Chapter 3

Ingrained Ontologies

How Romania's Institutionalized Processes Teach Us to Think with Xenophobic Sentient Landscapes

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In the 1475 battle of Vaslui between Moldavian Stephan the Great and the Ottoman governor of Rumelia, Hadım Suleiman Pasha, the landscape and weather conspired. Historian Dumitru Almaş[1] describes the battle in one of the three volumes of history for school children that he wrote and published in the 1980s:

> One of the greatest battles fought by Stephan the Great was the one in Vaslui. It was wintertime when the Turkish Sultan sent a great army to our country. The army was led by a great, skilled warrior, named Soliman Pasha. He believed he would defeat the Romanians and would subjugate their country easily. Stephan's army was three times smaller. . . . As I said, it was wintertime . . . [and] the army hid around a river's marshes, where the enemies would pass. . . . On the day that Soliman's troops came through, a thick fog settled on the valley of the river. Soliman advanced blindly. He could barely see a few steps ahead. Out of nowhere, from their hiding places, the Romanians stuck their enemies. They slayed many. Others were swallowed by the icy marshes. . . . The battle of Vaslui was a brilliant Romanian victory. Soliman Pasha returned to his country with whatever troops he had left. Such a shameful defeat had never before been suffered by a great Turkish general. (Almaş 1987: 41)[2]

The book illustrations below are from the same volume by Dumitru Almaş, representing the battle of Vaslui described above.[3] The reader can observe the fog descending onto the Ottoman army, while the marshes leave the occupiers immobilized. Stephan the Great (left, on a white steed) seems immune to the marshes and the fog, as he is about to strike an enemy with his gilded mace. Meanwhile, his opponent is restrained by the marsh, able only to shield himself. Behind the leader's white stallion, one Turk has been swallowed by the swamp whole, leaving only his human

Figure 3.1. Moldavian King Stephan fighting Hadım Suleiman Pasha's army in Almaş's book. © Valentin Tănase.

contour and turban as proof that he was there. On the bottom center right, another Ottoman soldier is stepped on, while the marsh consumes him. Taking full advantage of this pro-Romanian alliance of landscape and weather, Stephan's soldiers can be seen attacking, facing forward, dealing blows, as opposed to their numerous but defeated colonial opponents. What does a text like the fragment above respond to? Is it a way to manage real or imagined forms of colonialism? Why do they exist in books catering to young Romanian schoolchildren? What sort of historical and geopolitical factors must we turn our attention to in order to understand Romanian political continuities (both in terms of what is erased out of history, and in terms of what is repeated and centered)?

Romania's recent history has been marked by political disruption: from struggles for national union in the mid-1800s, to political regimes ranging from monarchy to an interwar far-right government to communism in a couple forms, and finally to a democracy, most recently as an EU member state. Even so, or perhaps because of these disruptions, various aspects of the national imaginary prefer continuity. The imaginary of a sentient landscape could be construed as one element that Romanians use to source their continuity. From school stories to national poets and, most recently, reactions in social media, the concept of a sentient landscape has bridged political disruptions and has provided a narrative of nature and nation as

one. Throughout the last two centuries, in politics, literature, journalism, the public education system, and most recently in social media commentary, sentient landscape has appeared time and again, imbued with ethnic nationalism and imagined as punishing foreigners.

As the chapter unfolds, the sections chronologically follow the concept of a xenophobic sentient landscape, meaning a landscape that is imagined as having its own will, which it exercises through forms of xenophobia. Specifically, xenophobic sentient landscapes are often imagined in the literature as defending the nation from religious and ethnic Others—from the Muslim Other in the form of the Ottoman empire, to Catholic Others in the form of the Polish king and his armies, to, more recently, Jewish Others in their contemporary militarized forms.

First, it is important to understand the cultural and political factors that led to the association of nature and nation. The first section will introduce the politicians, journalists, and poets who have fostered xenophobic sentient landscapes in the national imaginary. Next, the chapter will focus on Mihai Eminescu, a Romanian poet, journalist, magazine editor, and political speaker who lived in the second half of the nineteenth century. Eminescu's persona was claimed by far-right groups, then by the communist regime, and he later kept his position as the country's national poet after 1989, only to recently be reclaimed by new far-right and conspiracy groups in the country. The poet is known for his verses that blend nation and nature, in many instances invoking the imaginary of a sentient landscape, tinged with the lyricist's own xenophobia.

In the subsequent section, the chapter focuses on a number of continuities: the national myths, especially the nature-nation connection and the erasure or highlighting of particular historical characters that were promoted before 1945 remained mostly intact and were even revived during the socialist regime, particularly by state-owned national presses that catered to school children. Some of these books were found frequently in homes after 1989 and their narratives were ingrained in the minds of several generations. This is particularly important as these people are now adults whose worldview includes the concept of xenophobic sentient landscapes, as we will see in the last section.

Elements of Xenophobic Sentient Landscapes in Nation Building

It is essential to understand how xenophobic sentient landscapes came to be an imaginable entity in the Romanian ontology. The principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia united in 1859 under Alexandru Ioan Cuza, and the country expanded even more in 1918, with the annexation of Bessara-

bia, Bukovina, and Dobrogea. While Romania's area more than doubled, its population grew by almost five million (Livezeanu 1995: 8). During this process, the country's bureaucrats and intellectuals relied on ethnic nationalism, ignoring the possibility of civic nationalism. In political writing, policies, poems, and literary texts, these figures smothered national minorities (Jews, Muslims, Roma, Greeks, Aromanians, etc.) by rewriting a pure, ethnocentric Romanian culture and history.

Several schools of thought emerged in Romania in the second half of the nineteenth century, some of which built the possibility of a xenophobic sentient landscape into the national imaginary. The creation and repetition in the collective imaginaries of a xenophobic sentient landscape that sided with the Romanians in their historical battles served to explain how improbable battles were won (when the Romanian troops were grossly outnumbered, for example), and to enforce the idea of Romanian indigeneity, through the trust that the landscape bestowed on Romanian military goals. Many of the intellectuals involved in these schools of thought were also political speakers and editors of prestigious magazines or newspapers. These publications sometimes took the names of sentient beings, as is the case for the newspaper *Luceafărul* (the morning star) (1902–1920), named after Mihai Eminescu's 1883 poem about an anthropomorphic morning star. The newspaper quickly became home to poems that eulogized sentient landscapes. Increasingly in the early twentieth century, these publications aligned with political narratives that centered the superiority of Romanian ethnicity and Orthodox Christianity, coupled with anti-Semitism, antiforeignism, and a focus on folk values and on the peasantry as being intrinsically pure and good.

With very few exceptions, such as playwright Ion Luca Caragiale and literary critic and politician Titu Maiorescu, the leading minds of Romanian intellectual life were captivated by anti-Semitism in the form of ethnic nationalism,[4] which was inflamed by the ethnic diversification that Romania experienced as a consequence of the territories won after World War I. They led public attitudes in a rapid rise in anti-Semitism grounded in the general acceptance of the authority of intellectuals. In some of the largest Romanian cities like Bucharest and Iași, it was seen as good form to be anti-Semitic (Stiehler 2015).

