishness". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* X.1 (11) (2018): 277–310.

Bărbulescu, Ana. "Nicolae Iorga and the Jews: Framing Belongingness and Legitimating Exclusion". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XII.1 (13) (2020): 219–45.
Bărbulescu, Ana. "Parallel Worlds of the Holocaust in Romania: Legitimizing, Witnessing, and Avoiding Death". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VII.1 (8) (2015): 185–204.
Bărbulescu, Ana. "The Târgu-Jiu Camp: Between History and Memory". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VI.1 (7) (2014): 9–29.
Bărbulescu, Ana. "The Social Web of Transnistria's Ghettos: Local and Remote Networks of Survival". *Holocaust Studies* 31.2 (2024): 141–68. https://doi.org/10.1080/17504902-.2024.2373617.
Behold the Child of our Time: Case-histories of Youth Aliyah Trainees Who Arrived in Palestine from the Camps of Deportation in Transdniestria in the Year 1944. London: Children and Youth Aliyah, 1945.
Beldiman, Dana. *Armata și Mișcarea Legionară: 1927–1947.* București: Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, 2002.
Benjamin, Lya. "De la Constituția din 1923 la Statutul Juridic din 1940. O privire asupra problemei evreiești din România". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* V.1 (6) (2013): 166–81.
Benjamin, Lya. "Leadership-ul comunitar în România în perioada Holocaustului (1940–1944)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* II.1 (3) (2010): 69–82.
Benjamin, Lya. *Memorialul martirilor evrei din România "Dr. Moses Rosen"*. București: Hasefer, 2003.
Benjamin, Lya. "Naționalism, xenofobie, etnocentrism – Trăsături definitorii ale antisemitismului antonescian". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VII.1 (8) (2015): 323–32.
Benjamin, Lya. "La politique antijuive du régime Antonescu (1940–1944) relative aux Juifs de l'Ancien Royaume et du sud de la Transylvanie". *Revue d'histoire de la Shoah* 194: Special Issue: "L'horreur oubliée: la Shoah Roumaine" (janvier – juin 2011): 27–62.
Benjamin, Lya. "Politica antievreiască a regimului Antonescu (1940–1944)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* III.1 (4) (2011): 9–35.
Benjamin, Lya. *Prigoana și rezistența în istoria evreilor din România, 1940–1944*. București: Hasefer, 2003.
Benjamin, Lya. "'Problema evreiască' în relațiile româno-maghiare, 1940–1944". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VI.1 (7) (2014): 45–55.
Benjamin, Lya. "The Relations between Dr. W. Filderman and Marshal Ion Antonescu during the Deportation of the Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina (October – December 1941)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* IV.1 (5) (2012): 35–47.
Beris, Liviu. *Holocaust sub guvernul Antonescu*. Second, Revised Edition. București. Hasefer, 2014.
Biliuta, Ionut. "Fascist Martyrdom for Export: Fr. Gheorghe Calciu Dumitreasa (1925–2006) and the 'Saints of the Communist Prisons' as a Transnational Movement in Post-Communist Romania". In *Transnational and Transatlantic Fascism, 1918–2018: The Far Right in East Central and Southeastern Europe*. Edited By Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe and Per Anders Rudling. New York and London: Routledge, 2025. 187–209.
Biliuță, Ionuț. *The Archangel's Priests: Investigating the Relationship between the Orthodox Church and the Iron Guard in Interwar Romania (1930–1941)*. Cluj: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2025.
Biliuță, Ionuț. "Constructing Fascist Hagiographies: The Genealogy of the Prison Saints Movement in Contemporary Romania". *Contemporary European History* 31.3 (2022): 435–55. https://doi-.org/10.1017/S0960777321000424.
Biliuță, Ionuț. "Christianizing Transnistria: Romanian Orthodox Clergy as Beneficiaries, Perpetrators, and Rescuers during the Holocaust". *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 34.1 (2020): 18–44.
Biliuță, Ionuț. "Fascism, Race, and Religion in Interwar Transylvania: The case of Father Liviu Stan (1910–1973)". *Church History* 89 (2020): 101–24.
Biliuță, Ionuț. "Legionary Dreams, Visions, and Divine Apparitions in the Communist Prisons: Designing a Fascist Carceral Theophany in Contemporary Romania". *Review of Ecumenical Studies* 14.2 (September 2022): 263–88.

Biliuță, Ionuț. "To Murder or Save Thy Neighbor? Romanian Orthodox Clergymen and Jews during the Holocaust (1941–1945)". In *Religion, Ethnonationalism, and Antisemitism in the Era of the Two World Wars*. Edited by Kevin P. Spicer and Rebecca Carter-Chand. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2022. 301–31.

Biliuță, Ionuț. "Sowing the Seeds of Hate: The Antisemitism of the Orthodox Church in the Interwar Period". *S:I.M.O.N. Shoah: Intervention. Methods. Documentation* 3 (2016): 20–34.

Biliuță, Ionuț. "Taking the Archives out of the Holocaust Research: The Case of the Orthodox Perpetrators in Contemporary Romania". In *Holocaust in South-Eastern Europe: Historiography, Archives Resources and Remembrance*. Edited by Adina Babeș-Fruchter and Ana Bărbulescu. Wilmington: Vernon Press, 2021. 263–90.

Blasen, Philippe Henri. "L'évacuation de la Bessarabie et de la Bucovine du Nord (juin – juillet 1940): la création d'un cliché antisémite roumain". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 4–5 / 20–21 (2019–2020): Special Issue: "Discurs și violență antisemită în România modernă". 271–310.

Blasen, Phillippe Henri. *La "primauté de la nation roumaine" et les "étrangers:" les minorités et leur liberté du travail sous le cabinet Goga et la dictature royale: décembre 1937 – septembre 1940*. Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință, 2022.

Bobango, Gerald J. *Religion and Politics: Bishop Valerian Trifa and His Times*. Boulder: East European Monographs, 1981.

Boboc, Daniel-Valeriu. "A.C. Cuza's Antisemitism: Parliamentary Speeches (1933–1937)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XV.1 (16) (2023): 85–116.

Boboc, Daniel-Valeriu. "The Image of the Jew from Northern Bessarabia in the Gendarmerie's 1940 Investigations". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XII.1 (13) (2020): 41–72.

Boboc, Daniel-Valeriu. "The Trials of the War Criminals from the Iași Pogrom: Investigations, Convictions, Acquittals, Releases". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XIII.1 (14) (2021): 125–54.

Böhm, Johann. *Nationalsozialistische Indoktrination der Deutschen in Rumänien 1932–1944*. Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang Verlag, 2008.

Boboc, Daniel-Valeriu. "The Image of the Jew from Northern Bessarabia in the Gendarmerie's 1940 Investigations". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XII.1 (13) (2020): 41–72.

Boia, Lucian. *Capcanele istoriei. Elita intelectuală românească între anii 1930 și 1950*. București: Humanitas, 2011.

Boia, Lucian. *Cum s-a românizat România*. București: Humanitas, 2015.

Bozdoghină, Horia. "A. C. Cuza, politicianul antisemit". *Archiva Moldaviae* 9 (2017): 139–60.

Bozdoghină, Horia. *Antisemitismul lui A. C. Cuza în politica românească*. Foreword by Radu Ioanid. București: Institutul Național pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România "Elie Wiesel" and Curtea Veche Publishing, 2012.

Bozdoghină, Horia. "Doctrina naționalist-creștină 'Cuzismul'". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* I.2 (2) (2009): 109–117.

Bozdoghină, Horia. "Nicolae C. Paulescu – teoretician al antisemitismului 'științific'". *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis*, *Series Historica* 5 (2008): 171–80.

Braham, Randolph L. (Ed.). *The Destruction of Romanian and Ukrainian Jews During the Antonescu Era*. New York: East European Monographs, 1997. Translated into Romanian as Braham, Randolph L. (Ed.). *Exterminarea evreilor români și ucraineni în perioada antonesciană*. București: Hasefer, 2002.

Braham, Randolph L. "Romanian Nationalists and the Holocaust: A Case Study in History Cleansing". *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 10.3 (Winter 1996): 211–51. https://doi.org-/10.1093/hgs/10.3.211.

Braham, Randolph L. *Romanian Nationalists and the Holocaust: The Political Exploitation of Unfounded Rescue Accounts*. New York: Institute for Holocaust Studies, City University of New York, 1998.

Braham, Randolph L. (Ed.). *The Treatment of the Holocaust in Hungary and Romania During the Post-Communist Era*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

Braham, Randolph L. (Ed.). *The Tragedy of Romanian Jewry*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994.

Brustein, William, and Amy Ronnkvist. "The Roots of Antisemitism: Romania before the Holocaust". *Journal of Genocide Research* 4.2 (2002): 211–35.

Brustein, William I., and Ryan D. King. "Antisemitism as a Response to Perceived Jewish Power. The Cases of Bulgaria and Romania before the Holocaust". *Social Forces* 83.2 (2004): 691–708.

Brustein, William I., and Rryan D. King. "Balkan Antisemitism: The Cases of Bulgaria and Romania before the Holocaust". *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 18.3 (2004): 430–54. https://doi.org/10.1177/0888325404266935.

Brustein, William I. *Roots of Hate: Anti-Semitism in Europe before the Holocaust*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Buti, Daniel. "Perceptions Regarding the Personality of Ion Antonescu in the Romanian Public Space". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XIV.1 (15) (2022): 307–24.

Bucur, Maria. *Eugenics and Modernization in Interwar Romania*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2002. Translated into Romanian as Bucur, Maria. *Eugenie și modernizare în România interbelică*. Translated by Raluca Popa. Preface by Mihaela Miroiu. Iași: Polirom, 2005.

Bucur, Maria. *Heroes and Victims: Remembering War in Twentieth-Century Romania*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010.

Butaru, Lucian T. *Rasism românesc. Componenta rasială a discursului antisemit din România până la al Doilea Război Mondial*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene, 2010.

Butnaru, I.C. *The Silent Holocaust: Romania and its Jews*. Foreword by Elie Wiesel. New York: Greenwood Press, 1992.

Carpinschi, Anton. "De ce persistă manifestările antisemite în societatea românească și după emigrarea în masă a evreilor? Gânduri, amintiri și ipoteze". *Polis: Revistă de Științe Politice* XII.1 (43) (December 2023 – February 2024): 197–215.

Cașu, Igor. "Istoriografia, politicul și chestiunea Holocaustului. Cazul Republicii Moldova". *Pontes. Review of South East European Studies* III–IV (2009): 277–91.

Catrina, Sonia. "The Legacies of the Holocaust in Post-communist Romania: Spatialities of Traumatic Memory, (Dis)connected Politics of Memory and Anti-Semitic Social Attitudes". In *Holocaust Memoryscapes. Contemporary Memorialisation of the Holocaust in Central and Eastern Countries*. Edited by Sonia Catrina. București: Editura Universitară, 2020. 26–102.

Catrina, Sonia. "Voicing the Death of the Jews from Northern Transylvania through Heritage and Its Social Appropriation". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VIII.1 (9) (2016): 227–88.

Catrina, Sonia (Ed.). *Holocaust Memoryscapes. Contemporary Memorialisation of the Holocaust in Central and Eastern Countries*. București: Editura Universitară, 2020.

Cazan, Marius. "The Participation of the Legionary Workers in the Bucharest Pogrom". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* X.1 (11) (2018): 53–87.

Cazan, Marius. "Order and Disorder on the Eastern Front: the 14th Infantry Division at the Beginning of Operation 'Barbarossa'". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XIV.1 (15) (2022): 11–39.

Cazan, Marius. "The Romanian Participation in the Holocaust by Bullets: The 6th 'Vânători' Regiment – A Case Study (I)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XI.1 (12) (2019): 69–93.

Cazan, Marius. "The Romanian Participation in the Holocaust by Bullets: The 6th 'Vânători' Regiment – A Case Study (II)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XII.1 (13) (2020): 11–39.

Cazan, Marius. "Remarks on the Implementation of Ordinance 23 during the Transnistrian Governorate". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XV.1 (16) (2023): 11–35.

Cazan, Marius. "Social Profile of the Perpetrator". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VIII.1 (9) (2016): 33–44.

Cărare, Liviu. "Aspecte privind Holocaustul din România. Evreii din Cernăuți și Steaua galbenă". In *Partide politice și minorități naționale din România în secolul XX*. Edited by Vasile Ciobanu and Sorin Radu. Volume 4. 212–21.

Cărare, Liviu. "Concluziile comisiei de anchetă pentru 'cercetarea neregulilor săvârșite cu ocazia evacuării evreilor din Cernăuți' (1941)". *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Barițiu" din Cluj-Napoca – Series Historica* L (2011): 251–74.

Cărare, Liviu. "Considerații privind procesul de ghetoizare a evreilor din Cernăuți". *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Barițiu" din Cluj-Napoca – Series Historica* XLIX (2010): 99–107.

Cărare, Liviu. "Evreii din ghetoul Chișinău. Studiu de caz: masacrul de la Ghidighici (august 1941)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* III.1 (4) (2011): 74–83.

Cărare, Liviu. "Ghetoul din Cernăuți (1941): Mărturii privind procesul de triere a evreilor". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* II.1 (3) (2010): 57–68.

Cărare, Liviu. "Roundup on the Maccabi Stadium: Insights into the 1942 Deportations of Czernowitz Jews to Transnistria". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* V.1 (6) (2013): 43–59.

Cârstocea, Raul. "Anti-Semitism in Romania: Historical Legacies, Contemporary Challenges". *ECMI Working Paper #81*. European Centre for Minority Issues. October 2014. 3–39.

Cârstocea, Raul. "Approaching Generic Fascism from the Margins: On the Uses of 'Palingenesis' in the Romanian Context". In *Beyond the Fascist Century. Essays in Honour of Roger Griffin*. Edited by Constantin Iordachi and Aristotle Kalli. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2020. 153–76.

Cârstocea, Raul. "Between Europeanisation and Local Legacies: Holocaust Memory and Contemporary Anti-Semitism in Romania". *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 35.2 (May 2021): 313–35.

Cârstocea, Raul. "Bringing Out the Dead: Mass Funerals, Cult of Death and the Emotional Dimension of Nationhood in Romanian Interwar Fascism". In *Emotions and Everyday Nationalism in Modern European History*. Edited by Maarten van Ginderachter, Xosé Núñez Seixas, and Andreas Stynen. Abingdon: Routledge, 2020. 134–63.

Cârstocea, Raul. "Historisches Erbe und Gegenwart des rumänischen Antisemitismus". *Europäische Rundschau* 42.2 (2014): 83–106.

Cârstocea, Raul. "Holocaust-Gedenken und Antisemitismus in Rumänien". *Europäische Rundschau* 47.2 (2019): 39–45.

Cârstocea, Raul. "A Marginal Group on Europe's Margin? Anti-Semitism in Romania from the Congress of Berlin to the 'Legion of the Archangel Michael'". In *Europe as Viewed from the Margins. An East-Central European Perspective. From World War I to Present*. Edited by Silviu Miloiu, Ion Stanciu, and Iulian Oncescu. Târgoviște: Valahia University Press. 189–201.

Cârstocea, Raul. "The Path to the Holocaust: Fascism and Antisemitism in Interwar Romania". *S:I.M.O.N. – Shoah: Intervention. Methods. Documentation* 1 (2014): 43–53.

Cârstocea, Raul. *The Role of Anti-Semitism in the Ideology of the "Legion of the Archangel Michael", 1927–1938*. Doctoral Dissertation. University College London, 2011.

Cârstocea, Raul. "Students Don the Green Shirt. The Roots of Romanian Fascism in the Antisemitic Student Movements of the 1920s". In *Alma mater antisemitica. Akademisches Milieu, Juden und Antisemitismus an den Universitaten Europas zwischen 1918 und 1939*. Edited by Regina Fritz, Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, and Jana Starek. Wien: New Academic Press, 2016. 39–88.

Cârstocea, Raul. "Uneasy Twins? The Entangled Histories of Anti-Semitism and Jewish Emancipation in Romania and Hungary, 1866–1913". *SLOVO* 21.1 (2009): 64–85.

Cercel, Cosmin. "The Enemy Within: Criminal Law and Ideology in Interwar Romania". In *Fascism and Criminal Law: History, Theory, Continuity*. Edited by Stephen Skinner. London: Hart Publishing, 2015. 101–26.

Cercel, Cosmin Sebastian. "Fascist Claims to Sovereign Power: Law, Politics and the Romanian Legionary Movement". *Contemporary European History* 33.4 (November 2024): 1273–87.

Cercel, Cosmin. "Reversing Liberal Legality: Romania's Path to Dictatorship 1930–1938". *Journal of Romanian Studies* 2.2 (2020): 23–52.

Cercel, Cosmin. "The 'Right' Side of the Law: State of Siege and the Rise of Fascism in Interwar Romania". *Fascism: Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies* 2 (2013): 205–33.

Cernovodeanu, Paul, Liviu Rotman, Carol Iancu, and Raphael Vago (Eds). *The History of the Jews in Romania*. Volumes 1–4. Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center and Tel Aviv University, 2005.

Cesereanu, Ruxandra. "The Final Report on the Holocaust and the Final Report on the Communist Dictatorship in Romania". *East European Politics and Societies* 22.2 (2008): 270–81. https://doi-.org/10.1177/0888325408315764.

Chelaru, Valeria. "Tradition, Nationalism and Holocaust Memory: Reassessing Antisemitism in Post-Communist Romania". *Plural – History. Culture. Society. Journal of History and Geography* 10.2 (2022): 58–84.

Chiriac, Bogdan. *The Trial of the Antonescu Group (May 6–17, 1946) and the Communist Takeover in Romania. A Historical Interpretation*. Doctoral Dissertation. Central European University, 2017.

Chioveanu, Mihai. "A Deadlock of Memory: The Myth and Cult of Ion Antonescu in Post-Communist Romania". *Studia Hebraica* 3 (2003): 102–23.

Chioveanu, Mihai. *Fețele fascismului: Politică, ideologie și scrisul istoric în secolul XX*. București: Editura Universității din București, 2005.

Chioveanu, Mihai. "Transnistria, the 'General Plan East,' and the 'Shoah by Bullets'". *Studia Politica: Romanian Political Science Review*. 10.3 (2010): 427–46. https://nbnresolving.org/-urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-446713.

Cioflâncă, Adrian. "Antisemitismul ca falsă știință. Șama Salzberger vs. Nicolae Paulescu". *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "A.D. Xenopol"* 51. Supl. 2 (2014): 117–31.

Cioflâncă, Adrian. "Antisemitismul și Holocaustul din perspectivă comunistă. Un caz de distorsiune ideologică (I)". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 4–5 / 20–21 (2019–2020): Special Issue: "Discurs și violență antisemită în România modernă". 327–54.

Cioflâncă, Adrian. "Gramatica disculpării în istoriografia comunistă". *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "A.D. Xenopol"* 42 (2005): 627–44.

Cioflâncă, Adrian. "Politics of Oblivion in Postcommunist Romania". *Romanian Journal of Political Sciences* 2 (2002): 85–93.

Cioflâncă, Adrian. "Violența antisemită interbelică. Pogromul de la Focșani (1925)". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 3/19 (2018): Special Issue: "Evreii în România Interbelică". 291–8.

Ciascai, Gheorghe. "The Holocaust in the Memory of Peasants from Bogata de Sus, a Village in North-Western Transylvania". In *Holocaust Memoryscapes. Contemporary Memorialisation of the Holocaust in Central and Eastern Countries*. Edited by Sonia Catrina. București: Editura Universitară, 2020. 408–23.

Ciascai, Gheorghe. "L'Holocauste dans la mémoire des habitants et des autorités publiques de Vad, commune rurale dans le Nord-Ouest de Roumanie". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XIV.1 (15) (2022): 283–306.

Clark, Roland. "Both Form and Substance: Romanians and Political Antisemitism in a European Context". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XIII.1 (14) (2021): 41–68.

Clark, Roland. "Fascists and Soldiers: Ambivalent Loyalties and Genocidal Violence in Wartime Romania". *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 31.3 (Winter 2017): 408–32. https://doi.org/10-.1093/hgs/dcx044.

Clark, Roland. *Holy Legionary Youth: Fascist Activism in Interwar Romania*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2015. Translated into Romanian as: Roland Clark, *Sfântă tinerețe legionară: Activismul fascist în România interbelic*. Translated by Marius-Adrian Hazaparu. Iași: Polirom, 2015.

Clark, Roland. "Nationalism and Orthodoxy: Nichifor Crainic and the Political Culture of the Extreme Right in 1930s Romania". *Nationalities Papers* 40.1 (January 2012): 107–26.

Clark, Roland. "New Models, New Questions: Historiographical Approaches to the Romanian Holocaust". *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* 19.2 (2012): 303–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/13507486.2012.662946.

Clark, Roland. "Re-membering Codreanu: Maligning Fascist Virtues in Aiud Prison, 1964". *Caietele C.N.S.A.S.* VIII/2.16 (2015): 181–216.

Clark, Roland. “Understanding International Fascism: Fascist Regimes and Movements in Romanian Far-Right Newspapers”. In *Transnational and Transatlantic Fascism, 1918–2018: The Far Right in East Central and Southeastern Europe*. Edited By Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe and Per Anders Rudling. New York and London: Routledge, 2025. 21–40.

Climescu, Alexandru. “Constitutional Theory in the Service of the Antonescu Regime”. *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VIII.1 (9) (2016): 19–31.

Climescu, Alexandru. “The Holocaust on Trial. Memory and Amnesia in the Case of Romanian War Criminals”. *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VII. 1 (8) (2015): 307–20.

Climescu, Alexandru. “Law, Justice, and Holocaust Memory in Romania”. In *Holocaust Public Memory in Postcommunist Romania*. Edited by Alexandru Florian. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018. 72–95.

Climescu, Alexandru. “Mapping Public Memory: Counterpublics, the State and the Holocaust in Romania”. *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* V.1 (6) (2013): 74–86.

Climescu, Alexandru. “Post-transitional Injustice. The Acquittal of Holocaust Perpetrators in Post-Communist Romania”. *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VI.1 (7) (2014): 145–57.

Climescu, Alexandru. “Sanctions and Interdictions Applicable to the Jews Subjected to the Mandatory Labor Regime in Romania (1941–1942)”. *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* IV.1 (5) (2012): 65–76.

Conovici, Iuliana. “Re-weaving Memory: Representations of the Interwar and Communist Periods in the Romanian Orthodox Church after 1989”. *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies* 12.35 (2013): 109–31.

Constantin, Alin. “Debates Concerning the Postwar War-Crimes Trials in Present-Day Romania: The Case of Mircea Vulcănescu and the Romanian Prosecution of Soviet History”. *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XI.1 (12) (2019): 149–73.

Constantin, Florin. *Hitler, Stalin și România*. București: Univers Enciclopedic, 2002.

Crăciun, Camelia. “‘The Clash of Generations:’ The Identity Discourses of Romanian Jewish Intellectuals in the Interwar Period. In *“Regimes of Historicity” in Southeastern and Northern Europe, 1890–1945: Discourses of Identity and Temporality*. Edited by Diana Mishkova, Balázs Trencsényi, and Marja Jalava. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2015. 316–36.

Crintea, Ioan Sebastian. “Nationalism and Antisemitism in Interwar Romania: The Case of Nicolae Davidescu”. *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XVI.1 (17) (2024): 69–89.

Dallin, Alexander. *Odessa, 1941–1944: Un studiu de caz asupra teritoriului sovietic sub ocupație străină*. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1957.

Dawidowicz, Lucy S. *The War Against the Jews*. *1933–1945.* Austin: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston and Jewish Publication Society, 1975. Translated into Romanian as Dawidowicz, Lucy S. *Războiul împotriva evreilor. 1933–1945*. Translated by Carmen Pațac. București: Hasefer, 1999.

Degeratu, Laura. “Tipuri de ghetouri. Studiu comparativ”. *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* III.1 (4) (2011): 84–100.

Deletant, Dennis. *Aspects of the Ghettos Experience in Eastern Transnistria: The Ghettos and Labor Camps in the Town of Golta*. In *Ghettos 1939–1945, New Research and Perspectives on Definition, Daily Life, and Survival*. Symposium Presentation. Washington: Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005.

Deletant, Dennis. “Ghetto Experience in Golta, Transnistria, 1942–1944”. *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 18.1 (2004): 1–24.

Deletant, Dennis. *Hitler’s Forgotten Ally: Ion Antonescu and His Regime, Romania 1940–44.* Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006. Translated into Romanian as Deletant, Dennis. *Aliatul uitat al lui Hitler. Ion Antonescu și regimul său 1940–1944*. Translated by Delia Răzdolescu. București: Humanitas, 2010.

Deletant, Dennis. “The Holocaust in Romania: Murderous or Providential Anti-Semitism?” *East European Politics and Societies* 01 (2001): 190–4.

Deletant, Dennis. “The Principal Features of Political Antisemitism in Interwar Romania”. *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XIII.1 (14) (2021): 69–88.

Diaconu, David. "Remembrance through Education: The Case of Holocaust Education in Romanian Higher Education Institutions". In *Holocaust Memoryscapes. Contemporary Memorialisation of the Holocaust in Central and Eastern Countries*. Edited by Sonia Catrina. București: Editura Universitară, 2020. 238–60.

Dobrincu, Dorin. "Legionarii și guvernarea Ion Antonescu (1941–1944)". In *Romania: A Crossroads of Europe*. Edited by Kurt W. Treptow. Iași, Oxford and Palm Beach, Portland: The Center for Romanian Studies, 2002. 199–230.

Drancă, Nicolae Emilian. "The Holocaust of the Vatra Dornei Jews, March – October 1941. From Dispossession of Goods to Ghettoization and Deportation". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XII.1 (13) (2020): 95–115.

Dranca, Nicolae Emilian. "Marginalization, Isolation, and Deportation of the Jews of Câmpulung Moldovenesc, Bukovina, March – October 1941". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XIV.1 (15) (2022): 41–62.

Dranca, Nicolae Emilian. "Mitteleuropa, 1940. Distrugerea și dispariția unei societăți. Studiu de caz: Bucovina". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 2/18 (2017): Special Issue: "Locuri ale memoriei". 73–92.

Drăgușin, Nicolae. "Demons, Saints or Something Else? Holocaust Actors and Victims of Communism in Theological Memorialisation in Romania (2017–2018)". In *Holocaust Memoryscapes. Contemporary Memorialisation of the Holocaust in Central and Eastern Countries*. Edited by Sonia Catrina. București: Editura Universitară, 2020. 337–57.

Drăgușin, Nicolae. "Discursive Strategies in the Central Press about the Revision of Romanian Citizenship (1936–1937)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XV.1 (16) (2023): 117–67.

Drăgușin, Nicolae. "From What Is a Jew to Who Is a Jew for the Romanian State?" *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XII.1 (13) (2020): 119–53.

Drăgușin, Nicolae. "The Human Right to Convert during the Holocaust in Romania: A Legal Approach". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XI.1 (12) (2019): 11–34.

Drăgușin, Nicolae. "Orthodox Clergymen in *Porunca vremii* (1940–1944). A Case Study on the Perception of Jews and the Assessment of the Jewish Question". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XIII.1 (14) (2021): 209–57.

Drăgușin, Nicolae. "Under Nichifor Crainic's Mantle: Far-Right Topics in the Orthodox Clergymen's Contributions to *Gândirea*, *Calendarul*, and *Sfarmă-Piatră*". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XIV.1 (15) (2022): 145–98.

Drăgușin, Nicolae. "War, Legionarism and Jewry in the Official Press of the Romanian Orthodox Church During the National Legionary State (1940–1941)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* X.1 (11) (2018): 311–44.

Dumitru, Adelin-Costin. "Holocaust Remembrance as Reparation for the Past: A Relational Egalitarian Approach". In *Holocaust Memoryscapes. Contemporary Memorialisation of the Holocaust in Central and Eastern Countries*. Edited by Sonia Catrina. București: Editura Universitară, 2020. 308–36.

Dumitru, Diana. "Atitudinea populației ne-evreiești din Basarabia și Transnistria față de evrei în perioada Holocaustului: O perspectivă a supraviețuitorilor". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* I.2 (2) (2009): 35–58.

Dumitru, Diana. "Attitudes Towards Jews in Odessa: From Soviet Rule through Romanian Occupation, 1921–1944". *Cahiers du monde russe* 52.1 (janvier – mars 2011): 133–62.

Dumitru, Diana. "Genocid în scopuri 'sanitare'? Crimele de la Bogdanovka în lumina documentelor din timpul proceselor postbelice". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 4–5 / 20–21 (2019–2020): Special Issue: "Discurs și violență antisemită în România modernă". 354–75.

Dumitru, Diana. *The State, Antisemitism, and Collaboration in the Holocaust. The Borderlands of Romania and the Soviet Union.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016. Translated into Romanian as Dumitru, Diana. *Vecini în vremuri de restriște. Stat, antisemitism și Holocaust în Basarabia și Bucovina*. Translated by Miruna Andriescu. Iași: Polirom, 2019.

Dumitru, Diana, and Carter Johnson. "Constructing Interethnic Conflict and Cooperation: Why Some People Harmed Jews and Others Helped Them during the Holocaust in Romania". *World Politics* 63.1 (2011): 1–42. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0043887110000274.

Eaton, Henry L. *The Origins and Onset of the Romanian Holocaust*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2013.

Eskenasy, Victor. "The Holocaust in Romanian Historiography: Communist and Neo-Communist Revisionism". In *The Tragedy of Romanian Jewry*. Edited by Randolph L. Braham. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994. 173–236.

Fătu, Mihai, and Ion Spălățelu. *Garda de Fier, organizație teroristă de tip fascist*. București: Editura Politică, 1971.

Filipescu, Mihai T. *Reluctant Axis: The Romanian Army in Russia, 1941−1944*. Chapultepeq, Mexico: FTM, 2006.

Filipovici, Anca. "Adolescent Political Turmoil: A Review of Anti-Semitism in Interwar Romanian High Schools". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 3/19 (2018): Special Issue: "Evreii în România Interbelică". 299–310.

Filipovici, Anca. "Mechanisms of Anti-Semitism in 20th-Century Bukovina Case Study: Sociologist Traian Brăileanu (1882–1947)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VIII.1 (9) (2016): 119–41.

Filipovici, Anca, and Attila Gidó (Eds.). *Trecutul prezent. Evreii din România. Istorie, memorie, reprezentare*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Institutului pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, 2018.

Fisher, Julius S. *Transnistria: The Forgotten Cemetery*. South Brunswick: T. Yoseloff, 1969.

Fisher, Gaëlle. "A Nazi Rescuer? Fritz Schellhorn and the Contested Memory of the Holocaust in Romania". *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 36.2 (Fall 2022): 209–23. https://doi.org/-10.1093/hgs/dcac030.

Fischer-Galați, Stephen. "Codreanu, Romanian National Traditions and Charisma". *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religious* 7.2 (June 2006): 245–50.

Fischer-Galati, Stephen. "Fascism, Communism, and the Jewish Question in Romania". In *Jews and Non-Jews in Eastern Europe, 1918–1945*. Edited by Bela Vago and George L. Mosse. New York: John Wiley, 1975. 157–76.

Fischer-Galati, Stephen. "The Legacy of Antisemitism". In *The Tragedy of Romanian Jewry*. Edited by Randolph L. Braham. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994. 1–28.

Florian, Alexandru. "Banca Națională a României și Ministerul de Finanțe în perioada Holocaustului din România". *Sfera Politicii* 178.2 (2014): 107–23.

Florian, Alexandru. "Evreii din Bucovina de Nord în stenogramele Consiliului de Miniștri din timpul lui Ion Antonescu". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* II.1 (3) (2010): 9–18.

Florian, Alexandru. "Teme anti-semite și de negare a Holocaustului în media din România anului 2007". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* I.2 (2) (2009): 119–38.

Florian, Alexandru. "The Treatment of the Jew in the Romanian Legislation (1938–2008)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* III.1 (4) (2011): 36–57.

Florian, Alexandru. "Vintilă Horia: Between a Fascist Past and an Embellished Posterity". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XII.1 (13) (2020): 181–217.

Florian, Alexandru, and Ana Bărbulescu. *Elita culturală și discursul antisemit interbelic*. Iași: Polirom, 2022.

Florian, Alexandru (Ed.). *Holocaust Public Memory in Postcommunist Romania*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018. Romanian version: Florian, Alexandru (Ed.). *Memoria Holocaustului în România în perioada postcomunistă*. București: Curtea Veche, 2018.

Florian, Alexandru, Lya Benjamin, and Anca Ciuciu (Eds). *Cum a fost posibil? Evreii din România în perioada Holocaustului*. București: Editura Institutului Național pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România "Elie Wiesel", 2007.

Fraenkel, Eliezer. *Problema evreiască*. Iași: Editura Cercului Literar Evreiesc "I.L. Peretz", 1945.

Furtună, Adrian-Nicolae. "Social Representation of the Roma Deportations to Transnistria". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* IV.1 (5) (2012): 115–39.

Furtună, Adrian-Nicolae. *Rromii din România și Holocaustul. Istorie, teorie, cultură.* Popești Leordeni: Dykhta!, 2018.

Geissbühler, Simon. *Blutiger Juli: Rumaniens Vernichtungskrieg Und Der Vergessene Massenmord an Den Juden 1941*. Paderborn: Brill Schöningh, 2013. Translated into Romanian as Geissbühler, Simon. *Iulie însângerat. România și Holocaustul din vara lui 1941*. Translated by Ioana Rostoș. București: Curtea Veche, 2015.

Geissbühler, Simon. "The Rape of Jewish Women and Girls during the First Phase of the Romanian Offensive in the East, July 1941: A Research Agenda and Preliminary Findings". *Holocaust Studies* 19.1 (2013): 59–80.

Geissbühler, Simon (Ed.). *Romania and the Holocaust: Events, Contexts, Aftermath*. Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2016.

Geissbühler, Simon. "Staring at the Past with Eyes Wide Shut: Holocaust Revisionism and Negationism in Romania". *Israel Journal of Foreign Affairs* VI.3 (2012): 127–35.

Geller, Iaacov. *Rezistența spirituală a evreilor români în timpul Holocaustului (1940–1944). Viața economică, educația și cultura, asistența socială, religia, rabinatul, salvarea refugiaților și emigrarea în Israel*. București: Hasefer, 2004.

Gidó, Attila. "Archival Sources on the Northen Transylvanian Holocaust". In *Holocaust in South-Eastern Europe: Historiography, Archives Resources and Remembrance*. Edited by Adina Babeș-Fruchter and Ana Bărbulescu. Wilmington: Vernon Press, 2021. 29–56.

Gidó, Attila. "Az észak-erdélyi holokauszt romániai historiográfiája és interpretációja". *Regio* 1.27 (2019): 134–84.

Gidó, Attila. "Cadrele instituționale ale reprezentării intereselor politice evreiești din Transilvania interbelică (Uniunea Națională a Evreilor din Transilvania și Partidul Evreiesc)". In *Partide politice și minorități naționale din România în secolul XX*. Edited by Vasile Ciobanu and Sorin Radu. Volume 4. 79–93.

Gidó, Attila. *Două decenii. Evreii din Cluj în perioada interbelică.* Cluj-Napoca: Institutul pentru Studierea Problemelor minorităților naționale, 2014.

Gidó, Attila. "Gettók és gyűjtőtáborok Észak-Erdélyben. Kísérlet a fogalomhasználat újragondolására". *HURBÁN* 2.2 (2024): 14–25. Translated into English by the author as Gidó, Attila. "Ghettos and Collection Camps in Northern Transylvania: An Attempt to Reappraise the Use of Certain Terms". *S:I.M.O.N. Shoah: Intervention. Methods. Documentation* 11.2 (2024): 79–93.

Gidó, Attila. "Instituții evreiești interbelice din Transilvania". *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai – Historia* XLVIII. 1–2 (2003): 175–86.

Gidó, Attila. "Options in Self-Identification in a Multhiethnic Religion: The Case of Transylvanian Jews in the Interwar Years". In *Ape Adânci. Studii Iudaice și Israeliene: cercetare, construcție moștenire: In Honorem Liviu Rotman*. Edited by Madeea Axinciuc, Ana Bărbulescu, Gabriela Myers, and Bolocan Raluca. București: Editura Universității din București, 2024. 227–40.

Gidó, Attila. "Survivors of the Northern Transylvanian Deportations: Liberation, Repatriation, Reckoning". *Yad Vashem Studies* 2.51 (2023): 73–99.

Gidó, Attila. "Turning Points in Hungarian-Jewish Relations in Transylvania, 1918–1940". In *The Tents of Jacob, the Tabernacles of Israel. Diverse local Israelite Worlds in local historical Perspective in 19th–20th Century Hungary*. Edited by Attila Jakab. Budapest: HDKE, 2025. 192–208.

Giurgea, Florinela. *Deportarea romilor sub regimul Ion Antonescu*. Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2022.

Glass, Hildrun. *Zerbrochene Nachbarschaft. Das deutsch-jüdische Verhältnis in Rumänien 1918–1938*. München: Oldenbourg, 1996.

Govrin, Yosef. "Transnistria and the Holocaust in Romanian Historiography". *Jews in Eastern Europe* 3.43 (2000): 36–46.

Grec, Emanuel-Marius. "Rethinking Interwar Historiography: The Jews of Arad as Subjects of the Nation in 1930s Romania". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 3/19 (2018): Special Issue: "Evreii în România Interbelică". 311–20.

Grec, Emanuel-Marius. "Romania: Historiography on Holocaust and Postwar Justice Studies". *Eastern European Holocaust Studies*, online first, 2023. https://doi.org/10.1515/eehs-2023-0038.