In the interwar period, the intellectual elite grew considerably, as a result of democratization and access to education. The percentage of urban young people grew, and with this came various consequences: they were more daring, more idealist, more inclined toward the extremes, more intolerant, but also prone to experiment. They did not wish to follow in the footsteps of previous generations and ideologically find a place within Europe, nor were they looking toward the East for solutions. Instead, they

focused on—and in so doing invented—Romanianism (Boia 2012). Romanianism and a focus on Orthodox Christianity are the two discourses that fed ethnocentrism, although the deep interest of scholars like philosopher Emil Cioran and historian of religion Mircea Eliade in spirituality and the esoteric sometimes affected the direction of this discourse and allowed for the concept of a xenophobic sentient landscape to be imagined as legitimately part of the national imaginary.

Cioran and Eliade both called for a "spiritual" revolution in Romania, but this took different forms for each of them. Young Cioran was a National Socialist state scholarship holder, who believed the spiritual revolution had already been accomplished by Hitler in Germany (Cioran 2011: 140–45). He suggested that the driving force behind this revolution in Romania could be neither rural tradition nor its implicit Orthodox faith, but rather a Nietzschean ecstasy which, as xenophobia, has an inherent purifying power (Cioran 1936). For Cioran, Jews were dangerous because of their preeminence over traditional Romanian ways. For Mircea Eliade, anti-Semitism developed gradually, as he became inspired by the work of Mihai Eminescu and Nicolae Iorga. Eliade explained the interbellum Romanian right-wing group Garda de Fier (the Iron Guard) as an effort to reconcile Romania with God, in the sense that they completed what is laid out in tradition. Right before the 1937 elections, Eliade chose to express his faith in the Iron Guard by publishing his thoughts in the group's newspaper, *Buna Vestire* (The good news):

> I believe in the destiny of the Romanian people—that is why I believe in the victory of the Legionnaires' movement. A people who at all levels has demonstrated its creativity cannot fail at the edge of history, as a Balkanized democracy and civil catastrophe. . . . Is it possible that the Romanian people will end their days in the saddest decay that history has recorded, its days concluded, crushed by misery and syphilis, overwhelmed by Jews, torn to shreds by foreigners, betrayed and sold for a few hundred million lei? Whoever does not doubt the destiny of our people cannot doubt the victory of the legionnaires' movement. I believe in this victory because first of all I believe in the victory of Christianity. (Eliade 1936)[5]

Despite how things later progressed, Romanian nationalists were not very focused on religion before World War I. In fact, despite later associations between Romanianness and Orthodox Christianity as having always been one, the Romanian Orthodox Church was not recognized as an autocephalous church until the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople's decision of 1885, and it did not become the national religion until its acknowledgement in the 1866 constitution. Yet, in the aftermath of World War I, there were major efforts in the young country of Romania to build a national identity that would contain the newly expanded state. These in-

Figure 3.2. Cover of *Gândirea* magazine, December 1921. © Central University Library Cluj.

cluded projects of religious nationalism introduced by Christian National Defense League (Liga Apărării Naționale Creștine, or LANC) founders Nicolae Paulescu and A. C. Cuza, as well as by the theologian Nichifor Crainic (1889–1972), who received funding from the Royal Foundations of Prince Carol and from the Ministry of Cults from the 1920s on and who became Minister of National Propaganda in the interwar right-wing regime (Ornea 1996).

For example, Crainic imagined and then aggressively promoted Orthodoxism, a form of nationalist Christianity that he believed should be the backbone of the new state. Crainic introduced Orthodoxy as an identity marker in the ultranationalist, anti-Semitic circles of the time, and used publications such as *Calendarul* (The calendar) to merge these ideas into new concepts of the nation. The *Sămănătorul* (Seed sower) newspaper heavily influenced and supported his work. This included strong propositions against civil rights or the right to live on Romanian territory for ethnic and religious minorities, and a complete rewriting of history that denied any connections between Christianity and Jesus on one side, and Judaism on the other (Crainic 1919). Below is the cover of the December

1921 *Gândirea* (Thinking) magazine, led by Nichifor Crainic. The artwork on the cover of the magazine was often influenced by Orthodox Christian imagery and depicted images of human-nature connections, as is the case for the below cover.

Interwar Europe abounded in nation-building projects that sought legitimacy through associating themselves with a religious identity, so this was not unique to Romania. From Germany to France, Hungary, Italy, and to fellow Orthodox-majority nations Serbia and Ukraine, this phenomenon was happening in many new (or newly refashioned) nation-states. The distinctive feature for the Romanian case was the fact that the strong move toward Orthodoxy came after a state expansion, more than doubling the nation's size, while in the rest of Europe, it came over dissatisfaction with lost territories, worries brought by secularization, or a reclaiming of purity (Clark 2012).

Secularism had, until that point, been fairly widely accepted. Even in the making of national imaginaries, groups such as The Transylvanian School (Şcoala Ardeleană), with their focus on the Latin heritage of Romania, or Paşoptiştii, who focused on secular nationalism and organized in Masonic Lodges, did not focus on Orthodoxy as a central element of Romanianness (Hitchins 1996). The Schopenhauer-inspired Junimea literary circle formed in the 1860s and identified the nation with the peasantry, imagining a collective identity that was pure, Indigenous, and increasingly biblical in its shepherding narratives. This literary circle inspired two currents—secular-leaning Poporanism, created by Moldavian socialists like political writer Constantin Stere, and antiforeign Sămănătorism, headed by Nicolae Iorga (1871–1940), which focused heavily on advancing the Romanian folk identity—although not focusing on Orthodoxy just yet.

Nicolae Iorga was a strong defender of values associated with an imagined way of living of the Romanian peasantry. Iorga lamented in the magazine *Sămănătorul* the way in which poet Mihai Eminescu was being undermined by the "invasion" of Jewish commerce in Iași and Suceava (see the issue from 10 November 1904), and in 1906 he advocated in the newspaper The Romanian People (*Neamul românesc*) (The newspaper coedited with scholar and right-wing LANC leader A. C. Cuza) for Romanization of the middle class by "eliminating"[6] the Jewish element (Stiehler 2015).

Iorga formed Nationalist Democratic Party (*Partidul Naționalist Democrat*) in 1910. This meant that Sămănătorist ideas of antiforeignness—centering folklore, Orthodox Christianity, and anti-Semitic propaganda—became mainstream.[7] Nichifor Crainic's poems were heavily published by Nicolae Iorga's newspaper *Neamul românesc*, where Crainic also worked (and which ran until 1940), being influenced by the Sămănătorist movement to veer into organized anti-Semitism.