Grec, Emanuel-Marius. "Transition on Trial: The People's Tribunals Between Historiography and the Politics of Memory in Post-War Romania". *Holocaust. Studii şi cercetări* XII.1 (13) (2020): 293–326.
Grec, Emanuel-Marius. "'You Are All a Bunch of Cowards:' The Odesa Massacre and the Postwar Trial of Nicolae Macici". *Holocaust. Studii şi cercetări* XVI.1 (17) (2024): 199–218.
Grec, Emanuel-Marius (Ed.). *Comunitatea arădeană şi atitudinea faţă de Holocaust (1940–1944). Culegere de studii*. Arad: "Vasile Goldiş" University Press, 2015.
Grecu, Florin. *Arhitectura politică a primului partid unic din istoria României: Frontul Renaşterii Naţionale*. Second Edition. Bucureşti: Eikon, 2023.
Guşu, Cosmina Hogea. "Construcţia memoriei pogromului de la Bucureşti (21–23 ianuarie 1941) în cadrul comunităţii evreieşti din România". *Holocaust. Studii şi cercetări* II.1 (3) (2010): 19–36.
Gyémánt, Ladislau. *The Jews of Transylvania: A Historical Destiny*. Cluj-Napoca: Institutul Cultural Român, 2004.
Harward, Grant T. *Romania's Holy War: Soldiers, Motivation, and the Holocaust*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2021. Translated into Romanian as Harward, Grant T. *Războiul sfânt al României. Militarii, motivaţia şi Holocaustul*. Translated by Alina Pavelescu. Bucureşti: Corint, 2024.
Haynes, Rebecca. *Romanian Policy towards Germany, 1936–40*. Houndmills: Macmillan, 2000.
Hausleitner, Mariana. *Deutsche und Juden in Bessarabien 1814–1941. Zur Minderheitenpolitik Russlands und Großrumäniens*. München: IKGS, 2005.
Hausleitner, Mariana. "Juden und antisemitismus in der Bukowina zwischen 1918 und 1944". In *Rumanien im Brennpunkt. Sprache und Politik, Identitat und Ideologie im Wandel*. Edited by Krista Zach. Munchen: Sudostdeutsches Kulturwerk. 153–68.
Hausleitner, Mariana. "Romania in the Second World War: Revisionist out of Necessity". In *Territorial Revisionism and the Allies of Germany in the Second World War: Goals, Expectations, Practices*. Edited by Marina Cattaruzza, Stefan Dyroff, and Dieter Langewiesche. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2013. 173–92.
Hausleitner, Mariana. *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina. Die Durchsetzung des national – staatlichen Anspruchs Grossrumäniens 1918–1944*. München: Oldenbourg, 2001.
Hausleitner, Mariana, and Monika Katz (Eds). *Juden und Antisemitismus im östlichen Europa*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995.
Hausleitner, Mariana, Brigitte Mihok, and Juliane Wetzel (Eds). *Rumänien und der Holocaust: Zu den Massenverbrechen in Transnistrien 1941–1944.* Berlin: Metropol, 2001.
Heinen, Armin. *Die Legion Erzengel Michael in Rumanien. Soziale Bewegung und politische Organisation. Ein Beitrag zum Problem des internationalen Faschismus.* Munchen: Oldenbourg, 1986. Translated into Romanian as Heinen, Armin. *Legiunea Arhanghelului – o contribuţie la problema fascismului mondial*. Translated by Cornelia and Delia Eşianu. Bucureşti: Humanitas, 1999.
Heinen, Armin. *Rumänien, der Holocaust und die Logik der Gewalt*. Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2007. Translated into Romanian as *România, Holocaustul şi logica violenţei*. Translated by Ioana Rostoş: Preface by Alexandru-Florin Platon. Iaşi: Editura Universităţii "Al. I. Cuza", 2011.
Heinen, Armin. "Rumänien, Sommer 1941. Die fünf Kriege, vier Handlungsfelder und die 'Sprache der Gewalt' gegen die Juden". *Holocaust. Studii şi cercetări* IV.1 (5) (2012): 9–15.
Heinen, Armin. "Das Sag- und Denkbare über die rumänische Shoah Rumänische Diskursstränge, deutsche Vergangenheits bewältigung und die internationale Holocaustforschung". *Holocaust. Studii şi cercetări* XII.1 (13) (2020): 249–72.
Heinen, Armin. "Was wir über den rumänischen Antisemitismus der Zwischenweltkriegszeit wissen – und was nicht". *Holocaust. Studii şi cercetări* XIII.1 (14) (2021): 11–40.
Heinen, Armin, and Oliver Jens Schmitt (Eds). *Inszenierte Gegenmacht von rechts. Die Legion Erzengel Michael in Rumanien 1918–1938.* Munchen: Oldenbourg, 2013.
Hershcovitz, Sylvia. "Jewish Women's Activities during the Holocaust in Romania". *Holocaust. Studii şi cercetări* XII.1 (13) (2020): 73–93.
Hillgruber, Andreas. *Hitler, König Carol und Marshall Antonescu. Die deutsch-rumänischen Beziehungen 1938–1944*. Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1954. Translated into Romanian as: Hillgruber,

Andreas. *Hitler, Regele Carol și Mareșalul Antonescu. Relațiile germano-române (1938–1944)*. București: Humanitas, 1994.

Hirsch, Marianne, and Leo Spitzer. "The Cernăuți Ghetto, the Deportations, and the Decent Mayor". In *Local History, Transnational Memory in the Romanian Holocaust*. Edited by Valentina Glajar and Jeanine Teodorescu. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011. 57–75.

Hirsch, Marianne, and Leo Spitzer. "Small Acts of Repair: The Unclaimed Legacy of the Romanian Holocaust". *Journal of Literature and Trauma Studies* 4.1–2 (Spring – Fall 2015): 13–42. https://doi.org/10.1353/jlt.2016.0007.

Hirsch, Marianne, and Leo Spitzer. *Ghosts of Home. The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.

Hitchins, Keith. "Orthodoxism: Polemics over Ethnicity and Religion in Interwar Romania". In *National Character and National Ideology: Issue 13 of Yale Russian and East European Publications*. Edited by Ivo Banac and Katherine Verdery. New Haven: Yale Center For International and Area Studies, 1995. 135–57.

Hitchins, Keith. *Rumania: 1866–1947*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

Hrenciuc, Daniel. *Holocaustul. Deportarea evreilor din sudul Bucovinei în Transnistria. Contribuții*. Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2024.

Hundert, Gershon David (Ed.). *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*. Volumes 1–2. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008.

Iancu, Carol. *Evreii din România de la emancipare la marginalizare, 1919–1938*. București: Hasefer, 2000.

Iancu, Carol. "Solidaritatea cu evreii deportați în Transnistria: comisia de ajutorare, Alexandru Șafran, Jointul și Crucea Roșie Internațională". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* I.2 (2) (2009): 9–33.

Iancu, Carol (Ed.). *O sută de ani după tratatul minorităților (1919). Aspecte din istoria și civilizația evreilor din România*. București: Editura Academiei Române, 2021.

Iancu, Carol, Alexandru-Florin Platon (Eds). *Pogromul de la Iași și Holocaustul în Romania / Le Pogrom de Iași et la Shoah en Roumanie.* Iași: Editura Universității "Al. I. Cuza", 2015.

Iancu, Petre M. "Antisemitul rătăcitor. Note pentru o etiologie a antisemitismului. Ura pe evrei între constantă, versatilitate, fanatism religios și spirit revoluționar". *Polis: Revistă de Științe Politice* XII.1 (43) (December 2023 – February 2024): 7–35.

Iftimoaei, Ciprian. "Cercetări asupra discursului antisemit în mediul online din România". *Polis: Revistă de Științe Politice* XII.1 (43) (December 2023 – February 2024): 73–98.

Ioanid, Radu. "La Bessarabie et la Bucovine, juillet – novembre 1941. Le sort des Juifs: premiers massacres et déportations en Transnistrie. Les récits des témoins oculaires. *Revue d'histoire de la Shoah* 194: Special issue: "L'horreur oubliée: la Shoah Roumaine" (janvier – juin 2011): 173–233.

Ioanid, Radu. "Le conducàtor et les Juifs". *Les Temps Modernes* 606 (1999) 153–77.

Ioanid, Radu. *Evreii sub regimul Antonescu*. București: Hasefer, 1997. Revised edition as Ioanid, Radu. *Holocaustul în România. Distrugerea evreilor și romilor sub regimul Antonescu, 1940–1944*. București: Hasefer, 2006. Translated into English as Ioanid, Radu. *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944*. Foreword by Elie Wiesel. Preface by Paul A. Shapiro. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2000.

Ioanid, Radu. "L'Holocauste dans les archives de la Roumanie, de la Moldavie et de l'Ukraine / Holocaust in the Archives of Romania Moldavia and Ukraine". In *Les Archives de la Shoah*. Edited by Jacques Fredj. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998. 348–55 (French); 684–91 (English).

Ioanid, Radu. "The Holocaust in Romania: The Iasi Pogrom of June 1941". *Contemporary European History* 2.2 (1993): 119–48.

Ioanid, Radu. "Occupied and Satellite States". In *The Oxford Handbook of Holocaust Studies*. Edited by Peter Hayes and John K. Roth. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. 326–40.

Ioanid, Radu. "The Pogrom of Bucharest". *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 6.4 (1992): 373–82.

Ioanid, Radu. *Pogromul de la Iași*. București: Curtea Veche, 2014. Republished as *Pogromul de la Iași*. Edited by Elisabeth Ungureanu. Preface by Alexandru Florian. București: Editura Institutului Național pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România "Elie Wiesel;" Iași: Polirom,

2021. In French: Ioanid, Radu. *Le pogrom de Jassy / 28 juin – 6 juillet 1941*. Preface by Elie Wiesel. Introduction by Alexandru Florian. Paris: Calmann Levy, 2015.

Ioanid, Radu. *The Ransom of the Jews: The Story of the Extraordinary Secret Bargain Between Romania and Israel*. Foreword by Elie Wiesel. Afterword by Ion Pacepa. Translated by Cristina Marine. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2005. Translated into Romanian as Ioanid, Radu. *Răscumpărarea evreilor. Istoria acordurilor secrete între România și Israel*. Translated by Mirela Mircea and Ciprian Dumea. Iași: Polirom, 2015.

Ioanid, Radu. "Revisionism in Post-communist Romanian Political Culture: The Attempts to Rehabilitate the Perpetrators of the Holocaust". In *Remembering for the Future: The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide*. Edited by John K. Roth, Elisabeth Maxwell, Margot Levy, and Wendy Whitworth. London: Palgrave, 2001. 813–31.

Ioanid, Radu. "The Romanian Press: Preparing the Ground for the Holocaust and Reporting on its Implementation". In *Why Didn't the Press Shout? American and International Journalism During the Holocaust*. Edited by Robert Moses Shapiro. New York: Yeshiva University Press, 2003. 391–408.

Ioanid, Radu. *La Roumanie et la Shoah*. Paris: Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2002.

Ioanid, Radu, *Sabia Arhanghelului Mihail. Ideologia fascistă în România*. București: Diogene, 1994. First published in English under title Ioanid, Radu. *The Sword of the Archangel: Fascist Ideology in Romania.* Translated by Peter Heinegg. New York: Boulder, 1990. [Revision of the author's doctoral thesis. Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca].

Ioanid, Radu. "When Mass Murderers Become Good Men". *The Journal of Holocaust Education* 4.1 (1995): 92–104.

Ioanid, Radu, Tuvia Friling, and Mihail E. Ionescu (Eds). *Raport final*. Iași: Polirom, 2005. Translated into English as Ioanid, Radu, Tuvia Friling, and Mihail E. Ionescu. *International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania: Final Report*. Iași: Polirom, 2005.

Ioanid, Radu (Ed.). *Securitatea și vânzarea evreilor*. *Istoria acordurilor secrete dintre România și Israel*. Iași: Polirom, 2015.

Ioanid, Radu, Michelle Kelso, and Luminița Cioabă (Eds). *Tragedia romilor deportați in Transnistria, 1942–1945. Mărturii și documente*. Iași: Polirom, 2009.

Ionescu, Mihail E., and Liviu Rotman (Eds). *The Holocaust and Romania: History and Contemporary Significance*. București: Institutul pentru Studii Politice de Apărare și Istorie Militară, 2003.

Ionescu, Stefan. "Implementing the Romanisation of Employment in 1941 Bucharest: Bureaucratic and Economic Sabotage of the 'Aryanisation' of the Romanian Economy". *Holocaust Studies* 16.1–2 (2010): 39–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/17504902.2010.11087254.

Ionescu, Ștefan Cristian. "Debates on the Restitution of Romanianized Property during the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944". *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 34.1 (Spring 2020): 45–62. https://doi.org/10.1093/hgs/dcaa004.

Ionescu, Ștefan Cristian. *Jewish Resistance to "Romanianization", 1940–44*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Ionescu, Ștefan. "Germans in World War II Romania and their Economic Expansion Efforts during the Process of Romanianization". *Buletinul Centrului, Muzeului și Arhivei Istorice a Evreilor din România* 14 (2012): 244–55.

Ionescu, Ștefan. "Holocaust și Gulag, variante ale conceptului de genocid? Între dreptul internațional și teoriile contemporane privind violența colectivă". *Caietele Echinox* 13 (2007): 58–66.

Ionescu, Ștefan. *Justice and Restitution in Post-Nazi Romania: Rebuilding Jewish Lives and Communities, 1944–1950*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2025.

Ionescu, Ștefan. "On the Use and Abuses of Oral History as a Method of Investigating Recent History". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 4–5 / 20–21 (2019–2020): Special Issue: "Discurs și violență antisemită în România modernă". 509–16.

Ionescu, Ștefan. "Theorists of Economic Nationalism in 1930s–1940s Romania". *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity* 47.2 (2019): 264–79.

Ionescu, Ștefan Cristian, and Dana Mihăilescu. "Politics of Holocaust Memory in Communist and Post-Communist Romania: On Survivor Matei Gall's Multiple Life Stories". *Yad Vashem Studies* 51.1 (2023): 119–45.

Ionescu, Vasile (Ed.). *Deportarea rromilor în Transnistria: De la Auschwitz la Bug*. București: Aven Amentza, 2000.

Iordachi, Constantin. "De la credința naționalistă la credința legionară. Palingenezie romantică, militarism și fascism în România modernă". In *Fascismul european: 1918–1945: Ideologie, experimente totalitare și religii politice*. Edited by Constantin Iordachi. Translated by Andreea Lazăr, Alex Moldovan, and Alexandru Polgár. Cluj-Napoca: Institutul pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale, 2014.

Iordachi, Constantin. *The Fascist Faith of the Legion "Archangel Michael" in Romania, 1927–1941*. London: Routledge, 2022.

Iordachi, Constantin (Ed.). *Comparative Fascist Studies: New Perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge, 2010.

Jura, Cristian. "The Issue of Antisemitism in the Jurisprudence of the National Council for Combating Discrimination". In *Holocaust Memoryscapes. Contemporary Memorialisation of the Holocaust in Central and Eastern Countries*. Edited by Sonia Catrina. București: Editura Universitară, 2020. 103–32.

Kaganovitch, Albert. "Estimating the Number of Jewish Refugees, Deportees, and Draftees from Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina in the Non-Occupied Soviet Territories". *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 27.3 (Winter 2013): 464–82. https://doi.org/10.1093/hgs/dct047.

Kaltenbrunner, Andreea. "Anti-Semitic Violence in Eastern Romania: The National Christian Party's Congress, 8 November 1936". *Contemporary European History* 33.1 (February 2024): 117–36.

Kelso, Michelle. "Gypsy Deportations from Romania to Transnistria. 1942–1944". In Donald Kenrick (Ed.). *In the Shadow of the Svastika. The Gypsies during the Second World War*. Hatfield: Centre de recherches tsiganes, University of Hertfordshire Press, 1999. 95–129.

Kelso, Michelle. "Hidden History: Perceptions of the Romani Holocaust in Romania Viewed through Contemporary Race Relations". *Anthropology of East Europe Review* 25.2 (2007): 44–61.

Kenez, Peter. "The Romanian Holocaust". In *The Coming of the Holocaust: From Antisemitism to Genocide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013: 176–95.

Kovács, Éva, Raul Cârstocea, and Gábor Egry (Eds). *Ethnicizing Europe: Hate and Violence After Versailles*. Afterword by Tara Zahra. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2025.

Laignel-Lavastine, Alexandra. "Fascisme et communisme en Roumanie: enjeux et usage d'une comparaison". In *Stalinisme et nazisme: Histoire et mémoire comparées*. Edited by Henry Rousso. Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 1999. 201–46.

Laqueur, Walter, and Judith Tydor Baumel (Eds). "Romania". In *The Holocaust Encyclopedia*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001. 575–80.

Lazar, Natalya. "Holocaust Survivors and Soviet Policies in Postwar Chernivtsi, 1944–1946". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 1 / 17 (2016): 350–62.

Levick, Carmen. "Decolonizing Remembrance in Eastern Europe: Commemorating the Holocaust in Post-communist Romania". *Holocaust Studies* 29.4 (2023): 588–609. https://doi.org/10.1080/-17504902.2022.2116544.

Litani, Dora. *The Destruction of the Jews of Odessa in Yad Vashem Studies*. Volume VI. *Yad Vashem Studies*. Edited by Nathan Eck and Aryeh Leon Kubovy. 1967. 135–54.

Livezeanu, Irina. *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building, and Ethnic Struggle, 1918–1930*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995. Translated into Romanian as Livezeanu, Irina. *Cultură și naționalism în România Mare: 1918–1930.* Translated by Vlad Russo. București: Humanitas, 1998.

Livezeanu, Irina. "The Romanian Holocaust: Family Quarrels". *East European Politics and Society* 16 (February 2022): 934–47.

Lobont, Florin. "Antisemitism and Holocaust Denial". In *The Historiography of the Holocaust*. Edited by Dan Stone. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004. 440–68.

Lobont, Florin. "Histories of the Holocaust". *Reviews in History*, The Institute of Historical Research, University of London (May 2011): NP. https://reviews.history.ac.uk/review/1068/.
Lobont, Florin, and Dan Stone. "Antisemitism in Post-Communist Romania". *Jewish Quarterly* 48.4 (2001): 65–71.
Lobont, Florin, and Dan Stone. "Are Modernity and Antisemitism in East-Central Europe Two Opposite Concepts?". In *Conceptualizing Modernity in the Central and Southeastern European Cultures: Notions, Discourses, Languages*. Edited by Armin Heinen and Victor Neumann. București: RAO, 2018. 328–58.
Lobont, Florin, and Dan Stone. "Modernization and Antisemitism in Romania". *Revista de psihologie aplicată* 4.2 (2002): 103–14.
Luxenberg-Eisenberg, Florence. "Set in Motion: The Final Plan to Terminate the Jews". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* IV.1 (5) (2012): 48–61.
Majstorović, Vojin. "Red Army Troops Encounter the Holocaust: Transnistria, Moldavia, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Austria, 1944–1945". *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 32.2 (Fall 2018): 249–71. https://doi.org/10.1093/hgs/dcy031.
Margittai, Linda. "Economic Aryanization in Northern Transylvania, 1940–1944: Intentions, Considerations, and Realities". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VII.1 (8) (2015): 111–36.
Marin, Irina. *Peasant Violence and Antisemitism in Early Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2018.
Marincea, Adina. "'The Bolshevik' and 'The Martyr:' Mapping the Romanian Far-Right's Rehabilitation of Mircea Vulcănescu through Digital Memory Activism". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XVI.1 (17) (2024): 91–118.
Matei, Irina, and Lucian Nastasă-Kovács. *Cultură și propagandă. Institutul Român din Berlin* (1940–1945). Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2018.
Matei, Petre. "Analyzing Compensation Files: A Quantitative Study of Holocaust Victims under Romanian Administration in Buzău County". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XVI.1 (17) (2024): 219–47.
Matei, Petre. "Atitudinea autorităților române în anii 70 față de victimele Holocaustului în contextul despăgubirilor germane". *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie George Barițiu Cluj Napoca. Series Historica* LV (2016): 215–36.
Matei, Petre. "Compensation Claims from Romania in the ITS Collections. Between the Victims and the State". *Jahrbuch des International Tracing Service* 5 (2016): 160–86.
Matei, Petre. "The Compensation Files from Dâmbovița County in the Bad Arolsen Archives: A Quantitative Approach to Holocaust Victims under Romanian Rule". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XV.1 (16) (2023): 37–65.
Matei, Petre. "Deportările romilor din Pitești în Transnistria (1942)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* IX.1 (10) (2017): 30–55.
Matei, Petre. "Documenting Micro-histories of the Romanian Holocaust: The Compensation Files of the Deportees from Argeș County in the ITS Archives". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XIV.1 (15) (2022): 63–86.
Matei, Petre. "Means of Survival of the Romanian Roma Deported to Transnistria". In *A People Destroyed: New Research on the Roma Genocide, 1941–1945*. Edited by Anton Weiss-Wendt. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2025. 152–70.
Matei, Petre. "Perceptions on the Roma Holocaust in Post-Communist Romania: Patterns of Memory and Identity". In *Holocaust in South-Eastern Europe: Historiography, Archives Resources and Remembrance*. Edited by Adina Babeș-Fruchter and Ana Bărbulescu. Wilmington: Vernon Press, 2021, 229–61.
Matei, Petre. "Remembering the Roma Deportations in Post-Communist Romania: The Difficult Path to a Shared Past". In *Holocaust Memoryscapes. Contemporary Memorialisation of the Holocaust in Central and Eastern Countries*. Edited by Sonia Catrina. București: Editura Universitară, 2020. 424–57.

Matei, Petre. "The Reparations Game: Early Efforts at German Compensation for the Jewish Victims of the Holocaust in Romania (1967–1970)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XII.1 (13) (2020): 365–98.

Matei, Petre. "Roma Deportations to Transnistria during World War Two. Between Centralised Decision-Making and Local Initiatives". *S:I.M.O.N. Shoah: Intervention. Methods. Documentation* 9.2 (2022): 26–50.

Matei, Petre. "Roma in 1980s Communist Romania and the Roma Discourse on the Holocaust between Compensation and Identity". In *The Legacies of the Roma Genocide in Europe since 1945*. Edited by Celia Donert and Eve Rosenhaft. London: Routledge, 2022. 214–41.

Matei, Petre. "The Roma Minority and Romanian Fascism: The 1937 Alliance between the Roma and the National Christian Party". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XIII.1 (14) (2021): 259–90.

Matei, Petre. "The Romanian Police and Its Role in the Roma Deportations". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări X.1 (11) (2018)*: 11–52.

Matei, Petre. "*Romii în perioada interbelică. Percepții naționaliste*". In *Spectrum. Cercetări sociale despre romi*. Edited by Ștefania Toma and Laszlo Foszto. Cluj-Napoca: ISPMN, Kriterion, 2011. 15–40.

Matei, Petre. "Survival Strategies of the Roma Deportees to Transnistria". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XI.1 (12) (2019): 35–67.

Miege, Wolfgang. *Das Dritte Reich und die deutsche Volksgruppe in Rumänien 1933–1938*. Frankfurt am Mein: Peter Lang, 1972.

Mihalcea, Eugenia. "The Emergence of Holocaust Denial and the Resurgence of Anti-Semitism in Post-war Romania". *Polis: Revistă de Științe Politice* XII.1 (43) (December 2023 – February 2024): 179–96.

Moraru, Pavel. *Bucovina sub regimul Antonescu (1941–1944)*. Iași: Editura Tipo Moldova, 2013.

Morgan, Philip. *Fascism in Europe, 1919–1945*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Muraru, Andrei. "Legislation and War Criminals' Trials in Romania". In *New Europe College Yearbook* 10 (2009): 201–29.

Muraru, Andrei. "Outrageous Rehabilitations: Justice and Memory in the Attempts to Restore the War Criminals". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XII.1 (13) (2020): 327–64.

Muraru, Andrei. *Procesele Criminalilor de Război din Transnistria*. Doctoral Dissertation. Universitatea "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iași, 2011.

Muraru, Andrei. "Romanian Political Justice. Holocaust and the Trials of War Criminals: The Case of Transnistria". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* X.1 (11) (2018): 89–184.

Matei, Irina, and Lucian Nastasă-Kovacs. *Cultură și propagandă. Institutul Român din Berlin (1940–1945)*. Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2018. Translated into German as Nastasă-Matei, Irina, and Lucian Nastasă-Kovacs. *Kultur und Propaganda. Das Rumänische Institut in Berlin (1940–1945)*. Translated and edited by Larisa Schippel. Berlin: Frank & Timme Verlag, 2023.

Megargee, Geoffrey P. (General Ed.). *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945.* Volume 1. *Early Camps, Youth Camps, and Concentration Camps and Subcamps under the SS-Business Administration Main Office (WVHA)*. Foreword by Elie Wiesel. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009.

Megargee, Geoffrey P. (General Ed.). *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945.* Volume 2. *Ghettos in German-occupied Eastern Europe*. Volume editor: Martin Dean. Contributing Editor: Mel Hecker. Introduction by Christopher R. Browning. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2012.

Megargee, Geoffrey P. (General Ed.). *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945.* Volume 3: *Camps And Ghettos Under European Regimes Aligned with Nazi Germany*. Volume editor: Joseph R. White. Contributing editor: Mel Hecker. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2012.

Megargee, Geoffrey P. (General Ed.). *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945.* Volume 4: *Camps and Other Detention Facilities under the German Armed Forces*. Editors: Geoffrey Megargee, Rüdiger Overmans, and Wolfgang Vogt. Contributing Editor: Mel Hecker. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2022.

Michman, Dan. *The Emergence of Jewish Ghettos During the Holocaust*. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and Cambridge University Press, 2011.
Michelbacher, Dallas. *Jewish Forced Labor in Romania, 1940–1944*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2020.
Miron, Guy (Ed.). *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos During the Holocaust*. Volumes 1–2. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009.
Müller, Florin. *Metamorfoze ale politicului românesc 1938–1944*. București: Editura Universității din București, 2005. Reedited and revised 2006, 2015.
Müller, Florin. *Societate-Ideologie-Dictaturi*. București: Editura Universității din București, 2014.
Müller, Florin. *Statul național-legionar (septembrie 1940 – ianuarie 1941)*. București: Corint, 2025.
Nagy-Talavera, Nicholas. *The Green Shirts and Others. A History of Fascism in Hungary and Rumania*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1970. Translated into Romanian as Nagy-Talavera, Nicholas. *O istorie a fascismului în România și Ungaria*. Translated by Măriuca Stanciu and Ecaterina Geber. București: Hasefer, 1996.
Nastasă, Lucian. "Anti-Semitism at universities in Romania (1919–1939)". In *The "Numerus Clausus" in Hungary. Studies on the First Anti-Jewish Law and Academic Anti-Semitism in Modern Central Europe.* Edited by Victor Karady and Peter Tibor Nagy. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012. 219–43.
Nastasă, Lucian. *Evreii din România și conservarea identității prin* educație. In *Științele sociale între angajament și distanțare. In honorem Mihai Dinu Gheorghiu*. Edited by Adrian Netedu. Iași, Editura Universității "Al. I. Cuza", 2023. 359–87.
Nastasă, Lucian. *Imposibila alteritate. Note despre antisemitismul universitar din România, 1920–1940*. In *Identitate/Alteritate în spațiul cultural românesc*. Edited by Lucian Nastasă and Al. Zub. Iași: Editura Universității "Al. I. Cuza", 1996. 345–61. A slightly modified version appeared in German as Nastasă, Lucian. "Die Unmoglichkeit des andersseins. Uberlegungen zum universitaren antisemitismus in rumanien, 1920–1940". *Jahrbuch fur Universitatsgeschichte*. Edited by Marie-Luise Bott. Volume 4. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001. 54–67. Revised and republished as Nastasă, Lucian. *Der universitäre Antisemitismus Rumäniens in der Zwischenkriegszeit*. In *Spiritualitate și cultură europeană. Volum dedicat profesorului Ladislau Gyémánt la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani*. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2007. 147–66.
Nastasă, Lucian. *Universitățile românești și funcțiile simbolice ale "peregrinării academice" la evrei (1864–1944)*. In *Profesori și studenți evrei / Enseignants et étudiants juifs*. Edited by Carol Iancu and Alexandru-Florin Platon. Iași: Editura Universității "Al. I. Cuza", 2012. 105–28.
Nastasă-Kovács, Lucian. *Pogromul itinerant sau decembrie antisemit: Oradea 1927*. București: Editura Institutului Național pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România "Elie Wiesel;" Curtea Veche, 2014.
Nastasă-Kovács, Lucian. "Preludii ale Holocaustului. Congresele studențești antisemite din anii '20". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 1/17 (2016): 209–40.
Nastasă, Lucian (General Ed.). *Evreii din România. Mărturii documentare (1945–1965)*. Volume editors: Andreea Andreescu, Lucian Nastasă, and Andrea Varga. Foreword by Liviu Rotman. Cluj: Centrul pentru Resurse și Diversitate Etnoculturală, 2003.
Nastasă-Matei, Irina. *Educație, politică și propagandă: studenți români în Germania nazistă*. Cluj-Napoca and București: Școala Ardeleană and Eikon, 2016.
Nastasă-Matei, Irina. "Ernest Bernea and the Legionary Movement. The Ideological Choices of an Intellectual and their Post-war Consequences". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XII.1 (13) (2020): 155–79. Translated by the author into Romanian as Nastasă-Matei, Irina. "Ernest Bernea și legionarismul. Opțiunile ideologice ale unui sociolog și consecințele lor postbelice". In *Condamnare, marginalizare și supraviețuire în regimul comunist. Școala Gustiană după 23 august 1944*. Edited by Zoltán Rostás. Chișinău: Cartier, 2021. 223–50.
Nastasă-Matei, Irina. "From Education to Politics. The Students from Romania, the Nazis, the Legionnaires and the Romanian Orthodox Church". In *Nationalsozialismus und*

Regionalbewusstsein im östlichen Europa. Edited by Burkhard Olschowsky and Ingo Loose. Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2016. 153–70.

Nastasă-Matei, Irina. "Romanian Students in Nazi Germany and Their Political Options: Several Case-Studies". In *Intellectual Antisemitism from a Global Perspective – Comparative Studies from a Global Perspective*. Volume 4. Edited by Sarah K. Danielsson and Frank Jacob. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2018. 117–31.

Nastasă-Matei, Irina. "Transnational Far Right and Nazi Soft Power in Eastern Europe: The Humboldt Fellowships for Romanians". *East European Politics and Societies* 35.4 (2021): 899–923. https://doi.org/10.1177/0888325420937791.

Nazaria, Sergiu. *Holocaust: File din istorie (pe teritoriul Moldovei și în legiunile limitrofe ale Ucrainei, 1941–1944)*. Chișinău: Institutul de Stat de Relații Internaționale din Republica Moldova, 2005.

Neagoe, Liviu. "Antisemitismul: delimitări conceptuale și context românesc". *Polis: Revistă de Științe Politice* XII.1 (43) (December 2023 – February 2024): 115–21.

Neagoe, Liviu. "Paradigma culturală a antisemitismului românesc: Evreii între neasimilare și refuzul integrării". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VII.1 (8) (2015): 333–45.

Neagoe, Liviu. "Drumul spre Iad. Evreii din România de la emancipare la Holocaust". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VIII.1 (9) (2016): 143–79.

Nechama, Tec. "Jewish Children: Between Protectors and Murderers". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* I.2 (2) (2009): 175–91.

Neumann, Victor. *Reflecții despre Holocaust. Studii, articole, mărturii*. București: Asociația Evreilor din România Victime ale Holocaustului, 2005.

Niculescu, Tatiana. *Mistica rugăciunii și a revolverului. Viața lui Corneliu Zelea Codreanu*. București: Humanitas, 2017.

Ofer, Dalia. "The Ghettos in Transnistria and Ghettos under German Occupation in Eastern Europe. A Comparative Approach". In *Im Ghetto 1939–1945: Neue Forschungen zu Altag und Unfeld*. Edited by Christoph Dieckman and Babette Quinkert. Gottingen: Wallstein, 2009. 30–53.

Ofer, Dalia. "The Holocaust in Transnistria. A Special Case of Genocide". In *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union. Studies and Sources of the Jews in the Nazi-Occupied Territories of the USSR, 1941–1945*. Edited by Lucyon Dobroszycki and Jeffrey S. Gorouk, with a foreword by Richard Pipes. New York and London: ME Sharpe, 1993. 133–54.

Ofer, Dalia. "Life in the Ghettos of Transnistria". *Yad Vashem Studies* 25 (1996): 228–74.

Oldson, William O. *A Providential Antisemitism: Nationalism and Polity in Nineteenth Century Romania*. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1991.

Ophir, Ephraim. "Was the Transnistria Rescue Plan Achievable?" *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 6.1 (1991): 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1093/hgs/6.1.1.

Onișoru, Gheorghe. "Considerații privind politica antisemită a guvernului Goga-Cuza". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 1/17 (2016): 241–9.

Ornea, Zigu. *Anii treizeci. Extrema dreaptă românească*. București: Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 1995. Translated into English as: Ornea, Z. *The Romanian Extreme Right: The Nineteen Thirties*. Translated by Eugenia Maria Popescu. Boulder: East European Monographs 1999.

Ornstein, Fabius. *Suferințele deportaților în Transnistria / Gândiți-vă la tot ce s-a petrecut în Transnistria*. București: Editura Asociației Foștilor Deținuți din Transnistria, 1945.

Pană, Gina. "Biserica Ortodoxă Română și mișcarea legionară: clarificări și ambiguități". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* III.1 (4) (2011): 142–61.

Pană, Gina. "Christian Anti-Judaism and the Holocaust". *Studia Hebraica* 4 (2004): 69–74.

Pană, Gina. "Frățiile de Cruce: Rezerva de cadre legionare". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* I.2 (2) (2009): 101–107.

Pană, Gina. "Ortodoxia românească și atitudinea sa față de evrei". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* II.1 (3) (2010): 113–32.

Popa, Ion. "Reaction of Converted Jews and Their Families to Anti-Semitic Laws: Romania, 1940–1942". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 1/17 (2016): 250–68.

Ozacky-Stern, Daniela. "Surviving and Commemorating: Original Jewish Documents Preserved in the Moreshet Archive". In *Holocaust in South-Eastern Europe: Historiography, Archives Resources and Remembrance*. Edited by Adina Babeș-Fruchter and Ana Bărbulescu. Wilmington: Vernon Press, 2021. 81–110.

Pachet, Pierre. *Conversation à Jassy*. Paris: Éditions Maurice Nadeau, 1997.

Panu, Mihai. "Außenpolitik und Propaganda: Die deutsche diplomatische Vertretung in Rumänien (1933–1944)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* V.1 (6) (2013): 151–65.

Panu, Mihai A. *Filiere și mecanisme de propagandă nazistă în Banat*. Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2014.

Panu, Mihai A. "The Ideological Dimension of Aryanization Politics in Interwar Romania". *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 183 (2015): 47–52.

Panu, Mihai Adrian. "The Ideology Traps: National Socialism and Anti-Semitism in the Banat Region in the Interwar Period". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* IV.1 (5) (2012): 201–18.

Pearce, William David. *The Romanian Orthodox Church during World War II*. Doctoral dissertation, University of California Riverside, 2014.

Pătru, Marian. "Visual Antisemitism for Peasants: representations of Jews in the 'poporală' Press from Transylvania and their Antisemitic Function (1867–1940)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XVI.1 (17) (2024): 33–68.

Petcuț, Petre. "Samudaripenul (Holocaustul) rromilor în România". *Studia Hebraica* 4 (2004): 225–9.

Petridean Rațiu, Flavia Simona. "Antisemitism în arcul constituțional românesc". *Polis: Revistă de Științe Politice* XII.1 (43) (December 2023 – February 2024): 123–42.

Pintilescu, Corneliu. "The State of Siege and the Holocaust in Romania: An Incursion into the Origins of the Legal Framework for the Operation of the Camps under the Antonescu Regime". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XIII.1 (14) (2021): 339–67.

Popescu, Alina. "The Memory of the Holocaust and the Myth of the 'Outside Enemy:' From Anti-Semitic Attitudes to Redundant Politicisation". In *Holocaust Memoryscapes. Contemporary Memorialisation of the Holocaust in Central and Eastern Countries*. Edited by Sonia Catrina. București: Editura Universitară, 2020. 158–88.

Ploscariu, Iemima. "'God is against Nationalism:' Averbuch and the Jewish Christians of Interwar Romania". *Contemporary European History* 33.2 (May 2024): 561–82.

Ploscariu, Iemima. "Neo-Protestants and the Holocaust: Reconstructing the History of Interethnic Religious Communities Targeted by Antonescu". In *Holocaust in South-Eastern Europe: Historiography, Archives Resources and Remembrance*. Edited by Adina Babeș-Fruchter and Ana Bărbulescu. Wilmington: Vernon Press, 2021. 111–40.

Poliec, Mihai. *The Holocaust in the Romanian Borderlands: The Arc of Civilian Complicity*. London: Routledge, 2019.

Popa, Ion. *The Romanian Orthodox Church and the Holocaust*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017.

Popa, Ion. "The 7th 'Roșiori [Cavalry]' Regiment and the Holocaust in Romania and the USSR". *Dapim: Studies on the Holocaust* 32.1 (2018): 38–56.

Popa, Ion. "Visarion Puiu, the Former Romanian Orthodox Metropolitan (Archbishop) of Transnistria – A Historical Study on His Life and Activity". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* V.1 (6) (2013):182–203.

Quinlan, Paul D. *Clash over Romania: British and American Policies Toward Romania, 1938–1947*. Los Angeles: American Romanian Academy, 1977.

Rogger, Hans, and Eugen Weber. *The European Right: A Historical Profile*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1965. The part on Romania from this book was translated and published into Romanian as Weber, Eugen. *Dreapta românească*. Translated, introduction and notes by Achim Mihu. Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1995.

Rosenbaum, Alan S. *Prosecuting Nazi War Criminals.* Boulder: Westview Press, 1993.

Rotariu, Irinel. "The Popricani Mass Grave. Legal Survey". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VIII.1 (9) (2016): 45–72.

Rotman, Liviu. "Antisemitism interbelic în România". *Polis: Revistă de Ştiinţe Politice* XII.1 (43) (December 2023 – February 2024): 143–55.

Rotman, Liviu, Camelia Crăciun, and Ana-Gabriela Vasiliu (Eds). *Noi perspective în istoriografia evreilor din România*. Bucureşti: Hasefer, 2010.

Roth, John K. (Ed.). *Holocaust Literature: Volume 1. The Accident – Letters and Papers from Prison*. Pasadena and Hackensack: Salem Press, Inc., 2008.

Rozen, Marcu. *Holocaust sub guvernarea Antonescu. Date istorice şi statistice privind evreii din România, în perioada 1940–1944*. Second, revised edition. Bucureşti: AERVH, 2004.

Rusu, Mihai Stelian. "The Sacralization of Martyric Death in Romanian Legionary Movement: Self-Sacrificial Patriotism, Vicarious Atonement, and Thanatic Nationalism". *Politics, Religion, & Ideology* 17.2–3 (2016): 249–73.

Sandu, Traian. *Un fascisme roumain. Histoire de la Garde de Fer.* Paris: Perrin, 2014. Translated into Romanian as Sandu, Traian. *Istoria Gărzii de Fier: Un fascism românesc*. Translated by Simona Modreanu. Chişinău: Cartier, 2020.

Sanie, Silviu. "Trei cărţi despre pogromul de la Iaşi". *Studia et Acta Historiae Iudaeorum Romaniae* VII (2002): 261–6.

Săndulescu, Valentin. "Generation, Regeneration, and Discourse of Identity in the Intellectual Foundations of Romanian Fascism: The Case of the Axa Group". In *"Regimes of Historicity" in Southeastern and Northern Europe, 1890–1945: Discourses of Identity and Temporality*. Edited by Diana Mishkova, Balázs Trencsényi, and Marja Jalava. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2015. 210–29.

Schmitt, Oliver Jens. *"Căpitan" Codreanu: Aufstieg und Fall des rumänischen Faschistenführers*. Vienna: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 2016. Translated into Romanian as Schmitt, Oliver Jens. *Corneliu Zelea Codreanu. Ascensiunea şi căderea "Căpitanului"*. Translated by Wilhelm Tauwinkl. Bucureşti: Humanitas, 2017.

Schmitt, Oliver Jens. "Clerul ortodox şi extrema-dreaptă în România interbelică". *Archiva Moldaviae* VIII (2016): 95–115.

Schmitt, Oliver Jens. "Wer waren die rumanischen Legionare. eine Fallstudie zu faschis – tischen Kadern im Umland von Bukarest, 1927–1941". *Vierteljahrshefte fur Zeitgeschichte* 64 (2016): 419–49.

Shafir, Michael. "Anti-Semitism in Post-Communist East Central Europe: A Motivational Taxonomy". In *Umbruch im östlichen Europa: Die nationale Wende und das kollektive Gedächtnis*. Edited by Andrei Corbea-Hoisie, Rudolf Jaworski, and Monika Sommer. Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2004. 57–80.

Shafir, Michael. "Anti-Semitism without Jews in Romania". In *Anti-Semitism in Post-Totalitarian Europe*. Edited by Jan Hancil and Michael Chase. Prague: The Franz Kafka Society, 1993. 204–26.

Shafir, Michael. *Between Denial and "Comparative Trivialization:" Holocaust Negationism in Post-Communist East Central Europe*. Jerusalem: Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, ACTA 19 (2002). Translated into Romanian as Michael Shafir. *Între negare şi trivializare prin comparaţie. Negarea Holocaustului în ţările postcomuniste din Europa Centrală şi de Est*. Preface by Stelian Tănase. Iaşi: Polirom, 2002.

Shafir, Michael. "'Competiţia' postcomunistă Holocaust versus Gulag: obstacol insurmontabil în calea reconcilierii?" *Revista de istorie militară* 5–6 (2002): 8–14.

Shafir, Michael. "Deconstructing Holocaust Denial: Romania's Cucumber Season Revisited" (Part 1) *RFE/RL East European Perspectives* 5.22 (2003): electronic distribution; (Part 2) *RFE/RL East European Perspectives* 5.23 (2003): electronic distribution; (Part 3) *RFE/RL East European Perspectives* 5.24 (2003): electronic distribution; (Part 4) *RFE/RL East European Perspectives* 5.25 (2003): electronic distribution.

Shafir, Michael. "Denazificarea: Mit şi realitate în perspectivă istorică". In *Noi perspective în istoriografia evreilor din România*. Edited by Liviu Rotman, Camelia Crăciun, and Ana-Gabriela Vasiliu. Bucureşti: Hasefer, 2010. 101–21.

Shafir, Michael. "Denying the Holocaust Where It Happened: Post-Communist East Central Europe and the Shoah". In *Re-Presenting the Shoah for the 21st Century*. Edited by Ronit Lentin. Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 2004. 195–226.

Shafir, Michael. "Denying the Shoah in Post-Communist Eastern Europe". In *Holocaust Denial. The Politics of Perfidy*. Edited by Robert S. Wistrich. Berlin, Boston and Jerusalem: De Gruyter and Magnes Press, 2012. 27–65.
Shafir, Michael. "Ex Occidente Obscuritas: The Diffusion of Holocaust Denial from West to East". *Studia Hebraica* 3 (2003): 23–82.
Shafir, Michael. "Four Pitfalls West and East: Universalization, Double Genocide, Obfuscation and Competitive Martyrdom as New Forms of Holocaust Negation". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 4–5 / 20–21 (2019–2020): Special Issue: "Discurs și violență antisemită în România modernă". 443–75.
Shafir, Michael. "The Holocaust-Gulag Post-Communist 'Competition:' An Insurmountable Obstacle to Mutual Reconciliation?" In *The Holocaust and Romania: History and Contemporary Significance*. Edited by Mircea Soreanu. București: Institute for Political Studies of Defence and Military History, 2003. 177–87.
Shafir, Michael. "Illiberalism and Antisemitism under Post-Communism". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XIII.1 (14) (2021): 155–82.
Shafir, Michael. "In Search of Romanian Negationism: Ion Antonescu's Trial". *Studia Judaica* XIX (2011): 98–110.
Shafir, Michael. "Istorie, memorie și mit în martirologia competitivă Holocaust-Gulag". In *Miturile politice în România contemporană*. Edited by Gherghina Sergiu and Sergiu Mișcoiu. Iași: Institutul European, 2012. 297–358.
Shafir, Michael. "Marshal Ion Antonescu's Post-Communist Rehabilitation: Cui Bono?" In *The Destruction of Romanian and Ukrainian Jews During the Antonescu Era*. Edited by Randolph L. Braham. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997. 349–410.
Shafir, Michael. "Nürnberg II? Mitul denazificării și utilizarea acestuia în martirologia competitivă Holocaust-Gulag". *Caietele Echinox* 13 (2007): 87–104.
Shafir, Michael. "Political Antisemitism in Romania? Hard Data and Its Soft Underbelly". *Studia Politica: Romanian Political Science Review* 12.4 (2012): 557–603. https://nbnresolving.org/-urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-445667.
Shafir, Michael. "Rădăcinile negaționismului românesc: Procesul Ion Antonescu". In *Situația evreilor din Europa Centrală la sfârșitul celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial (1944–1945)*. Edited by Antonio Faur and Ladislau Gyemant. Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2011. 169–84.
Shafir, Michael. "Romania's Tortuous Road to Facing Collaboration". In *Collaboration with the Nazis. Public Discourse after the Holocaust*. Edited by Roni Stauber. London, New York and Tel Aviv: Routledge and Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Antisemitism and Racism, 2011. 256–60.
Shafir, Michael. "Selective Negationism of the Holocaust in East-Central Europe: The Case of Romania". In *The Hebrew Identity and Anti-Semitism in Central and South-Eastern Europe*. București: Goethe Institute; Meta, 2003. 219–31.
Shafir, Michael. "La Shoah entre histoire et mémoire. Une typologie des postures antisemites dans la Roumanie post-communiste (1989–2009)". *Revue d'histoire de la Shoah* 194: Special Issue: "L'horreur oubliée: la Shoah Roumaine" (janvier – juin 2011): 479–530.
Shafir, Michael. "Strange Bedfellows: Digging Under Post-communist 'Polished Polishness'". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* II.1 (3) (2010): 157–85.
Shafir, Michael. "The 'Second Nürnberg:' Legend vs. Myth in Postcommunism (I)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VI.1 (7) (2014): 109–44; "The 'Second Nürnberg:' Legend vs. Myth in Postcommunism (II)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VII.1 (8) (2015): 243–80.
Shafir, Michael. "Varieties of Antisemitism in Post-Communist East Central Europe". In *Jewish Studies at the Central European University 2002–2003*. Edited by Andras Kovács and Eszter Andor. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004. 175–210.
Shafir, Michael. "Unacademic Academics: Holocaust Deniers and Trivializers in Post-Communist Romania". *Nationalities Papers* 42.6 (2014): 942–64.

Shapiro, Paul A. *The Kishinev Ghetto 1941–1942*. Chronology by Radu Ioanid and Brewster Chamberlin. Document translations by Angela Jianu. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2015. Translated into Romanian as Shapiro, Paul A. *Ghetoul din Chişinău 1941–1942*. București: Curtea Veche, 2015.

Shapiro, Paul A. "Prelude to Dictatorship in Romania: The National Christian Party in Power, December 1937 – February 1938". *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 8.1 (1974): 45–88.

Shapiro, Paul A. "Vapniarka: The Archive of the International Tracing Service and the Holocaust in the East". *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 27.1 (2013): 114–37.

Shapiro, Paul A. "Cleansing the Terrain in Bessarabia: In Towns, Transit Camps and Ghettos, Deportations". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XIII.1 (14) (2021): 117–24.

Shapiro, Paul. "Faith, Murder, Resurrection. The Iron Guard and the Romanian Orthodox Church". In *Antisemitism, Christian Ambivalence, and the Holocaust*. Edited by Kevin P. Spicer. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007. 136–70.

Siminiceanu, Irina. "Alienation of Civic Conscience and the Night of Democracy: A Comparative Analysis of the Holocaust in Romania and Bulgaria". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XV.1 (16) (2023): 67–82.

Sînzianu, Simona-Gabriela, Elena-Irina Macovei, Mihai Dinu Gheorghiu, and William Totok. "Naționalism, rasism, antisemitism și xenofobie pe platformele electronice ale unor publicații românești difuzate pe internet". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* I.2 (2) (2009): 139–55.

Snyder, Tymothy. *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning*. London: Vintage, 2015. Translated into Romanian as Snyder, Timothy. *Pământul negru: Holocaustul ca istorie și avertisment*. Translated by Adina Avramescu. București: Humanitas, 2018.

Snyder, Timothy. *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*. London: Vintage, 2011. Translated into Romanian as Snyder, Timothy. *Tărâmul morții: Europa între Hitler și Stalin*. Translated by Dana-Ligia Ilin. București: Humanitas, 2012.

Solomon, Flavius. "Oportunism și colaboraționism intelectual în timp de război. Pe urmele 'expedițiilor academice' românești la Odesa în anii 1941–1944". *Archiva Moldaviae* X (2018): 341–62.

Solonari, Vladimir. "A Conspiracy to Murder: Explaining the Dynamics of Romanian 'Policy' towards Jews in Transnistria". *Journal of Genocide Research* 19.1 (2017): 1–21.

Solonari, Vladimir. "An Important New Document on the Romanian Policy of Ethnic Cleansing during World War II". *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 21.2 (Fall 2007): 268–97. https://doi.org/10.1093/hgs/dcm039.

Solonari, Vladimir. "Ethnic Cleansing or 'Crime Prevention'? Deportation of Romanian Roma". In *The Nazi Genocide of the Roma: Reassessment and Commemoration*. Edited by Anton Weiss-Wendt. New York: Berghahn, 2013. 96–119.

Solonari, Vladimir. "The Kishinev Ghetto, 1941−1942: A Documentary History of the Holocaust in Romania's Contested Borderlands". *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 30.2 (Fall 2016): 358–60. https://doi.org/10.1093/hgs/dcw040.

Solonari, Vladimir. "'Model Province:' Explaining the Holocaust of Bessarabian and Bukovinian Jewry". *Nationalities Papers* 34.4 (2006): 471–50.

Solonari, Vladimir. "Patterns of Violence: The Local Population and the Mass Murder of Jews in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, July – August 1941". *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 8.4 (2007): 749–87.

Solonari, Vladimir. *A Satellite Empire. Romanian Rule in Southwestern Ukraine, 1941–1944.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2019.

Solonari, Vladimir. "The Treatment of the Jews of Bukovina by the Soviet and Romanian Administrations in 1940–1944". *Holocaust and Modernity* 2.8 (2010): 149–80.

Solonari, Vladimir. "Nationalist Utopianism, Orientalist Imagination, and Economic Exploitation: Romanian Aims and Policies in Transnistria, 1941–1944". *Slavic Review* 75.3 (2016): 583–605.

Solonari, Vladimir. *Purifying the Nation: Population Exchange and Ethnic Cleansing in Nazi-Allied Romania.* Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010. Translated into Romanian as Solonari, Vladimir. *Purificarea națiunii:*

Dislocări forțate de populație și epurări etnice în România lui Ion Antonescu: 1940–1944. Translated by Cătălin Dracsineanu. Iași: Polirom, 2015.

Stoian-Iordache, Valentin. "The Final Report on the Romanian Holocaust in the Light of the Intentionalist-Functionalist Debate". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* III.1 (4) (2011): 127–41.

Stan, Florin C. *Situația evreilor din România între anii 1940–1944*. Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2012.

Stone, Dan. *The Holocaust: An Unfinished History*. Dublin: Penguin Random House, 2023. Translated into Romanian as *Holocaustul. O istorie neîncheiată*. Translated by Florin Lobonț and Laura Gheorghiu. Iași: Polirom, 2024.

Stone, Dan. *Constructing the Holocaust: A Study in Historiography*. London: Valentine Mitchell, 2003.

Stone, Dan. "Memory Wars in the 'New Europe'". In *The Oxford Handbook of Postwar European History*. Edited by Dan Stone. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. 714–31.

Suveica, Svetlana. "Choosing the Soviet Union over Romania: The 1940 Jewish Exodus as Protest and Survival". *In Nationalism from Below in the East European and Soviet Borderlands, Popular Responses to Nation-Building, 1900–1940*. Edited by Petru Negură, Andrei Cușco, and Svetlana Suveica. London: Bloomsbury Academic 2026. 273–94.

Suveica, Svetlana. "From Heroisation to Competing Victimhoods. History Writing on the Second World War in Moldova". *Comparative Southeast European Studies* (COMPSEES, former *Südosteuropa. Journal of Politics and Society*): Special issue "The Second World War in Historiography and Public Debate". Edited by Sabine Rutar 65.2 (2017): 388–412.

Suveica, Svetlana. "Local Agency and the Appropriation of Jewish Property in Romania's Eastern Borderland: Public Employees during the Holocaust in Bessarabia (1941–1944)". In *The Holocaust in the Borderlands. Interethnic Relations and the Dynamics of Violence in Occupied Eastern Europe*. Edited by Gaëlle Fischer and Caroline Metzger. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag 2019. 133–156.

Suveica, Svetlana. "Loyalitäten im Zeitalter der Extreme: Lokale Beamte Bessarabiens während des Zweiten Weltkriegs (1939–1945)". *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 65.4 (2017): 560–97.

Suveica, Svetlana. "Pianos and Paintings from Transnistria: The Plunder of 'Cultural Trophies' during the Romanian Occupation (1941–1944)". *The Journal of Holocaust Research* 36.4 (2022): 261–80. https://doi.org/10.1080/25785648.2022.2122140. Translated into Romanian by the author as Suveică, Svetlana. "Loialitate în perioada extremelor: funcționarii publici din Basarabia în perioada celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial (1939–1945)". *PLURAL. History. Culture. Society. Journal of History and Geography Department, "Ion Creangă" State Pedagogical University* 6.1 (2019): 60–95.

Suveica, Svetlana. "The 'Tombstones Affair:' On the Fate of Jewish Cemeteries in Odessa under the Romanian Occupation (1941–1944)". 15.11. 2023. https://blog.ehri-project.eu/2023/11/15/the-tombstones-affair-odessa/.

Suveică, Svetlana. "The Local Administration in Transnistria and the Holocaust: Two Case Studies". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VII.1 (8) (2015): 97–109.

Suveică, Svetlana. "'Pătrunși de simțul datoriei?!' Despre loialitatea funcționarilor publici din Basarabia în anul 1940". *Tyragetia: revistă de arheologie, istorie și culturologie* X(XXV).2 (2016): 257–66.

Szaynok, Bożena. "The Anti-Jewish Policy of The USSR in the Last Decade of Stalin's Rule and Its Impact on the East European Countries with Special Reference to Poland". *Russian History* 29.2/4 (2002): 301–15. https://doi.org/10.1163/187633102X00045.

Szabó, Zoltán Tibori. *Frontiera dintre viață și moarte*, *Refugiul și salvarea evreilor la granița româno-maghiară (1940–1944)*. București: Compania, 2005.

Szabó, Zoltán Tibori. "Autoreflecții ale intelighenției evreiești în perioada post-Holocaust". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 4–5 / 20–21 (2019–2020): Special Issue: "Discurs și violență antisemită în România modernă". 411–442.

Szabó, Zoltán Tibori. "Memory of the Victims of the 1940–1942: Deportations from Northern Transylvania". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XIII.1 (14) (2021): 183–206.

Șerbănescu, Ion. *Evreii din România între anii 1940–1944*. Vol. III: *1940–1942: Perioada unei mari restriști*. Partea I. Partea a-II-a. Foreword Nicolae Cajal. București: Hasefer, 1997.

Șiperco, Andrei. *Crucea Roșie Internațională și România în perioada celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial (1 septembrie 1939 – 23 august 1944)*. București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1997.

Ștefan, Olga. "'Real Comrades in Struggle and Suffering:' Women's Experiences in the Vapniarka Concentration Camp". *Eastern European Holocaust Studies*, online first, 2024. https://doi.org/10.1515/eehs-2023-0057.

Ștefan, Olga. "'The Success is Their Own:' The Long, Arduous History of Reparations for Survivors of Vapniarka, the Camp of Death". *Eastern European Holocaust Studies*, online first, 2024. https://doi.org/10.1515/eehs-2024-0001.

Tăriceanu, Alina. "Dimensiunea de gen a Holocaustului din România". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări IX.1 (10) (2017)*: 249–72.

Tec, Nechama. *Defiance: The Bielski Partisans. The Story of the Largest Armed Rescue of Jews by Jews During World War II*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Teich, Meir. "The Jewish Self-Administration in Ghetto Shargorod (Transnistria)". *Yad Yashem Studies* 2 (1958): 219–54.

Temple, Mark. "The Politicization of History: Marshal Antonescu and Romania". *East European Politics and Societies* 10.3 (1996): 457–503. https://doi.org/10.1177/0888325496010003005.

Tesăr, Cătălina, and Petre Matei. "Work and Mobility among Roma from Southeast Romania from the 1920s to 1980 through a Historical-Anthropological Lens: The Case of Ursari (Bear-Tamers) / Pieptănari (Comb-Makers)". *La Ricerca Folklorica* 73 (2019): 29–42.

Tismaneanu, Vladimir. *The Devil in History: Communism, Fascism, and Some Lessons of the Twentieth Century*. Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 2012.

Totok, William, and Elena-Irina Macovei. *Între mit și bagatelizare. Despre reconsiderarea critică a trecutului: Ion Gavrilă Ogoranu și rezistența armată anticomunistă din România*. Iași: Polirom, 2016.

Treptow, Kurt (Ed.). *Romania and World War II*. Iași: Centrul de Studii Românești, 1996.

Tucan, Dumitru, and Maria Pașcălău. *Calea spre genocid. Antisemitismul european. Antisemitismul românesc*. Timișoara: Editura Universității de Vest din Timișoara, 2024.

Tudorancea (Ciuciu), Anca. "Ethics and Esthetics in Holocaust Images: Case Study: The Iași Pogrom". *Sfera Politicii* XXII.3 (179) (May – June 2014): 108–15.

Tudorancea (Ciuciu), Anca. "Images of Bucharest Pogrom (21st–23rd January 1941)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* II.1 (3) (2010): 37–56.

Turda, Marius. "Conservative Palingenesis and Cultural Modernism in Early Twentieth-century Romania". *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 9.4 (2008): 437–53.

Turda, Marius. *Eugenism și modernitate. Națiune, rasă și biopolitică în Europa (1870–1950)*. Iași: Polirom, 2014.

Turda, Marius. "Fantasies of Degeneration: Some Remarks on Racial Antisemitism in Interwar Romania". *Studia Hebraica* 3 (2003): 336–48.

Turda, Marius. "The Nation as Object: Race, Blood, and Biopolitics in Interwar Romania". *Slavic Review* 66.3 (2007): 413–41.

Turda, Marius. "New Perspectives on Romanian Fascism: Themes and Options". *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions* 6.1 (2005): 143–150.

Turda, Marius. "Persecuții și violență sistematică. Rasism, eugenie și biopolitică în România, în anii celui de-al Doilea Război Mondial". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 4-5 / 20-21 (2019-2020): Special Issue: "Discurs și violență antisemită în România modernă". 263–70.

Turda, Marius, and Adrian-Nicolae Furtună. "Roma and the Question of Ethnic Origin in the Holocaust in Romania". *Critical Romani Studies* 4.2 (2021): 8–33.

Turda, Marius, and Paul J. Weindling (Eds). *"Blood and Homeland:" Eugenics and Racial Nationalism in Central and Southeast Europe, 1900–1940*. Budapest: CEU Press, 2007.

Țâgșorean, Carmen. "The Assault on the Bucharest Jewish Community During the Legionary Rebellion, as Seen by the Press". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VII.1 (8) (2015): 43–56.

Țiu, Ilarion. "Memoria Holocaustului în societatea contemporană. Studiu de caz: introducerea disciplinei *Istoria evreilor. Holocaustul* în planul-cadru pentru liceu". *Polis: Revistă de Ştiinţe Politice* XII.1 (43) (December 2023 – February 2024): 99–113.

Vago, Raphael. "Le trou noir de l'historiographie de la Shoah. La Shoah en Transnistrie et l'historiograhie occidentale". *Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah* (2011): 461–77.

Vago, Raphael. "The Unexpected Cosmopolitans – Romania's Jewry Facing the Communist System". *European Review of History* 17 (2010): 491–504.

Vago, Raphael, and Liviu Rotman (Eds.). *The History of the Jews of Romania: Between the Two World Wars*. Tel-Aviv: The Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center and Tel-Aviv University, 2005.

Vasile, Cristian. *Biserica Ortodoxă Română în primul deceniu comunist*. București: Curtea Veche, 2005.

Vasile, Cristian. "Câteva considerații privind reflectarea în postcomunism a istoriei evreilor din perioada interbelică". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 3/19 (2018): Special Issue: "Evreii în România Interbelică". 321–32.

Veiga, Francisco. *La Mística del ultranacionalismo (historia de la Guardia de Hierro), Rumania, 1919–1941*. Bellaterra: Publicacions de la Universitat Autònoma, 1989. Translated into Romanian as Veiga, Francisco. *Istoria Gărzii de Fier: 1919–1941. Mistica ultranaționalismului.* Translated by Marian Ștefănescu. Second Edition. București: Humanitas, 1995.

Verenca, Olivian. *Administrația civilă română în Transnistria. 1941–1944.* Chișinău: Universitas, 1993; București: Vremea, 2000.

Voicu, George. "Antisemitismul lui Nichifor Crainic". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* I.1 (1) (2009): 73–89.

Voicu, George Emanuel. "The Ideal of Emancipation of the Romanian Jews: From the Proclamation of Islaz to the 1866 Constitution". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VI.1 (7) (2014): 93–105.

Voicu, George. "Octavian Goga (1881–1938): de la antisemitism literar la antisemitism politic". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* II.1 (3) (2010): 85–112.

Voicu, George. "Post-Communist Romania's Leading Public Intellectuals and the Holocaust". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VII.1 (8) (2015): 281–306.

Voicu, George (Ed.). *Pogromul de la Iași, 28–30 iunie 1941. Prologul Holocaustului din România*. București: Polirom and Institutul Național pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România "Elie Wiesel", 2006.

Volovici, Leon. *Antisemitism in Post-Communist Eastern Europe: A Marginal or Central Issue?* Jerusalem: The Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism, ACTA 5, 1994.

Volovici, Leon, "La rhétorique antisémite du régime d'Antonescu". *Revue d'histoire de la Shoah* 194: Special Issue: "L'horreur oubliée: la Shoah Roumaine" (janvier – juin 2011): 63–74.

Volovici, Leon. *Nationalist Ideology and Antisemitism: The Case of Romanian Intellectuals in the 1930s*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1991. Self-translated into Romanian and revised as Volovici, Leon. *Ideologia naționalistă și "problema evreiască:" eseu despre formele antisemitismului intelectual în România anilor '30*. București: Humanitas, 1995.

Waldman, Felicia. "Romania and the Holocaust. Events, Contexts, Aftermath". *Holocaust Studies* 24.2 (2017): 261–64. https://doi.org/10.1080/17504902.2017.1406704.

Waldman, Felicia, and Mihai Chioveanu. "*Public Perceptions of the Holocaust in Post-Communist Romania*". In *Bringing the Dark Past to Light: The Reception of the Holocaust in Post-Communist Europe*. Edited by John-Paul Himka and Joanna Beata Michlic. Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2013. 451–86.

Warter, Liviu, and Iulian Warter. "The Romanianization Policies and their Socio-Economic Implications: A Dark Chapter of the Holocaust". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* IX.1 (10) (2017): 56–66.

Weber, Avraham. "Rights of Romanian Holocaust Survivors under Various Legal Arrangements". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 2/18 (2017): Special Issue: "Locuri ale memoriei". 252–69.

Weber, Eugen. "The Men of the Archangel". *Journal of Contemporary History* 1 (1966): 101–26.

Weber, Petru. "The Public Memory of the Holocaust in Postwar Romania". *Studia Hebraica* 4 (2004): 341–8.

Weiner-Spirescu, Irina. "Situația medicilor și a farmaciștilor evrei din România în perioada Holocaustului". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 4–5 / 20–21 (2019–2020): Special Issue: "Discurs și violență antisemită în România modernă". 376–410.

Yahil, Leni. *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry, 1932–1945*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Zilberman, Marcel L. *Cercetări juridice: Înstrăinarea bunurilor evreiești în perioada anilor 1938–1940*. București: Rapid, 1945.

DOCUMENTS, DOCUMENTARY ACCOUNTS AND MEMORIAL BOOKS

Achim, Viorel. *Documente privind deportarea țiganilor în Transnistria*. București: Editura Enciclopedică, 2004.

Achim, Viorel (Ed.). *Politica regimului Antonescu față de cultele neoprotestante. Documente*. Iași: Polirom, 2013.

Ancel, Jean. *Documents Concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry During the Holocaust*. Volumes I-XII. New York: Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, 1986.

Arad Memorial Book: The Jewish People of Arad. Life and History. Haifa: Lachman, 2000.

Benjamin, Lya (Ed.). *Problema evreiască în stenogramele Consiliului de Miniștri*. București: Hasefer, 1996.

Benjamin, Lya. *Documente. Comisia Internațională pentru Studierea Holocaustului în România*. Iași: Polirom, 2005.

Benjamin, Lya. *Evreii din România între anii 1940–1944*. Volume 1. *Legislația antievreiască*. București, Hasefer, 1993.

Benjamin, Lya. *Evreii din România între anii 1940–1944*. Volume 2. *Problema evreiască în stenogramele Consiliului de Miniștri*. București: Hasefer, 1996.

Benjamin, Lya. *Prigoană și rezistență în istoria evreilor din România 1940–1944. Studii*. București: Hasefer, 2003.

Benjamin, Lya. "'Problema evreiască' în relațiile româno-maghiare, 1940–1944". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VI.1 (7) (2014): 45–55.

Benjamin, Lya, and Sergiu Stanciu. *Evreii din România între anii 1940–1944. 1940–1942: Perioada unei mari restriști*. Volume 3, Part 1. București: Hasefer, 1993.

Benvenisti, Mișu. *Sionismul în vremea prigoanei*. București: Imprimeriile Independența, 1944.

Calafeteanu, Ion, Nicolae Dinu, and Teodor Gheorghe. *Emigrarea populației evreiești din România în anii 1940–1944. Culegere de documente din Arhiva Ministerului Afacerilor Externe al României*. București: Silex, 1993.

Carp, Matatias. *Cartea Neagră. Suferințele evreilor din România, 1940–1944*. Volume 1. *Legionarii și rebeliunea*. București: Editura Socec, 1946; Volume II. *Pogromul de la Iași*. București: Societatea de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană", 1948; Volume III. *Transnistria*. București: Societatea de Editură și Arte Grafice "Dacia Traiană", 1947. Second Edition. Edited by Lya Benjamin. București: Diogene, 1996. A selection of the three volumes was translated into French as Carp, Matatias, *Cartea neagră: le livre noir de la destruction des Juifs de Roumanie (1940–1944)*. Translated, annotated and presented by Alexandra Laignel-Lavastine. Paris: Denoël, 2009. A selection of the three volumes was translated into English as Carp, Matatias, *Holocaust in Romania: Facts and Documents on the Annihilation of Romania's Jews. 1940–1944.* Florida: Safety Harbor, 2000.

Carp, Matatias. *Sărmaș. Una din cele mai oribile crime fasciste*. Preface by B. Brănișteanu. București: Socet et. Co, 1945.

Cazan, Marius. "The Bucharest Pogrom: New Archive Documents". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* IX.1 (10) (2017): 9–29.

Ciuciu, Anca (Ed.). *Acțiunea credinciosul: Șef Rabinul Dr. Moses Rosen și comunitatea evreiască în arhivele CNSAS*. București: Hasefer, 2008.
Cosman, Ioana (Ed.). *Depoziții despre viață și moarte, Holocaustul din Nord-Vestul Transilvaniei*, Cercetare de istorie orală. Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2009.
Costea, Ionuț, István Király, and Doru Radosav. *Fond Secret. Fond "S" Special.* Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1995.
Crăciun, Andrei, and Vlad Stoicescu. *Supraviețuitorii*. București: Hasefer, 2023.
Crimele legionarilor. București: Metropola, 1945.[2]
Dumitru-Ciucă, Marcel. *Procesul Mareșalului Antonescu. Documente.* Volume 1. București: Saeculum I.O., 1995; Volume 2. București: Saeculum I.O., 1996.
Dumitru-Ciucă, Marcel. *Stenogramele ședințelor Consiliului de Miniștri – guvernarea Ion Antonescu (septembrie – decembrie 1940)*. Volume 1. București: Arhivele Naționale ale României, 1997.
Dumitru-Ciucă, Marcel. *Stenogramele ședințelor Consiliului de Miniștri – guvernarea Ion Antonescu (ianuarie – martie 1941)*. Volume 2. București: Arhivele Naționale ale României, 1998.
Dumitru-Ciucă, Marcel. *Stenogramele ședințelor Consiliului de Miniștri – guvernarea Ion Antonescu (aprilie – iulie 1941)*. Volume 3. București: Arhivele Naționale ale României, 1999.
Dumitru-Ciucă, Marcel, and Maria Ignat. *Stenogramele ședințelor Consiliului de Miniștri – guvernarea Ion Antonescu (iulie – septembrie 1941)*. Volume 4. București: Arhivele Naționale ale României, 2000.
Dumitru-Ciucă, Marcel, and Maria Ignat. *Stenogramele ședințelor Consiliului de Miniștri – guvernarea Ion Antonescu (octombrie 1941 – ianuarie 1942)*. Volume 5. Arhivele Naționale ale României, 2001.
Dumitru-Ciucă, Marcel, and Maria Ignat. *Stenogramele ședințelor Consiliului de Miniștri – guvernarea Ion Antonescu (februarie – aprilie 1942)*. Volume 6. București: Arhivele Naționale ale României, 2002.
Dumitru-Ciucă, Marcel, and Maria Ignat. *Stenogramele ședințelor Consiliului de Miniștri – guvernarea Ion Antonescu (mai – iulie 1942)*. Volume 7. București: Arhivele Naționale ale României, 2003.
Dumitru-Ciucă, Marcel, and Maria Ignat. *Stenogramele ședințelor Consiliului de Miniștri – guvernarea Ion Antonescu (august – decembrie 1942)*. Volume 8. București: Arhivele Naționale ale României, 2004.
Dumitru-Ciucă, Marcel, and Maria Ignat. *Stenogramele ședințelor Consiliului de Miniștri – guvernarea Ion Antonescu (februarie – decembrie 1943)*. Volume 9. București: Arhivele Naționale ale României, 2006.
Dumitru-Ciucă, Marcel, and Maria Ignat. *Stenogramele ședințelor Consiliului de Miniștri – guvernarea Ion Antonescu (ianuarie – aprilie 1944)*. Volume 10. București: Arhivele Naționale ale României, 2007.
Dumitru-Ciucă, Marcel, and Maria Ignat. *Stenogramele ședințelor Consiliului de Miniștri – guvernarea Ion Antonescu (mai – august 1944)*. Volume 11. București: Arhivele Naționale ale României, 2008.
Eșanu, Leon (Ed.). "Documente despre pogromul de la Iași". *Studia et Acta Historiae Iudaeorum Romaniae* VII (2002): 384–94.
Florian, Alexandru, Ana Bărbulescu, Alexandru Climescu, and Laura Degeratu. *Munca obligatorie a evreilor din România (1940–1944): Documente*. Iași: Polirom, 2013.
Furtună, Adrian-Nicolae, Delia Mădălina Grigore, and Mihai Neacșu. *Sostar na rovas?… O Samudaripen thaj lesqi ciaci paramisi. Holocaustul rromilor și povestea lui adevărată. De ce nu plâng?… Deportarea rromilor în Transnistria: mărturii, studii, documente.* București: Amare Rromentza, 2010.

[2] This is a 30-pages brochure written by an unknown author, containing a list with the names of the victims. It can be consulted at Yad Vashem Library (Jerusalem, Israel). Call Number: 61-1160. https://collections.yadvashem.org/en/library/0053687.

Gligor, Mihaela, and Ofelia Thirer (Eds). *Rîbnița însângerată. Mărturii din acele zile. Cu o corespondență între supraviețuitori*. Preface by Radu Ioanid. Introduction by Paul A. Shapiro. Oradea: Ratio et revelatio, 2024.

Govrin, Yosef. *Sub spectrul distrugerii. Amintiri din Transnistria și din timpul imigrării ilegale în Eret Israel 1941–1947*. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2015.

Hudiță, Ioan. *Jurnal politic (22 iunie 1941 – 28 februarie 1942)*. Volume IV. Cuvânt introductiv, note și indice de Dan Berindei. București: Lucman, 2005.

Iancu, Carol. *Shoah în România. Evreii în timpul regimului Antonescu (1940–1944). Documente diplomatice franceze inedite*. Editura Polirom, Iași, 2001.

Ioanid, Radu. *The Iași Pogrom, June – July 1941: A Photo Documentary from the Holocaust in Romania.* Foreword by Elie Wiesel. Introduction by Alexandru Florian. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017.

Ioanid, Radu (Ed.). *Lotul Antonescu în ancheta Smerş, Moscova, 1944–1946. Documente din arhiva FSB*. Iași: Polirom, 2006.

Ioanid, Radu, Michelle Kelso, and Luminița Mihai Cioabă (Eds). *Tragedia romilor deportați în Transnistria, 1942–1945. Mărturii și documente*. Iași: Polirom, 2009.

Institutul Român de Istorie Recentă. *Holocaustul evreilor români*. Preface by Andrei Pippidi. Iași: Polirom, 2004.

Kara, I. [Itsik Cara Schwartz]. *Trilogy of Three Romanian Jewish Communities: Bacau, Iași, and Podu Iloaiei*. New York: JewishGen, 2016.

Katona, Béla. *Várad a viharban*. Nagyvárad: Teala, 1946.

Lazăr, Natalia and Lya Benjamin (Eds). *American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee în România, 1916–2016. Documente*. București: Hasefer, 2017.

Ludo, Isac. *Din ordinul cui?* București: Raspântia, 1947.

Lustig, Oliver, Mihai Fătu, Ion Ardeleanu, Mircea Mușat, Gh. Bodea, and Ludovic Vajda. *Teroarea horthysto-fascistă în nord-vestul României: septembrie 1940 – octombrie 1944*. București: Editura Politică, 1985.

Matei, Petre. *Deportarea romilor în Transnistria: documente de arhivă*. București: Aven Amentza, 2001.

Mircu, Marius. *Pogromul de la Iași*. București: Editura Glob, 1944.

Mircu, Marius. *Pogromurile din Basarabia şi alte câteva întâmplări*. București: Editura Glob, 1947.

Mircu, Marius. *Pogromurile din Bucovina și Dorohoi*. București: Glob, 1945.

Nastasă, Lucian (Ed.). *Antisemitismul universitar în România (1919–1939). Mărturii documentare*. Foreword by Carol Iancu. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Institutului pentru Studierea Problemelor Minorităților Naționale; Kriterion, 2011.

Nastasă, Lucian, and Andreea Varga. *Minorități etnoculturale. Mărturii documentare. Țiganii din România (1919–1944)*. Cluj: Fundația CRDE, 2001.

Procesul marii trădări naționale. Stenograma desbaterilor de la Tribunalul Poporului asupra guvernului Antonescu. București: Editura Eminescu, 1946.

Rosen, Moses, S. Stanciu, and Lya Benjamin. *Martiriul evreilor din România 1940–1944. Documente și mărturii*. București: Hasefer, 1991.

Rosinger, Adalbert, and Veronica Rozenberg (Rosinger). *Destinul unui evreu comunist într-o democrație populară. O lume care se prăbușește*. Edited by Raluca Lazarovici Vereș. Preface by Mihaela Gligor. Oradea: Ratio et Revelatio, 2022.

Schobel, Leopold, and Marilena Lică-Mașala. *"Am fost la Auschwitz deținutul A-13221". Convorbire realizată cu Leopold Schobel*. Pitești: Lică, 2002.

Sergiu Stanciu, Ion Șerbănescu, Lya Benjamin, Paula Littman, Carol Marcusohn, Leon Eșanu, and Eugen Gluck. *Evreii din Romania intre anii 1940–1944.* Volume IV. *1943–1944: Bilanțul Tragediei – Renașterea Speranței*. București: Hasefer, 1998.

Șiperco, Andrei (Ed.). *Holocaust în România. Soarta evreilor din Basarabia, Bucovina și Transnistria: 1941–1942. Documente*. Preface, analysis and comments by Andrei Șiperco. București: Universitatea din București, 2005.

Trașcă, Ottmar (Ed.). *"Chestiunea evreiască" în documente militare române 1941–1944*. București: Institutul European, 2010.
Trașcă, Ottmar, and Dennis Deletant (Eds). *Al III-lea Reich și Holocaustul din România, 1940–1944: Documente din arhivele germane*. București: Editura Institutului Național pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România "Elie Wiesel", 2007.
Trașcă, Ottmar, and Stelian Obiziuc. *Diplomați români în slujba vieții: Constantin I. Karadja și salvarea evreilor români din Europa în timpul celui de-al Treilea Reich (1932–1944)*. Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2017.
Viața și martiriul evreilor din Câmpulung Moldovenesc. Volumes 1–2. București: Cicero, 1997.

TESTIMONIES, MEMOIRS, DIARIES OF HOLOCAUST SURVIVORS (INCLUDING VICARIOUS MEMOIRS WRITTEN ON BEHALF OF THEIR RELATIVES BY SECOND AND THIRD GENERATION WRITERS)

Ágnes, Zsolt. *Eva lányom*. Budapest: Új Idők Irodalmi Intézet R.T. (Singer és Wolfner), 1948.[3]
Appelfeld, Aharon. *The Story of a Life: A Memoir*. Translated from the Hebrew by Aloma Halter. Second Edition. New York: Schocken, 2004.
Arnold, Elana K. *The Blood Years*. New York: HarperCollins, 2023.
Artzi, Itzhak. *Biografia unui sionist*. București: Hasfer, 1999.
Ausubel, Ramona. *No One Is Here Except All of Us*. New York: Riverhead Books, 2012.
Banuș, Maria. *Sub camuflaj: Jurnal 1943–1944*. București, Cartea Românească, 1977.
Banuș, Maria. *Însemnările mele, 1927–1944*. Volumes 1–2. București: Cartea Românească, 2011.
Baranga, Aurel. *Ninge peste Ucraina*. București: Veritas, 1945.
Baruch, Avital E. M. *Frozen Mud and Red Ribbons: A Romanian Jewish Girl's Survival through the Holocaust in Transnistria and Its Rippling Effect on the Second Generation*. Stuttgart: Ibidem, 2017.
Bentoiu, Annie. *Timpul ce ni s-a dat. Memorii: 1944–1947*. București: Humanitas, 2007.
Berk, Eta Fuchs, and Gilbert Allardyce. *Chosen: A Holocaust Memoir.* Frederickton, New Brunswick: Gloose Lane, 1992.
Bernstein, Sara Tuvel. *Seamstress: A Memoir of Survival*. Introduction by Edgar M. Bronfman. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1997.
Blum, Martha. *The Walnut Tree.* Toronto, Ontario: Coteau Books, 1999.
Brănișteanu, B. *Jurnal*. Volumes 1–3. București: Hasefer, 2003.
Brunea-Fox. F. *Orașul măcelului. Jurnalul rebeliunei și al crimelor legionare*. București: Hasefer, 1997 [1944].
Buium, Beniamini Carol. *Un sionist în vremea lui Antonescu și după aceea*. București: Hasefer, 1999.
Butnaru, I. C. *Waiting for Jerusalem: Surviving the Holocaust in Romania*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1993.
Caraion, Marta. *Géographie des ténèbres. Bucarest–Transnistrie–Odessa 1941–1981. Récit*. Paris: Librarie Arthème Fayard, 2024. Translated into Romanian as Caraion, Marta. Transnistria. Istoria unei familii între Est și Vest 1941–1981. Translated by Nicolae Constantinescu. Iași: Polirom, 2025.
Carmelly, Felicia. *Across the River of Memory.* Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2015. Translated into Romanian as Carmelly, Steigman Felicia. *Călătorie pe fluviul amintirilor*. Translated by Vlad-Ion Pappu. București: Hasefer, 2017.