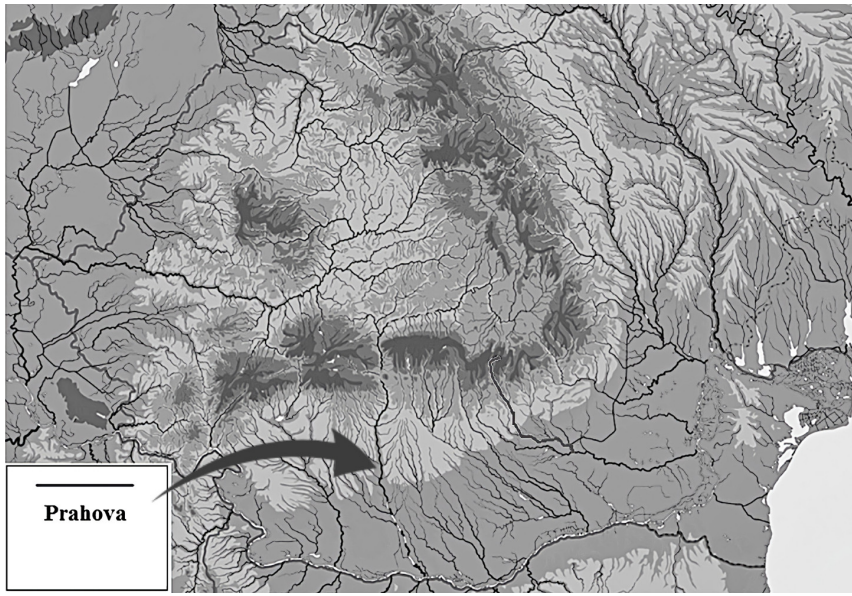
Some of Crainic's poems, like The Tree (*Copacul*)[8] invoked sentient landscape. In this poem, Crainic imagines himself as a tree, rooted to ancestral soil, having nationalistic pathos flow through him as sap.

Înalt şi-ngândurat ca visătorul,	Tall and pensive like a dreamer,
Stând între cer şi-ntre pământ stingher,	Waiting between skies and lonely earth,
Crescui şi eu din veşnicul mister	I grew out of eternal mysteries
Din care toate îşi pornesc izvorul.	Out of which all things spring.
Când seva urcă-n trunchiul meu de fier,	When sap goes through my iron trunk,
Adâncul îmi trimite-n foi fiorul	Its depth sends shivers to my leaves
Şi simt că-n mine năvăleşte dorul	And I feel growing inside of me
Pământului de-a fi mai lângă cer.	The earth's yearning to be closer to the skies.
Iar cerul peste vârful meu se-ndoaie	The skies bend over my tip
Şi svonuri tainice din infinit	And from each leaf of mine they make
O gură fac din fiecare foaie.	Whispered secrets into infinity.
Şi-n freamătul de foi nelămurit,	In the incomprehensible move of the leaves,
Cu şoaptele veciei se-ntretaie	The tired earth's cries mingle
Suspinele pământului trudit.	With the soft voice of eternity.

In Crainic's political work, the nation-nature imaginary was as strong as it is in his poems. In his essay entitled "Parsifal," Crainic likens the nation to "a bloc of unconscious force, ripped out of the wildness of nature." He believes peasant life is essential to the nation, saying "it has no history, it sinks into nature," while Orthodoxy is proof of the soul being naturally Christian (*anima naturaliter christiana*). Crainic claims Orthodoxy alone has the ability to rescue his "virgin nation," this "naïve child of nature," from the depravities of Western civilization, including secularism (Crainic 1924). In his courses held first at the University of Chişinău and later at the University of Bucharest, Nichifor Crainic opposed Western rationalism, preferring Eastern mysticism and claiming that true value, and Romanian identity, spring from the latter. Crainic claimed that Romanian peasants will never accept anything other than Orthodoxy, despite religious Romanianism being a movement created in the cities, by intellectuals, and not something inherently in the flesh and blood of the Romanian peasants.[9]

Another regular author in *Semănătorul* is George Coşbuc (1866–1918), who also edited the magazine from 1901 to 1902 (Cioculescu 1973).

Coşbuc's own contribution to the imaginary of sentient landscapes comes in the form of several poems, some of which anthropomorphize and give sentience to rivers. Three such poems are "Prahova" (1893), "Prutul" (1896), and the Danube and the Olt ("Dunărea şi Oltul") (1904). These three river poems are important for the fact that all three rivers represent historical borders of the nation. (Prahova arises at the limit between Muntenia and Transylvania, the Prut represents the natural eastern border of the country, between Romania and the Republic of Moldova, and the



Map 3.1. The Romanian map with an arrow pointing to the Prahova River. © Wikimedia Commons.

Danube is currently the natural border between Romania and Bulgaria and has traditionally been depicted in the national imaginary as the body of water that has kept Ottomans out of the Romanian territories). The three rivers have kept enemies out, but they have been reimagined, as is the case of Prahova, as being at the core of the nation ever since Transylvania was annexed. The mountains where the Prahova River arises have been battlefields in both World War I and World War II and have traditionally been a tall, hard-to-cross, natural border. Yet since 1918, when Transylvania was annexed, the Carpathians, despite naturally separating Transylvania from the two other Romanian regions of Muntenia and Moldavia, have been reimagined as being an inclusive, not a divisive topographic element.

In the poem "Prahova," Coșbuc refers to the river by the same name as a female lover, whose route he traces but whose body he eroticizes, even though at the end of the poem he reveals he walked her to her groom (also a river):

Potriveşte-ți părul bine;	Style your hair well;
Strânge mijlocelul tău,	Cinch your tiny waist,
Pieptul plin ca să-ți răsară!	So that your full bosom can be seen!
S-or uita flăcăi la tine,	Young men will look at you,
Şi copile tinerele:	And so will young women.

The poem "Prutul," published two years later, continues the theme of a sentient river, but this time adds the element of xenophobia, specifically against Romania's long-term Muslim Others, the Ottomans and Tatars. The poem is a dialogue between the author and the male river, as Coșbuc notices the violent river carrying down limbless bodies:

- Prutule, tu vii turbat	Prut river, you arrive violently,
Şi cu sânge-amestecat,	And mixed with blood,
Şi n-ai pace şi-alinare	You have no peace or comfort,
Şi n-ai loc cum vii de mare:	And there is no room for your size:
Ce ți-e iar de spumegare?	Why are you foaming again?
Şi-aduci arme ghintuite,	You bring with you spiked weapons,
Trupuri de voinici ciuntite,	And the severed bodies of young men
Steaguri de oştiri păgâne	Flags of pagan armies,
Şi cai roibi fără de frâne!	And red-haired horses without reins!
Iar de maluri tu izbeşti	You hit against the banks
Capete moldoveneşti	Moldavian heads
Şi prin rădăcini încurci	And through roots you weave
Bărbi cărunte, bărbi de turci!	Grey beards, Turkish beards!

The river answers, expressing his aversion toward the colonizing Muslim Other:

Ce văzui n-am mai văzut!	What my eyes saw then, they had never seen before!
Cât cuprinzi cu ochii-n zare	As far as the eyes could see
Numai tunuri, numai care,	Only cannons, only war chariots,
Numai turci bătrâni călare,	Only old Turks on horseback,
Numai turci, numai cazaci . . .	Only Turks, only Cossacks . . .
Barba lor bătea-le brâul	Their beards touched their waist sash,
Şi țineau cu dinții frâul,	And their teeth were holding the horses' reigns,
Pe-unde trec ei duc pustiul!	Wherever they go, they bring destruction!
Şi când i-am văzut, creştine,	And when I saw them, Christian man,
Că iau calea către mine,	Galloping toward me,
Şi când le-am văzut mai bine	And when I got a better glimpse
Ochii cu fulgerătura,	At their lightning eyes,
Pletele cu zbârlitura,	Their tousled hair,
Bărbile cu-ncâlcitura,	Their unkempt beards,
Eu de maluri m-am izbit	I hit the banks,
Prins de friguri şi-ngrozit,	Captured by chills and terrified,
Că mi se negrea vederea	My sight went dark
Şi mi se topea puterea	My powers melted
Şi-amărât stăteam ca fierea!	And I stood there bitter as bile!