[3] This is a diary on Éva Heyman, yet, according to A. Zapruder, *Salvaged Pages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002, 445), "There has been some doubt about the diary's authenticity… it could have been doctored by Éva's mother, who had the diary for more than three years before it was published."

Carmelly, Felicia (Ed.). *Shattered! 50 Years of Silence: History and Voices of the Tragedy in Romania and Transnistria*. Scharborough Ontario: Abbeyfield Publishers, 1997.

Călărașu, Andrei. *Așa a fost viața mea! Andrei Călărașu în dialog cu Andrei Crăciun.* București: Hasefer, 2014.

Cernea, Adrian-Radu. *Pogromul de la Iași: depoziție de martor*. București: Hasefer, 2002.

Cristian, S. *Patru ani de urgie. Notele unui evreu din România*. București: Timpul, 1944.

Croitoru, Avram. *Pe firul amintirilor. Convorbiri.* București: Hasefer, 2009.

Dagani, Arnold. *Groapa e în livada de vișini.* București: Socec, 1947. Translated into English as Daghani, Arnold. *The Grave is in the Cherry Orchard, with twenty-four reproductions of watercolours and drawings by the author*. Edited by M. Grindea. *Adam: International Review* 29 (1961): 4–118.

Dan, Sergiu. *Unde începe noaptea*. București: Editura Națională Mecu, 1945.

Dorian, Emil. *Jurnal din vremuri de prigoană, 1937–1944*. Edited by Marguerite Dorian. Preface Z. Ornea. București: Hasefer, 1996. Translated into English as Dorian, Emil. *The Quality of Witness: A Romanian Diary*, *1937–1944*. Edited by Marguerite Dorian. Translated by Mara Soceanu Vamos. Introduction by Michael Stanislawski. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1982.

Fichman, Pearl. *Before Memories Fade*. Kingston: Book Surge Publishing, 2005.

Filderman, Wilhelm. *Memories & Diaries: 1909–1940*. Volumes 1–2. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004, 2013. Translated into Romanian as Filderman, Wilhelm. *Memorii & Jurnale*. Translated by Nicolae Drăgușin. Edited by Jean Ancel. *Volumul 1: 1900–1940*. București: Hasefer, 2016; *Volumul 2: 1940–1952.* București: Hasefer, 2017.

Fried, Hédi. *Frågor jag fått om Förintelsen*. Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 2017. Translated from the original Swedish into English as *Questions I Am Asked about the Holocaust*. Translated by Alice E. Olsson. Melbourne and London: Scribe, 2019.

Fried, Hédi. *Skärvor av ett liv. Vägen till och från Auschwitz*. Stockholm: Natur & Kultur, 1992. Translated from the original Swedish into English as *The Road to Auschwitz: Fragments of a Life*. Translated by Michael Meyer. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. Translated from the original Swedish into Romanian as Fried, Hedi. *Drumul la și de la Auschwitz. Cioburi dintr-o viață*. Translated by Zitta Herșcovici and Raul Herșcovici. București: România Press, 2002.

Gall, Matei. *Eclipsa*. București: Editura Du Style, 1997.

Gall, Matei. *Masacrul*. București: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă, 1956.

Glasberg Gold, Ruth. *Ruth's Journey: A Survivor's Memoir*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996. Translated into Romanian as Glasberg Gold, Ruth. *Timpul lacrimilor secate.* Translated by Cătălin Patrosie and Eugen Hriscu. București: Hasefer, 2003.

Govrin, Yosef. *In the Shadow of Destruction: Recollections of Transnistria and the Illegal Immigration to Eretz Israel*. Elstree, Hertfordshire: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007. Translated into Romanian as Govrin, Yosef. *Sub spectrul distrugerii: Amintiri din Transnistria și din timpul emigrării ilegale in Eretz Israel*. Translated by Virginia Valasuteanu. București: Hasefer, 2015.

Grosz, Sándor. *3 Év Zsidó Kényszermunka – A Romániai Fasizmus Fekete Napjaiból*. Timișoara: NP, 1944.

Hegedűsné Molnár, Anna. *Miért? Egy deportált nő élményei a sárga csillagtól a vörös csillagig*. Arad: Me-Ta, 1945.

Isacovici, Salomon, and Juan Manuel Rodriguez. *Man of Ashes*. Translated by Dick Gerdes. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.

Jagendorf, Siegfried. *Jagendorf's Foundry: A Memoir of the Romanian Holocaust 1941–1944*. Introduction and commentaries by Aron Hirt-Manheimer. New York: HarperCollins, 1991. Translated into Romanian as Jagendorf, Sigfried. *Minunea de la Moghilev: 1941–1944*. Translated by Marcel Biener. Notes by Aron Hirt-Manheimer. București: Hasefer, 1997.

József, Gréda. *Fogózz a semmibe*. Nagyvárad: Grafika Nyomdai Múintézet, 1945.

Kaufman, Leah. *Medwed, Sheina. Live! Remember! Tell the World! The Story of a Hidden Child Survivor of Transnistria as told by Leah Kaufman*. New York: ArtScroll Mesorah Publications, 2005.

Kessler, Arthur. *A Doctor's Memoir of the Romanian Holocaust: Survival in Lager Vapniarka and the Ghettos of Transnistria*. Edited by Leo Spitzer. Translated by Margaret Robinson. Martlesham, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2024.

Korber-Bercovici, Miriam. *Jurnal de Ghetou: Djurin, Transnistria, 1941–1943*. București: Kriterion, 1995. A fragment translated into English as Korber-Bercovici, Miriam. "Transnistria". In *Salvaged Pages: Young Writers' Diaries of the Holocaust.* Edited by Alexandra Zapruder. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002. 243–70.

Kornis, Ottó. *Füst*. Kolozsvár: Minerva Irodalmi és Nyomdai Műintézet Részvénytársaság, 1945.

Kunstadt, Lipman. *Traybt men yidn ibern deniester: Togbukh funem transnistrishn gehenem* (*Yiddish*). Haifa: Self-published, 1980. Translated as Kunstadt, Lipman. *Diary from Hell in Transnistria, 1942–1944*. Translated from Yiddish by Rebecca Wolpe. Edited by Dalia Ofer and Sarah Rosen. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2022.

Lazarovits, Ernő. *Wanderer in Hell*. Document. Digitized. Accession Number: 2006.31. RG Number: RG-02.239. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Translated into Romanian as Lazarovits, Ernő. *Călător prin iad: povestea adevărată a unui supraviețuitor*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Institutul Cultural Român, 2004.

Lezea, Sergiu. *Vapniarca. Lagărul morții*. București: Tiparnița, 1945.

Luca, Eugen. *Pogrom, Iași, duminică, 29 iunie 1941*. Tel Aviv: NP, 1989.

Lustig, Oliver. *Atunci, acolo… la Auschwitz*. București: Cartea Românească, 1977.

Lustig, Oliver. *Ce rost are să vorbim despre Holocaust?* București: Compania, 2004.

Lustig, Oliver. *Destin blestemat*. București: Cartea Românească, 1980.

Lustig, Oliver, and Gh. Bejancu. *Cronică în marș*. 2 volumes. București: Editura Militară, 1978.

Manea, Norman. "Nu sunt un scriitor al Holocaustului". In *Casa melcului. Dialoguri*. București: Hasefer, 1999. 28–38.

Merdinger, Emanuel. *The Autobiography of Dr. Emanuel Merdinger*. Manuscript, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida Gainesville.

Mircu, Marius. *Uite așa se petrecea atunci*. Bat Yam: Glob, 2001.

Mizrahy, Dan. *Așa a fost: Exerciții de memorie*. București: Hasefer, 2009.

Molnar, Haya Leah. *Under a Red Sky. Memoir of a Childhood in Communist Romania*. New York: Frances Foster Books, Farrar Straus Giroux, 2010.

Moscovici, Serge. *Cronica anilor risipiți: poveste autobiografică*. Iași: Polirom, 1999.

Mozes Kor, Eva, and Lisa Rojani Buccieri. *Surviving the Angel of Death: The True Story of a Mengele Twin in Auschwitz*. Terre Haute: Tanglewood, 2011. Translated into Romanian as Mozes Kor, Eva, and Lisa Rojany Buccieri. *Am supraviețuit Lagărului Morții (Povestea adevărată a românceiEva Mozes, una dintre "gemenele doctorului Mengele" de la Auschwitz)*. Translated by Mihai-Dan Pavelescu. București: Meteor Publishing, 2012.

Mózes, Teréz. *Bevérzett kőtáblák*. Nagyvárad: Literator Könyvkiadó, 1993. Translated from Hungarian into English as Mózes, Teréz. *Staying Human through the Holocaust*. Translated and edited by Anna Hercz et al. Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press, 2005. Translated from Hungarian into Romanian as Mózes, Teréz. *Decalog însângerat*. Translated by Maria Dinescu. București: Ara, 1995.

Nathan, Raluca Sterian. *Suflet tatuat*. București: Humanitas, 2010.

Novac, Ana. *Les beaux jours de ma jeunesse*. Paris: Éditions Balland, 1996. Translated into English as Novac, Ana. *The Beautiful Days of My Youth: My Six Months in Auschwitz and Plaszow*. Translated by George L. Newman. Preface and notes by Myrna Goldenberg. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1997. Translated into Romanian as Novac, Ana. *Frumoasele zile ale tinereții mele*. Translated by Anca-Domnica Ilea. Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 2004.

Nyiszli, Miklós. *Dr. Mengele boncolóorvosa voltam az auschwitzi krematóriumban*. Nagyvárad (Oradea): Magvető, 1946. Translated from Hungarian to Romanian as Nyiszli, Miklós. *Am fost medic la Auschwitz*. Translated by Lucia Nasta. Oradea, Editura pentru Literatură, 1965. Translated from Polish into English as Nyiszli, Miklós. *I Was Doctor Mengele's Assistant: The Memoirs of an Auschwitz Physician*. Translated by Witold Zbirohowski-Koscia. Oświęcim, 2010.

Omovici, Sol. *Duminica aceia*. Introduction by S.E.M. Preface by Iorgu Iordan. București: Congresului Mondial Evreesc, 1945.

Palty, Sonia. *Evrei, Treceți Nistrul!*. Tel Aviv: Papyrus, 1989. Romanian edition: București: Curtea Veche, 1992.

Politzer, Bernard. *O tinerețe în România*. București: Curtea Veche, 2004.

Rosen, Moses. *Primejdii, încercări, miracole. Povestea șef-rabinului Dr. Moses Rosen*. București: Hasefer, 1991.

Rosinger, Adalbert (în dialog peste decenii cu fiica sa) Veronica Rozenberg (Rosinger). *Destinul unui evreu comunist într-o democrație populară. O lume care se prăbușește*. Edited by and Afterword by Raluca Lazarovici Vereș. Preface by Mihaela Gligor. Reading guide, Prologue, notes and Annex by Veronica Rozenberg. Oradea: Ratio et revelatio, 2022.

Rudich, M. *La braț cu moartea. Vedenii din Transnistria*. Preface by F. Brunea-Fox. București: Biblioteca Hehalut, 1945.

Safran, Alexandre. *Resisting the Storm: Romania, 1940–1947: Memoirs*. Edited and annotated by Jean Ancel. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1987. Second edition: Jerusalem, Gefen Books, 1996. Translated into Romanian as Șafran, Alexandru. *Un tăciune smuls flăcărilor. Comunitatea evreiască din România 1939–1947. Memorii*. Introduction by Jean Ancel. Translated by Țicu Goldstein. București: Hasefer, 1996.

Salamon, Julișka. *Scrisorile unei mame: 1935–1944. Destinul unei familii evreiești*. Edited by Alexandru Szabó. București: Polimark, 1996.

Schwefelberg, Arnold. *Amintirile unui intelectual evreu din Romania*. București: Hasefer, 2000.

Scherzer, Julius. *While the Gods Were Silent: Growing Up under Fascists and Communists*. Frederick, MD: Publish America, 2006.

Schreiber, Gerhard Bobby. *A Tale of Survival*. Undated memoir. http://czernowitz.ehpes.com/stories-/schreiber/schreiber_memoirs2.pdf.

Sebastian, Mihail. *Cum am devenit huligan: texte, fapte, oameni*. București: Editura Cultura Națională, 1935.

Sebastian, Mihail. *Jurnal, 1935–1944*. Edited by Gabriela Omăt. Preface by Leon Volovici. București: Humanitas, 1996. Translated into English as *Journal, 1935–1944: The Fascist Years*. Translated by Patrick Camiller. Introduction and Notes by Radu Ioanid. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, in Association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2000.

Shachan, Avigdor. *Burning Ice: The Ghettos of Transnistria*. Translated by Shmuel Himelstein. Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1996.

Shmueli, Ilana. *Ein Kind Aus Guter Familie: Czernowitz 1924–1944*. Aachen: Rimbaud, 2006.

Silbermann, Edith. *Cernowitz – Stadt der Dichter. Geschichte einer judischer Familie aus der Bukowina (1900–1948)*. Edited by Amy-Diana Colin. Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2015.

Simpson, Susan Geroe. *The Silence of Parents.* McKinleyville, CA: Fithian Press, 2006.

Simpson, Susan Geroe. *Treasures and Pleasures.* Morrisville, NC: Lulu.com, 2009.

Tóth, Imre. *Zsidónak lenni Auschwitz után*. Budapest, Pont Kiadó, 2001. Translated into Romanian as Tóth, Imre. *A fi evreu după Holocaust*. Translated by Gina Vieru. București: Humanitas, 2015.

Victorov, Herman. (in collaboration with Mihaela Victoria Ignat). *Sub aripa neagră a războiului*. Toronto: Maple Red Publishing House, 2016.

Vlasopolos, Anca. *No Return Address: A Memoir of Displacement*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

Weinstock, Earl, and Herbert Wilner. *The Seven Years*. London: Faber and Faber, 1959.

Wiesel, Elie. *La nuit*. Foreword by François Mauriac. Paris: Minuit, 1958. Translated into English as *The Night Trilogy: Night. Dawn. Day*. Translated by Marion Wiesel. New York: Hill and Wang, 2006. Translated into Romanian as Wiesel, Elie. *Noaptea*. Preface by Elie Wiesel. Foreword by François Mauriac. Translated by Lia Decei București: Art, 2022.

Zane, Gheorghe. *Memorii, 1939–1974*. București: Editura Expert, 1997.

Zăicescu, Leonard. *Cu trenul expres spre moarte*. București: Editura Institutului National pentru Studierea Holocaustului din România "Elie Wiesel", 2007.

FICTION

Calancea, Lilia. *Sunt oare un călău?*. Iași: Polirom, 2023.

Dărămuș, Lucia. *Convoiul mieilor*. Iași: Polirom, 2018.

Dimitriu, Ștefan. *Lasă zilei scârba ei*. București: Vremea, 2009.

Dorian, Emil. *Otrava*. București: Forum, 1947.

Dorian, Emil. *Profeți și paiațe*. București: Editura Națională a Ciornei, 1930.

Dorian, Emil. *Vagabonzii*. București: Editura Principele Mircea, 1935.

Duroy, Lionel. *Eugenia*. Paris: Éditions Juliard, 2018. Translated into Romanian as Duroy, Lionel. *Eugenia. Un roman răvășitor inspirat de Jurnalul lui Mihail Sebastian.* Translated by Cristina Modreanu. București: Humanitas, 2019.

Fanto, Rosita. *Rozalia Alone*. Bloomington: Xlibris Corporation, 2010.

Lustig, Oliver. *Dicționar de lagăr: Amintiri din lagărul de la Birkenau*. București: Cartea Românească, 1982; Second revised edition. București: Hasefer, 2002. Re-edited under the title *Limbajul morții*. București: Editura Alex, 1990.

Lustig, Oliver. *Din umbra crematoriului*. București: Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă, 1960.

Lustig, Oliver. *Ecouri din Holocaust în literatura universală: povestiri*, antologie de texte alcătuită de Oliver Lustig. București: Hasefer, 2003.

Lustig, Oliver. *Însemnări din preajma crematoriului*. București: Editura Militară, 1957.

Lustig, Oliver. *Jurnal însîngerat, roman*. București: Editura Militară, 1987. Translated into English as *Blood-Bespotted Diary*. București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1988.

Lustig, Oliver. *Martorii n-au dreptul să tacă, roman*. București: Editura Militară, 1986.

Lustig, Oliver. *Procesul ghetourilor din nordul Transilvaniei*. 2 volumes. București: AERVH, 2007.

Lustig, Oliver. *Viața în imperiul morții, roman*. București: Editura pentru literatură, 1969.

Olga Lengyel. *Souvenirs de l'au-delà*. Paris: Editions du bateau ivre, 1946. [translated from the Hungarian original which remained in manuscript]. Translated into English as *Five Chimneys: A Woman's Survivor's True Story of Auschwitz*. Translated by Clifford Coch, with additions from the Hungarian manuscript by Paul P. Weiss. Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1947. Translated into Romanian as *Cuptoarele lui Hitler*. Translated by Mariana Popilean. Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1986. Also published as *I Survived Hitler's Ovens: The Story of Auschwitz*. New York: Avon, 1947. Translated into Romanian *Cuptoarele morții: Mărturia unui supraviețuitor de la Auschwitz*. Translated by Anca Irina Ionescu. București: Corint, 2022.

Malaparte, Curzio. *Kapput*. Translated from Italian by Cesare Foligno. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1946; re-edited: New York: New York Review Books, 2005. Translated into Romanian as Malaparte, Curzio. *Kapput*. Translation and Afterword by Eugen Uricaru. București: Orizont, 1999.

Manea, Norman. *Întoarcerea huliganului*. Iași: Polirom, 2003; Second Edition. Iași: Polirom, 2006. Translated into English as Manea, Norman. *The Hooligan's Return*. Translated by Angela Jianu. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003.

Manea, Norman. *Noaptea pe latura lungă*. Preface by Miron Radu Paraschivescu. București: Editura pentru Literatură, 1969.

Manea, Norman. *Octombrie, ora opt*. Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1981; Second Edition, Cluj Napoca: Biblioteca Apostrof, 1997. Translated into English as Manea, Norman. *October, Eight O'Clock*. Translated by Cornelia Golna and Anselm Hollo. New York: Grove Press, 1992.

Manea, Norman. *Umbra exilată*. Iași: Polirom, 2021.

Mihuleac, Cătălin. *America de peste pogrom: roman*. București: Cartea Românească, 2014; Second Edition. București: Humanitas, 2021.

Mihuleac, Cătălin. *Deborah*. București: Humanitas, 2019.

Mihuleac, Cătălin. *Strania valiză a domnului Silberstein*. București: Humanitas, 2024.

Mihuleac, Cătălin. *Ultima țigară a lui Fondane. Istorii de Holocaust*. București: Cartea Românească, 2016.

Morar, Ioan T. *Negru și roșu*. Iași: Polirom, 2013.

Peltz, Isac. *Israel însângerat*. București: Veritas, 1946.
Potcoavă, Alexandru. *Viața și întoarcerea unui Halle*. Iași: Polirom, 2019.
Preda, Marin. *Delirul*. București: Cartea Românească, 1975.
Săveneanu, Maur. *Evreul Ion Ionescu*. București: Editura Institutului Român de Documentare, 1946.
Taloș, Mirel. *Undeva în Transilvania*. București: Rao, 2019.

POETRY AND DISCOURSES OF POETS ON THE HOLOCAUST

Celan, Paul. *Breathturn*. Translated from the German and with an Introduction by Pierre Joris. Los Angeles: Sun & Moon Press, 1995.
Celan, Paul. "Death Fugue". In *Writing in Witness: A Holocaust Reader*. Edited by Eric J. Sundquist. Albany: State University of New York, 2018. 242–4.
Celan, Paul. *From Threshold to Threshold*. Translated by David Young. Edited by Ilya Kaminsky. Michigan: Marick Press, 2010.
Celan, Paul. "The Meridian. Speech on the Occasion of Receiving the Georg Büchner Prize". Translated by Rosmarie Waldrop. In *Collected Prose*. New York: Routledge, 2003. 37–55.
Celan, Paul. "Speech on the Occasion of Receiving the Literature Prize of the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen". Translated by Rosmarie Waldrop. In *Collected Prose*. New York: Routledge, 2003. 33–5.
Selected Poems and Prose of Paul Celan. Translated by John Felstiner. New York and London: W.W. Norton, 2001.
Meerbaum-Eisinger, Selma. *Ich bin in Sehnsucht eingehüllt*. Hamburg: Hoffmann and Campe, 2005. Translated into English as Meerbaum-Eisinger, Selma. *Harvest of Blossoms: Poems from a Life Cut Short*. Translated by Jerry Glenn and Florence Birkmayer. Edited by Irene Silverblatt and Helene Silverblatt. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2008.
Pagis, Dan. *Gilgul*. Ramat Gan: Masadah, 1970.
Pagis, Dan. *The Selected Poetry of Dan Pagis*. Translated by S. Mitchell. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
Vancu, Radu. *Kaddish*. Bistrița: Casa de Editură Max Blecher, 2023.

FILMOGRAPHY

Actorul și sălbaticii (Manole Marcus, Casa de Filme Patru, Româniafilm, 1975).
Amintiri de pe Frontul de Est (Radu Jude, Adrian Cioflâncă, Microfilm, 2022).
Beyond the Nistru (Boris Maftsir, Zvi Shefy Productions, 2016).
Călătoria lui Gruber (Radu Gabrea, Uj Budapest Filmstudio, 2009).
Cele două execuții ale mareșalului (Radu Jude, HiFilm, 2018).
Cursed Years in Transnistria (Directed and Produced by Natalia Ghilașcu, 2016).
Daniel Spoerri: The Wild Child of Yassy (Olga Ștefan, The Future of Memory, 2017). https://www.thefutureofmemory.ro/en/movies.
Destinul Mareșalului (Felicia Cernăianu, Studioul nr. 4 Profilm, 1996).[4]
Forgiving Dr Mengele (Cheri Pugh and Bob Hercules, First Run Features, 2005).
Fragments of a Life (Olga Ștefan, The Future of Memory, 2016).
Gesturi de rezistență (Olga Ștefan, The Future of Memory, in collaboration with Bratislava Policy Institute and Post Belum, 2019).
Hédi Fried: The Road to Auschwitz (Gregor Nowinski, Boll World Sales, 1996).

[4] This film presents Antonescu as a hero and a patriot, rewriting history.

Hidden Sorrows: The Persecution of Romanian Gypsies During WWII (Michelle Kelso, USA/Romania, 2005).
Ieşirea trenurilor din gară (Radu Jude, Adrian Cioflâncă, microFILM, Nomada.solo, 2020).
Inimi cicatrizate (Radu Jude, HiFilm, 2016).
"Îmi este indiferent dacă în istorie vom intra ca barbari" (Radu Jude, HiFilm, 2018).
Masacrul de acasă (Oleg Brega, 2019).
My Illusions (Olga Ștefan, The Future of Memory, 2017).
Odessa (Florin Iepan, Asociația DocuMentor, 2013).
Oglinda. Începutul adevărului (Sergiu Nicolaescu, Star Film, 1994).[5]
Persecuțiile din Basarabia (Natalia Ghilașcu, Centrul National al Romilor din Moldova Romani Glinda, Chișinău, 2012).
Prigoana din Basarabia (Natalia Ghilașcu, Sergiu Ene, Centrul National al Romilor din Moldova Romani Glinda, Chișinău, 2013).
Souvenirs de Iasi (Romulus Balazs, 2023).
Struma (Radu Gabrea, Antena-Group, Intact Advertising – Newspaper, FM Radio, Magazine, TV Advertisement, 2001).
Șapte mărturii despre un trecut / Seven Stories about A Past (Bogdan Stamatin, Romania-Israel, 2018).
Train de vie, tragicomedy (Radu Mihăileanu, Noé Productions. Raphael Films, 1998).
Țara moartă (Radu Jude, HiFilm, 2017).
Vapniarka: The Camp of Death (Olga Ștefan, The Future of Memory, 2022).

WORKS ON HOLOCAUST TESTIMONIAL LITERATURE AND OTHER REPRESENTATIONS AND MEMORIALIZATION OF THE HOLOCAUST IN ROMANIA, WORKS ON THE ROMANIAN INTELLIGENTSIA DURING WW2

Alexandru, Laszlo. "Mihail Sebastian pe masa de operație". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* II.1 (3) (2010): 186–99.
Alexandru, Laszlo. "Mihail Sebastian și evreii". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* III.1 (4) (2011): 162–94.
Anisescu, Cristina. "Perlaborarea trecutului traumatic: Gulagul românesc și Holocaustul într-o aplicație comparativă". *Caietele Echinox* 13 (2007): 212–25.
Antofi, Simona, and Nicoleta D. Ifrim. "Identity Reconfigurations, Memory and Personal History in Norman Manea and Saul Bellow's 'Spoken Book'". *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 23.4 (2021): 1–15. https://doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.3634.
Aarons, Victoria. "A Genre of Rupture: The Literary Language of the Holocaust". In *The Bloomsbury Companion of Holocaust Literature*. Edited by Jenni Adams. London, New York, Sydney and Delhi: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014. 27–45.
Babeș, Adina. "Jewish Life in București at the Time of the Holocaust (A Research Based on the Survivors' Diaries)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VII.1 (8) (2015): 15–28.
Babeș, Adina. "Holocaust Experiences Through Survivors' Eyes". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VIII.1 (9) (2016): 183–210.
Babeș, Adina. "Prelude to Assassination. An Episode of the Romanian Holocaust". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* III.1 (4) (2011): 58–73.
Sant Balzan, Janice. "Uncanny Reversals: Paul Celan's CounterPoetics". *CounterText* 3.1 (2017): 80–95.

[5] Contrary to its title *The Beginning of Truth*, this film presents Antonescu as a great patriot and a victim of the communists, mentioning nothing about the massacres of the Jews in Odessa, and all the villages reconquered from Bukovina and Bessarabia or Odessa and ignoring completely the deportations to Transnistria. It is a film that needs to be taken into account for Holocaust distortion and denial by ommision.

Bejan, Cristina A. *Intellectuals and Fascism in Interwar Romania: The Criterion Association*. Foreword by Vladimir Tismaneanu. Cham: Palgrave, 2019.

Berger, Joseph. *Elie Wiesel: Confronting the Silence*. New Havem: Yale University Press, 2023.

Bitunjac, Martina, and Urszula Markowska-Manista. "Girls' Voices: Jewish Teenage Diarists from Central and Eastern Europe as Witnesses of the Holocaust and Cultural Resisters in Concentration Camps and Ghettos". *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 37.1 (Spring 2023): 63–73. https://doi.org/10.1093/hgs/dcac061.

Bos, Pascale R. *German-Jewish Literature in the Wake of the Holocaust Grete Weil, Ruth Klüger, and the Politics of Address*. New York and Houndmills: Basingstoke, 2005.

Budick, Emily Miller. *Aharon Appelfeld's Fiction: Acknowledging the Holocaust*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2005.

Budick, Emily Miller. "Homescapes of Childhood: Aharon Appelfeld's *Life Stories of Czernowitz*". In *Local History, Transnational Memory in the Romanian Holocaust*. Edited by Valentina Glajar and Jeanine Teodorescu. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011. 157–74.

Budick, Emily Miller. *The Subject of Holocaust Fiction*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2015.

Calinescu, Matei. "On Norman Manea's *The Hooligan's Return*". In *The Writer Uprooted: Contemporary Jewish Exile Literature*. Edited by Alvin H. Rosenfeld. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008. 27–50.

Cârstocea, Raul. "The Unbearable Virtues of Backwardness: Mircea Eliade's Conceptualisation of Colonialism and his Attraction to Romania's Interwar Fascist Movement". In *East Central Europe Between the Colonial and the Postcolonial in the Twentieth Century*. Edited by Dorota Kołodziejczyk and Siegfried Huigen. Basingstoke: Palgrave. 113–40.

Cherciu, Lucia. "The Deportation to Transnistria and the Exoticization of the Roma in Zahariu Stancu's novel *The Gypsy Tribe*". In *"Gypsies" in European Literature and Culture Studies in European Culture and History*. Edited by Valentina Glajar and Domnica Rădulescu. New York: Palgrave, 2008. 161–77.

Cioflâncă, Adrian. "Erasing Memory. The Destruction of Old Jewish Cemeteries in Bucharest and Iași during Ion Antonescu's Regime". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 1/17 (2016): 319–33.

Ciurezu, Bogdan. "Zionism in the Writings of the Romanian Jews Authors in the Interwar. Case study – E. Dorian, M. Sebastian, U. Benador and I. Peltz". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 1/17 (2016): 83–92.

Colin, Amy D. (Ed.). *Argumentum e Silentio: International Paul Celan Symposium / Internationales Paul Celan-Symposium*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 1986.

Comănescu (Pintea), Aura. "The End of Holocaust – The End of Pain?". *Studia Judaica* 1 (2014): 139–59.

Crăciun, Camelia. "Bucureștiul interbelic, centru emergent de cultură idiș". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 1/17 (2016): 65–82.

Crăciun, Camelia. *Scriitori evrei de limbă română: de la rebeli marginali la critici canonici*. Iași: Editura Universității "Alexandru Ioan Cuza", 2019.

Crăciun, Camelia, Irina Nastasă-Matei, Valentin Săndulescu, and Francisca Solomon. *Yiddish Culture in Greater Romania, 1918–1940*. Budapest: CEU Press, 2025.

Dawson, Julie. "Finding Blanka: A Story of Sorrow and Strength in Post-War Romania". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* V.1 (6) (2013): 87–99.

Degeratu, Laura. "The Camp in Vapniarka: Detention, Survival, Memory". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VII.1 (8) (2015): 29–42.

Degeratu, Laura. "Obligations of the Jewish Population Concerning the Forced Labor System as Shown in *Gazeta evreiască* (The Jewish Gazette)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* IV.1 (5) (2012): 77–84.

Degeratu, Laura. "Reconstructing the Memory of the Holocaust in Romania through Films". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VIII.1 (9) (2016): 211–26.

Degeratu, Laura. "Reprezentări neconvenționale ale Holocaustului din România". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* V.1 (6) (2013): 63–73.

Del Caro, Adrian. "Paul Celan's Uncanny Speech". *Philosophy and Literature* 18.2 (October 1994): 211–24.
Derrida, Jacques. *Sovereignties in Question: The Poetics of Paul Celan*. Edited by Thomas Dutoit and Outi Pasanen. Translated by Thomas Dutoit, Outi Pasanen, Joshua Wilner, and Philippe Romanski. New York: Fordham University Press, 2005.
Dâmboeanu, Cristina. "The Holocaust Narrative in Romania. A Case Study on Online Press". *Romanian Journal of Sociological Studies* 1 (2021): 45–61.
Dodosi, Andreea, and Melania Lese. "The Contextualization of the Holocaust in Romania. Legislation, Press, Rule of Law and Public Policies". *ME.DOK Média-Történet-Kommunikáció* 4 (2019): 101–8.
Dobrincu, Dorin. "Biografii neconvenționale în istoria Holocaustului și Gulagului din România. 'Drepți între popoare' și luptători în rezistența armată anticomunistă". *Caietele Echinox* 13 (2007): 168–75.
Dranca, Emilian. "Paul Celan, Eugen Ehrlich și Cernăuțiul lor". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 3/19 (2018): Special Issue: "Evreii în România Interbelică". 47–55.
Dumitru, Diana. "Review Essay: *The Dead Nation* (Țara moartă). Dir. Radu Jude. Grasshopper Films, 2017. 83 minutes". *Slavic Review* 79.2 (Summer 2020): 412–17. https://doi.org/10.1-017/slr.2020.96.
Enache, Monica, Alexandru Florian, and Valentina Iancu. *Artiști evrei din România Modernă. Destine marcate de antisemitism și Holocaust*. București: Noi Media Print, 2012.
Eshel, Amir. "Paul Celan's Other: History, Poetics, and Ethics". *New German Critique* 91 (2004): 57–77.
Eskin, Michael, Karen Leeder, and Marko Pajević. *Paul Celan Today: A Companion*. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2021.
Felstiner, John. *Paul Celan: Poet, Survivor, Jew*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
Filimon, Monica. "Beyond the Document: *The Exit of the Trains* (2020) as Video Memorial". *Holocaust Studies*, online first: 15 Sep 2025. https://doi.org/10.1080/17504902.2025.2558245.
Florescu, Paul-Iulian. "Holocaustul între memorie locală și globală: *America de peste pogrom* de Cătălin Mihuleac". *Transilvania* 6–7 (2024): 1–13.
Gheorghiu, Mihai Dinu. "The Iași Pogrom in Curzio Malaparte's *Kaputt*: Between History and Fiction". In *Local History, Transnational Memory in the Romanian Holocaust*. Edited by Valentina Glajar and Jeanine Teodorescu. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. 47–56.
Ghiorghiasa, Irina. "Recollection of the Native Space as Autobiographical Pretext: Norman Manea, 'The Hooligan's Return'". *Linguaculture* 2.1 (June 2011): 101–8. https://doi.org/10.47743/lincu-2011-2-1-258.
Gidó, Attila. "Identitatea evreilor ardeleni în perioada interbelică". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 1/17 (2016): 52–64.
Glajar, Valentina. "Framing the Silence: The Romanian Jewish and Romani Holocaust in Filmic Representations". In Local History, Transnational Memory in the Romanian Holocaust. Edited by Valentina Glajar and Jeanine Teodorescu. New York: Palgrave, 2011. 225–49.
Glajar, Valentina. "Trauma, Guilt, Revenge. The Romani Holocaust in Stefan Kanfer's *The Eighth Sin*". In *"Gypsies" in European Literature and Culture Studies in European Culture and* History. Edited by Valentina Glajar and Domnica Rădulescu. New York: Palgrave, 2008. 125–42.
Glajar, Valentina, and Jeanine Teodorescu (Eds). *Local History, Transnational Memory in the Romanian Holocaust*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011.
Gligor, Mihaela. "Memories in Writing. On the Importance of Correspondence for Recovering the History". In *Südosteuropa-Jahrbuch, 46, Memory Cultures in Southeast Europe since 1945. Proceedings of the International Academic Week at Tutzing, October 2021*. Edited by Christian Voß, Katerina Kralova, and Sabina Ferhadbegović. Berlin: Peter Lang, 2023. 253–62.
Gligor, Mihaela (Ed.). *Corespondența Enric Furtună – Henry Marcus*. With Introduction and Notes. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2020.
Gligor, Mihaela (Ed.). *Note în procesul de epurare a filosofului Iosif Brucăr*. With Introduction and Notes. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2018.

Gligor, Mihaela, and Miriam Caloianu (Eds). *Intelectuali evrei și presa exilului românesc*. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2013.

Gligor, Mihaela, and Miriam Caloianu (Eds). *Theodor Lavi în corespondență*. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2012.

Hansen, Ann M. "The Lessons of Sighet". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VI.1 (7) (2014): 158–78.

Hershcovitz, Sylvia. "Femei sioniste în România primei jumătăți a secolului al XX-lea. Studiu de caz: Asociația Culturală a Femeilor Evree (ACFE), 1919–1948". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 3/19 (2018): Special Issue: "Evreii în România Interbelică". 91–121.

Hetherington, Naomi. "Israeli Holocaust Fiction: A Review of Aharon Appelfeld's *Badenheim 1939* and Amos Oz's *Touch the Water, Touch the Wind*". *The Journal of Holocaust Education* 5.1 (1996): 49–60.

Ioanid, Radu. "Mihail Sebastian's Diary". In *Reference Guide to Holocaust Literature*. Edited by Thomas Riggs. Detroit: St. James Press, 2002. 482–3.

Ionescu, Arleen. "Calitatea mărturiei lui Emil Dorian. Între subiectivism și document istoric". In *Memoria din cuvinte: Reprezentări și moduri de tratare*. Edited by Grațiela Benga-Țuțuianu. Timișoara: Editura Universității de Vest din Timișoara, 2025. 73–92.

Ionescu, Arleen. "The 'Differend' of Shoes: van Gogh, Beckett, Wiesel, Levi and Holocaust Museums". *Partial Answers: Journal of Literature and History of Ideas* 17.2 (June 2019): 255–77.

Ionescu, Arleen. "Forgiving as Self-Healing? The Case of Eva Mozes Kor". In *Arts of Healing: Cultural Narratives of Trauma*. Edited by Arleen Ionescu and Maria Margaroni. London and New York: Rowman and Littlefield International, 2020. 27–49.

Ionescu, Arleen. "Manipulated Memory: Censuring the Romanian Holocaust under Ceaușescu and Its Aftermath". In *Information and Persuasion*. Edited by Maria-Ionela Neagu and Domnița Tomescu. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2017. 165–88.

Ionescu, Arleen, and Dumitru Tucan. "The Romanian Holocaust: Representations in Testimonial Literature and Films (Part 1)". *Swedish Journal of Romanian Studies* 8.1 (2025): 181–210. https://doi.org/10.35824/sjrs.v8i1.27311.

Ionescu, Arleen, and Dumitru Tucan. "The Romanian Holocaust: Representations in Testimonial Literature and Films (Part 2)". *Swedish Journal of Romanian Studies* 8.2 (2025): 119–45. https://doi.org/10.35824/sjrs.v8i2.27312.

Ionescu, Arleen, Dana Mihăilescu, and Adrian Tudurachi. "Introduction: Memory in Exile: 80 Years since the Liberation of the Nazi Camps". *Word and Text: A Journal of Literary Studies and Linguistics* 15 (2025): Special Issue "Memory in Exile: 80 Years since the Liberation of the Nazi Camps". Edited by Arleen Ionescu, Dana Mihăilescu, and Adrian Tudurachi, with the collaboration of Feng Li. 5–16.