In Coșbuc's dialogue, the river is capable of Orientalism. This is revealed through the word choices meant to portray the many savage, barbaric features of the Ottomans and Cossacks. The river also identifies

Map 3.2. The Danube, Prut, and Olt Rivers. © Wikimedia Commons.

Coșbuc as a "Christian man," a confidant who could understand the fright that the river felt upon meeting these barbarous Others, with their unkempt facial hair and their bloodcurdling eyes. The river itself tries to escape, hitting its banks, yet much like the Romanians, the river has nowhere to escape to—it is trapped in its banks, like the humans are trapped within the boundaries of their territories, captive to barbarian attacks.

The Prut River (above, in bold, in the northeast) is the natural border between Romania and the Republic of Moldova, and it eventually flows into the sprawling Danube, right before the latter flows into the Black Sea. The third poem is a dialogue between the Danube, Europe's second-longest river after the Volga, and her son, the Olt River, the longest river flowing exclusively through Romania, which arises in Transylvania, crosses Muntenia north to south, then flows into the Danube. The poem starts with the Danube asking her son why he always flows down troubled and unsettled. The Danube wonders if the cause for his distress comes from the heavy rains in the Carpathian Mountains, or perhaps it is simply in his character. The Olt River answers:

Dar nu-i asta, maică sfântă,	This is not the reason, holy mother,
Nu de asta-s tulburat,	This is not why I am troubled,
Ci de câte văd mi-e milă,	It is because of all the things I see,
Maică, şi-i păcat!	I feel pity, mother, and it is such a shame!

Tu, pe unde-alergi prin lume,
Vezi şi ţări şi munţi frumoşi,
Neamuri ce-şi vorbesc ferice
Graiul din strămoşi . . .

Eu de unde vin, mâhnitul,
Furios spre şes scobor,
Căci de unde vin, e spaimă.
Groază şi fior.

Tot români sunt şi pe-acolo,
Neam din veac pe-aici adus,
Dar pe gâtul lor şi astăzi
Jugul este pus.

Ei n-au voie să-şi vorbească
Graiul strămoşesc ce-l au,
Iar în coasta lor de-a pururi
Sulițele stau

Sfânta libertate este
Nume gol pe-al lor pământ:
Cei nedrepți sunt cei puternici,
Singuri au cuvânt!

Ah, de mila lor eu, maică,
Vin aşa de tulburat,
Şi de ciudă pe duşmanii
Cei ce l-au călcat.

Iar de-nec şi mal şi oameni,
Nu mai ştiu ce fac nici eu
Că mă simt de-atâta jale
Tulbure mereu!

For you, wherever you cross the world,
You see countries and beautiful mountains,
Peoples who happily speak
Their ancestral tongues . . .

Where I come from, troubled,
Furiously I descend into the plains,
For where I spring there is only dread,
Terror and fright.

Romanians live there too,
Peoples who have been here forever,
Yet their neck is weighed even today
By the yoke.

They are not allowed to speak
Their ancestral language
And in their ribs endlessly
Spears poke.

Holy freedom is
An empty word on their own land;
The unjust are in power,
The only ones who can decide!

Oh, holy mother, it is out of pity for them,
That I flow so unsettled,
And out of wrath toward their enemies,
Who have stepped on them.

If I drown banks and people,
It is because I get lost in my own feelings
Because of so much grief,
I feel eternally gloomy!

In a very interesting understanding of xenophobic sentient landscapes, the Olt River, known for producing terrible floods and destroying communities, explains its destruction of Romanian communities as an unwanted consequence of its anger toward Romania's oppressive colonial Others, the Catholic Austro-Hungarians. The Olt explains to the Danube—a river with origins in Germany that actually flows through Austrian and Hungarian cities before reaching Romania—that the cultural and linguistic oppression of Romanians is simply too much to witness and leads it to be blinded by rage and sorrow, causing it to hurt the very people whose fate it mourns.

The National Poet and Xenophobic Sentient Landscapes

Nichifor Crainic, George Coșbuc, and many others disseminated their ideas in the *Luceafărul*, the newspaper named after Mihai Eminescu's poem about an anthropomorphic morning star (see the magazine cover below). The collaboration of these authors with the magazine is important not only because of the political ideas of Mihai Eminescu but also because of the editorial makeup of the magazine. Started in 1902 by diaspora students in Budapest, the editorial committee included Octavian Goga, who later became Romania's right-wing prime minister (1937–1938) and was buried, as per his wish, with a swastika on his casket.[10] Goga's xenophobia did not just affect the direction of *Luceafărul*, it also helped shape the ideological line of the *Semănătorul* magazine, led by George Coșbuc, where Goga published frequently (Constantin 1997).

The fact that *Luceafărul* was named after Eminescu's poem alludes to the political direction inspired by the poet. Mihai Eminescu (1850–1889), considered Romania's national poet, is the subject of this section, as his political beliefs and work have been celebrated through the many Romanian political regimes of the twentieth century. Even though elements of his work became subject to censorship throughout the period, his work and personality were still celebrated in the communist rewriting of the nation's history. The poet is known for his general xenophobia (and specifically his anti-Semitism), his criticism of Western atheistic values, as well as his attachment to Romanian Orthodoxy, rurality, and the nature-nation connection, revealed in his prose, poetry, and political discourse (Stan and Turcescu 2012).

Eminescu's xenophobia reflected the mentality of many intellectuals and scholars at the time. In the interbellum literary, journalistic, and political sphere of influence of right-wing LANC, A. C. Cuza often cited Eminescu's xenophobic ideas. The 1848 Union of the Romanian Principalities ensured peoples felt united, and ethnicity became a reason for pride. In this context, terms like homeland and nation became heavily used in literary and journalistic texts, while more and more inhabitants of Moldavia, Muntenia, and Transylvania felt increasingly Romanian (Părpăuță 2012).

During the previous century, called the Phanariot century, the Romanian principalities were administered by foreign princes, Greek nobility from the Phanar neighborhood of Istanbul. They became wealthy from their short and indifferent terms, which led Romanian intellectuals to feel a sense of betrayal despite a Greek-Romanian Orthodox Christian connection and presumably shared anticolonial sentiments against the Ottomans. Among political leaders and writers of the time, there was a general

Figure 3.3. Cover of *Luceafărul* magazine, February 1904. © Wikicommons.

consensus that the Phanariot century kept the Romanian principalities from developing a well-formed bourgeoisie. Furthermore, Romania's social stratum of merchants and craftsmen was equally underdeveloped, making the young country unable to partake as a peer in the celebrations and successes of the age of nations (Călinescu 1972). The 1829 Treaty of Adrianople redressed this deficiency through the arrival of a high number of craftsmen and merchants of Russian Jewish origin who settled in Moldavian cities. This triggered the discontent of Romanian journalists, intellectuals, and other members of the bourgeoisie, whose anti-Semitism spread like wildfire.

Eminescu's interest in nature and landscape strengthened when he became the founder of The Orient, a literary circle in 1869; the group focused on collecting traditional stories, fairytales, popular verse, and documents regarding the nation's history and literary traditions (Călinescu 1972). Like many Romanian utopians, Eminescu developed a fixation on immortality, which often took the form of an ecstatic communion with Nature (Aramă 1993). Between 1872 and 1883, Eminescu composed several works

of prose in which sentient nature is seen as paradisiacal and utopian and signifies immortality. Even though utopia as a literary form was rejected as a Marxist import by Romania's interbellum right-wing regimes, as well as by the communist regime led by Nicolae Ceaușescu (Polek 1989), Eminescu's work and persona were centered and celebrated by both regimes, and on into the postsocialist period.

Between 1870 and 1883, Mihai Eminescu mixed ecopoetry and radical nationalism as he wrote several versions of "Doina," a poem named after a generic style of traditional poem, characterized by its focus on grief.[11] In "Doina," Eminescu expressed his anger toward invading foreigners, particularly Russians, Greeks, Ukrainians, Jews, Germans, and Hungarians. The poem has been a part of the Romanian school curriculum since the 1890s, invoking an endangered dream of a Greater Romania.

De la Turnu 'n Dorohoiu	From Turnu to Dorohoi
Curg duşmanii în puhoiu	Enemies pour in overwhelmingly
Şi s-aşează pe la noi;	And they settle on our lands;
Şi cum vin cu drum de fier,	As they come with their iron roads
Toate cântecele pier,	All song dies out,
Sboară paserile toate	All birds fly away
De neagra străinătate.	From the gloom of the foreigners.
Numai umbra spinului	The shadow of the thorn alone
La uşa creştinului.	Adorns the door of the Christian.
Îşi desbracă ţara sânul,	The country unveils her chest,
Codrul—frate cu Românul	The forest—the Romanian's brother
De secure se tot pleacă	Collapses under the strike of the axe
Şi isvoarele îi seacă	And its springs dry
sărac în ţară săracă!	Poor in an impoverished country!

The above section of Eminescu's "Doina" evokes antitechnicist, anti-Western discourse by criticizing the effects of the foreign "iron road," the railway built by the Austrians. In Eminescu's ecopoetic view, this railway destroys nature ("all songs die out, all birds fly away"), evoking a nature-nation union where Romanians and their landscape are equally destroyed by Westerners and their modernizing disruptions. In the second stanza, Eminescu's eco-worries are further explored. Forest exploitation is seen as a defilement of the nation, as her silvan shirt is ripped by immoral foreigners, exposing her geological breast. Later in the poem, Eminescu's anger is formulated as a curse peppered with racial slurs:

Cine ne-au adus Jidanii	Whoever brought us the kikes,
Nu mai vază zi cu anii	May they not see the light of day
Ci să-i scoată ochii corbii	May their eyes be removed by ravens

Să rămâe 'n drum cu orbii	May they roam the paths with the blind.
Cine ne-au adus pe Greci	Whoever brought us the Greeks,
N'ar mai putrezi în veci	May they rot for eternity
Cine ne-au adus Muscalii	Whoever brought us the Russians,
Prăpădi-l-ar focul jalei	May the fire of mourn consume them
Să-l arza să-l dogorească	May it burn them, may it scorch them,
Neamul să i-l prăpădească!	May their bloodline be forever lost!
Cine ține cu străinii	Whoever sides with the foreigners
Mânca-i-ar inima cânii	May the dogs eat their hearts,
Mânca-i-ar casa pustia	May their home be swallowed by hell,
Şi neamul nemernicia!	May their bloodline be swallowed by wretchedness!

Around the same time, Romania's national poet also published "Scrisoare a treia" (The third letter) (1881), another poem which has been a part of the Romanian school curriculum since the 1890s, despite (or perhaps thanks to) its xenophobic hatred. The poem has two parts: the first contrasts the patriotism of Romanian soldiers to the false nationalism of their foreign counterparts; the second describes the battle of Rovine, where Mircea the Elder's army fought the Ottoman army commanded by Sultan Bayezid I. In his veiled threats to Bayezid, Mircea equates the Romanian people to a xenophobic, sentient Danube:

Eu nu ti-as dori vreodata să ajungi să ne cunosti, Nici ca Dunarea să'nece spumegand a tale osti.	I would never wish upon you that you get to know us, Nor that the Danube frothingly swallow your armies.

Mircea continues by claiming that the pure, simple patriotism of Romanians is supported by a sentient landscape that sees the Ottomans as enemies:

Imi apar saracia si nevoile si neamul. . . . Si de-aceea tot ce misca'n tara asta, raul, ramul, Mi-e prieten numai mie, iara tie dusman este, Dusmanit vei fi de toate, far' a prinde chiar de veste;	I defend my poverty, my needs, and my people . . . This is why all that moves in this nation, from rivers to woodlands, Are friends to me alone, and enemies to you, You will be loathed by them all, before you will even know.

Even though Mircea the Elder wins the battle against the Ottomans, Eminescu's anger toward foreigners moves into his own era, more violent, eugenicist, and radical than before.

Bulgaroi cu ceafa groasa, grecotei cu nas subtire;
Toate mutrele acestea sunt pretinse de roman,
Toata greco-bulgarimea e nepoata lui Traian!
Spuma asta-nveninata, asta plebe, ast gunoi
Sã ajunga-a fi stapana si pe tara si pe noi!
Tot ce-i insemnat cu pata putrjunii de natura,
Toti se scursera aicea si formeaza patriotii,
Incat fonfii si flecarii, gagautii si gusatii,
Balbaiti cu gura stramba sunt stapanii astei natii!

Thick-necked Bulgarians, thin-nosed Greeks,
All these mugs that claim to be Roman,
All the Greco-Bulgarians claim to be the grandchildren of Trajan!
This venomous froth, this scum, this refuse,
Are now ruling over us and our land!
Everything that nature has marked with decay,
Has dribbled here, feigning patriotism
With their lisps, their gabbles, these twits with lardy scruffs,
Stuttering cripples are reigning over this nation!

Xenophobic Sentient Landscapes at Home

The fact that Eminescu's poems have been part of school curricula in Romania for so long is but one of many continuities that have allowed for an imaginary of a xenophobic sentient landscape to emerge in the national ontology. These continuities relate to the building of national imaginaries, accepted historical narratives, and popular/hidden memory transmissions. In this section, the chapter focuses on some of these continuities. Specifically, it is crucial that the national myths promoted before 1945 remained mostly intact and were even revived during the socialist regime, particularly by state-owned presses that catered to school children. Some of the published books were found frequently in homes after 1989 and their narratives were ingrained in the minds of several generations.

It might seem contradictory that the green ecology of the peasant-loving interwar Romanian right would be easily adapted by the industry-heavy socialist regime that followed. The reality is that the Socialist Republic of Romania (SRR) embraced green ideology, as it could provide some much-needed credibility to Ceaușescu's totalitarian regime, especially after the 1970s, when ideological means for mass mobilization were becoming scarce (Tascu-Stavre and Stanca 2011). Furthermore, the Romanian Communist Party and green ideology shared anticapitalist, anticonsumerist ideas.