Ionescu, Ștefan. "The Boom of Testimonies After Communism: The Voices of the Jewish Holocaust Survivors in Romania (1989–2005)". *Studia Hebraica* 5 (2005): 357–80. Reprinted in *The Camp: Narratives of Internment and Exclusion.* Edited by Colman Hogan and Marta Marin. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007. 342–65.

Ionescu, Ștefan. "Bystanders' Attitudes Towards the Jews: During the Antonescu Regime (1940–1944): Revisiting the Diaries of Holocaust Survivors from Romania". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* V.1 (6) (2013): 23–31.

Ionescu, Ștefan. "În umbra morții: Memoria supraviețuitorilor Holocaustului din România". *Studia Hebraica* 4 (2004): 362–90.

Ionescu, Ștefan. "The Preservation of Memory during the Holocaust and the Emergence of Survivors' Voice in its Aftermath, 1941–1947". *Pontes: Review of South East European Studies* 2 (2005): 108–24.

Iovănel, Mihai. *Evreul improbabil. Mihail Sebastian: o monografie ideologică*. Iași and București: Polirom; Cartea Românească, 2012.

Iovănel, Mihai. *Istoria literaturii române contemporane 1990–2020*. Iași: Polirom, 2021.

Irimia, Maria Mădălina. "Schiță pentru biografia unui intelectual uitat: Moses Schwarzfeld". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 3/19 (2018): Special Issue: "Evreii în România Interbelică". 56–81.

Jerzak, Katarzyna. "Exile as Life after Death in the Writings of Henryk Grynberg and Norman Manea". In *The Writer Uprooted: Contemporary Jewish Exile Literature*. Edited by Alvin H. Rosenfeld. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008. 75–91.

Joris, Pierre. "Paul Celan's Counterword: Who Witnesses for the Witness?". *boundary 2* 50.4 (2023): 49–60.

Kan, Elianna. "In Conversation: On Writing, the Illness and the Therapy: An interview with Norman Manea". *The American Reader*. N.D. https://theamericanreader.com/on-writing-the-illness-and-the-therapy-an-interview-with-norman-manea/.

Kelso, Michelle. "'And the Roma Were Victims, too". The Romani Genocide and Holocaust Education in Romania". *Intercultural Education* 24.1–2 (2013): 61–78.

Kelso, Michelle, and Daina S. Eglitis. "Holocaust Commemoration in Romania: Roma and the Contested Politics of Memory and Memorialization". *Journal of Genocide Research* 16.4 (2014): 487–511.

Kroitoru, Elionor, and Thirer Ofelia. "Moshe Leibel, an Artist in the Vapniarka Concentration Camp". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XV.1 (16) (2023): 253–66.

Kuller, Harry. "Holocaust și iudaism în viziunea lui Elie Wiesel". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* II.1 (3) (2010): 141–6.

Kunstadt, Lipman. *Diary from Hell in Transnistria, 1942–1944*. Edited by Sarah Rosen and Dalia Ofer. Jerusalem: Yad Vashem Publications, 2022.

Lagniel-Lavastine, Alexandra. *Cioran, Eliade, Ionesco. L'oubli du fascisme: Trois intellectuels roumains dans la tourmente du siècle.* Paris: PUF, 2002.

Langer, Lawrence L. "Memory and Invention in Olga Lengyel's *Five Chimneys*". In *The Afterdeath of the Holocaust*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021. 169–95.

Levine, Michael G. "Spectral Gatherings: Derrida, Celan, and the Covenant of the Word". *Diacritics* 38.1–2 (Spring – Summer 2008): 64–91.

Liska, Vivian. "'Roots against Heaven.' An Aporetic Inversion in Paul Celan". *New German Critique* 91 (2004): 41–56.

Likwornik, Zvi Harry. *Als Siebenjähriger im Holocaust: Nach den Ghettos von Czernowitz und Bérschad in Transnistrien ein neues Leben in Israel 1934–1948–2012*. Second Revised and Expanded Edition. Konstanz: Hartung-Gore, 2013.

Livezeanu, Irina. "*Journal* 1935–1944: The Fascist Years". *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 16.3 (Winter 2002): 451–55. https://doi.org/10.1093/hgs/16.3.451.

Lobonț, Florin. "Paradoxes of Symbolic Encryptions of Memory in Holocaust Memorialization". *ORC-IARSIC and ESSACHES (University Paul Valery 3, Montpellier, France) Proceedings of the International Conference on Communication of the Symbolic and the Symbolic of Communication in the Modern and Postmodern Societies, ESSACHES*. Iași: Institutul european, 2013. 465–83.

Lobonț, Florin. "Non-reprezentationalismul, contranarațiunea și retorica absenței în memorializarea recentă a Holocaustului". *Euroregionalia* 5 (2018): 155–72.

Lukács, Mihai. "The Holocaust Theatre in Romania (1941–1958)". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XI.1 (12) (2019): 175–202.

Lukács, Mihai. "The Soothing Balm: The Yiddish Theatre and the Performative Holocaust Memory in Romania". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XIV.1 (15) (2022): 261–82.

Manta-Cosma, Ioana. "Being a Jewish Writer in 1937–1944 Romania: Narrative Identity Developed around Emil Dorian's Diary". *Telciu Summer Conferences*. Edited by Valer Simion Cosma. Cluj-Napoca: Eikon, 2013. 164–79.

Ludmila Martanovschi, and Dana Mihăilescu. "Representations of the 'Aliens Within:' Romanian Jews and Roma in Radu Jude's Cinema". In *The Aliens Within: Danger, Disease, and Displacement in Representations of the Racialized Poor*. Edited by Cathy C. Waegner, Daniel Stein, and Geoffroy de Laforcade. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022. 85–111.

Mihalcea, Eugenia. "Copiii supraviețuitori, martori tăcuți ai Holocaustului din Transnistria". In *Ape Adânci. Studii Iudaice și Israeliene: cercetare, construcție moștenire: In Honorem Liviu Rotman*.

Edited by Madeea Axinciuc, Ana Bărbulescu, Gabriela Myers, and Bolocan Raluca. București: Editura Universității din București, 2024. 307–20.

Mihalcea, Eugenia. "Between Memory and Memorialization Policies: How Romanian Children Jewish Survivors Living in Israel Remember the Holocaust". In *Memories on Terror. Essays on Recent Histories*. Edited by Mihaela Gligor. Frankfurt am Main: CEEOL Press, 2021.

Mihăilescu, Dana. "Being without Pleasurable Memories: On the Predicament of the Shoah's Child Survivors in Norman Manea's 'Proust's Tea' and Kindred Narratives". *American Imago* 70.1 (Spring 2013): 107–24. https://doi.org/10.1353/aim.2013.0003.

Mihăilescu, Dana. "Dynamics of Remembrance across Time and Media: On Ruth Glasberg Gold's Multiple Accounts of Her Holocaust Experiences in Transnistria". *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 15.2 (2021): 285–311. https://doi.org/10.1163/1872471X-bja10027.

Mihăilescu, Dana. "Gendered Intergenerational Spaces of Holocaust and Communist Traumas in Anca Vlasopolos's Transatlantic Memoir No Return". In *Women and the Holocaust: New Perspectives and Challenges*. Edited by Andrea Petö, Louise Hecht, and Karolina Krasuska. Budapest: Central European University Press, 2015. 183–205.

Mihăilescu, Dana. "Ghost-Writing World War II Memories: Romanian Holocaust Survivors' Life Stories in Post-Cold War Western Societies". In *After Memory: World War II in Contemporary Eastern European Literatures*. Edited by Matthias Schwartz, Nina Weller, and Heike Winkel. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2021. 83–110. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110713831-005.

Mihăilescu, Dana. "Holocaust Child Survivors' Memoirs as Reflected in Appelfeld's *The Story of a Life*". *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 17.3 (2015). https://doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.2711.

Mironescu, Andreea. "In-Between Histories: Intermedial Configurations in Radu Jude's Collage Film 'The Dead Nation'". *Jazyk a kultúra číslo* 31–32 (2017): 103–11.

Mironescu, Doris. "How Does Exile Make Space? Contemporary Romanian Émigré Literature and the Worldedness of Place: Herta Müller, Andrei Codrescu, Norman Manea". In *Romanian Literature as World Literature*. Edited by Mircea Martin, Christian Moraru, and Andrei Terian. New York and London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018. 289–307.

Mitricioaei, Silvia (Ed.). *File din istoria evreimii clujene*. Volume II. Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2014.

Mitulescu, Sorin. "Truncated Images of the Holocaust: The Deportation of the Roma in the Censored Romanian Literature: The Case of the Novel *Șatra* by Zaharia Stancu". In *Holocaust Memoryscapes. Contemporary Memorialisation of the Holocaust in Central and Eastern Countries*. Edited by Sonia Catrina. București: Editura Universitară, 2020. 392–407.

Moldovan, Raluca. "The Politics of Memory and Representation: Film and the Holocaust in Central and Eastern Europe". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VII.1 (8) (2015): 157–84.

Morgenstern, Maia. "Your Grandfather Would Not Say Kaddish". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 4–5 / 20–21 (2019–2020): Special Issue: "Discurs și violență antisemită în România modernă". 517–21.

Nastasă-Kovács, Lucian. *Enric Furtună și "Bilanțul unui insucces"*. Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2020.

Nastasă-Kovács, Lucian. "Educația la evreii din România. Între conservarea identității și tentația ieșirii din ghetou". In *O sută de ani după tratatul minorităților (1919). Aspecte din istoria și civilizația evreilor din România*. Edited by Carol Iancu. București: Editura Academiei Române, 2021. 165–202.

Nastasă-Kovács, Lucian. "Un destin literar neîmplinit: Enric Furtună". In *Doamna academician Georgeta Filitti la 85 de ani. Volum omagial*. Edited by Olga Sandu. Târgoviște: Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 2023. 400–61.

Nastasă-Kovács, Lucian. "Memorie și ingratitudine post-Holocaust. Cazul Marianne Kardos". In *File din istoria evreimii clujene*. Volume III. Edited by Valentin Ghiță. Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2015. 101–18. Translated into Hungarian by the author as Nastasă-Kovács, Lucian. "Emlékezet és hálátlanság a holokauszt után. A Kardos Marianne-eset". In *Adalékok a kolozsvári zsidóság múltjához*. Edited by Schwártz Róbert. Kolozsvár: MEGA Könyvkiadó, 2015. 101–17.

Nastasă Lucian, and Dragoș Sdrobiș. *Politici culturale și modele intelectuale în România*. Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2013.

Nastasă-Matei, Irina. "Debating the Place of Yiddish in the Romanian Jewish Education System during the Interwar Period: Perspectives from Various Jewish Elites and Romanian Authorities". *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 42.3 (2024): 26–53.

Nicolaescu, Brîndușa. "Norman Manea, une voix distincte parmi les voix juives de la littérature roumaine". In *Les expressions du collectif dans les écritures juives d'Europe centrale et orientale*. Edited by Fleur Kuhn-Kennedy and Cécile Rousselet. Paris: Presses de l'Inalco, 2018. 229–44.

Oișteanu, Andrei. *Imaginea evreului în cultura română. Studiu de imagologie în context est-central-european*. București: Humanitas, 2004. Translated into English as Oișteanu, Andrei. *Inventing the Jew: Antisemitic Stereotypes in Romanian and Other Central-East European Cultures*. Foreword by Moshe Idel. Translated by Mirela Adăscăliței. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press for the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism (SICSA), The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2009.

Olaru (Vasile), Andreea-Iulia. "Cultural Communication Through Images about the Self and the Others – The Romanian Jewish Community". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VII.1 (8) (2015): 347–60.

Pałubicka, Kamila. "Artistic Approaches at Memorial Sites – A Workshop Example". In *Holocaust Memoryscapes. Contemporary Memorialisation of the Holocaust in Central and Eastern Countries*. Edited by Sonia Catrina. București: Editura Universitară, 2020. 261–77.

Paolino, Francesca. *Una vita: Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger (1924–1942)*. Trento: Edizioni del Faro, 2013.

Pașcalău, Maria. *Scriitori evrei în literatura română. Identități moderne în context (trans)național*. Timișoara: Editura Universității de Vest, 2023.

Patterson, David. "Emil Dorian (1893–1986)". In *Encyclopedia of Holocaust Literature*. Edited by David Patterson, Alan L. Berger, and Sarita Cargas. Westport, Connecticut and London: Oryx Press, 2002. 42–3.

Pecican, Ovidiu. "Sebastian. Critic al criticii". In *Ape Adânci. Studii Iudaice și Israeliene: cercetare, construcție moștenire: In Honorem Liviu Rotman*. Edited by Madeea Axinciuc, Ana Bărbulescu, Gabriela Myers, and Bolocan Raluca. București: Editura Universității din București, 2024. 271–8.

Petreu, Marta. *Diavolul și ucenicul său: Nae Ionescu – Mihail Sebastian*. Iași: Polirom, 2009.

Pop, Yehoshafat. "A Journey into the Intellectual World of the Romanian Jew Mihail Sebastian and His Testimony during the Fascist Years". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* VI.1 (7) (2014): 59–92.

Popescu, Diana I. "Staging Encounters with Estranged Pasts: Radu Jude's *The Dead Nation* (2017) and the Cinematic Face of Public Memory of the Holocaust in Present-Day Romania". *Humanities* 7.40 (2018): 1–18. https://doi.org/10.3390/h7020040.

Popescu, Marius. "Eva Heyman – destinul unui copil în timpul Holocaustului". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 1/17 (2016): 306–18.

Preda, Caterina. "Artistic Memorialization of the Roma Holocaust in Romania: Rendering Visible the Historical Trauma and Documenting the Suffering". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* XI.1 (12) (2019): 123–48.

Radosav, Maria. "Strategii de supraviețuire în Holocaust în memoria feminină". *AIO* 2. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2001. 78–104.

Ramras-Rauch, Gila. *Aharon Appelfeld: The Holocaust and beyond*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994.

Ramras-Rauch, Gila. "Dan Pagis (1930–1956)". In *Encyclopedia of Holocaust Literature*. Edited by David Patterson, Alan L. Berger, and Sarita Cargas. Westport, Connecticut and London: Oryx Press, 2002. 145–6.

Rosen, Sarah. "The Djurin Ghetto in Transnistria through the Lens of Kunstadt's Diary". In *Romania and the Holocaust. Events, Context, Aftermath*. Edited by Simon Geissbuhler. Stuttgart, 2016. 131–50.

Rosen, Sarah. "Surviving in the Murafa ghetto: A Case Study of One Ghetto in Transnistria". *Holocaust Studies. A Journal of Culture and History* 16.1–2 (2010): 157–76.

Rosinger, Adalbert. "Wapniarka – o republică totalitară în miniatură (1941–1944)". With an introduction by Veronica Rozenberg". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 1/17 (2016): 280–305.

Rotiroti, Giovanni. "Scrivere dopo Auschwitz è un 'atto di barbarie'? La risposta di Paul Celan e di Gherasim Luca". *Transylvanian Review* Suppl 2 (2016): 57–64.

Rottman, Astrid. "Holocaust Remembrance, Memorial Space and Otherness. Dialogue between Memory and the Spectator". In *Holocaust Memoryscapes. Contemporary Memorialisation of the Holocaust in Central and Eastern Countries*. Edited by Sonia Catrina. București: Editura Universitară, 2020. 367–90.

Rotman, Liviu. "Antisemitismul interbelic analizat cu ajutorul Jurnalului lui Wilhelm Filderman". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 3/19 (2018): Special Issue: "Evreii în România Interbelică". 17–24.

Rusu, Mihai Stelian. "Geographies of Remembrance: Observing the National Day of Commemorating the Holocaust in Romania's Educational System". In *Holocaust Memoryscapes. Contemporary Memorialisation of the Holocaust in Central and Eastern Countries*. Edited by Sonia Catrina. București: Editura Universitară, 2020. 278–306.

Rusu, Mihai S., and Alin Croitoru. *Politici ale memoriei în România postsocialistă: atitudini sociale față de redenumirea străzilor și înlăturarea statuilor*. Iași: Editura Institutul European, 2022.

Rusu, Mihai S., and Alin Croitoru. "'What's done is done': Coming to Terms with the Memorial De-communization of Public Space in Romania". *Memory Studies*, online first (2025). https://doi.org/10.1177/17506980251359594.

Schultz, Deborah, and Edward Timms (Eds). With a contribution by Petru Weber. *Arnold Daghani's Memories of Mikhailowka: The Illustrated Diary of a Slave Labour Camp Survivor*. London and Portland: Vallentine Mitchell, 2009.

Schultz, Deborah. "Survival and Memory: Arnold Daghani's Verbal and Visual Diaries". In *Local History, Transnational Memory in the Romanian Holocaust*. Edited by Valentina Glajar and Jeanine Teodorescu. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011. 91–118.

Shafir, Michael. "Memory, Memorials and Membership: Romania's NATO Quest and Marshal Antonescu" (Part 1). *RFE/RL East European Perspectives* 5.4 (2003): electronic distribution; (Part 2). *RFE/RL East European Perspectives* 5.4 (2003): electronic distribution.

Shafir, Michael. "Memory, Memorials and Membership: Romanian Utilitarian Antisemitism and Marshal Antonescu". In *Romania Since 1989: Politics, Culture and Society*. Edited by Henry F. Carey. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2004. 67–96.

Shafir, Michael. "The Men of the Archangel Revisited: Anti-Semitic Formations among Communist Romania's Intellectuals". *Studies in Comparative Communism* 16 (1983): 223–43.

Sineaeva-Pankowska, Natalia. "Pamięć o Holokauście w Mołdawii". *Zagłada Żydów. Studia I Materiały* 11 (2015): 545–53.

Solomon, Alexandru. *Reprezentări ale memoriei în filmul documentar*. București: Polirom, 2016.

Solomon, Vlad. "Marcel Iancu – mărturie despre Pogromul din București". *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 1/17 (2016): 271–9.

Ștefan, Olga. "Vapniarka: Personal Memories from the 'Camp of Death'". In *Memories of Terror: Essays on Recent Histories*. Edited by Mihaela Gligor. Frankfurt am Main: CEEOL Press, 2021. 223–60.

Szentagotai, Aurora, Ioana Cosma, and Daniel David. "Describe Fear in Your Own Words. Stories from the Holocaust: A Historical and Psychological Analysis". *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* IV.1 (5) (2012): 104–14.

Stefan, Olga. "The Future of Memory Project". *Studia UBB Dramatica* LXII. 2 (2017): 249–69.

Ștefănescu, Cornelia. *Mihail Sebastian*. București: Editura Tineretului, 1968.

Taylor, Charles. "Celan and the Recovery of Language". In *Dilemmas and Connections. Selected Essays*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011. 56–77.

Tibon, Gali. "'Am I my brother's keeper?' The Jewish Communities in the Ghettos of Mogilev Province and the Romanian Regime in Transnistria during the Holocaust, 1941–1944". *Dapim: Studies on the Holocaust* 30.9 (2016): 93–116.

Tucan, Dumitru. "Recuperarea istoriei traumatice și jocurile memoriei. Despre memoria Holocaustului din România". *Revista Transilvania* 6 (2020): 7–21.

Tucan, Dumitru. "A trăi infernul (2). Jurnale din timpul Holocaustului ale copiilor și tinerilor din spațiul românesc". *Analele Universității de Vest din Timișoara. Seria Științe Filologice* 58 (2020): 211–43.

Tucan, Dumitru. “Literatura și recuperarea memoriei pierdute. Despre romanele postmemoriale ale lui Cătălin Mihuleac”. *Qvaestiones Romanicae* IX (2021): 410–21.
Tucan, Dumitru. “Memoria vie a Holocaustului din România și reprezentările sale (1944–1947)”. *Qvaestiones Romanicae* XI (2024): 376–406.
Tudorancea, Anca. “Waiting for Mondy: Memories of Lida (Liba) Waldingher Burihovici Havas (1921–2011)”. *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 4–5 / 20–21 (2019–2020): Special Issue: “Discurs și violență antisemită în România modernă”. 517–21.
Țâgșorean, Carmen. “O incursiune în publicistica lui Marius Mircu din perioada interbelică”. *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 3/19 (2018): Special Issue: “Evreii în România Interbelică”. 91–121.
Tudorancea, Anca. “Amintiri cu Iosif Bercu / Ioan Șerbănescu (1923–2010)”. *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 3/19 (2018): Special Issue: “Evreii în România Interbelică”. 355–64.
Tudorancea (Ciucu), Anca. “Nostalgia unei lumi pierdute. Simbolismul reportajelor despre Sighet și București (1929/1930–1939) de F. Brunea-Fox și ilustrate de Iosif Berman”. *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* III.1 (4) (2011): 197–212.
Turcuș, Claudiu. *Norman Manea: Aesthetics as East Ethics*. Frankfurt and New York: Peter Lang, 2016.
Vasile, Andreea. “Povestirea vieții prin documente personale”. *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări V.1 (6) (2013)*: 100–17.
Vasile, Cristian. “Mihai Ralea, chestiunea evreiască și antisemitismul românesc”. In *Ape Adânci. Studii Iudaice și Israeliene: cercetare, construcție moștenire: In Honorem Liviu Rotman*. Edited by Madeea Axinciuc, Ana Bărbulescu, Gabriela Myers, and Bolocan Raluca. București: Editura Universității din București, 2024. 279–308.
Voicu, George Emanuel. “Un scandal literar uitat de-acum o sută de ani: ‘afacerea Porn’”. *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* III.1 (4) (2011): 101–25.
Volovici, Leon. *Nationalist Ideology and Antisemitism: The Case of Romanian Intellectuals in the 1930s.* Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1991.
Vranceanu Pagliardini, Alexandra. “Du Journal de Mihail Sebastian au Retour du hooligan: une vie de Norman Manea”. *Cahiers balkaniques* [En ligne] 43 (2015): NP. https://doi.org/10.4000-/ceb.8068.
Vultur, Smaranda. *Memoria salvată. Evreii din Banat, ieri și azi*. Volume 1. Iași: Polirom, 2002.
Vultur, Smaranda, and Adrian Onică. *Memoria salvată. Cine salvează o viață salvează lumea întreagă*. Volume 2. Timișoara: Editura Universității de Vest, 2009.
Waldman, Felicia. “The Barascheum Phenomenon in World War II Romania”. *Revista de istorie a evreilor din România* 2/18 (2017): Special Issue: “Locuri ale memoriei”. 171–81.
Wiesel, Elie, Lucy S. Dawidowitz, Dorothy Rabinowitz, and Robert McAfee Brown. *Dimensions of the Holocaust. Lectures at Northwestern University*. Annotated by Elliot Lefkovitz. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1996.
Zavatti, Francesco. “Making and Contesting Far Right Sites of Memory: A Case Study on Romania”. *Memory Studies* 14.5 (2021): 949–70.

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE HOLOCAUST AND ANTISEMITISM IN ROMANIA (*Abstract*)

This article offers the first comprehensive bibliography that focuses on the Holocaust and antisemitism in Romania and includes key resources from historiography, testimonial literature, and studies on Holocaust representation and memorialization. Intended as a valuable research tool, it includes titles in Croatian, English, French, German, Hebrew, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Romani, Romanian, Spanish, Swedish. Romanian and English translations are provided for all foreign-language titles where available. For titles originally published in Romanian, only English translations are indicated if they exist. The massive corpus comprising approximately 950 titles is divided into several sections on historiography ("Historical Studies on Antisemitism, the Holocaust in Romania and Its Memory", "Documents, Documentary Accounts and Memorial Books"), Holocaust representation ("Testimonies, Memoirs, Diaries of Holocaust Survivors [Including Vicarious Memoirs Written on Behalf of Their Relatives by Second and Third Generation Writers]", "Fiction", "Poetry and Discourses of Poets on the Holocaust", "Filmography"), and "Works on Holocaust Testimonial Literature and Other Representations and Memorialization of the Holocaust in Romania, Works on the Romanian Intelligentsia During WW2".

Keywords: Holocaust in Romania, antisemitism in Romania, Holocaust testimonial literature, Holocaust memorialization in Romania.

DOCUMENT

MIHAI IOVĂNEL

BIBLIOGRAFIA PSEUDOTRADUCERILOR DE ROMAN ÎN POSTCOMUNISMUL ROMÂNESC (1990–2004)[1]

În acest articol reconstitui microistoria unui subgen relativ puțin cercetat al romanului românesc postcomunist: falsele traduceri. Manifestat în nișa literaturii de consum, subgenul este alcătuit din romane scrise de autori români, dar împachetate editorial ca traduceri din scriitori anglo-americani de regulă fictivi. Fenomenul este tipic primului deceniu postcomunist, prelungit pentru scurtă vreme și după 2000. Logica sa de funcționare se închide simbolic după ce editura Polirom lansează în 2004 o serie de autori români contemporani, marcând astfel reîntoarcerea ficțiunii autohtone ca produs asociabil cu prestigiul.

Desigur, tipicitatea nu echivalează cu singularitatea. Fenomenul pseudotraducerilor nu poate fi găsit doar în postcomunism, cu atât mai puțin în cel românesc. Pseudotraduceri pot fi identificate și în perioada interbelică – exemplul local cel mai cunoscut fiind *Al doilea amant al doamnei Chatterley*, pretinsul *sequel* la *Amantul doamnei Chatterley* al lui D.H. Lawrence publicat de F. Aderca în 1934 sub pseudonimul Cliford Moore. În Polonia comunistă, scriitorul Maciej Słomczyński a publicat romane polițiste sub pseudonimul Joe Alex. Unul dintre acestea, *Gdzie przykazań brak dziesięciu* (1968), a fost tradus și în română sub titlul *Acolo unde e stăpână primăvara* (1973)[2] în colecția de profil „Enigma" a editurii Univers.

Fenomenul ca atare este definit structural de o relație de inegalitate culturală și economică între un centru și o periferie care aspiră la forța comercială a centrului și caută să contrabalanseze inegalitatea nu printr-o acțiune reală (întrucât ar fi dificil

[1] This work was supported by a grant of the Ministry of Research, Innovation and Digitization, CNCS - UEFISCDI, project number PN-IV-P2-2.1-TE-2023-1275, within PNCDI IV.

[2] Joe Alex, *Acolo unde e stăpână primăvara*. Traducere de Nicolae Mărgeanu și Mărgărita Petrescu, București, Univers, 1973. Titlul original (în traducere, *Acolo unde nu există cele Zece Porunci*) este preluat din poemul *Mandalay* de Rudyard Kipling, pus ca motto al romanului; versiunea românească alege să schimbe titlul cu secvența de vers imediat următoare celei care a inspirat titlul polonez. În traducerea lui Nicolae Mărgeanu, pasajul din Kipling arată astfel: „Să mă-mbarc, să trec odată de Suez, să mă aflu-n țara / Unde nu se știe Decalogul și-unde e stăpână primăvara". De remarcat că traducerea lui Mărgeanu (care o urmează pe cea poloneză) adaptează destul de liber versurile din poemul original: „Ship me somewheres east of Suez, where the best is like the worst/ Where there aren't no Ten Commandments an' a man can raise a thirst" înseamnă literal „Trimite-mă undeva la est de Suez, unde binele-i totuna cu răul,/ Unde nu există cele Zece Porunci și un bărbat poate să bea în voie".

de inversat raportul între importuri și exporturi dinspre periferie către centru), ci prin una simulată (produse locale ambalate ca de import). Ambele poziții (cea de centru și cea de periferie) sunt supuse evoluțiilor istorice. Astfel, în România interbelică rolul de centru asociat cu prestigiul era jucat mai degrabă de Franța decât de Anglia sau de Statele Unite. Totuși, în condițiile în care România era francofonă, iar o bună parte din publicul care cumpăra cărți putea citi în original titlurile franțuzești disponibile în librăriile din București sau din restul țării, nu are de ce să surprindă că într-o colecție populară precum „Colecţia celor 15 lei", scoasă de Editura Ig. Hertz, traducerile din engleză – chiar dacă realizate nu o dată prin intermediar francez – sunt mai numeroase decât cele din franceză; cu atât mai mult, cu cât forma originară a genurilor din „Colecția celor 15 lei" (romane polițiste, thrillere sentimentale etc., la care trebuie adăugate și filmele de la Hollywood care vehiculează respectivele formule) putea fi localizată mai degrabă în spațiul angloamerican decât în cel francez. Ca atare, faptul că F. Aderca alege să își derive pseudotraducerea dintr-un roman englez și nu din unul francez nu este o anomalie.

Situația este diferită în comunism din motive în primul rând ideologice. România este integrată într-un sistem politic-economic în care centrul nu mai este Occidentul, privit cu suspiciune ca sursă de iradiere deformatoare („putredul Occident"), ci URSS. Cu toate acestea, deși în România sunt traduse numeroase volume de *genre* (SF, literatură polițistă și de spionaj, romane de dragoste) din spațiul sovietic/comunist, cel puțin după 1964 (anul în care la nivelul politicii de stat filosovietismul se transformă progresiv în antirusism) sursa principală de prestigiu simbolic și comercial rămâne, fie și tacit (adică într-o manieră nerecunoscută oficial la nivel ideologic), Occidentul, în speță Statele Unite, care, după Al Doilea Război Mondial, preia rolul vechilor imperii europene. Pe de altă parte, atât în perioada filosovietică din anii '50, cât și după, din cauza condițiilor specifice ale comunismului, un fenomen precum cel al pseudotraducerilor rămâne mai degrabă exotic (vezi cazul Joe Alex). Motivul este simplu: sistemul comunist aplica o politică protecționistă producției culturale, limitând artificial numărul de traduceri pentru a stimula producția internă. Sigur, se traduc în comunism numeroși clasici din *genre* (Agatha Christie, Arthur Conan Doyle, Raymond Chandler, chiar și J.R.R. Tolkien), dar numărul acestor traduceri – pentru care cererea este enormă – este ținut sub control în raport cu producția internă[3]. De ce? Nu atât din rațiuni naționaliste, cât mai degrabă din rațiuni pragmatice. Ficțiunea de consum avea un

[3] Piața din comunism era, după cum arată Ioana Macrea-Toma în *Privilighenția. Instituții literare în comunismul românesc* (prefață de Marius Lazăr, Cluj-Napoca, Casa Cărții de Știință, 2009), o piață centralizată cu terminale distribuite dens și omogen în teritoriu. În fiecare sat existau biblioteci și librării. Transmiterea semnalului decizional de-a lungul acestei rețele nu era unidirecțional. Exista și un *feed-back* real – prin sistemul de precomenzi cititorii participau la stabilirea tirajelor și chiar a prețurilor, iar asupra librarilor se exercitau presiuni să nu acumuleze pe stoc. Pe de altă parte, întreg procesul rămâne, totuși, excesiv birocratizat și disfuncțional, în măsura în care oferta nu era corelată cu cererea: ceea ce poate fi parțial pus pe seama protecționismului care limita tirajele și numărul cărților traduse.

rol funcțional reglat de interese tactice pe termen scurt/mediu, rol pe care doar producția internă putea să îl acopere. Astfel, SF-ul, care ia avânt în anii ’50 și ’60 (când URSS conducea lupta pentru cucerirea Cosmosului), acoperă interfața educației tehnologice. Literatura pentru copii asigură infuzarea unor valori ideologice de la vârsta preșcolară. Romanul polițist cultivă vigilența împotriva infracționalității interne și încrederea în organele de miliție. Romanul de spionaj întreține suspiciunea paranoică, nu o dată xenofobă, împotriva țărilor dezvoltate din Occident. Romanul istoric susține teza continuității românilor pe teritoriul României socialiste din cele mai vechi timpuri până în prezent. Literatura *romance* susține ideea familiei ca celulă de bază a societății. Cât despre literatura erotică, aceasta nu prea exista[4], cu mici excepții (Petru Popescu, *Sfârșitul bahic*, 1973, care a atras în epocă acuzații de pornografie[5]). Altfel spus, chiar dacă Agatha Christie nu era neapărat un adversar ideologic, nu era mai puțin adevărat că Agathei Christie nu i se putea pretinde să scrie despre lupta organelor de miliție împotriva „mandatarilor” – subiect predilect în „milițierul” românesc. Doar scriitorii români puteau face asta – să se conecteze aproape în timp real cu agenda Partidului Comunist și să construiască un conținut actual în cheia ideologică corectă/dorită.

Pseudotraducerile reapar după 1989 în condițiile transformării sistemului literar comunist într-o piață editorială liberă. După cum remarca Andrew Baruch Wachtel în sinteza *Remaining Relevant after Communism* (2006), „apariția ficțiunii populare occidentale a fost cu siguranță unul dintre rezultatele cele mai șocante ale prăbușirii comunismului pentru scriitorii din Europa de Est”[6]. Noua piață nereglementată din postcomunism, deși continuă să susțină o vreme portofoliul de edituri de stat moștenit din comunism[7], asistă după 1989 la două fenomene complementare. În primul rând, un val agresiv de traduceri (în parte reeditări ale unor traduceri interbelice) din genuri de consum (literatură SF, de spionaj, *romance*). În al doilea rând, devaluarea literaturii locale de gen, efect atât al devaluării ideologice a „milițierurilor” din comunism, cât și al dumpingului de traduceri.

Fenomenul este general în țările excomuniste. Însă spre deosebire de țări ca Rusia sau Polonia, care reușesc să compenseze măcar parțial ofensiva traducerilor prin autori locali de gen – Andrzej Sapkowski în Polonia pentru *fantasy*, Alexandra

---

[4] Erotismul era echivalat cu anticomunismul: „Cărțile de tip James Bond, dar și operele erotice sau romane de Pasternak, Soljenițîn sunt returnate expeditorului de către controlul românesc fără explicații” (Ioana Macrea-Toma, *Privilighenția*, p. 185).

[5] Vezi Anneli Ute Gabanyi, *Ceaușescu și scriitorii. Analize politico-literare în timp real*. Traducere din limba engleză de Elena Buscă, traducere din limba germană de Andreea Scrumeda, prefață de Alexandru Muraru, București, Litera, 2023, pp. 455-465.

[6] Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Remaining Relevant after Communism: The Role of the Writer in Eastern Europe*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2006, p. 214.

[7] Vezi Adriana Stan, Cosmin Borza, „Deetatization of Culture, Privatization of Politics. The Case of the Publishing Houses in Postcommunist Romania”, *Studia Politica: Romanian Political Science Review*, 20, 2020, 3, pp. 382-397.

Marinina și Boris Akunin în Rusia pentru literatura polițistă – care vând milioane de exemplare (fără a socoti și exemplarele apărute în țările unde sunt traduse), în România producția locală suferă o redimensionare dramatică în anii ’90. Singurul scriitor local de literatură de consum care are un succes verificat prin sute de mii de exemplare vândute este Pavel Coruț, autorul unor romane care conectează tropi ai romanului de spionaj și science-fiction la teme de actualitate (misterele Revoluției din 1989), teorii ale unor conspirații „sioniste” și mituri protocroniste ale excepționalității românești. Piața de consum se redresează abia din anii 2000 și mai ales după 2010, când se înregistrează vânzări de sute de mii de exemplare în genurile *romance* (Mircea Cărtărescu, *De ce iubim femeile*, 2004, Irina Binder, *Fluturi*, vol. I, 2012) ori thriller (Igor Bergler, *Biblia pierdută*, 2015). (Însă redresarea este relativă, în măsura în care titlurile citate rămân mai degrabă excepții.)

În aceste condiții, autorii români din anii ’90 încearcă o serie de tactici de supraviețuire[8]. Cea mai la îndemână variantă este să publice cărți de consum sub identitatea reală. Un exemplu în acest sens este *Dodecaedru* (1991), scris în colaborare de optzeciștii George Cușnarencu și Nicolae Iliescu; două blurburi plasate pe prima copertă promit „[u]n roman polițist care se citește cu sufletul la gură după miezul nopții”, „[un roman] senzațional, strălucitor, straniu, surprinzător, stupefiant, senzual...”. Altă variantă este să publice false traduceri sub pseudonime străine. Primul roman de acest tip înregistrat în inventarul de față (vezi **Anexa 1**), *Ghici cine trage în tine?* (1992) de Max Torpedo (semnătură sub care se ascundeau trei autori din așa-numita Școală de la Brașov: poetul optzecist Alexandru Mușina și discipolii săi Caius Dobrescu și Andrei Bodiu), este însă și cel mai netipic pentru fenomen, în măsura în care este o farsă postmodernă autodeconspirată printr-o aglomerare de mărci paratextuale: colecția în care apare se numește „Surâs și crimă”, traducere este semnată Vitoria Lipan (protagonista din romanul *Baltagul* de Mihail Sadoveanu), iar blurburile[9] de pe coperta a patra sunt desprinse din publicații cu titluri fictive-parodice ca *Yale Gay Literary Revue* („Fastuos, extraordinar, erotic. Cea mai trepidantă parodie polițistă scrisă vreodată despre lumea Estului european”), *Police et Jandarmerie de France* („Maiorul Eugen Simion, prins într-o delirantă conspirație mondială, face să triumfe vigoarea și

[8] Vezi Wachtel, Remaining Relevant, p. 214: „Unii [scriitori] au reacționat făcând traduceri și adaptări/imitații după astfel de scrieri; ultimul tip de opere cunoaște o largă răspândire, dar autorii din această categorie sunt necunoscuți în afara țărilor lor și vor rămâne așa. Alții, precum Alexandra Marinina [autoare de romane polițiste din Rusia], s-au specializat într-un anumit gen și l-au adaptat materialului național propriu, fără să inoveze semnificativ. […] În sfârșit, un grup de autori […] au învățat să exploateze nivelul relativ de sofisticare al grupului lor țintă de cititori, producând scrieri care în același timp încorporează genuri ale ficțiunii populare și le atașează un metacomentariu ironic”.

[9] Procedeul fusese folosit anterior într-o *literary fiction* postmodernă, romanul colectiv din 1990 *Femeia în roșu*, scris de Mircea Nedelciu, Adriana Babeți și Mircea Mihăieș, prevăzut cu o postfață fictivă atribuită unui anume Martin Adams Mooreville și preluată chipurile din *The New York Literary Journal*.

subtilitatea spiritului latin. Citiți și veți râde până la lacrimi") și *Deutsche Polizeizeitschrift* („Maiorul Eugen Simion, căpitanul Fane Neagu, căpitanul Miron Soricescu, plutonierul Mironov, o echipă de investigatori pe care nu o veți putea uita"). Nu în ultimul rând, după cum sugerează blurburile citate, subiectul este românesc, populat de personaje cunoscute ale lumii literare (Eugen Simion, Marin Sorescu, Fănuș Neagu, Alexandru Mironov ș.a.), travestite cu efecte comice-satirice în ofițeri de poliție.