Growing up, my parents' library held two books that many Romanian children born in the 1980s had in their homes. As you can see below, these books were read many times, perhaps too many times. These books were

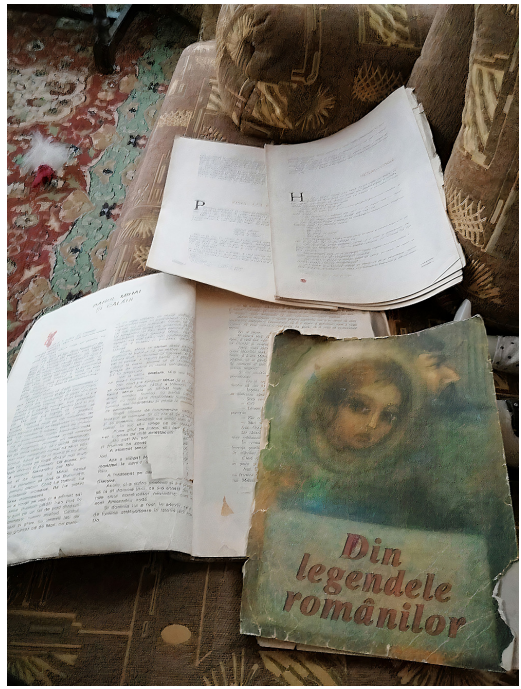


Figure 3.4. Damirescu's book, tattered by time and misuse, in my childhood home. © Alexandra Coțofană.

some of the first stories my generation, among others, ever read, and they formed readers' ideas about the Romanian nation and its Others. The first book below, Delia Damirescu's *Din Legendele Românilor* (From the legends of the Romanian people), was published by the Ion Creangă publishing house in 1990. The Ion Creangă publishing house pioneered local book illustration, signing contracts with recognized artists who forged the way for rich, colorful, and innovative visual art, which contrasted with other aspects of the lives of children under the communist regime (Radu 2009).

The visual art in Damirescu's book is eerie, and there is something almost esoteric about it. The text is remarkable, too, as it evokes imaginaries of sentient landscapes that side with Romanians against foreign attackers. Most stories in the book tell the legend of a particular place in the geography of the country: a cave, a mountaintop, a lake, etc. In many of the stories, Romanians turn into stone, imbuing the landscape with a national sense of sentience. For example, in the story of "Pietrele Muierilor" (Women's Rocks), the legend says that Tatars were invading the village of Solca. While the men of the village went to war, the women and children went

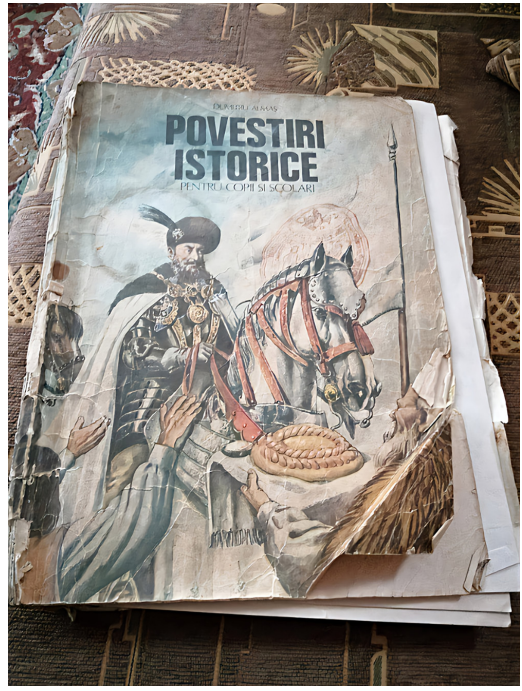


Figure 3.5. Almaş's volumes in my childhood home. © Alexandra Coțofană.

into the mountains to hide. Almost defeated, the Tatars ran from the Solca men into the mountains, where the Solca women attacked them and won. The sharp rocks where the women stood are called the Women's Rocks and are imbued with their spirits, which sometimes still haunt the cliffs, shrieking with their hair undone (1990: 121–22).

Written in the form of a series of stories that a grandfather tells his three grandchildren as they walk through a history museum, the three volumes of Dumitru Almaş's *Povestiri istorice pentru copii şi şcolari* (Historical stories for children and pupils) were published in the mid- to late 1980s by Editura Didactică şi Pedagogică. These stories follow the Romanian nation chronologically, from its Dacian protoform to the current era. The intention of the author is made clear in the preface of the first volume: "I wrote this book specifically for primary school pupils, as support material when they start learning the country's history in class . . . [M]y yearning [is] to help our young pupils to start discerning from an early age the truth of history and the light of our nation's legends. . . . Heard since childhood, I have faith that the deeds of our ancestors will be ingrained deep in the consciousness of our children and never be forgotten" (8: 1984).[12]

Figure 3.6. Scan from Almaş. Romanian archers and the xenophobic sentient landscape attacking. © Valentin Tănase.

The narrative of the stories is consistent. Dacians and later Romanians find themselves outnumbered, battling occupying foreigners and trying to reason with greedy Others who refuse their offers of peace and friendship. The technologies of the Romanians/Dacians is always behind, their leaders always autochthonous. The Romanians/Dacians prevail by devising clever plans involving the xenophobic sentient landscape, winning against all odds. The ethnic and religious military Other is often left at the mercy of the Romanian landscape, which guarantees victory for the Romanian army. The forest thickens and fog blinds the enemies at just the right time, leaving them surrounded by local archers; the valleys narrow before the enemies grasp the danger, allowing Romanian peasants to crush them under a deluge of boulders; swamps slow them, giving the Romanians the perfect opportunity to attack.

Dehumanizing Others is often used as a narrative technique. In these stories, time and again, the Tatars and Turks are compared to predatory animals—either to wolves preying on herds of Romanian sheep (a biblical image), or to black, croaking ravens waiting for honest, hard-working Romanians to go to sleep so they can steal their shiny belongings (see below), or to wild forest beasts hunting as a pack, at night, targeting peasant women and children (reminiscent of the Ottomans attacking

Figure 3.7. Scan from Almaş. Beastly sentient others stealing riches from a Romanian boy. © Valentin Tănase.

and abducting women and children). In one story, King Petru Rareș believes that to go to the sultan's palace is like willingly shoving yourself in the lion's mouth: "ca şi cum te-ai băga, de bună voie, în gura leului" (54). In another story, the Turks fighting Mihai Viteazul are portrayed as packs of wolves and groups of wild boars charging at the Romanians: "Năpustindu-se, înghesuindu-se, lovind năprasnic în români, au trecut podul peste apa Neajlovului şi au umplut locul, ca nişte haite de lupi şi turme de mistreţii" (66). The revolutionary Tudor Vladimirescu addresses Phanariot rulers by calling them wolves and venomous snakes: "Până aici, hapsânilor şi lupilor şi şerpilor veninoşi! Cu arma vă vom alunga din ţară" (99).