Dacă *Ghici cine trage în tine?* rămâne mai degrabă un *inside joke*, între 1995 și 2002 apar însă 18 romane care iau în serios clonarea unei identități anglo-americane. Florin Chirculescu publică *Dune 7. Cartea brundurilor* (1997) sub numele Patrick Herbert, pretins urmaș al lui Frank Herbert (autorul seriei originale *Dune*). Tot Chirculescu mai produce un roman erotic, *Nu uita, Pasadena* (1998), semnat Sidney Sheldon (scriitor de altfel real, autor al unui roman având în centru România comunistă, *Windmills of the Gods*, 1987), precum și două romane despre războiul din Vietnam, ambele sub identitatea Chris Buster Morris: *Pagoda musonului* (1996) și *Sindromul Tirpitz* (1997). Voicu Bugariu tipărește sub pseudonimul Roberto R. Grant romanele SF *Zeul apatiei* (1998) și *Animalul de beton* (1999). Aurel Cărășel debutează editorial în 1995 cu romanul SF *Vânătoare de noapte*, publicat sub pseudonimul Harry T. Francis, folosit și pentru romanul polițist, imitație de *hard-boiled* american, *Moartea ca o cocotă de lux* (2001). Sorin Petrescu lansează sub pseudonimul Mike Hassel o serie de zece romane plasate în diverse scene de război: *Moartea s-a născut la Sarajevo* (1996), *Spaimă și moarte în Transnistria* (1996), *Cecenia, chip înlăcrimat* (1997), *Kosovo – drumul Golgotei* (1999) etc.

De fapt, pentru exactitate, în paragraful anterior ar fi trebuit să scriu „apar cel puțin 18 romane". *DCRT. Dicţionarul cronologic al romanului tradus în România, 1990–2000* (2017)[10] înregistrează pentru primii 11 ani de postcomunism peste 100 de romane traduse ai căror autori nu sunt confirmați din surse internaționale (vezi **Anexa 2**). Fenomenul, care îl dublează pe cel investigat în articolul de față, are ca rațiune tactica editurilor comerciale de a evita plata drepturilor de autor; ca atare, numele reale ale autorilor erau modificate, uneori împreună cu numele protagoniștilor. De cele mai multe ori, identitatea reală a autorilor poate fi reconstituită. Astfel, cele peste 30 de romane publicate de Editura Z/Z 2000/Bogdana sub semnătura Dick Stanford fuseseră scrise, de fapt, de Don Pendleton; pe lângă numele autorului, editura, care le-a tradus prin intermediar francez (traducerile franțuzești fiind mai accesibile[11]), a mai cosmetizat câteva detalii de prim-plan (protagonistul Mack Bolan devine Hunter, iar supranumele său

[10] Ioan Milea (coord.), *Dicţionarul cronologic al romanului tradus în România 1990–2000*, Cluj-Napoca, Academia Română – Filiala Cluj-Napoca, 2017.

[11] Vezi Andrei Gorzo, *Ce am învățat de la Graham Greene. O istorie de familie*, Iași, Polirom, 2024, p. 31: „Circulau cu miile pe sub mână înainte de 1989 [...], iar după 1989 aveau să apară pe etalajele buchiniștilor de la Universitate". Pentru tot contextul, vezi pp. 29-33.

– și totodată numele seriei – se transformă din „The Executioner” în „Exterminatorul”). În mod similar, aceeași editură l-a transformat pe autorul Jeffrey Lord în Saxton Burr și pe protagonistul Richard Blade în Richard Baxter (însă, la rândul său, autorul original, Jeffrey Lord, era un *house name*/pseudonim colectiv pentru scriitorii Roland J. Green, Ray Nelson, Manning Lee Stokes); pe Jack Hild (pseudonimul lui John Preston) în Fred Connelly; și așa mai departe.

Practici de acest gen ale editurilor românești sunt atestate de Iulian Bocai într-un volum recent în care își consemnează experiențele de traducător de literatură *romance* în anii 2000:

> Nici vorbă să plătească drepturi pentru ele, mi-a spus [editorul] încă de la început. Le aducea cu plasele din Europa apoi le dădea traducătorilor. [...]
> Toate romanele astea erau la fel. [...]
> Am tradus trei [...] pe parcursul a vreo șase, șapte luni. Aveau titluri ca *S-a cunoscut în Zanzibar*, *Soț și soție*, *Un pescar ciudat* și le traduceam mereu cu jumătate de creier. [...]
> La al patrulea astfel de roman cred că am cedat și, pe la jumătate, când protagoniștii se aflau pe un iaht în mijlocul mării și simțeai în suprafața textului valurile care anunțau deschiderea picioarelor și sudoarea viitoare a sexului, n-am mai putut și am început să bag de la mine. Am inventat o ceartă între ei, care să sfârșească tragic. Văzusem recent *Talentatul domn Ripley* și m-am inspirat din el [...]. Cred că am scris în ritmul ăsta vreo zece pagini, inclusiv naufragiul lui pe o insulă din Pacific, pe care avea să rămână zeci de ani, ca Robinson.
> Romanele astea aveau, fără excepție, 150 de pagini de carte, așa că am mai copiat vreo alte patruzeci din *Cine l-a ucis pe Palomino Moreno*, ca să pară că e totuși întreg, am pus traducerea pe o dischetă și am lăsat-o așa la editură[12].

În aceste condiții, nu este neplauzibil ca din cele mai bine de 100 de romane cu autori neatestați câteva să fi fost scrise, și nu doar traduse, de autori români (a se vedea în continuare cazul „Swen Hasel”); însă pentru scopurile limitate ale acestui articol aleg să includ doar acele titluri cu autori români atestați de stadiul actual al documentării.

Revin așadar la pseudotraduceri în sensul precizat la început. Titlurile nu sunt suficient de numeroase (vezi Anexa 1) pentru a permite analize statistice. Dar se pot face totuși câteva observații despre construirea subgenului „pseudotraduceri”. Astfel, majoritatea volumelor (13) apar la Nemira, una dintre editurile cele mai vizibile comercial în anii ’90. Dintre acestea, 12 titluri sunt publicate în colecția „Comando”, dedicată thrillerelor de război, unul singur apărând în colecția „Nautilus”, specializată în literatură SF/*fantasy*. Astfel, în primul rând, contextul editorial (în speță, o serie de succes) construiește tracțiune inerțială pentru subgenul pseudotraducerilor. La rândul său, succesul seriei (ca și în cazul seriilor de la Editura Z, amintită anterior) depinde de contextul anilor ’90, traversat de războaie din spații apropiate geografic și cultural, precum cele din perimetrul fostei

[12] Iulian Bocai, *Revărsatul zorilor. Opt povești de dragoste și dorință*, București, Trei, 2025, pp. 119-123.

Iugoslavii sau cel din Transnistria, pentru a nu mai aminti războaie din zone mai îndepărtate, dar intens mediatizate local – Irak, Cecenia. Un factor complementar este numele autorului. În lista de pseudotraduceri Sidney Sheldon este singurul caz de autor real a cărui identitate este piratată. Merită amintit că în anii ’90 circula insistentul zvonul că romanele Sandrei Brown – o autoare de *bestsellers* romantic-erotice traduse în România la editura Miron – erau, de fapt, scrise de autori români. Dat fiind precedentul Sheldon, nu este improbabil nici ca o confruntare a cărților Sandrei Brown cu lista de traduceri în română să reveleze și contribuții locale. Apoi, identitatea Patrick Herbert, pretins fiu al lui Frank Herbert (autorul seriei *Dune*, publicată tot la Nemira în prima parte a anilor ’90), vampirizează, deși într-o manieră mai indirectă decât în cazul Sheldon, prestigiul unui autor celebru. Aspectul postmodern al poveștii stă în detaliul că un Brian Patrick Herbert, fiul lui Frank Herbert, chiar exista; sub semnătura Brian Herbert, acesta a publicat romane începând din anii ’80, unul în colaborare cu tatăl său (*Man of Two Worlds*, 1986). Începând din 1999, Brian Herbert a inițiat, împreună cu Kevin J. Anderson, un proiect de extindere (prin numeroase *prequels* și *sequels*) a seriei *Dune*; tradusă parțial în anii 2000 la editura Millennium Press, seria a ajuns în anii 2020 tot la Nemira. În fine, principiul vampirizării unui autor deja notoriu se verifică parțial și în cazul seriei semnate „Mike Hassel”, în măsura în care aceasta produce (în stilul paronimiilor de tip Adidas – Adibas sau Dan Brown – Don Brown, procedeu prin care o marcă de succes este copiată prin produse inferioare cu nume asemănătoare), o suprapunere onomastică parțială cu Sven Hassel – autor de romane de acțiune plasate în timpul celui de-Al Doilea Război Mondial. Sven Hassel, publicat în România și înainte de 1990 în colecția de gen „Delfin” a editurii Minerva, este după 1989 autorul prin care Nemira – care îl editează în colecția „Comando”, aceeași în care apar și romanele de „Mike Hassel” și de „Chris Buster Morris” – își construiește capitalul/portofoliul editorial. În mod ironic, nici Sven Hassel nu avea un dosar curat în ce privește identitatea: semnătura era un pseudonim ales de scriitorul danez Børge Willy Redsted Pedersen, care își inventase și o experiență legitimatoare de veteran în Al Doilea Război Mondial.

Însă peripețiile mărcii Sven Hassel nu se opresc aici. În a doua parte a anilor ’90, Editura Z reeditează seria Hassel – fie în urma achiziționării drepturilor, fie eludând problema drepturilor de autor. Pentru context, trebuie menționat că este o perioadă de recul comercial pentru Nemira după boom-ul din prima parte a anilor ’90, recul, de altfel, general, provocat de criza economică și de scăderea dramatică a puterii de cumpărare. Se poate face o corelație între fenomenul economic și cel al falselor traduceri: în condițiile devalorizării leului, pentru edituri era mai profitabil să evite plata în valută a drepturilor de autor și să se concentreze asupra producției interne (chiar dacă una cu ambalaj occidental). Pe lângă titlurile autentice ale lui Sven Hassel, Editura Z (care își va schimba ulterior numele în Editura Z 2000 și apoi în Bogdana, probabil tot din rațiuni economice – evitarea taxelor etc.) include în colecție și șase romane semnate, tot printr-o clonare paronimică de tip Adibas, „Swen Hasel”: *Deșertul damnaților*, *Nisipurile însângerate*, *Stepa morții*, *Bătălia*

din Ardeni, *Suflete ciuruite*, *Tornada de foc*. Pe un anticariat online seria „integrală" este prezentată astfel:

> Rarisimă ediție integrală a romanelor lui Sven Hassel, apărută la editura Z (devenită editura Bogdana) în 14 volume, în colecția „Câinii Războiului". Șase dintre acestea sunt unicele ediții apărute, drepturile de publicare aparținând exclusiv editurii Z, astfel că nu au mai fost retipărite niciodată ulterior, cum s-a întâmplat în cazul celorlalte romane, reeditate în multiple rânduri de editura Nemira[13].

Deși plasate tot în timpul celui de-Al Doilea Război Mondial, romanele „inedite" ale lui „Swen Hasel" conțin însă suficiente mărci ale inautenticității[14]: stilistice (umorul cinic al lui Hassel se transformă într-o intenție de umor patetic), onomastice (numele personajelor sunt paronimizate: Julius Heide devine Julian Heiden, Porta se transformă în Portta) ș.a.m.d. În plus, faptul că unul dintre volume, *Suflete ciuruite*, se petrece pe frontul românesc trimite direct la posibilitatea ca și aceste romane să fi fost scrise de autori români.

Dintre autorii atestați prezenți în lista de pseudotraduceri, cel mai versatil este Florin Chirculescu, de altfel cel mai important autor român de proză science-fiction de după 1989. Până în 2017, când publică prima dată o carte (*Greva păcătoșilor sau apocrifa unui evreu*, Nemira) sub numele său real, Chirculescu folosește pseudonimul Sebastian A. Corn, cu care semnează și pseudotraducerea la *Dune 7. Cartea brundurilor*[15]. Versatilitatea sa se verifică atât în numărul de genuri abordate în pseudotraduceri (thrillere de război, SF, romance), cât și în numărul de edituri (2) și colecții (3), ceea ce introduce și aspectul circumstanțial al unei astfel de inserții (la Nemira Chirculescu mai publicase în 1996 ucronia *2484 Quirinal Ave.*, iar la Karmat Press apăruse în 1995 volumul colectiv – tot o ucronie – *Motocentauri pe Acoperișul Lumii*, în care Chirculescu/Corn figura cu cele mai multe texte în raport cu ceilalți autori). În comparație cu Chirculescu sau chiar cu Aurel Cărășel/Harry T. Francis (care acoperă prin două volume două genuri:

---

[13] Vezi https://www.carti-online.com/seria-completa-14-vol-editia-cainii-razboiului-p-5618.html. Accesat în 22 noiembrie 2025.

[14] Inautenticitatea este semnalată și de cei care au încărcat pe platforma Scribd variantele digitale ale romanelor lui „Swen Hasel", printr-o notă preliminară: „Autor inexistent în viaţa reală – Swen Hasel fiind – de fapt – o clonă anumelui Sven Hassel, fabricată de editurile româneşti care, la vremea respectivă, au dat un tun de piaţă inventând noi «opere» şi schimbând numele autorului şi ale personajelor." Vezi https://ro.scribd.com/document/637840913/Desertul-Damnatilor-1-0-5. Accesat în 22 noiembrie 2025.

[15] Dat fiind că identitatea lui publică de scriitor era legată în anii '90 de acest pseudonim, Chirculescu pare să fi investit mai mult în romanul semnat Patrick Herbert decât în celelalte trei pseudotraduceri; dovadă și că e singura carte din cele patru pe care și-a asumat-o public în interviuri, exprimându-și dezamăgirea că editorul alesese să publice o variantă nedefinitivată a manuscrisului. Mai mult, Chirculescu a preluat și dezvoltat într-un roman ulterior, *Imperiul Marelui Graal* (2004), conceptul din *Dune 7*, bazat pe „sistemul de fonie interavioane folosit de americani în timpul celui de-al doilea război mondial, în Pacific". Vezi Liviu Szoke, „Krog in vizita la Gophtet : Interviu cu Sebastian A. Corn", *bibliotecalui liviu.ro*, 17 martie 2012, https://bibliotecaluiliviu.ro/2012/03/17/krog-in-vizita-la-gophtet-interviu-cu-sebastian-a-corn/. Accesat în 20 octombrie 2025.

fantasy și *noir*), Sorin Petrescu/Mike Hassel, chiar dacă apare cu cele mai multe titluri (10), are identitatea cea mai lineară – un singur gen, o singură editură, o singură colecție.

Rațiunile pentru care autorii recurg la pseudotraduceri nu sunt nici ele uniforme, dincolo de factorul comercial. Astfel, pentru debutantul Aurel Cărășel alegerea identității „Harry T. Francis" este un mod de a pătrunde pe piața editorială; de altfel, după ce își stabilizează identitatea de autor prin mai multe volume publicate ca Aurel Cărășel, el își va reedita pseudotraducerile sub identitatea reală. Prin comparație, chiar dacă și Sorin Petrescu reeditează ulterior *Jurnalul unui mercenar* (eLiteratura, 2015), el păstrează și cu acest prilej identitatea „Mike Hassel"; spre deosebire de prolificul Cărășel, Petrescu nu pare să aibă veleități de autor identificat prin semnătura reală (sau printr-un pseudonim „original"), mulțumindu-se cu statutul de traducător, meseria lui de bază. Cel care se singularizează din acest punct de vedere în lista de titluri este Voicu Bugariu. Acesta, un autor prolific și înainte de 1990, cu numeroase volume de critică, proză realistă și fantastică/SF, pare să fi ales identitatea „Roberto R. Grant" mai degrabă din precauții privind conținutul explicit al romanelor, încărcate cu scene erotice și limbaj obscen; în anii '90 un astfel de conținut ar fi putut atrage consecințe penale. Altfel, Bugariu depune efortul cel mai redus pentru a-și masca identitatea. Romanele sale au un decor exclusiv românesc (sub forma unei anticipații rasist-satirice, ele extrapolează un viitor din 2058 în care România a devenit Rominia, Imperiul Țiganilor, având capitala la Bukry) și nu introduc un traducător fictiv. Mai mult, *Zeul apatiei* are pe coperta a patra fotografia reală a autorului, ceea ce întărește impresia că, dincolo de aspectul comercial fundamental serios, coordonatele de existență ale subgenului pseudotraducerilor prezintă, prin numeroasele lor glume interne, un aspect de joc postmodern – simptom al unei piețe editoriale care nu s-a profesionalizat.

După cum am anticipat deja, fenomenul pseudotraducerilor se epuizează – cel puțin în limitele documentării actuale – imediat după 2000. Însă problema concurării traducerilor din ficțiunea de gen internațională continuă să fie activă, chiar dacă în forme diferite. Existența unui culoar alternativ este sugerată de scrierile lui Eugen Ovidiu Chirovici. Începând din 1991, când debutează cu două romane de acțiune militară, *Masacrul* și *Comando pentru general*, Chirovici testează numeroase formule comerciale: romanul comic în *La broasca leșinată: balada unui pierde-vară* și *Suflete la preț redus* (ambele din 2007), *policier*-ul parodic în *Cine a ucis-o pe Nora Jones?* (2011), *hard boiled* de tip Raymond Chandler în *Voodoo* (2010), literatura conspiraționistă în *Labyrinth.com* (2009), romanul istoric-medieval de tip Umberto Eco în *A doua moarte* (2006), horror *à la* Stephen King în *Pulbere neagră* (2010) și *Sanitarium. Locul în care nimic nu este ce pare a fi* (2012). Mai toate aceste volume par traduse dintr-un autor occidental; inclusiv decorurile și personajele sunt internaționale, fără niciun substrat românesc. În calitate de clone, romanele lui Chirovici semnalează două fețe ale aceluiași fenomen: încercarea câmpului literar românesc de a contracara concurența

nimicitoare a traducerilor din spațiul anglo-american prin replicarea acelor cărți traduse (Chirovici oferă cópii de o calitate ridicată, cu „arome identic naturale", cum scrie pe unele etichete); și drama aceluiași câmp literar românesc de a avea o piață de desfacere atât de îngustă, încât literatura de consum locală nu reușește să fie performantă comercial în condițiile de concurență făcută de traducerile autentice. Ca atare, după o perioadă de tatonări ale pieței internaționale în care publică fără niciun ecou două traduceri după titluri apărute inițial în română, *Hoodoo Creek* (2012) și *The Second Death* (2014), Chirovici își va schimba tactica și strategia odată cu *The Book of Mirrors* (2017), thriller polițist scris direct în engleză (posibil cu ajutorul unui *ghostwriter* traducător, deși acesta nu apare menționat). *The Book of Mirrors* generează titluri în presa din Marea Britanie prin suma considerabilă cu care este achiziționată cartea[16]; mai mult, va fi tradusă în mai multe limbi și va sta la baza unei ecranizări în care rolul principal este jucat de Russel Crowe.

Schimbarea față de anii '90 este simptomatică. Actorii din sistemul literar al primului deceniu postcomunist se raportau la o piață internă care, deși îi dezavantaja din capul locului pe autorii locali, genera încă suficientă credință – transmisă inerțial din comunism – în potențialul ei pentru a produce tactici de tipul pseudotraducerilor. Însă un autor precum Chirovici, chiar dacă investește vreme de mai bine de două decenii în această piață cu o tactică asemănătoare, identifică la sfârșitul anilor 2010 inversarea perspectivei: piața internă este prea mică, jocul adevărat trebuie jucat în spațiul internațional. Fenomenul este ilustrat (cu mai puțin succes vizibil decât Chirovici) și de alți autorii locali de *genre*. Două exemple din nișa SF (un gen extrem de popular în comunism, afectat apoi de tranziția postcomunistă, dar care la nivel global continuă să fie atractiv): după ce emigrează în Canada, Costi Gurgu își reinventează cariera de scriitor român rescriind sau adaptând în engleză povestiri și romane publicate inițial în România; în paralel cu o prolifică activitate în română, Ioana Vișan publică în anii 2000 pe Amazon mai multe serii *fantasy* în engleză (în jur de 20 de titluri). Dar, desigur, nu pretind că extremele descrise în acest articol epuizează spectrul de tactici adoptate de scriitorii români de *genre* după 1989. Mulți continuă să producă, cu mai mult sau mai puțin succes, clone ale ficțiunii de gen occidentale la edituri mai mult sau mai puțin obscure; în timp ce alții încearcă – mai ales în ultimii ani – să pătrundă pe piața internă, dominată încă la nivel simbolic de prestigiul ficțiunii literare, în colecțiile unor edituri *mainstream* ca Polirom prin titluri care combină tropi din *genre* cu o formă mai apropiată aspirațional de *literary fiction*.

[16] Dalya Alberge, „UK-based Romanian Author's First Novel in English Becomes a Sensation", *The Guardian*, 12 octombrie 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/oct/12/uk-romanian-author-eugene-chirovici-book-of-mirrors-english. Accesat în 21 octombrie 2025.

Anexa 1. Inventar al pseudotraducerilor de roman în postcomunismul românesc

1992

Torpedo, Max, *Ghici cine trage în tine?*. Trad. de de Vitoria Lipan, Arad, Sophia, colecția „Surâs și crimă", 1992, 236 p. (autori reali: Andrei Bodiu, Caius Dobrescu, Alexandru Mușina).

1995

Francis, Harry T. *Vânătoare de noapte*. Trad. de Aurel Cărășel, București, Recif, 1995, 174 p. (autor real: Aurel Cărășel).

1996

Hassel, Mike, *Moartea s-a născut la Sarajevo*. Trad. de Sorin Petrescu, București, Nemira, colecția „Comando", 1996, 190 p. (autor real: Sorin Petrescu).

Hassel, Mike, *Pentru bani, înainte!* Trad. Sorin Petrescu. București, Nemira, colecția „Comando", 1996, 191 p. (autor real: Sorin Petrescu).

Hassel, Mike, *Spaimă și moarte în Transnistria*. Trad. de Sorin Petrescu, București, Nemira, colecția „Comando", 1996, 207 p. (autor real: Sorin Petrescu).

Morris, Chris Buster, *Pagoda musonului*. Trad. de Felix Oprescu, București, Nemira, colecția „Comando", 1996, 256 p. (autor real: Florin Chirculescu).

1997

Hassel, Mike, *Cecenia, chip înlăcrimat*. Trad. de Sorin Petrescu, București, Nemira, colecția „Comando", 1997, 197 p. (autor real: Sorin Petrescu).

Herbert, Patrick, *Dune 7. Cartea brundurilor*. Trad. de Sebastian A. Corn, București, Nemira, colecția „Nautilus", 1997, 446 p. (autor real: Florin Chirculescu).

Morris, Chris Buster, *Sindromul Tirpitz*. Trad. de Florin Chirculescu, București, Nemira, colecția „Comando", 1997, 274 p. (autor real: Florin Chirculescu).

1998

Grant, Roberto R., *Zeul apatiei*, Timișoara, Sedona, colecția „Insolit", 1998, 270 p. (autor real: Voicu Bugariu).

Hassel, Mike, *Ordon: ucide-ți aproapele!* Trad. de Sorin Petrescu, București, Nemira, colecția „Comando", 1998, 213 p. (autor real: Sorin Petrescu).

Sheldon, Sidney, *Nu uita, Pasadena*. Trad. de Alexandru Fronoiu, Ploiești, Karmat Press, 1998, 277 p. (autor real: Florin Chirculescu).

1999

Grant, Roberto R, *Animalul de beton*, Cluj-Napoca, Dacia, colecția „Imago", 1999, 230 p. (autor real: Voicu Bugariu).

Hassel, Mike, *Conspirația sfârșitului lumii*. Trad. de Sorin Petrescu, București, Nemira, colecția „Comando", 1999, 206 p. (autor real: Sorin Petrescu).

Hassel, Mike, *Kosovo – drumul Golgotei*. Trad. de Sorin Petrescu, București, Nemira, colecția „Comando", 1999, 222 p. (autor real: Sorin Petrescu).

2000

Hassel, Mike, *Război fără arme. Operațiunea „Controlul minții"*. Trad. de Sorin Petrescu, București, Nemira, colecția „Comando", 2000, 233 p. (autor real: Sorin Petrescu).

2001

Francis, Harry T., *Moartea ca o cocotă de lux*. Trad. de Aurel Cărășel, București, Bogdana, colecția „Enigma Z", 2001, 239 p. (autor real: Aurel Cărășel).

Hassel, Mike, *Jurnalul unui mercenar*. Trad. de Sorin Petrescu, București, Nemira, colecția „Comando", 2001, 208 p. (autor real: Sorin Petrescu).

2002

Hassel, Mike, *Onor la general*. Trad. de Sorin Petrescu, București, Nemira, colecția „Comando", 2002, 188 p. (autor real: Sorin Petrescu).

Anexa 2. Inventar al traducerilor problematice, cu autori neconfirmați în cataloagele internaționale[17]

1990

Mahaut, Georges, *Cavalerul întunericului*, București, Sharina, 1990, 122 p.

Maistres, Jean de, *Ultimul duel*, București, Telegraf, colecția „Best, 1", 1990, 137 p.

Mullton, Rudyard, *Al Capone sau Scorpionul roşu*, București, Romfel, 1990, 64 p.

Ricciotti, Ugo, *Mai presus decât viaţă, Ana Acquaviva*, [București], Mariana, colecția „Romanul de dragoste", 1990, 168 p.

1991

Del Rey, Koster, *Întâlnire de gradul X (The Past in the Space)*. Trad. de Ecaterina Ţarălungă, București, Orion, colecția „Cosmos, 1", 1991, 102 p.

Harwey, Rex, *Canionul blestemat (The Cursed Canion)*, București, Ulise, 1991, 174 p.

Hawks, Stuart, *Vinovat*. Trad. de B. Bogdan, București, Vega, 1991, 72 p.

Hull, Albert, *Lady Hamilton*, București, „Bună Ziua", colecția „Gemma", [1991?], 120 p.

Maistres, Jean de, *Capitaine Benoit*, Alba Iulia, 1 Decembrie, colecția „Romanul poliţist în capodopere", 1991, 155 p.

1992

Dankworth-Chadwick, G., *Furtună peste Staken Plains (A Man Called „Flying Arrow")*, în vol. Herbert Rigby Jr., La vest de Rio. Trad. de V.V. Delatimiş, Craiova, Queen, colecția „Western gold star", 1992, p. 133–252.

Dennis, W., *Contrabandiştii*, Ploiești, Elco, colecția „AS. Aventură. Suspens", 1992, 254 p.

Esmyn, John, *Între două comori*, București, Anaith, [1992], 148 p.

Gilmoore, John, *Crime la Miami*. Trad. de Radu Bogdan, Satu-Mare, Nord-Vest Press, 1992, 154 p.

Jemna, Syl, *O noapte de groază. Mini crime*, București, C/B-S.R.L., colecția „Cartea poliţistă de buzunar", 1992, 80 p.

Maître, Jean, *Luiza de Lavallière. Roman de dragoste şi pierzanie*, tr. şi adaptare de Maria Pîrvu, Deva, Călăuza, colecția „Biblioteca populară Călăuza", 1992, 111 p.

Rigby, Herbert jr., *La vest de Rio Pecos*. Trad. de V.V. Delatimiş, Craiova, Queen, colecția „Western gold star", 1992, 254 p.

1993

Frenky, Vic, *Serbarea groazei (Terror Party)*, Baia Mare, Gutinul, colecția „Colecția Roz", 1993, 119 p.

---

[17] Vezi Milea (coord.), *Dicţionarul cronologic*.

Fulbright, Lester, *Fiul Satanei – Contele Dracula*, tr. şi adaptare în lb. română de Ionel Apietroaie, f.l., Saltic Prodcom, 1993, 117 p. Pref. de Dumitru Caraion.
Scott, Williams K., *Justiţiarul preeriei (Prairies Marshall)*, Bucureşti, Ulise, colecţia „Romane captivante", 1993, 203 p.
Scott, Williams K., *Veninul scorpionului*, Bucureşti, Ulise, 1993, 320 p.
Turnus, Edward, *Killerul*. Trad. de Vasile Savin, Galaţi, Porto-Franco, colecţia „Detectiv", 1993, 142 p.
Walker, Roger, *Uimitoare aventuri pe insula fantomelor. Roman pentru tineret*, Iaşi, Porţile Orientului, 1993, 142 p.

1994

Allemand, M.M., *Crima de la vila Welter*. Trad. de Mioara Dorobanţu, Bucureşti, Cristal, colecţia „Seria Retro-Policier", 1994, 221 p.
Hallstead, Tom, *Atracţie fatală (Fatal Attraction)*. Trad. de Ion Constantinescu, Bucureşti, colecţia „Extaz, 3", 1994, 190 p.
Hawke, Harriet, *Greşeşti odată*, greşeşti mereu. Trad. de Dan Diaconescu, Bucureşti, Editura Z, colecţia „Tandreţe, 10", 1994, 176 p.
Hunter, Julia, *Carina (Mistery Harbor)*. Trad. de Dan Diaconescu, Bucureşti, Editura ZZ, colecţia „Tandreţe, 9", 1994, 206 p. Tr. prin intermediar german (?). Titlul versiunii în lb. germană: Das Traumschiff unserer Liebe (?).
Mason, Andrew, *Pentru că vreau să cred în tine (Because I Want to Trust You)*. Trad. de Dan Diaconescu, [Bucureşti], Editura ZZ, colecţia „Tandreţe, 2", 1994, 190 p.
Niels, Friedrich, *Singură împotriva tuturor*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, Bucureşti, Editura ZZ, colecţia „War, 19", 1994, 154 p.
Parker, Sandra, *Sălbatică în braţele tale (Wild in Your Arms)*. Trad. de Liviu Radu, Bucureşti, Baricada, colecţia „Jennifer, 1. Colecţia romanelor erotice şi de dragoste", 1994, 127 p.
Rich, Anthony Andrew, *Omul de sacrificiu*, varianta în lb. română de I.D., Sibiu, Transpres, 1994, 119 p.
Young, Andrea, *Amantă şi soţie (Wives*, Friends and Lovers). Trad. de Oana Negureanu, Bucureşti, Miron, 1994, 442 p.

1995

Brady, Jill, *Infidelităţi*. Trad. de Dan Diaconescu, Bucureşti, Editura ZZ, colecţia „Tandreţe, 14", 1995, 156 p.
Bruce, Jack, *Umbra tigrului*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, Bucureşti, Editura Z, colecţia „War, 24", 1995, 207 p.
Frenky, Vic, *Vinovaţi fiindcă ne-am iubit*, Baia Mare, Gutinul, colecţia „Colecţia Roz", 1995, 158 p.
Meyer, Luc Pierre, *Pasager clandestin*. Trad. de Cristian Ionescu, Bucureşti, Olimp, 1995, 216 p.
Ross, Brenda, *Elizabeth*, Târgu-Jiu, Antonie, 1995, 228 p.
Sanders, Shelly, *Adierea vântului*, în româneşte de I.N. Dragoş, Bucureşti, Carmel, colecţia „Sandra Brown collection, 5", [1995], 188 p.

1996

Bes, Antoine de, *Pământul sfinţilor şi spurcaţilor*. Trad. de Georges Ţîrlescu, [Piatra-Neamţ], Răzeşu, 1996, 206 p.
Burr, Saxton, *Masacrul de la Mak Loh*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, Bucureşti, Editura Z, colecţia „Mercenar, 11. Baxter War.", 1996, 160 p.
Burr, Saxton, *Operaţiunea Jemo*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, Bucureşti, Editura Z, colecţia „Mercenar, 9", 1996, 192 p.
Daniels, Jack, *Diavolul mărilor*. Trad. de Manuel Păun, Bucureşti, Editura Z, colecţia „War, 43", 1996, 351 p.

Fawcett, Robert, *Arme pentru Bosnia*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z, colecția „War, 39”, 1996, 256 p.
Holt, Patrick, *Zonă interzisă*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z, colecția „Enigma Z. Serie nouă”, 1996, 160 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Cruciada morții*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z, colecția „Mercenar, 12. Hunter War”, 1996, 190 p.
Willering, Marion, *Pulberea stelelor*, Iași, Sagittarius, colecția „Vacanța”, 1996, 295 p.

1997
Braddok, Chris, *Lichidați creierul*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z, colecția „Enigma Z, 50”, 1997, 174 p.
Colt, Steve, *Jungla în flăcări*. Trad. de Alexandra Petrea, București, Editura Z, colecția „Enigma Z, 45”, 1997, 160 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Bătălie la San Francisco*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z, colecția „Mercenar, 16. Hunter War”, 1997, 143 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Masca de luptă*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z, colecția „Mercenar, 13. Hunter War”, 1997, 159 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Taifun la Miami*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z, colecția „Mercenar, 21. Hunter War”, 1997, 159 p.

1998
Blade, Gerald, *Afacerea Coiotul*. Trad. de Daniela-Cristina Vintilă, București, Editura Z, colecția „Enigma Z, 54”, 1998, 159 p.
Blade, Gerald, *Ostatic în infern*. Trad. de Daniela-Cristina Vintilă, București, Editura Z, colecția „Enigma Z, 51”, 1998, 127 p.
Blade, Gerald, *Pericol de contaminare*. Trad. de Daniela-Cristina Vintilă, București, Editura Z, colecția „Enigma Z, 58”, 1998, 159 p.
Burr, Saxton, *Războiul celor două lumi*. Trad. de Iurie Pripa, București, Editura Z, colecția „Mercenar, 29. Baxter War”, 1998, 159 p.
Connelly, Fred, *Escadroanele morții*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z, colecția „Câinii războiului, 2”, 1998, 176 p.
Dexter, Jo, *Raid în Hong Kong*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z, colecția „War special. Mercenar, 24”, 1998, 143 p.
Dexter, Jo, *Ucigașii de pe Rio Negro*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z, colecția „Mercenar, 23”, 1998, 144 p.
Hasel, Swen, *Deșertul damnaților*. Trad. de Cătălin Popescu, București, Editura Z, colecția „Câinii războiului”, 1998, 200 p.
Hasel, Swen, *Nisipurile însângerate*. Trad. de Cătălin Popescu, București, Editura Z, colecția „Câinii războiului”, 1998, 206 p.
Karanov, R.V., *Teroare în stepă*. Trad. de Nicolae Baltă, București, Editura Z, colecția „War, 57”, 1998, 157 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Bătălia Angliei*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, în vol. Operațiunea Riviera. Bătălia Angliei, București, Editura Z, colecția „Mercenar, 26. Hunter War”, 1998, p. 113–223. Vol. mai cuprinde romanul Operațiunea Riviera.
Stanford, Dick, *Coșmar la Boston*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z, colecția „Mercenar, 28. Hunter War”, 1998, 142 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Operațiunea Riviera*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, în vol. Operațiunea Riviera. Bătălia Angliei, București, Editura Z, colecția „Mercenar, 26. Hunter War”, 1998, p. 1–112. Vol. mai cuprinde romanul Bătălia Angliei.
Taylor, Zach, *Dispărut în misiune (Missing in Action)*. Trad. de Ramona Mircea, București, Lucman, colecția „Action. Dragon, 4”, 1998, 192 p.

Walker, Greg, *Cuțitul mercenarului*. Trad. de Radu Timnea, București, Editura Z, colecția „Câinii războiului, 3", 1998, 191 p.
Walker, Greg, *Stiletul (Stiletto)*. Trad. de Radu Timnea, București, Editura Z, colecția „Câinii războiului, 5", 1998, 175 p.
Wild, Julia, *Promisiunea mătăsii albastre (The Marriage Solution)*. Trad. de Oana Negureanu, București, Miron, 1998, 380 p.

1999

Connelly, Fred, *Ambuscadă în Cuba*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Câinii războiului, 8", 1999, 191 p.
Connelly, Fred, *Ciclonul Barrabas*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Câinii războiului, 10", 1999, 144 p.
Dexter, Jo, *Capcană sângeroasă*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z, colecția „War special. Mercenar, 30", 1999, 144 p.
Dickenson, Edward, *Mireasa pierdută la pocker*. Trad. de G. Nicolaescu, Galați, Porto-Franco, colecția „Excelent circe", 1999, 128 p.
Gallat, John, *Capcana*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Enigma Z. Serie nouă, 63", 1999, 124 p.
Gallat, John, *Dansul lupilor*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Enigma Z. Serie nouă, 61", 1999, 126 p.
Hoyt, Michael, *OSS atacă*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Enigma Z, 62", 1999, 127 p.
Hoyt, Michael, *Trădare*. Trad. de Daniela Cristina Vintilă, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Enigma Z, 64", 1999, 143 p.
Keating, Tommy, *Capul de mort. Roman polițist-umoristic*. Trad. de Liviu Timbuș, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Enigma Z. Serie nouă, 67", 1999, 159 p.
Keating, Tommy, *Mai periculoase decât bărbații. Roman polițist-umoristic*. Trad. de Liviu Timbuș, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Enigma Z. Serie nouă, 70", 1999, 156 p.
Lewis, Fernando-Will, *Atac la Casablanca*, versiunea românească propusă de D.P. Titus, București, Norma, colecția „Colecția de noapte", 1999, 127 p.
Sanders, Silvy, *Prizoniera amintirilor*, adaptare de Silvia Berescu, București, Alcris, colecția „Romantic, 258", 1999, 159 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Asediu la San Diego*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Mercenar, 37. Hunter War", 1999, 158 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Bătălie la Washington*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Mercenar, 36. Hunter War", 1999, 128 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Clanul sicilian*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Mercenar, 38. Hunter War", 1999, 159 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Masacru la Chicago*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Mercenar, 31. Hunter War", 1999, 128 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Moarte Teliferilor!*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Mercenar, 39. Hunter War", 1999, 112 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Represiune în Caraibe*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Mercenar, 34. Hunter War", 1999, 127 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Violență la Las Vegas*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Mercenar, 32. Hunter War", 1999, 135 p.
Taylor, Zach, *Evadare sângeroasă (Exodus from Hell)*. Trad. de Ramona Mircea, București, Lucman, colecția „Focus, 2", 1999, 189 p.

2000

Hasel, Swen, *Stepa morții*. Trad. de Mihai Tiberiu, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Câinii războiului", 2000, 208 p.

Hicks, Larry, *Ucigaşii de tancuri*. Trad. de Liviu Mateescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „War, 80", 2000, 191 p. Pe copertă apare un alt nume: Johnny Howard.
Jacobs, Martin, *Mercenari în China*, tr. şi adaptare de Bogdan Chircea, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „War, 78", 2000, 223 p.
Keating, Tommy, *Otrava din ciorba de raci. Roman poliţist-umoristic*. Trad. de Liviu Timbuş, Piteşti, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Enigma Z. Serie nouă, 73", 2000, 110 p.
O'Connor, Jessica, *Dulcele sărut al iertării*, adaptare de Dan Coste, București, Naţional, colecția „Aventură şi amor, 1", 2000, 192 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Asediu la Detroit*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Mercenar, 42. Hunter War", 2000, 123 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Carnaval însângerat*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Mercenar, 41. Hunter War", 2000, 142 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Complotul canadian*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Mercenar, 47. Hunter War", 2000, 128 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Devastare la Boston*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, 2000, 128 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Devastare la Saint Louis*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Mercenar, 45. Hunter War", 2000, 128 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Furtună în Texas*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Mercenar, 40. Hunter War", 2000, 141 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Infern în Hawaii*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Mercenar, 44. Hunter War", 2000, 144 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Uragan la Seattle*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Mercenar, 43. Hunter War", 2000, 156 p.
Steel, Strobe S., *Cu revolveru-n pernă*. Trad. de Simona Pelin, București, Antet, colecția „Crime cu premeditare, 3", 2000, 128 p.
Terille, Richard, *Jungla morţii*. Trad. de Cristian Sângeorzan, București, Lucman, colecția „Dragon, 15. Seria Action", 2000, 208 p.
Wallace, Bruce, *Arme pentru asasini*, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Câinii războiului", 2000, 108 p.