Even from early Dacian times, the locals are imagined as preferring death to foreign submission. When losing the battle against the Roman emperor Trajan around AD 103–105, the Dacian king Decebal prefers to die by his own sword rather than surrender. Facing the reality of colonialism, Dacians pray to their gods and turn to rock. Reclaiming the theme of humans turned into landscape, Dacian princess Dochia, at the end of the

Figure 3.8. Scan from Almaş. Princess Dochia resisting colonization. © Valentin Tănase.

same battle, refuses to leave for Rome to become Trajan's bride and turns to stone, becoming one with the mountain.

> "I will not leave here, I wish to be buried here, in Dacia's holy land. . . . Trajan was angered at the news that Dochia took a flock of sheep, became a shepherdess and escaped to the mountains. . . . "I will take you with me against your will. I will abduct you!" And he signaled to the soldiers to seize her. Scared, Dochia raised her hands to the skies and whispered, "I will become a cliff and remain here in my country." Truly, within the blink of an eye, beautiful Dochia together with her flock turned to stone, rooted in the mountain". (14)[13]

Shocked, Roman emperor Trajan exclaimed: "There is nothing I can do, the men and women of Dacia are tied to their land like mountains and cliffs" (14).[14]

The landscape often exhibits sentience in the narrative of Dumitru Almaş, in stories that explain the perplexing victories of the small, unarmed Romanian peasant armies against colonial Others. In AD 1330, King Basarab I hid his army in the woods, waiting to attack Hungarian King Charles Robert, whose colonizing ambitions had to be stopped:

Figure 3.9. Scan from Almaş. Battle of Posada. © Valentin Tănase.

> He hid in the mountains and forests. Because the mountain forest is brother of the Romanian and will protect him. There, he waited, in a gorge with very tall walls and so narrow that it wouldn't fit more than ten to twelve horsemen. That place is called Posada. The king ordered his soldiers to go up in the mountains and track the approaching enemy. Eager to capture Basarab, like you would a bear in its den, King Charles Robert advanced conceited, believing no one can defeat him. And he drove his troops into the Posada strait. Before he could realize it, they were caught in a deluge of boulders, logs, rocks, spears, and arrows. It seemed the mountains themselves were collapsing, ravaging them. (20)[15]

The exact same framing is used in the third volume, the one that tells stories from nineteenth- and twentieth-century Romania. In this volume, we see an almost identical story about a mountain village fighting "in the plight against the fascists" (1984: 42). This time, the colonizing enemy is equipped with tanks and trucks full of ammunition, and in describing the battle, the author references the Posada battle of AD 1330: "It was as if the old times had come back to life, when the Romanians were fighting in Posada, led by King Basarab" (42).[16]

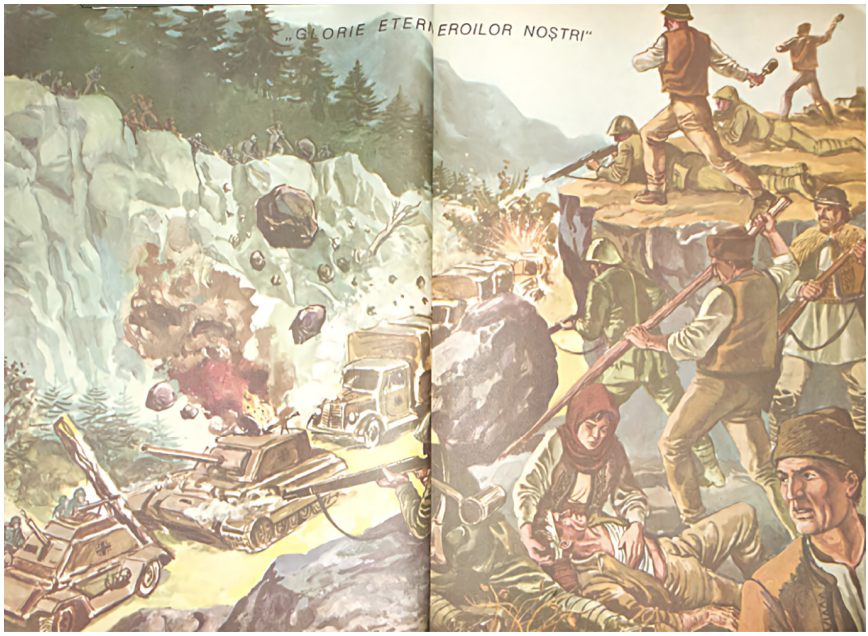


Figure 3.10. Scan from Almaş. Romanians attacking German tanks in World War II. © Valentin Tănase.

Sharing in the suffering of the martyred Romanian revolutionaries fighting against Austro-Hungarian colonization, the sentient landscape acts and reacts, mourning the arrest and upcoming execution of the freedom fighter Horea.

> Horea was extremely tired, you could say he crawled more than he walked. The metal cuffs were causing his ankles to bleed; his hands were going numb under the weight of the iron, and his neck was stiff in its cuff. . . . On top of all this, a great thirst was also tormenting him; he simply could not wait to come across a spring and quench his thirst. After a long period of agony, finally, there it was, a spring on the side of the road. A spring overflowing with clear, cold water. Horea stopped and bowed to take a sip. But the mounted soldier who had him tied jerked his chains and did not let him cool his lips. Horea looked at him in anger and uttered: Drought! They say that from that day on, the spring stopped giving water, it went dry. So the people who imprisoned Horea could not quench their thirst either. (95)[17]

It is important to note that the word for drought (*secătură*) can also translate as an offense brought upon a human, the equivalent of "wretch." This speaks to the fact that Horea was not an entirely powerless prisoner, as he defiantly insulted a member of the imperial military forces while at the same time asking the spring to go dry.

Figure 3.11. Scan from Almaş. Horea and his capturers. © Valentin Tănase.

Postcommunist Xenophobic Sentient Landscapes

After 1989, Eminescu's appeal grew once more. One of the best-known Romanian far-right groups, called the New Right (Noua Dreaptă), claims Eminescu as the absolute national poet. The Romanian far right has a deep element of martyrdom in its self-narrative: not only were a large number of their interwar elites assassinated by the regime of King Carol II but the oppression grew even harsher under communism. Of particular interest are the waves of arrests that took place from the late 1950s to the mid-1960s and resulted in almost four thousand nuns and monks being arrested. The police raided monasteries and monastic seminaries for former supporters of the Iron Guard (Beeson 1975).

The New Right are not alone. Leaders of the governing center-left Social Democratic Party have, for some years now, relied on unfounded arguments targeting philanthropist George Soros, while Romanian social media froths with terminology like "Judeo-communism" and "the occult elites," and is prone to xenophobic panics. This quasi-mysticism relies not on historical data or proof but on an imported discourse meant to produce

panic around the Jewish minority that has not only suffered two pogroms at the hands of Romanians but has mostly disappeared from the country.