2001

Hasel, Swen, *Bătălia din Ardeni*. Trad. de Mihai Tiberiu, București, Editura Bogdana, colecția „Câinii războiului", 2001, 160 p.
Hasel, Swen, *Suflete ciuruite*. Trad. de Apolodor Stăncescu, București, Editura Bogdana, colecția „Câinii războiului", 2001, 158 p.
Hasel, Swen, *Tornada de foc*. Trad. de Mihai Tiberiu, București, Editura Bogdana, colecția „Câinii războiului", 2001, 160 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Luni – Giulgiul morţii*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Bogdana, colecția „Mercenar", 2001, 127 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Miercurea cenuşii*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Bogdana, colecția „Mercenar", 2001, 144 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Raid la Acapulco*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Z 2000, colecția „Mercenar", 2001, 140 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Terminus*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Bogdana, colecția „Mercenar", 2001.
Stanford, Dick, *Vinerea răzbunării*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Bogdana, colecția „Mercenar", 2001, 144 p.

2002

Stanford, Dick, *Asaltul puşcaşilor marini*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Bogdana, colecția „Mercenar", 2002, 160 p.

Stanford, Dick, *Capcana teroriștilor*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Bogdana, colecția „Mercenar", 2002, 150 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Maniacul din Minnesotta*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Bogdana, colecția „Mercenar", 2002, 144 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Sâmbăta blestemată*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Bogdana, colecția „Mercenar", 2002, 128 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Sfârșitul imperiului*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Bogdana, colecția „Mercenar", 2002, 128 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Tabăra blestemată*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Bogdana, colecția „Mercenar", 2002, 144 p.
Stanford, Dick, *Un comando pentru mercenar*. Trad. de Nicolae Constantinescu, București, Editura Bogdana, colecția „Mercenar", 2002, 128 p.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PSEUDO-TRANSLATION OF NOVELS IN ROMANIAN POST-COMMUNISM (1990–2004)
(*Abstract*)

In this article, I present an overview of a relatively unexplored subgenre of post-communist Romanian fiction: fake translations. This subgenre emerged in the niche of genre literature and consists of novels written by Romanian authors that are packaged by publishers as translations of works by fictional Anglo-American writers. This phenomenon was typical of the first post-communist decade and continued briefly after 2000. The launch of a series of contemporary Romanian authors by Polirom Publishing in 2004 symbolically marked the end of this practice, signalling the return of domestic fiction as a prestigious product. This article also includes an inventory of the false translations in post-communist Romanian literature.

Keywords: post-communism, novel, popular fiction, translations, Romanian literature.

ADRIANA BABEȚI (ed.), *Dicționarul romanului central-european din secolul XX* [*The Dictionary of the Central-European Novel of the 20th Century*]. Edition supervised by Oana Fotache, Iași, Polirom, 2022, 755 p.

Intended both for the specialists and the readers interested in the problematic of the Central Europe and in its literature, *Dicționarul romanului central-european din secolul XX* [*The Dictionary of the Central-European Novel of the 20th Century*], coordinated by Adriana Babeți and published in 2022 by the Polirom Publishing House in Jassy as an edition supervised by Oana Fotache, is not only an excellent lexicographical work, a useful information provider for any researcher or specialized reader, but also a very good theoretical introduction to the literary geography and the cultural identity complexes existing within the peoples of Central Europe. Conceived in the 1990s as a personal project issued in the multicultural academic environment of Timișoara by Adriana Babeți, as a continuation of her studies dedicated to Central Europe, the final form of the dictionary cumulates the effort of 70 contributors specialized in comparative literature or in the various national literatures of the Central-European area: literary critics and essayists, translators and writers. Adriana Babeți is also the author of the extensive scientific studies structured into distinct chapters in the introductory section of the work, whose first part is entitled "A Brief History" and is dedicated to the way the book has taken shape. By delineating the general conceptual framework of the project, it reconstructs the genesis of the entire enterprise, and explains why Timișoara is indeed a privileged place to start such an intellectual undertaking, due to the city's "marginal-centric" socio-cultural specificity and because of its location at the heart of the crossroads that links Western Europe to the south-eastern part of the continent. Defined by the author as a zone of Central-European ambivalence and paradox, Timișoara, with its natural extension of the whole region called Banat, fully justifies the selection as an ideal space to complete the project because at least four sociocultural motivations: the magnitude of its spontaneous cultural transfers, the coexistence of a multilingual academic and literary local ethos (provided by the Romanian, German, Hungarian, Serbian, Slovak, Italian, Croatian, Czech living in the area), the tradition of the true group solidarity trained in completing collective scholarly projects, and the exquisite taste for all sorts of experiments.

A sketchy but vivid reconstruction of the multicultural history of the region fully consolidates the image of an "Eldorado inside-the-borders" (it is Babeți's definition), of a paradisiacal interethnic milieu, still existing inside the collective imagination, which curbs any conflictual outcome down to minimum. Moreover, the history of Timișoara's academic and cultural life and especially the local tradition of engaging in Central-European comparative studies and geo-criticism provide the most solid background for any lexicographic project of this type. It's no accident that the present one has been in preparation for almost three decades. The first phase of the project had been completed between 1997 and 2004 by a core group of literary researchers living in Timișoara and it had led to the creation of the institutional framework capable to strategically support it, the foundation A Treia Europă [The Third Europe], whose name does not only incorporate the idea of the whole project and of its intellectual target, but also provides the geographical outline and the delineates the, let's say, limitless limit of the cultural network open to the intellectual research and border-crossing dialogue. After a less productive second period of uncertainties and hesitations, the project of *Dicționarul romanului central-european din secolul XX* gained new momentum in 2014 by attracting professors, researchers, doctoral students and master's students belonging to the major domestic universities of Cluj-Napoca, Bucharest, Jassy, Oradea and Brașov, as well contributors from abroad, from Paris, Dresden, Kraków, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Bratislava, Novi Sad, Szeged, Jerusalem, Ontario, etc.

Beginning with the general aspects of the theory and practice, later extended towards their particular embodiments, the studies in the first part of the volume isolate the distinct cultural patterns

meant to differentiate the core of the Central-European novel from the novelistic production of "the other Europe" and proclaim the existence of a basic unity of texture, atmosphere and world approach specific to the Central-European novel production, without ignoring, of course, the national, specific differences. The imprints of the so-called Central-European cultural pattern will be later detected in all the novels included in the dictionary, treated as themes with multiple stylistic expressions, but subordinated to the underlying unity of prose ethos shared by the writers living in this part of the world. The methodological aim of the program tends to demonstrate, on the one hand, that the Central-European novel has been constantly connected to the broader European literary phenomenon, and, on the other, that it proves to be creatively specific, as a block that reflects the region's structural socio-cultural and spiritual propensity towards ambivalence, that is its – so to say – "intermediarity". In order to achieve the demonstration, the theoretical approaches of the authors revolve around the diffuse conceptual variants of the term "Central Europe", from the multiple nuances of the German terms *Mitteleuropa*, *Zentraleuropa*, and *Zwischeneuropa*, already the subject of an impressive number of analysts, including Friedrich Naumann, Jacques Le Rider, Timothy Garton Ash, or Jacques Droz, to the historical and socio-cultural determinations of the supranational federalist projects elaborated in the region and its destiny seen from the perspective of the post WWII geopolitical moves. The program also takes into consideration the various conceptual shifts and nuances the term Central Europe has suffered after 1989, together with their corresponding interpretations, no matter how the area was labelled (*Median Europe*, *Middle Europe*, *The Other Europe*, *East-Central Europe*, *Central and Eastern Europe*, or *Central and Southeastern Europe*). Also relevant and spiritually incentivising are the bynames given to Central Europe by its men of letters, which usually prove to be more expressive than the scientific terminology because they carry a sophisticated, sometimes ironical, metaphorical resonance. A potential list starts with Robert Musil's *Kakania*, then we have the "New Babylon", "Habsburgia", the "paradise of the heretics", or simply the "K world" (from k.u.k.), where the initial K could easily stand for Kafka, Konrád, Kiš, Kertész, Krleža, Kraus, Koestler, Konwicki, Karinthy, Krasznahorkai: the dictionary enumerates no less than 22 Central-European authors whose surname starts with K.

Being aware of the fluctuations and blurs of the concept, the authors opt for really flexible criteria when they decide who will have an entry and who will not, as their selection is guided by two convergent and complementary approaches: to perceive the phenomenon from a strictly literary angle, which presupposes the reading of the novels and of the literary history research associated to them from a comparative perspective, or to have in mind the second, problem-centred angle, which starts with "Central Europe" as a defining icon, extended later towards its various, sometimes marginal illustrations. The second approach requires, of course, a deep radiography of the region's tumultuous, sometimes tricky or deceiving history. In order to respect the intrinsic ambiguity of the Central European reality, usually defined as a "neither-nor" universe or, even more often, as the world in which "this is sometimes that", the authors reject the maximization of the cultural map proposed, among others, by Czeslaw Miłosz, but integrate the kin literature written in Germany. On the other hand, they keep a distance from the politically charged concepts of *Mitteleuropa* and *Zentraleuropa*, as the Habsburgs used to define the region, and prefer instead to keep themselves inside a hybrid, median zone, devoid not only of excesses but also of radical ostracism.

Due to its fundamental interdisciplinarity, the organizing mindset of the dictionary also incorporates a series of adjacent and equally variable concepts and theories, such as literary geography or the merge between identity and identities. Each theoretical layer contributes to the polymorphic, palimpsestic shaping of a dynamic cultural and spiritual pattern, understood as the mental "software" of a behaviour ethos which is proclaimed as being specific to the Central European peoples, both concerning their lifestyle and the peculiar way to feel and understand it. Immersed into the textures of the novels, the umbrella pattern reveals a set of invariants which, in their turn, guarantee the thematic homogeneity of the selected works. The configuration of these invariants is rooted in the "polygonal" investigation of not only the history or itchy cartography of the region, but also of the traumas of the Central-European countries and peoples. Its aim is to trace a certain specificity regarding the way these peoples have experienced their time and, generally, temporality, to

show their strive to synchronize and get up to date with the surrounding, European and global cultural trends, to identify the traumas and crises permeating the region's literatures and to assert the catalytic and cathartic role of novel writing during the Communist regime. By not claiming any infallibility or exhaustiveness, on the contrary, by inviting to debate and dialogue, *Dicționarul* is primarily a working tool capable to generate rhizomatic meanings and to entertain a dynamic thematic cluster, several of the topics meant for further elaboration being listed in the subchapters entitled "Crepusculland" and "Memory with Scarves. Posthistory or Forgetfulness."

To sum up: the reader finally gets an inventory of 256 novels, written in 14 languages by 197 authors, which can be considered a viable starting point for rethinking and defining the contested, cautiously received, or directly ignored concept of Central Europe and for fostering a lively debate nourished by the limitless hermeneutic openings provided by the networked reading of the included texts. With a primarily chronotopic orientation, the dictionary lists 251 novel entries (in case of the works with two or more volumes it usually provides sequels), 197 author entries, a List of Novels, a Coda dedicated to W. G. Sebald's *Austerlitz*, a Chronology, a List of Contributors, a General Bibliography, and indexes. Aiming to stay descriptive and analytical, each entry provides a minimal biographical information about the author, fixes the place of the novel within the writer's whole work, extends its hierarchical position towards the national literature it belongs to, then towards the generic Central-European spiritual heritage, and concludes with notes referring to the original editions of the text and to its Romanian versions, if they exist. A transnational context is added as a background to each entry, able to open new interpretive trajectories. Out of the 197 authors, 41 share a Romanian origin. To expose several domestic novels on a wider, Central-European platform proves to be really challenging for the authors, because, among other merits, it helps to extract a few Romanian writers from an inertial, marginal kind of reception and discuss their works as an organic constituent of the World Literature network. Intended primarily for academic specialists, *Dicționarul* is capable of providing an excellent research platform for all those interested in the relationship between literature and history, for the analysts studying mentalities, for scholars engaged in quantitative studies, and for those who favour World Literature approaches. At the same time, it entirely fulfils the hopes and expectations of every editor, translator, book agent and fellow writer.

Constantina Raveca BULEU
Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca Branch
"Sextil Pușcariu" Institute of Linguistics and Literary History

ALEX GOLDIȘ, CHRISTIAN MORARU, ANDREI TERIAN (eds.), *Pentru o nouă cultură critică românească* [*Toward a New Romanian Critical Culture*], Cluj-Napoca, Tact, 2024, 535 p.

Since the 1960s, Romanian critical discourse has been largely shaped by the ideology of aesthetic autonomism. With the disappearance of its two longstanding authoritative figures – Eugen Simion and Nicolae Manolescu – in the third decade of the twenty-first century, the field faced a moment of reassessment. Recent debates reveal a clear division between two schools of thought: one who seeks to preserve the status quo, and one advocating for its reconfiguration. It is within this context that the Critical Theory Institute from Păltiniș (founded in 2014 by Christian Moraru and Andrei Terian) published *Pentru o nouă cultură critică românească* [*Toward a New Romanian Critical Culture*] in 2024. The volume represents the third major contribution of the Institute to a series of extensive studies on critical theory and Romanian literature, following *Romanian Literature as World Literature* (Bloomsbury, 2018) and *Theory in the "Post" Era: A Vocabulary for the 21st-Century*

Conceptual Commons (Bloomsbury, 2022). *Pentru o nouă cultură critică românească* is also the Institute's first book written in Romanian, signaling a move from an internationally oriented discourse to one more locally grounded – a shift justified by the authors through the perceived urgency of some profound change within the Romanian literary system. Such a development raises an important question: should the volume's contents and arguments be perceived as an exclusively "Romanian matter?" A convincing answer can emerge only after a comprehensive examination of the contents, concepts, and methodological proposals advanced by the fourteen contributing researchers.

Structurally, *Pentru o nouă cultură critică românească* opens with an introduction by the editors, in which the general outline is pinpointed. The volume then unfolds into sixteen chapters grouped in three sections: "Tradiție, instituții și critica la prezent" ["Tradition, Institutions, and Criticism in the Present Tense"]; "Disciplinaritate, metodologie, forme critice" ["Disciplinarity, Methodology, Critical Forms"], and "Politică, generație, comunitate" ["Politics, Generation, Community"]. Finally, a "Coda", collectively authored by the contributors, closes the volume with several proposal for the rebuilding of the Romanian critical system. Suggested by the title and emphasized in the introductory note, what distinguishes this book is its pronounced manifesto-like orientation. While contemporary literature has long embraced the manifesto as a legitimate genre, postwar Romanian criticism offers remarkably few examples – not only of manifestos per se but of polemical texts more broadly. Against this backdrop, the essays gathered in *Pentru o nouă cultură critică românească* aren't simple points of divergence but rather a sustained confrontation with a longstanding, homogeneous critical system whose methodological and institutional assumptions the authors regard as fundamentally inadequate for contemporaneity.

If we begin with the essays in the first section, "Tradiție, instituții și critica la prezent", the depth of the problem becomes immediately apparent. The generation of literary critics that emerged in the 1960s, in the aftermath of the Stalinist era, managed to impose a paradigm that lasted over fifty years. Therefore, this first section concentrates on examining the so-called literary-feuilleton paradigm in its conception and manifestation throughout the decades. A useful point of departure for this inquiry is Adriana Stan's chapter, "Consensul 'liberal': critică, sistem și politică după Al Doilea Război Mondial" ["'Liberal' Consensus: Criticism, System, and Politics after World War II". Examining the postwar and the post-Stalinist periods, Stan notes that in the sphere of literary criticism the romantic idea of literature as palliative for the disruptions of history has become dominant and even created a sort of "longue durée" in the Romanian critical discourse (p. 70). Moreover, Stan compares the way in which Western and Romanian criticism evolved in the same period, and signals a noteworthy paradox. In the West, where liberalism and neoliberalism prevailed and the state withdrew as a social and cultural mediator, left-wing thinking gained intellectual traction and exerted a discernible influence on literary criticism. In Romania, by contrast, a non-liberal regime created economic and political conditions that enabled the emergence of a literature-oriented cultural liberalism. This dynamic ultimately produced a pronounced separation between literary critics and the broader society. Following the collapse of communism in 1989, critics assumed the role of "aesthetic missionaries" (p. 79), prioritizing the cultivation of aesthetic values over active participation in the public and social life of the newborn state. Adriana Stan asserts that the generations of literary critics who made their debut and their careers under communism were mesmerized by two instances of the same phantasm: capitalism. The generation of the 1960s idealized the capitalist order of interwar Romania, whereas the 1980s generation (Mircea Cărtărescu, Ion Bogdan Lefter among others) were bewitched by the American capitalism of the 1950s.

The second section, "Disciplinaritate, metodologie, forme critice" is centred around the more practical nature of literary criticism and proposes a set of methods in contrast to the hegemonic feuilletonistic and aesthetic-autonomist paradigm. Alex Goldiș's "'Cancerul semnificațiilor': fobia metodei în critica românească postbelică" ["'Cancer of Meanings": Method Phobia in Post-World War II Romanian Criticism"] provides a rigorous background of the style of analysis proposed by the aforementioned generations. The contributions that follow – by Daiana Gârdan, Bogdan Popa and Maria Chiorean – bring into discussion three different methodological frameworks: world literature, gender and queer studies, and disability studies. Daiana Gârdan's "De ce o critică literară

comparată?" ["The Case for Comparative Literary Criticism"] argues for the necessity of abandoning several entrenched clichés within Romanian literary criticism: the national-patrimonial logic of critical reception of literature, the interwar tradition of impressionism, the thematic-centred interpretations of the 1960s generation and the speculative, essayistic mode that dominated criticism between 1980 and 2010. It is interesting to observe that several critical figures of the Romanian literary field recognized in part (G. Ibrăileanu) or at the start of their careers (G. Călinescu) the necessity of comparatist praxis into Romanian literary studies. During the Cold War period and again in the late 1990s and early 2000, comparative literature in Romania gradually separated itself from the increasingly obsolete and monolithic field of national literary studies, directing its focus to Western theorical frameworks applied to literary works originating outside Romania. According to Gârdan, this separation should now be overcome: Romanian criticism should move towards a transnational logic in national studies, using the methodologies of world literature understood as the integration of national literature into broader regional or global systems.

The third section, "Politică, generație, comunitate" turns to the particularities of the Romanian criticism in the post-2000 period. In this regard, Mihai Iovănel's "Literatură, critică și ideologie în România postdouămiistă" ["Literature, Criticism, and Ideology in Postmillennial Romania"] is quite relevant. As a notable figure of the 2000s critical generation, Iovănel advances the thesis that, no matter how rebellious, his generation remains far from effecting a profound transformation of the Romanian literary system. Thus, he identifies a series of blockages that impede such a structural change. He argues that the limited symbolic prestige of Romanian culture and literature stems from a persistent resistance to deep systemic reform, which leads to some sad realities: the predigital stage of the databases, the weak performance of the academic journals published in Romanian, and issues related to scholarly durability, as the majority of the corpus of works of the 2000s generation consists mostly of PhD or post PhD theses. Also, Iovănel identifies a lack of complexity justified by the narrow disciplinary focus of the said works, which engage almost exclusively with literature while seldom drawing on sociology, anthropology, economics, or related fields. The scarcity of coherent methodologies, he contends, is linked to the absence of a tradition regarding *critique*. Furthermore, a persistent suspicion toward ideological approaches to literature continues to shape the field, thereby bringing to the fore a more fundamental and unresolved issue: which critical framework is most appropriate for the Romanian context? The tradition of criticism developed in the 1960s–1990s or the various forms of *post-critique*? Iovănel suggests that only once the new generation articulates a suitable answer to this dilemma will a shared agenda begin to emerge. Pursuing this line and inquiry, he and Christian Moraru engage in two dialogues titled "Corectitudinea politică între realitate și fetiș: un dialog (I) ["Political Correctness between Reality and Fetish: A Dialogue (I)"] and "Două culturi critice: un dialog (II) ["Two Critical Cultures: A Dialogue (II)"]. These conversations are centred around the concepts and misconceptions that prevent the transformations required to address the shortcomings identified in Iovănel's essay. The first dialogue focuses on political correctness and its instrumentalization to justify the so called "apolitical" approach to literature, while the second revolves around the "autonomy of the aesthetic".

It must be noted that numerous essays – both within and beyond this section – remain to be addressed. Ștefan Baghiu's "*Clout, reach & echo chambers*: capitalismul de platformă și radicalismul criticii literare ["*Clout, Reach & Echo Chambers*: Platform Capitalism and the Radicalism of Literary Criticism"], Andreea Mironescu and Doris Mironescu's "Către un materialism cultural: estetism și masculinism în cultura critică românească" ["Toward Cultural Materialism: Aestheticism and Masculinism in Romanian Critical Culture"], Christian Moraru's "După 'autoritate': critica în democrație și democrația în critică" ["After 'Authority': Criticism in Democracy and Democracy in Criticism"] and Mihnea Bâlici's "Șaizecismul călător și comunitatea critică internațională: despre 'exportul' culturii critice din România" ["Traveling 'Sixtism' and the International Critical Community: On 'Exporting' Romania's Critical Culture"] bring to the table a wide array of questions and answers extended beyond engagements with the legacy of traditional Romanian literary criticism.

This volume sums up the stance of the contemporary literary avant-garde as it seeks to dismantle an ossified critical establishment resistant to any form of change. Foremost, there is a real need for a

new understanding and a new set of relationships between the '"literary" and the "academic" press. These changes must happen in order to align the Romanian criticism to the new ways of analysing the human beyond the classical paradigm (white male, with a middle-class background, European, heterosexual), and beyond the confines of the Anthropocene. Accordingly, "Coda: Încotro? Reconstrucția sistemului critic românesc" ["Coda: Whither? The Rebuilding of the Romanian Critical System"] puts forward several answers to the question of what needs to be done. Foremost among these is the decentralization of the critical field, identified as the essential first step in the long process of bringing Romanian criticism into alignment with contemporary methodological and theoretical approaches. Equally important is a radical revision of the professional narration of Romanian criticism. The educational system requires reform, greater openness to multiculturalism and more progressive perspectives, while universities, in particular, must undertake a process of critical and theoretical re-alphabetization. Of course, the contributors acknowledge that the methodological frameworks they proposed are neither universal nor infallible, nor do they claim to represent a culminating stage in the development of literary criticism. Nonetheless, despite their imperfections, these approaches are markedly preferable to the current state of the field. Returning to the question of whether this volume should be perceived as an "exclusively Romanian matter", at this point an answer could be formulated. The Critical Theory Institute's shift from an internationally oriented discourse to an intervention situated within the Romanian context responds to an internal urgency within the national literary system, all while maintaining its global repertoire of concepts and critical instruments.

The methodologies advanced throughout the book – from world literature and cultural materialism to queer studies, disability studies, or ideological analyses of academic infrastructures – place it within a larger transnational conversation concerning broader issues such as the persistence of autonomist models, institutional resistance to methodological renewal, the challenges of academic synchronization, and the redefinition of criticism's role within democratic culture.

Ioan STREZA
Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca
Faculty of Letters

MIHAELA URSA, ALEX GOLDIȘ (eds.), *Romanian Literary Networks outside National Framings: A Case Study for Peripheralized Cosmopolitanisms*, Berlin, Peter Lang, 2024, 254 p.

As by-products of globalising processes, global asymmetries and cultural homogeneity epitomise the reign of the prevailing neoliberal order. Confronted with capitalist globalisation, the historical phenomenon of cosmopolitan relationality calls for rehabilitation, not necessarily as a counter-current but as a generative facet of contemporaneity. Rethinking cosmopolitanism today from the margins of the global system, in the footsteps of world-systems analysis and world literature studies, entails both reclaiming a cultural mode of existence long withheld from peripheral subjects, and decentralising the idealistic universalism of cosmopolitan thought as historically construed within core intellectual traditions.

In this context, the volume co-edited by Mihaela Ursa and Alex Goldiș, *Romanian Literary Networks outside National Framings: A Case Study for Peripheralized Cosmopolitanisms*, challenges the uneven positioning of cultural peripheries in world literary studies by unveiling, with each chapter, distinctive Romanian cosmopolitising strategies and contributing to the intricacies of a newly reshaped academic field whose parameters are yet to be fully demarked. Since each of the twelve

chapters, aside from the introduction, advances a distinct definitional delineation of cosmopolitanism, the volume ultimately argues for a conceptually expansive multiplicity, one sufficiently broad to capture the national and transnational conundrums of the periphery and, indeed, to account for peripherally inflected forms of cosmopolitanism that have previously gone unnamed. However, its most salient contribution lies in situating the nation-building project within a post-national framework, whilst preserving the multi-layered trajectories of local culture, as the editors of the volume highlight its aim "to voice insufficiently acknowledged cosmopolitan networks, frames, authors, and cultural and literary practices, whose links to the nation-building process of Romanian literature are interwoven with their involvement in creating transnational routes and bridges" (p. 9).

It should be noted from the outset that each chapter addresses the gaps in what might be termed a "literary (micro)history of Romanian cosmopolitanism" in a self-fashioned manner. Some contributions focus on literary agents of cosmopolitisation, including literary historians and critics such as Adrian Marino, E. Lovinescu, and M. Dragomirescu, as well as well-established cosmopolitan literary figures like Marthe Bibesco and Herta Müler. Others examine the geocultural regions wherein transnational literary trajectories gain prominence as part of particular historical and material configurations, as exemplified by the city of Arad or the Banat. Certain chapters explore specific translocalising strategies, including "interperipherality", "triple peripherality", and "posthumanisation", while others engage directly with the ideological workings of cosmopolitanism, addressing, for example, anarchist groups, populist modernisation projects, or representations of economic migration in Romanian fiction. Even though the volume follows a rough chronological timeline from the late nineteenth century to the present, its primary aim appears to be highlighting agents of literary prestige, literary hubs and networks of cosmopolitan sociability, cultural regionality, peripheralised popular genres, and local practices and attitudes toward world culture.

With the opening chapter, Imre József Balázs investigates the inter-ethnic cultural configuration of interwar Arad, described as "a place of in-betweenness", where Hungarian avant-garde journals such *Genius*, *Új Genius* and *Periszkop*, edited by Zoltán Franyó and György Szántó, disseminated an ethos of artistic worldliness within the broader context of everyday-life modernisation and helped establish up-to-date nodes of translocal literary interaction. Notably, both editors of the journals cultivated connections with East-Central European cultural figures with whom they discussed their editorial projects, and the journals themselves approached literature and art from a "programmatically universalist view" (p. 37) particular to their editors' cosmopolitan outlook. If Balázs is concerned with a multi-ethnic minor city that functioned as a genuine "transistor" for cosmopolitan networking between 1924 and 1926, Snejana Ung turns to a region extensively examined in both literary and academic approaches, namely, the Banat, interrogating the prestige-producing and legitimising narratives of multiculturalism attributed to it and demonstrating how literary production instead offers a more critical representation (as exemplified by Mircea Nedelciu, Adriana Babeți, and Mircea Mihăieș's 1990 novel *Femeia în roșu* [*The Woman in Red*] and Radu Pavel Gheo's 2016 novel *Disco Titanic*). Ung notes that most discourses conceive of the Banat as a "multiethnic paradise" (p. 79), grounded in what she terms a "historicised multiculturalism", one concerned primarily with accounting for long-established ethnic communities. Such an approach bypasses the "othering" of populations who settled in the region through intra- and extra-territorial migration and overlooks the "inter-imperial" lens that Ung mobilises, following Anca Parvulescu and Manuela Boatcă's work on Transylvania, by disregarding the broader consequences of the Banat's positioning within the world-system.

With regards to agents of cosmopolisation, Adriana Stan's chapter offers an examination of Adrian Marino, an unaffiliated, freelance Romanian comparatist and literary theorist who was active during both the communist (despite maintaining a consistently anti-communist stance) and post-communist periods. Marino is portrayed as a liberal thinker, an advocate of Europeanisation, an exile in his own country, and a cosmopolitan intellectual who wrote in French, was translated into French, English, and Italian, and cultivated intellectual relationships with prominent Western literary theorists. With respect to the field of comparatism, his proposed solution was a universalist-cosmopolitan one: the taxonomic identification of a literary "essence" in the form of "invariants"

(topoi, themes, ideas, modes) through which local literature might attain to a universal afterlife. Stan's central observation concerns Marino's "anti-colonial feelings" (p. 106) toward cultural Westernisation and Francophile "auto-colonisation".

In line with Stan's contribution, Daiana Gârdan's chapter likewise examines two forms of peripheral cosmopolitan outlooks that sought to emancipate Romanian literature from the "localist" rigidity of nation-building discourses: "ambassadorial criticism" and "institutionalised cosmopolitanism". The latter manifests itself both in the literary cercle *Sburătorul*, led by Eugen Lovinescu, and in the literary research institution known as the Institute of Literature, whose central figure was Mihail Dragomirescu. Gârdan notes that while *Sburătorul* functioned in the interwar period as "a group study, a creative writing workshop" (p. 144), with Lovinescu aiming to teach his followers "the secrets of internationally successful literature" (p. 145), the Institute constituted a more formal academic enterprise, offering courses that university students could attend in order to be trained as "future teachers, literary historians, editors, and librarians" (p. 146). In the second part of her chapter, Gârdan introduces the notion of "ambassadorial criticism" by examining Dragomirescu's position as a local literary historian who maintained intellectual exchanges with notable theorists such as Benedetto Croce and Paul Van Tieghem. Through these connections, and through the international circulation of his reflections on the theory of the masterpiece, his work acquired a degree of transnational visibility.

Both Marius Popa and Ovio Olaru focus on Romanian literary writers whose cultural careers were shaped by cosmopolitan networks. Where Gârdan attributes the concept of "ambassadorial criticism" to Dragomirescu, Popa interprets Marthe Bibesco's intellectual trajectory as exemplifying the role of a cultural "ambassador" bridging East and West (p. 174). Rooted in Romanian culture but being fully integrated into French literary life, Bibesco used her dual belonging to challenge Western clichés, explore Eastern otherness, and articulate a non-Eurocentric vision of universality, as Popa argues. Her literary work during the twentieth century appears to present literature as a strategy for transcending national boundaries, articulating a literature-driven, classic cosmopolitan vision of global belonging. Herta Müller, by contrast, as analysed by Ovio Olaru, is a German-ethnic writer from Romania who succeeded in transcending her so-called "minority status" by strategically leveraging her peripheral identity after her relocation to Germany, ultimately culminating in her 2009 Nobel Prize (p. 210). Olaru's chapter opens a broader discussion of "minor", "ultraminor", and "micro" literatures in relation to Romanian literature written by German-speaking communities, arguing for the inherently cosmopolitan character of Romanian German-language literature. Olaru's most compelling contribution is his formulation of an "anti-communist cosmopolitanism" that Müller activated in conjunction with her international reception. This mode, he argues, frames communist repression as primarily affecting a culturally privileged minority (thereby sidelining other social classes), positions a culturally oppressed German-language voice as the mediator of Romanian communism for foreign audiences, privileges a highly metaphorical aesthetic, and promotes an ultimately unnuanced anti-communist stance (pp. 218-219).

Emanuel Modoc, Marius Conkan, and Alex Ciorogar each examine forms of cosmopolitising praxis. Modoc focuses on the interperipheral worlding strategies of East-Central European avant-gardes, as well as on the cosmopolitan dynamics generated by the Dada movement's mobility, which linked the avant-garde scenes of Romania, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. He argues that Ulrich Beck's notion of "methodological cosmopolitanism" is central to understanding how East-Central European avant-garde artists forged peripheral communities that proved culturally productive. As such, the Dadaist moment facilitated new forms of cross-border mobility through figures like Tristan Tzara and Lajos Kassák, whose distinct trajectories of cultural export and import were nonetheless central to the formation of a cosmopolitan, transnational avant-garde network. Kassák's journal *Ma* fostered inter-peripheral collaboration and established connections between Western and regional movements. Both the Romanian and Czech avant-gardes developed through this intercultural exchange, benefiting significantly from its cosmopolitan momentum (p. 72). Conkan's contribution shifts the volume's focus toward a world-genre perspective on science fiction. He argues that Romanian popular fiction aligns closely with Franco Moretti's triadic model consisting of foreign

forms, local materials, and local forms, given its interaction with Western speculative literature, its reliance on translations from Russian literature, and its engagement with regional versions of Marxism. The feature that renders science fiction particularly relevant to cosmopolitan discourse is its condition of "triple peripherality" (p. 124). As a Western genre, it has historically stood in tension with dominant realist and canonical literary modes; as a peripheralized Romanian genre, it occupies a marginal position not only in relation to Western science fiction, but also to Western mimetic and canonical traditions, as well as to mainstream national literature. Accordingly, Romanian popular literature emerges as a site of "multiple peripheralisations" (p. 124) that gives rise to a "cosmopolitan spatiality" (p. 125). In the volume's concluding chapter, Alex Ciorogar reconceptualises cosmopolitanism by extending it into a post-anthropocentric framework that incorporates nonhuman beings, advocating for a "posthumanised" understanding of cosmopolitanism. He proposes that contemporary Romanian poetry exemplifies this shift, designating it as "posthuman cosmopolitan poetry" (PoCoPo) (p. 237). His contribution is primarily theoretical in nature, arguing for the necessity of rethinking cosmopolitanism through "posthumanising" strategies, ones that, he maintains, are already embedded in the systemic transformations shaping even a semi-peripheral culture such as Romania within the broader context of neoliberal world culture, as reflected in recent poetic discourse.

With respect to the volume's pronounced engagement with ideological dimensions, Adrian Tătăran, Cosmin Borza, and Mihnea Bâlici examine politically inflected forms of cosmopolitanism. Tătăran's chapter on Romanian anarchism highlights the little-studied literary dimensions of anarchist activity at the turn of the twentieth century. It shows how anarchists created alternative cultural spheres through journals, libraries, and study circles, forming transnational networks. Rejecting national and state hegemonies, including those of the "world republic of letters" (p. 44), anarchists developed spaces of collective self-education that connected a peripheral milieu to broader cosmopolitan and revolutionary circuits. Borza focuses his attention on Constantin Stere and examines the intricate interplay between a peripheral, "rooted" cosmopolitanism and global modernity through an analysis of Stere's *poporanist* ideas, asserting the national identity as an anti-imperial/colonial approach (p. 159), and his autobiographical novel *În preajma revoluției* [On the Eve of the Revolution]. As an anti-Marxist socialist, a critic of Western capitalist modernity and advocate of a "third way" of development suited to agrarian peripheries, Stere theorised a form of cosmopolitanism grounded in local social realities rather than in Westernising models. His novel dramatizes the tensions between the protagonist's (Stere's alter ego) youthful belief in a cosmopolitan, humanitarian revolution and the imperative, revealed during his Siberian exile, to engage with the humanity immediately surrounding him (p. 157). Lastly, Bâlici's contribution foregrounds a form of "forced" or reactionary cosmopolitanism through an examination of Romanian fiction on economic (labour) migration in works by Adrian Schiop, Ioana Baetica Morpurgo, Dan Lungu, and Liliana Nechita. He argues that the cosmopolitan ideal of transnational interconnectedness is intrinsically contradictory since the increasing ubiquity and "banal" enactment of cosmopolitisation today can engender reactionary tendencies, even reinforcing right-wing nationalism. This ambivalence underpins what Bâlici terms the "Janus-faced" nature of cosmopolitanism (p. 192).

In conclusion, the volume under review makes a significant contribution by challenging both national and international approaches to the literary, stressing the semi-peripheral positioning of Romanian culture and the cosmopolitan trajectories that emerge from it. Methodologically, the volume embraces a multiplicity of conceptual narratives, yet maintains coherence by consistently relating individual case studies to the overarching project of "peripheralizing" cosmopolitanism. A critique that may be directed at the volume concerns its limited engagement with the cosmopolitan character of gender-related thought and women's emancipatory practices, ranging from their emergence in nineteenth-century Romanian with figures such as Sofia Nădejde, to the post-Cold War introduction of feminism and gender studies into East-Central European cultural spheres through neoliberal networks originating in the West. These two examples, situated at the chronological boundaries that frame the volume, may illustrate broader cosmopolitan dynamics that remain insufficiently addressed, alongside other similar directions that could likewise be explored. Overall,

the volume establishes itself as an innovative entry point for the study of East-Central European cosmopolitanism, providing a compelling model for integrating peripheral literary (micro)histories into current discussions of world literature and cosmopolitanism, undermining "methodological nationalism" while nonetheless preserving space for national frameworks.

Bogdan VIȘAN
Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași,
Faculty of Letters

ALEX CIOROGAR, *Ascensiunea autorului în epoca globalizării digitale* [*The Ascension of the Author in the Age of Digital Globalisation*], Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2025, 398 p.

Ascensiunea autorului în epoca globalizării digitale [*The Ascension of the Author in the Age of Digital Globalisation*] constitutes an elaborate investigation into the concept of authorship, derived from Alex Ciorogar's PhD thesis. The study rehashes the theoretical history of the concept in question, focusing on the last six decades, while advancing a (re)conceptualisation of the authorial figure in the digital era. In a context where virtually any person can occupy the position of an author by expressing themselves online without facing censorship, Ciorogar sheds light on the figure of the author and their historical, social, biographical, legal and aesthetic status through a theoretical metadiscourse.

Rather than dismantling previous theories in order to advance his concept of "the ascension of the author", the critic seeks to reconstruct its theoretical network, grounding his study both in pivotal references (such as Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault), as well as in the creative magma behind these forms of thinking. As Corin Braga notes in the preface of the book, Ciorogar implements the term of "ecology of knowledge" – the central concept of his study – as an alternative, "*heterarhic*" depiction of certain theories that can no longer be limited to systems theory alone. It is through this approach that the volume sets itself apart from other studies in the same field. The author reconstructs the history of ideas that had a bearing on the notion of authorship, paying close attention to influences on humanities studies from the 1960s onwards. As a result of this interdisciplinary background, Ciorogar justifies the changes that occurred at the authorial level in each theoretical moment examined. Nevertheless, the "death of the author" is probably the most influential theory of the field in the last decades, therefore Ciorogar founds his new terminology, that of the "ascension of the author", on it, considering that if the first could be regarded as a symptom of theoreticians' superiority, the latter can be termed an "expression of this culpability", as Braga states.

The structure of *Ascensiunea autorului* is shaped by the thematic approach that the author opts for. Each part sheds light on the methodology employed by reconstructing the historiography of the concept in question and following the chronological development of the term. Starting with challenging the concept of authorship, Ciorogar aims to define controversial terminological boundaries and the methodology employed. In light of the resurgence of biographism in contemporary literary history and the dynamics of digital globalisation, the central lines of the argument are delineated. Subsequently, the text surveys the theoretical positions that have questioned the "death of the author", all encompassed within the framework of the "return of the author". Ultimately, the final chapter entitled "The Ascension of the Author" aims to question the characteristics of the authorial function in the immediate, contemporary context, specifically that of the last two decades, when individual integrity and the centrality of the personal subject can be called into question.

Following the introduction, the focus falls on the instability and the inconstancy of *authorship* as a concept. As the author notes, this notion can be more accurately apprehended as a "phenomenon" that transcends the strictly cultural sphere, as it encompasses practices, ideas, individuals, and stances. The aim of the study is, as Ciorogar mentions, to evaluate the positions adopted by different theoretical fields in relation to authorship, viewed as "one of the main literary thought category" (p. 2). Accordingly, the topic warrants renewed scholarly engagement, especially because of its marginalisation within the *post*-era discourse. Moreover, the author reclaims a place in literary debates, as feminism, postcolonialism, disability or gender studies, and other theoretical approaches shed light on the individual as a minority subject.

The first chapter argues for the tensions between the author as an individual subject and its ideological function. Inquiring into the concept of "subject" through the lens of psychoanalysis (Jacques Lacan), political theory (Louis Althusser) and poststructuralism (Jacques Derrida, Foucault, Barthes), Ciorogar also underlines the position of Paul Smith, who perceives the decentering of the author as part of a network of political or ideological forms of counteraction. Smith uses different disciplines in order to identify the different positionings of *subjectivity* within the aforementioned network. Considering that *the author* is encompassed within the broader notion of subjectivity, Smith reworks this concept into a socio-political agent, rather than seeing it as a result of the operations of ideological institutions. The value of this chapter lies in offering alternative frames for deconstruction, in order to reveal the nuances of these theoretical perspectives. In this vein, the human agent is placed beyond the boundaries set by poststructuralism. Ciorogar retraces, historiographically, the overlaps and interactions among theories challenging authorship. Founding his demonstration upon the theories of Amy E. Robillard and Ron Fortune, he underscores the specificity of the contemporary digital era, which generates new forms of authorship, thereby resulting in "new forms of resistance".

Through a highly complex theoretical network, the following chapter addresses a series of conceptual delimitations pertaining to the topic. Even if the purpose of literary theory is not to generate definitions, but to interrogate the internal logic of its concepts, the author of the study engages with both issues. From his perspective, there are two ways of perceiving authorship: building on poststructuralist thought, some contend that it lacks hermeneutic value, and, on the other hand, others maintain the idea of the authorial return. Perceived as a "travelling concept", *the author* is re-examined and redefined beginning with readily available resources, such as dictionaries and encyclopaedias, which argue that textual meaning emerges not from the author's intention, but from the interplay of social, cultural, and linguistic structures. Within the French critical landscape, the notion under consideration is regarded as a creator of novelty, a rationale that has marked the emergence of the writing profession. Concerning the theoretical boundaries between *author* and *authorship*, the first is subsequently viewed as constructed by the text itself, whereas the second belongs to textual discourse. Furthermore, following Alexandre Gefen's taxonomy, Ciorogar highlights the three authorial registers – the real, the textual and the imaginary – by which he indicates the range of disciplines (humanities and social sciences) needed to tackle this issue.

Subsequent to this "networked" theoretical survey, the next section focuses on methodologies and instruments employed in this study. The primary interest of this chapter concerns approaches to the issue which reevaluate the position of the authorial figure in the post-theoretical era, given its ubiquity, or the "impossibility of the non-presence of the author" (p. 91). Contesting the hypothesis that the death of the author caused the institutionalisation of literary theory, Ciorogar sheds light on some theorists overshadowed by Barthes, Derrida or Foucault, who have monopolised the field, a phenomenon seen as "a symptom of the academic system's self-reproduction mechanism" (p. 91).

The discussion around the resurgence of biographism provides the necessary articulation between aesthetic theories and literary studies, focusing on the barrier that obstructs the dialogue between the aesthetic experience of contemporary arts and the theorists' satisfactory analysis of this (recent) phenomena. Considered "a phenomenological process pertaining to the individual subjects", the aesthetic experience provides a framework which explores the dynamic of the encounter between the reader and the author. For instance, one of the critical perspectives explored in this section is

Marielle Macé's, according to whom the reader delves into the textual form through the syntax employed by the author (p. 117). In addition, the author's writing style is regarded as a stance on reality, which grants the reading political nuances. Contemporary biographism is viewed as a form of deconstruction and re-semantisation of *authorship*, a solution for the current crisis of the humanities in the context of the posthuman era, when notions such as *the individual*, *the human*, and *life* need to be redefined.

The next chapter centres on the theories elaborated by Roland Barthes on authorship. Starting from Barthes' concept of "paroptic" or "paracoustic" reading, Ciorogar highlights the mythology created around *The Death of the Author*, resulting from the tendency to cite rather than critically examine the essay in question. Moreover, the French theorist's claims are repositioned within the intellectual network of his contemporaries, precisely in order to dismantle the clichés that have accumulated around his work.

Moving forward, the discussion follows the process of "the return of the author" (theorised from the second half of the 1990s) which seeks to reconstruct the authorial subject through new methodologies. Ciorogar questions the effervescence of these theories at the dawn of the 21st century, remarking, paradoxically, that certain thinkers ground their arguments precisely in poststructuralist thought. He emphasises the importance of *intentionality* and *interpretative meaning* during the reading process, both being negotiated through the interplay between the author and the reader.

The last chapter, "The Ascension of the Author", aims to establish the features of the authorial function in recent contemporary context, either by refining poststructuralist theories – drawing on Spivak's idea that the death of the liberal author did not imply the complete erasure of the authorial figure – or by establishing a theoretical framework that examines the concept in question within the broader context of digital expansion. Ciorogar notices that the ascension of the author encapsulates the ambiguity imposed upon the creative subject by the age of globalisation (p. 302). In essence, the study calls for the development of a new critical methodology to approach *authorship*, perceived as a post-capitalist construct, in the digital age, in which different authorial positionings are explained through the contradictions and contrasts they entail. Alex Ciorogar terms this "non-violent co-existence" of theoretical perspectives an "ecological" approach. This methodology proposed by studying the ascension of the author is not restrictive; on the contrary, it is a forward-looking metaphor that opens up the field of *authorship* studies.

Certainly, the merit of this book lies in the new methodology proposed by its author, a practice that can be applied to any historical era or research subject. Moreover, Ciorogar mentions that *authorship* is a concept that can explain social and economic tensions, which may also be of interest beyond academic boundaries (p. 345). However, the theoretical consistency and density of this study may put off a non-academic readership. Despite the clearly organised topics outlined in the table of contents, the rhizomatic structure of the arguments may obfuscate the points outlined. While the author acknowledges the possible limitations of his study, he also argues that these ideas may serve as a guiding framework for future investigations on this topic.

To conclude, the text of Alex Ciorogar advocates for the need of a newly articulated methodological framework, underpinned by a specific terminology, in order to rethink the idea of *authorship* beyond a poststructuralist, postcolonial or postmodern vocabulary. The book proposes a non-hierarchical overview on its field and, drawing from this, promotes a new stage wherein interdisciplinary diversity and "ecological" approaches are deemed essential to the theoretical moment of "the ascension of the author".

Irina GORGAN
Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca
Faculty of Letters

GISÈLE VANHESE, *Penser l'Europe. Du côté de la littérature*. Préface de Maya Simionescu, București, Fundația Națională pentru Știință și Artă, 2023, 299 p.

A passionate researcher of Romanian literature, Gisèle Vanhese is Professor Emerita at the University of Calabria, where she has been teaching Romanian and Comparative Literature for almost two decades. She is director and founder of the LARIR Research Centre ("Laboratoire de Recherche sur l'Imaginaire et la Rhétorique") and a member of numerous national and international scientific committees. She is a recipient of the "Titu Maiorescu" Prize awarded by the Romanian Academy in 2013 and of the 2024 "Eugen Lovinescu" Prize conferred by the National Museum of Romanian Literature for promoting the Romanian language and literature abroad. She is the author of several volumes of literary criticism, appreciated at home and abroad, such as *Le Méridien balcanique*, Arcavacata di Rende, Università della Calabria, 2010, translated into Romanian by the European Institute Press, Iași, in 2017; *« Luceafărul » de Mihai Eminescu. Portrait d'un dieu obscur*, Dijon, Presses de l'Université de Bourgogne, 2011, published in translation in 2014 at Timpul Press, Iași; *Fondane. Dialogues au bord du gouffre*, Soveria Mannelli, Rubbertino, 2018, etc. Her outstanding scholarly efforts to bring Romanian literature to a global audience are part of the broad horizon of contemporary multiculturalism, which promotes the movement of ideas across diverse geographical spaces and cultural paradigms.

The volume under discussion, *Penser l'Europe. Du côté de la littérature*, belongs to this very context. It includes the conferences delivered by the author at the "Penser l'Europe" International Seminar, which, thanks to the initiative of Eugen Simion and Thierry de Montbrial, has been organised annually in Bucharest since 2002 by the National Foundation for Science and Art, in collaboration with the Romanian Academy and other prestigious international institutions. Bringing together Romanian and foreign scholars from various fields, the seminars address topics of general interest regarding European identity, fostering intercultural, interdisciplinary and multilingual exchanges. Some of these topics include envisioning Europe fifty years into the future, the ways of writing and teaching history, the issue of human rights, the "two Europes", or the role of science, religion and academic institutions in the new European framework.

From the position of an informed researcher, Gisèle Vanhese meditates on the proposed themes through the lens of the literary imaginary, deemed to be a key element of Western culture and civilisation and a significant force behind the emergence of its current transnational profile. Within the framework of the new culture, literature remains, as Eugen Simion believes following Mircea Eliade, a "therapy of being" and an "instrument of knowledge" (p. 33), a depository of the entire cultural treasure "camouflaged" in legends, myths, symbols and archetypal images. The circulation of values and the fertile dialogue between them represent one of the functions of migrant literature, which transgresses, by its very nature, traditional spaces, both in a real and in a symbolic way. Romanian migrant literature, which is the author's main topic of interest and the focus of most of the conferences gathered in this volume, plays a significant role in this regard. The overall approach is integrative, combining the historical-literary perspective with a comparative, hermeneutic, anthropological and myth-critical approach, echoing the thinking of Mircea Eliade, Gilbert Durand, Jean-Jacques Wunenburger, Gaston Bachelard, Paul Ricoeur, Pierre Brunel, etc. In fact, together with Eugen Simion, to whom she dedicates the volume and two of the conferences, Gisèle Vanhese guest-edited issue 3–4 (2011) of the journal *Caiete critice*, dedicated to migrant literature.

According to the analyst, the problem of transnational literature, which straddles the border between cultures, is crucial both for understanding Romanian literature and for creating a Western literary canon based on multiculturalism and plurilingualism. Its representatives, such as Mircea Eliade, Panait Istrati, Benjamin Fondane, Paul Celan, Anna de Noailles and Lorand Gaspar, constitute "an essential category to understand the influence of globalisation on contemporary culture and its repercussions on the identity-building process" (p. 133). Through their numerous contributions, these genuine messengers, comparable to the old "wandering clergy" of the eleventh century, symptomatically illustrate the movement of today's culture from the centre to the periphery, operating a new synthesis,

with often remarkable results, between the two symbolic topoi. Emblematically, many Romanian writers who lived in exile – Mircea Eliade, Cioran, Tristan Tzara and Eugène Ionesco, to give just a few examples – were at the centre of the modern and postmodern reflection on Europe by revolutionising thinking, each in his different way. The researcher prefers the term "migration" to "exile", commonly used in specialised studies. In doing that, she endorses Eugen Simion's assumption from the study published in the journal *Caiete critice*, that the twentieth century was a century of exile, while the twenty-first century appears to be one of migration ("La littérature migrante", *Caiete critice*, 2011, 3–4, p. 7).

In a seminar dedicated to the future of Europe in fifty years ("Quelle Europe dans 50 ans?"), Gisèle Vanhese expresses her conviction that the imaginary of tomorrow will be marked by the symbolic paradigm of Ulysses as the prototype of the wandering individual, nowadays represented by the figure of the migrant or the exile, who embodies what Max Biden calls the "diasporic condition". Following centuries dominated by the spirit of Prometheus, Dionysus or Hermes, today we are witnessing a resurgence of the Ulysses myth, an inter-relational myth of the nocturnal imaginary, which reproduces a symbolic scheme of exemplary value in modernity and postmodernity through migrant literature ("Migration, littérature migrante et paradigme ulyssien"). Discussing the concept of border in another conference ("L'Europe. Dedans/ Dehors"), the author analyses the changes undergone by migrant literature, with particular reference to Romanian literature, namely the shift from a thematic to a symbolic representation of exile and migration. Borders were real, geographical for Panait Istrati, who approached migration from a thematic viewpoint. So are they in the poetry of Benjamin Fondane, where migration is one of the main themes, or in the work of Lorand Gaspar, who makes numerous explicit references to this concept. Contemporaneity, on the other hand, privileges the symbolic model of migration, as a foreshadowing of the new transitional identity. Through its content and symbols, migrant literature thus anticipates the shift of the new European generations towards increasingly hybrid, multicultural and multilingual identities. In opposition to the old meaning of borders as dividing barriers, this cross-border literature invents "a new space situated between 'inside' and 'outside'" (p. 197), a permissive space that fosters dialogue and the exchange of ideas.

Gisèle Vanhese meditates in a literary key on the fundamental issues subjected to discussion. Her approach, with its broad philosophical and anthropological insights, combines conceptual rigor with analytical finesse, as well as a historical-literary scientific perspective with an essayistic and comparative inquiry. Reflection is accompanied by textual commentary, evincing both depth of detail and extensive contextualisation, in order to convincingly illustrate her ideas. She often puts forth interesting hypotheses regarding the status of literature and the imaginary in the grand scheme of knowledge. For example, in a lecture titled "How is history written?" ("Comment écrit-on l'histoire?"), she reflects on two artistic versions of "microhistory" encountered in the works of Benjamin Fondane and Paul Celan, with a view to uncovering the imprint of "macrohistory" within the fabric of literary language. Engaging in a dialogue with the conceptions of Paul Ricoeur, she discusses the relationship between historiographical and fictional representation. The minimal use of poetic images, the Hermeticism and concise expression of Paul Celan's poetry or the prose-like quality of Benjamin Fondane's lyrical works are deemed to be symptomatic of the testamentary value of the two poetic universes, as "microhistories" of the Holocaust ("La poésie à la rencontre de l'histoire. Benjamin Fondane et Paul Celan"). Regarding the topic of another debate, human rights and European values, the author makes a foray into Panait Istrati's prose, in an attempt to prove that the outlaws, symbols of the marginalised and the defeated, perform a natural, archaic vigilante function. They embody, as mythical, legendary figures, social ideals specific to the romantic man ("Droits de l'homme et droits du coeur dans l'oeuvre de Panait Istrati"). In its turn, Anne de Noailles' poetry, suggestive of the onset of the First World War, reflects a feminine perspective on historical evil and regeneration against an abysmal horizon ("Malheur et régéneration de l'Europe dans la perspective féminine"). The philosophical systems of Lucian Blaga and Gaston Bachelard, whose numerous conceptual similarities are analysed in detail, serve as models for an exemplary intellectual journey that connects science and art and attests to the deep spiritual kinship between the "two Europes" ("Y a-t-il deux Europes? Au coeur du chantier des imaginaires européens: Lucian Blaga et Gaston Bachelard").

A humanist-minded intellectual in the classical sense of the term, Gisèle Vanhese considers that the dialogue between science and art, between the "diurnal" and the "nocturnal" regimes of the spirit, or between concept and image is essential for the new configuration of Western culture ("Pensée nocturne et pensée diurne, science et poésie"). The hermeneutics of Mircea Eliade, the poetic and philosophical work of Lucian Blaga, the poetry of Lorand Gaspar, a writer born in Transylvania who emigrated to France, bring this synthesis into focus. In tune with the thinking of Mircea Eliade, Gilbert Durand, Jean-Jacques Wunenburger and other, numerous contemporary thinkers, Vanhese voices her belief that "hyperspecialisation" must always be accompanied by interdisciplinarity, because "this will be one of the keys to the creativity of our future" (p. 181). This kind of plural dialogue is rooted, moreover, in the origins of European culture, which has been, since its inception, a culture of diversity and openness.

Gisèle Vanhese herself resorts to this dual research perspective – always loyal to the text, yet sensitive to historical and cultural contexts – in her reflections on contemporaneity through the lens of the literary imaginary. She blends the spirit of geometry with that of finesse, in Pascal's terms, whom she invokes in her plea for the unification of science and literature. Her seminar interventions gathered in this volume represent, as Maya Simionescu notes in the preface, "the testimony of a Francophone writer in love with the Romanian language and literature", a "talented and original", "enlightened humanist", and a "rigorously documented scientific researcher, who probes the analytical depths to reveal the essence of things and phenomena relating to modern society and to today's Europe" (p. 10).

Magda WÄCHTER
Romanian Academy, Cluj-Napoca Branch
"Sextil Pușcariu" Institute of Linguistics and Literary History

GRAȚIELA BENGA-ȚUȚUIANU (ed.), *Memoria din cuvinte: reprezentări și moduri de tratare* [*La mémoire dans les mots : représentations et approches*], Timișoara, Editura Universității de Vest, 2025.

En 2024, la première édition de la conférence internationale « Memorie istorică, memorie literară: provocări și perspective » a eu lieu à Timișoara, à l'initiative de chercheurs de l'Institut de Studii Banatice « Titu Maiorescu » (institut devenu, à partir de 2025, Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane « Titu Maiorescu »), en partenariat avec l'Académie Roumaine – Branche Timișoara, l'Université de Ouest et l'Université Polytechnique. Les communications qui y avaient été présentées ont ensuite fait l'objet du volume collectif *Memoria din cuvinte: reprezentări și moduri de tratare* [*La mémoire dans les mots : représentations et approches*], coordonné par Grațiela Benga-Țuțuianu et publié en 2025.

Dans la « Prefață » [« Préface »], les prémisses formulées par l'éditrice partent de Maurice Halbwachs : l'identité individuelle se dessine sur le fond de l'identité collective, façonnée par la mémoire culturelle et par l'appartenance à un groupe. Grațiela Benga-Țuțuianu souligne la manière dont la mémoire, l'histoire et l'identité (nationale et européenne) se croisent dans les travaux savants contemporains. Elle rappelle les grands repères théoriques qui avaient dynamisé le champ des *memory studies* (de Maurice Halbwachs à Pierre Nora, de la phénoménologie de la mémoire de Paul Ricoeur à la distinction proposée par Jan Assmann entre mémoire fonctionnelle et mémoire de dépôt), tout en formulant la question si, dans un monde postmoderne et post-communiste, il est encore possible de penser la modernité comme un système unifié de référence (pp. 5-6). Le volume est présenté à la fois comme le fruit d'une « ouverture inter- et transdisciplinaire, transnationale et transrégionale », et comme un premier exercice de constitution d'« une communauté authentique de débat académique » (p. 7), où philologues, historiens, linguistes et doctorants abordent, selon des angles divers, la même problématique : la manière dont la mémoire « fonctionne » dans et à travers les textes.

Après la préface, « Mișcări de rezoluție » [« Mouvements de résolution »] introduit la première section, qui rassemble deux contributions, celle de Kazimierz Jurczak et celle d'Ioana Bot. Le texte de

Kazimierz Jurczak, « Memoria generațională și cea istorică/culturală : un conflict inevitabil ? Dezbateri poloneze contemporane cu privire la istoria secolului XX » [« La mémoire générationnelle et la mémoire historique/ culturelle : un conflit inévitable ? Débats polonais contemporains sur l'histoire du XX^{ème} siècle »], discute la relation qu'entretiennent le « caractère dynamique de la mémoire fonctionnelle » et les mécanismes de la politique historique, entendue comme usage du passé, de ses interprétations et des « connaissances historiques » en tant qu'outil politique de (dé)stabilisation d'un régime, de maintien ou de modification de certains codes culturels (p. 12). L'auteur montre comment, dans la Pologne post-communiste, les discussions portées sur la Seconde Guerre mondiale ont fait émerger des syntagmes tels que le « patriotisme critique » et la « politique de la dignité », opposés à la « politique de la honte », et comment l'instrumentalisation poussée à l'extrême de la mémoire a fini par se transformer en une véritable « guerre des mémoires » (p. 12). L'exemple polonais s'avère éclairant aussi pour le lecteur roumain, dans une Europe où les politiques de la mémoire deviennent un terrain de confrontation idéologique. En outre, cette contribution esquisse discrètement une grille de lecture pour l'ensemble de l'ouvrage : la mémoire n'y est pas seulement un objet d'analyse, mais aussi un outil heuristique, une « lentille » à travers laquelle se lisent simultanément la littérature, l'histoire, la pratique critique et le langage lui-même. En contrepoint, la contribution d'Ioana Bot, « Memoria cărților. Biblioteci private ale intelectualilor, în comunismul românesc » [« La mémoire des livres. Bibliothèques privées des intellectuels pendant le communisme roumain], déplace le regard de l'histoire politique vers l'espace intime des bibliothèques privées. S'appuyant sur sa propre expérience d'archivage et sur ses études dans les fonds de livres donnés à la Bibliotecă Județeană « Octavian Goga » et à la Bibliotecă Centrală Universitară « Lucian Blaga » par les intellectuels clujois, parfois des bibliothèques entières, l'auteure formule cette question apparemment anodine : « où vont-ils les anciens livres quand ils s'en vont ? » (p. 23). Sa réponse, minutieuse, fait de la bibliothèque privée un véritable « lieu de mémoire », de la résistance par la culture : des volumes banals du point de vue éditorial, mais couverts de « cicatrices » (annotations, traces de circulation clandestine) documentent la « vie difficile des livres, des hommes et des idées » sous le communisme (pp. 25-26).

Le corps principal du volume est constitué par la section « (Con)texte : memoria literaturii » [« (Con)texte : la mémoire de la littérature »], elle-même subdivisée en trois volets. La première, « Memoria: teritorii și dincolo de ele » [« La Mémoire : les territoires et leur extérieur »], s'ouvre avec le texte d'Amalia Cotoi, « Ipostazele memoriei în studiile literare românești în secolul XXI » [« Hypostases de la mémoire dans les études littéraires roumaines du XXI^{ème} siècle »]. Prenant pour point de départ « le cluster interdisciplinaire Memory Studies, qui a remplacé la mémoire individuelle par la suprastructure de la mémoire collective » (p. 45), l'auteure discute la manière dont la critique roumaine a abordé la mémoire du communisme dans le roman post-communiste ; elle s'intéresse, également, à la problématisation de la mémoire dans le roman de l'entre-deux-guerres. La première partie de la réflexion examine de près les récits qui fictionnalisent le traumatisme du régime communiste, ainsi que la post-mémoire marquée de nostalgie à l'égard de la transition ; la seconde partie analyse la façon dont le roman roumain de l'entre-deux-guerres est lu à travers la grille de l'authenticité et des temporalités fragmentées. Dans la même section, Andra Găian, dans « Literatura memorialistică feminină între valoare documentară, estetică și receptarea ca literatură minoră » [« La littérature mémorielle féminine entre valeur documentaire, valeur esthétique et sa réception comme littérature mineure »], met en lumière la double marginalisation dont souffrent les mémoires féminines : d'une part, en raison du décalage temporel (textes consacrés à l'entre-deux-guerres, mais publiés pendant le communisme ou après 1989), d'autre part, à cause des préjugés de genre et de leur classement fréquent comme « littérature de seconde zone ». Găian montre comment les volumes signés par Cella Serghi, Henriette-Yvonne Stahl, Annie Bentoiu ou Lena Constante conjuguent une valeur testimoniale avec une « poétique des émotions », transformant les expériences érotiques et carcérales en figures littéraires de la crise et du traumatisme. Dans « Calitatea mărturiei lui Emil Dorian. Între subiectivism și document istoric » [« La valeur du témoignage d'Emil Dorian. Entre perspective subjective et document historique »], Arleen Ionescu propose une lecture audacieuse du journal du médecin juif Emil Dorian, en maintenant un équilibre subtil entre le relativisme inhérent au

témoignage personnel et la valeur documentaire des notations quotidiennes. Ce journal apparaît comme un texte de superpositions, où fragments de presse, échos radiophoniques, commentaires des discours officiels et notes sur les soucis quotidiens se fondent dans une chronique de la persécution. Les travaux de Delia Badea sur les « cartographies imaginaires » de Sorin Titel, celui d'Elena Crașovan sur la mémoire et l'oubli dans la prose de Gabriela Adameșteanu, celui de Mihaela-Oana Gogoșeanu sur le journal de prison de Petre Pandrea et celui de Mihai-Cătălin Popa sur *Supraviețuirile* [*Les Survivances*] de Radu Cosașu viennent compléter cette première partie, en illustrant chacun une autre manière d'envisager le rapport entre mémoire et fiction : comme rêverie géographique, comme reconstitution des dossiers de la Securitate, comme écriture « contre l'oubli » ou comme montage de fragments autobiographiques et intertextuels.

La deuxième section du volume, « Vederi de la distanță, priviri de aproape » [« Vues de loin, regards de près »], déplace l'intérêt vers des essais, des journaux, des confessions et des chroniques. Dans « Despre literatura făcută cu paraziți. Arghezi și radioul (1928–1947) » [« Sur la littérature faite avec des parasites. Arghezi et la radio (1928–1947) »], Ligia Tudurachi montre comment Tudor Arghezi transforme le nouveau médium radiophonique en espace poétique : les « parasites » qui brouillent les ondes deviennent chez le poète roumain métaphores du chaos du monde ; la voix radiophonique y inscrit une autre forme de mémoire, auditive, fragile mais insistante. Parmi les contributions marquantes du volume, il faut mentionner celle d'Emanuela Ilie, « "Vestigii ale celei dinainte " » [« „Vestiges de celle qui a précédé" »]. À partir d'un corpus de récits confessionnels sur le cancer (Mioara Grigore, Florica Bațu Ichim, Sorana Gurian, Camelia Răileanu), l'auteure se demande si la remémoration peut devenir un « mécanisme de coping » à même de reconfigurer l'identité dans les conditions d'une souffrance radicale. Le passé du corps sain est à la fois refuge et source de douleur, et le pacte thanatographique fait voler en éclats toute illusion de « happy end ». Dans « Conectarea la memoria externă: actul critic în exil – Monica Lovinescu » [« Se connecter à la mémoire externe : l'acte critique dans l'exil – Monica Lovinescu], Georgeta Orian caractérise la critique littéraire de Monica Lovinescu comme une « mémoire externe » de la littérature roumaine : un espace d'archivage, hors du pays, de hiérarchies et de jugements qui allaient exercer une influence décisive sur le canon post-décembriste. Florica Faur, dans son texte consacré au prince George Sebastian, recompose, à partir de mémoires diplomatiques, le portrait d'une figure essentielle de l'exil roumain, tandis que Simona Constantinovici, Costinel-Iulian Partenie et Dana Nicoleta Popescu discutent, chacun à partir d'un corpus différent, les rapports entre mémoire affective, traumatismes historiques et innovation stylistique dans la poésie d'Adrian Bodnaru, la prose de Benjamin Fundoianu et les romans de Radu Pavel Gheo.

La troisième section du volume, « Oameni și locuri: identitate, istorie, traumă » [« Gens et lieux : identité, histoire, trauma »] développe l'axe mémoire–lieu–identité. Elena Jebelean, dans « Amintire, confesiune, identitate » [« Souvenir, confession, identité »], interprète le journal de voyage et la correspondance de Montaigne comme un véritable « laboratoire du soi » : un espace où l'observation anthropologique, la confession et la réflexion se rencontrent, prolongeant dans un registre différent le projet des *Essais*. L'éducation de Montaigne « à l'ombre du latin », sa fascination pour Ovide et pour la littérature classique sont recontextualisées dans l'économie d'une « mémoire du déplacement », où le voyage devient lui aussi un exercice d'auto-connaissance. Adriana Ieremciuc, dans son étude consacrée à Colette, met en évidence la manière dont l'écriture autobiographique se construit autour de la reconquête de l'enfance et de l'« univers perdu », tandis que Diana Câmpan, dans « Proiecții ale locului istoric în cadrele memoriei afective » [« Projections du lieu historique dans les cadres de la mémoire affective »], mobilise les concepts de Paul Ricoeur, Tzvetan Todorov et Maurice Halbwachs pour montrer comment le « faux journal de voyage » devient un texte sur la mémoire : les lieux visités par A.E. Baconsky sont filtrés par une conscience marquée par les catastrophes du XX^{ème} siècle, et l'écriture oscille entre la fascination esthétisante pour les ruines et une critique assumée, menée avec lucidité. Un autre sous-ensemble du volume est constitué par les études solidement documentées qui analysent la mémoire en relation avec le traumatisme politique : Viviana Milivoievici, dans « Evadarea în memorie. Cazul Lena Constante » [« L'évasion dans la mémoire. Le cas de Lena Constante »], s'arrête sur les deux volumes de Lena Constante consacrés aux prisons communistes,

textes qui sont à la fois document et littérature, tandis que Ciprian Handru, dans son analyse du roman *Păturica roz* [*La petite couverture rose*], interroge la représentation de l'abus et de la violence à travers une mémoire fragmentaire qui refuse toute mise en ordre simplificatrice. Enfin, Veronica-Alina Constănceanu, avec sa réflexion sur Timișoara comme espace de la mémoire textuelle, et Grațiela Benga-Țuțuianu, avec « Memoria din scrisori : corespondența lui Sorin Titel » [« La mémoire dans les lettres : la correspondance de Sorin Titel »], ramènent la discussion dans le Banat roumain : L'expérience urbaine qu'offre Timișoara, dans le premier cas, et la correspondance de Titel, dans le deuxième, sont lue comme des archives alternatives de de l'histoire culturelle de cette région.

La dernière partie du volume, « (Sub)texte : memoria lingvisticii » [« (Sous)textes : mémoires de la linguistique »], élargit ecnore plus la réflexion vers la mémoire de la langue. Gabriela Șerban, dans « Iosif Popovici, un remarcabil lingvist bănățean » [« Iosif Popovici, un remarquable linguiste de Banat »], réhabilite la figure d'Iosif Popovici, phonéticien et dialectologue de premier plan, et montre comment ses enquêtes sur les dialectes, la toponymie et l'anthroponymie du Banat peuvent se lire comme une « mémoire scientifique » des contacts linguistiques et identitaires régionales. Florina-Maria Băcilă, dans « Timpurile verbale – ipostaze ale memoriei literare în poezia lui Traian Dorz » [« Temps verbaux – hypostases de la mémoire littéraire dans la poésie de Traian Dorz »], propose une analyse stylistique et sémantique des textes poétiques : l'alternance entre présent, imparfait et parfait composé y construit une mémoire communautaire projetée dans un temps liturgique, qui fixe les expériences clandestines de la foi. Cristiana Bujorean, dans « *Ghesmi* – un tetrakis legomenon în textele biblice românești » [« *Ghesmi* – un tetrakis legomenon dans les textes bibliques roumains »], suit l'histoire d'un terme rare, « ghesmi », à travers les manuscrits bibliques, montrant comment son évolution lexicale ouvre sur l'histoire des traductions et des controverses exégétiques. Enfin, Emina Căpălnașan, dans « Memoria lingvistică a consumatorului de azi : de la DOOM2 la DOOM3 » [« La Mémoire linguistique du consommateur d'aujourd'hui : du DOOM2 au DOOM3 »], s'intéresse à ce qu'elle appelle la « mémoire linguistique » du locuteur contemporain : la manière dont celui-ci intériorise (ou non) les changements de norme, à une époque dominée par des plateformes numériques comme dexonline ou doom.lingv.ro.

En dépit de la diversité des approches, le volume coordonné par Grațiela Benga-Țuțuianu présente une cohérence manifeste, soigneusement assurée par la manière dont les démonstrations se répondent et se complètent, parfois à leur insu. De Maurice Halbwachs, Pierre Nora, Aleida et Jan Assmann, Astrid Erll ou Paul Ricoeur jusqu'aux critiques roumains contemporains tels que Corin Braga, Alex Goldiș, Claudiu Turcuș, Andreea Mironescu et Doris Mironescu, on peut duivre l'inscription des auteurs dans les débats internationaux sur la mémoire. S'il fallait signaler une difficulté pour le lecteur, elle tiendrait justement à l'abondance de la matière savante : le volume requiert un lecteur patient, prêt à passer des débats sur la politique de la mémoire en Pologne à l'analyse d'un *tetrakis legomenon* biblique ou aux normes du DOOM3. Cette diversité maîtrisée fait toutefois partie du message implicite du volume : la mémoire « dans les mots » fonctionne simultanément comme une mémoire « dans » le roman, « dans » le journal, « dans » l'archive personnelle et « dans » le dictionnaire et l'usage quotidien de la langue.

Memoria din cuvinte: reprezentări și moduri de tratare n'est pas un simple recueil d'« actes de conférence », mais beaucoup plus : le document d'une communauté académique en plein travail de redéfinition de ses propres outils. En associant littérature, histoire, anthropologie culturelle et linguistique, en accordant la même attention aux archives privées (journaux, lettres, bibliothèques personnelles), aux récits du traumatisme (Holocauste, communisme, maladie incurable) et à la mémoire de la langue, ce volume offre un tableau ample de la manière dans laquelle la mémoire est pensée et étudiée aujourd'hui dans l'espace roumain.

Alexandra-Maria OROS
Université Babeș-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca
Faculté des Lettres

CONTRIBUTORS

Alina Bako, Ph.D., Lecturer
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1450-9188
Affiliation: Faculty of Letters and Arts, Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu.
Contact details: Lucian Blaga University, 10 Victoriei Str., 550024 Sibiu, Romania. Email: alina.bako@ulbsibiu.ro

Ioana Bot, Ph.D., Professor
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2557-6001
Affiliation: Faculty of Letters, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca.
Contact details: Babeş-Bolyai University, 21 Horea Str., 700506 Cluj-Napoca, Romania. Email: ioana.bican@ubbcluj.ro

Maria Chiorean, Ph.D. Student
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1242-3487
Affiliation: Faculty of Letters and Arts, Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu.
Contact details: Lucian Blaga University, 10 Victoriei Str., 550024 Sibiu, Romania. Email: maria.chiorean@ulbsibiu.ro

Nikol Dziub, Ph.D., Postdoctoral Researcher
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5980-034X
Affiliation: Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Basel.
Contact details: University of Basel, Petersplatz 1, 4001 Basel, Switzerland.
Email: nikol.dziub@uha.fr

Catherine Géry, Ph.D., Professor
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3290-9900
Affiliation: Russian Studies Department, INALCO, Paris.
Contact details: INALCO, 65 rue des Grands Moulins, 75013 Paris, France
Email: catherine.gery@inalco.fr

Ágnes Hansági, Ph.D., Professor
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5095-7404
Affiliation: Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Szeged.
Contact details: University of Szeged, 2 Egyetem St., 6722 Szeged, Hungary. Email: hansagiagnes@hung.u-szeged.hu

Benedikts Kalnačs, Ph.D., Professor
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6435-325X
Affiliation: Faculty of Humanities, University of Latvia.
Contact details: University of Latvia, 14 Liela St., LV-3401 Liepaja, Latvia.
Email: benedikts.kalnacs@lulfmi.lv

Tomasz Krupa, Ph.D., Research Assistant Professor
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3200-6290
Affiliation: Faculty of Philology, Jagiellonian University, Kraków.
Contact details: Institute of Romance Studies, Adam Mickiewicz Avenue 9 A, 31-120 Kraków, Poland. Email: tomasz.krupa@uj.edu.pl

Zoltán Kulcsár-Szabó, Ph.D., Lecturer
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8001-8360
Affiliation: Faculty of Humanities, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.
Contact details: Eötvös Loránd University, 4/A Múzeum Blvd., 1088 Budapest, Hungary. Email: kulcsar-szabo.zoltan@btk.elte.hu

Arleen Ionescu, Ph.D., Senior Researcher
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5764-8612
Affiliation: Faculty of Letters, West University of Timișoara.
Contact details: West University of Timișoara, 4 Vasile Pârvan Blvd., 300223 Timișoara, Romania. Email: arleen.ionescu@e-uvt.ro

Mihai Iovănel, Ph.D., Senior Researcher
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9370-9323
Affiliation: Faculty of Letters and Arts, Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu, and "G. Călinescu" Institute of Literary History and Theory, Romanian Academy.
Contact details: "G. Călinescu" Institute of Literary History and Theory, 13 September Str., sector 5, 050711, Bucharest, Romania. Email: mihai.iovanel@gmail.com

Ioana Moroșan, Ph.D., Senior Researcher
https://orcid.org/0009-0004-9774-1469
Affiliation: Research Institute of the University of Bucharest.
Contact details: University of Bucharest, 90-92 Sos. Panduri, 5th District, Bucharest, Romania. Email: gyongyi-ioana.morosan@icub.unibuc.ro

Ewa Paczoska, Ph.D., Professor
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6815-2359
Affiliation: Faculty of Polish Studies, University of Warsaw.
Contact details: Faculty of Polish Studies, 26/28 Krakowskie Przedmieście, 00-927 Warszawa, Poland. Email: ewa.paczoska@uw.edu.pl

Gábor Palkó, Ph.D., Assistant Professor
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4394-8577
Affiliation: Department of Digital Humanities, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.
Contact details: Eötvös Loránd University, 4/A Múzeum Blvd., 1088 Budapest, Hungary. Email: palko.gabor@btk.elte.hu

Anna Pekaniec, Ph.D., Assistant Professor
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7516-1413
Affiliation: Faculty of Polish Studies, Jagiellonian University, Kraków.
Contact details: Faculty of Polish Studies, Gołębia 16, 31-007 Kraków, Poland. Email: anna.pekaniec@uj.edu.pl

Mateusz Skucha, Ph.D., Assistant Professor
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7733-0302
Affiliation: Faculty of Polish Studies, Jagiellonian University, Kraków.
Contact details: Faculty of Polish Studies, Gołębia 16, 31-007 Kraków, Poland. Email: mateusz.skucha@uj.edu.pl

Cătălina Stanislav, Ph.D. Student
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4031-834X
Affiliation: Faculty of Letters and Arts, Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu.
Contact details: Lucian Blaga University, 10 Victoriei Str., 550024 Sibiu, Romania. Email: catalina.stanislav@ulbsibiu.ro

Dumitru Tucan, Ph.D., Professor
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7200-0761
Affiliation: Faculty of Letters, West University of Timișoara.
Contact details: West University of Timișoara, 4 Vasile Pârvan Blvd., 300223 Timișoara, Romania. Email: dumitru.tucan@e-uvt.ro