Xenophobia is grown online and in political discourse. At the same time, esotericism as a scholarly interest finds its way back to Romania through new authors and new publications, but somehow rehashing old arguments. Scholarly esotericism gained momentum in the 1950s in the French academic milieu, emulating (but also trying to differentiate itself from) the scholars of the Eranos meetings, among whom was Mircea Eliade (Raveca Buleu 2019). Following communism, scholarly esotericism has found its way back to Romania in the form of books such as Radu Cernătescu's *Literatura Luciferică* (2013). In the book, Cernătescu insists that Romanian prose and poetry should not be read simplistically but with an effort to understand the hidden meaning behind the author's words and intentions, claiming all authors share a mystogenetic matrix (2013). Many famous Romanian novelists and poets, including Mircea Eliade, Mihai Eminescu, and Mihai Sadoveanu, are interpreted by Cernătescu as being driven by motives stemming from their secret Freemasonry. Cernătescu also devotes an entire chapter to Romanians' spiritual relationship with mountains and claims that all literary references to mountains are indeed driven by Freemason and Rosicrucian affinities.

Alexandra Coțofană holds a doctorate in anthropology from Indiana University Bloomington, with a doctoral minor in religious studies. Her research explores intersections of politics, modernities, and ontologies of governing. Alexandra's scholarly interests focus on political ecologies, the ontological turn, the study of political elites, and ways of governing, as well as on the occult as a tool for governing and discursive techniques employed in populist imaginaries to form racial, gender, and political Others. She is currently teaching and conducting research at Zayed University in Abu Dhabi as assistant professor of social sciences.

Notes

1. Dumitru Almaş was the literary pseudonym of Dumitru Ailincăi, a twentieth-century prose writer, publicist, historian, and author of historical novels, who was born in 1908 in Neamț county in the Romanian northern Carpathians. He was awarded a bachelor's degree in history and geography from the university of Bucharest (1928–1933) and received his doctorate for a thesis titled "Historical Voltaire." In the 1930s he worked as an editor for various newspapers, taught history in high schools (1938–1949), and taught as a university lecturer (1949–1972) and then as a tenured professor (1972–1975) at the University of Bucharest. Almaş reimagined the regional identities of the times

around the battle of Vaslui through the lens of the new Romanian nation-state of the mid-1800s by repeatedly calling the different regions "our country" and the regions' inhabitants "Romanians," leading the young reader to imagine that the various intricate political geographies of past times have always been today's Romania, forcefully partitioned by colonial others. More on the academic and editorial career of Almaş can be found here: https://zch.ro/dumitru-almas-cel-mai-prolific-scriitor-din-neamt/.

2. The original reads: "Una din cele mai mari bătălii a dat-o Ștefan vodă la Vaslui. Era vreme de iarnă, când sultanul turcilor a trimis o mare armată asupra țării noastre. O conducea un general iscusit, mare războinic, numit Soliman Pașa. El credea că-i va înfrânge pe români și țara lor o va supune repede. Ștefan vodă avea o oștire de trei ori mai mică. . . . Cum am spus, era iarnă . . . așezat oastea pe malul unui râu mocirlos, în lungul căruia se afla drumul, pe care aveau să treacă dușmanii. . . . În ziua când armata lui Soliman pașa a ajuns în dreptul românilor, pe valea râului s-a lăsat o ceață deasă. Soliman a intrat cu toată oastea în valea râului. Dar, din pricina ceții, abia vedea la câțiva pași. Înainta orbește. Și, deodată, . . . din adăposturile lor, românii au tăbărât asupra dușmanilor. Pe mulți i-au ucis. Pe alții i-au împotmolit în mlaștina cu sloiuri de gheață. . . . Bătălia de la Vaslui a fost o strălucită biruință românească. Soliman pașa cu armata, câtă i-a mai rămas, s-a întors în țara lui. Asemenea rușinoasă înfrângere nu mai suferise, până atunci, nici un alt mare general turc.""
3. Unless otherwise stated, all images are scans from my personal archive. The book illustrations are from pages 54–55.
4. Some notable names include poet Vasile Alecsandri, philosopher Vasile Conta, political figure Cezar Bolliac, national poet and political speaker Mihai Eminescu, diplomat Ion Ghica, essayist Ion Heliade-Rădulescu, statesman and historian Mihail Kogălniceanu, novelist Constantin Negruzzi, philologist Bogdan-Petriceicu Hașdeu, writer and journalist Ioan Slavici.
5. The original reads: "Cred în destinul neamului românesc—de aceea cred în biruința mișcării legionare. Un neam care a dovedit uriașe puteri de creație, în toate nivelurile realității, nu poate naufragia la periferia istoriei, într-o democrație balcanizată și într-o catastrofă civilă. . . . Poate neamul românesc să-și sfîrșească viața în cea mai tristă descompunere pe care ar cunoaște-o istoria, surpat de mizerie și sifilis, cotropit de evrei și sfîrtecat de străini, demoralizat, trădat, vîndut pentru cîteva sute de miloane (sic!) de lei? Cine nu se îndoiește de destinul neamului nostru, nu se poate îndoi de biruința mișcării legionare. Cred în această biruință, pentru că, înainte de toate, cred în biruința duhului creștin."
6. The call for ""elimination,"" which A. C. Cuza grounded in the irreconcilable struggle between Christian and Jewish culture, does not initially relate to their physical destruction but rather to the expulsion of Jews from key economic positions within the state.
7. See more in N. Iorga, Problema evreiască la Cameră (Vălenii de Munte, Tipografia Neamul Românesc, 1910).
8. The only mention of a publication date for the poem comes in his memoir *Zile albe, zile negre* (Good days, bad days), published posthumously in 1991:

"After my Native Lands volume was published, Dragomirescu dedicated an entire evening to the volume, in the presence of his circle of writers, where he himself read the entire volume, remarking on what he believed was special. I remember that in one sonnet called 'Copacul,' he said I had imbued it with a true 'Bergsonian spirit.'" (The original reads: "După apariția 'Şesurilor natale,' Dragomirescu le-a închinat o şedință a cenaclului său de scriitori, unde a citit el singur tot volumul remarcînd ce i se părea mai realizat. Mi-aduc aminte că într-un' sonet, 'Copacul,' găsea că am pus un adevărat 'elan Bergsonian.'") The volume mentioned here was published in 1916; it seems from Crainic's comment that the poem was part of that collection.

9. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Nichifor Crainic was a mentor to Arsenie Boca, a mystic and an Orthodox priest who was martyred by the Communist regime and reclaimed by the Romanian new far right as well as by the Romanian Orthodox Church, which has recently decided to canonize Boca.
10. Goga represented the National Christian Party (PNC), formed in 1935 through the fusion of A. C. Cuza's LANC and Goga's National Agrarian Party. PNC's logo featured a swastika. See Claudiu Padurean, Expoziție inedită de fotografii – Octavian Goga, înmormântat cu un simbol oribil pe sicriu, ClujToday, February 27, 2020. Retrieved from https://clujtoday.ro/expozitie-inedita-de-fotografii-octavian-goga-inmormantat-cu-un-simbol-oribil-pe-sicriu/.
11. Several versions of the poem are circulated, with unclear dates. Websites published by the legionnaire movement in Romania host uncensored versions of the poem (See miscarea.net and legiunea.com), where the word *jidani* (kikes) appears several times. According to Arthur Gorovei, Eminescu wrote "Doina" in 1883 in Ion Creangă's country home (Gorovei 1930). Creangă and Eminescu's friendship was infamous, and in Gorovei's writings, Creangă recalls Eminescu's declining mental health and that Eminescu once arrived with a revolver, which he claimed would defend him from unnamed enemies (Călinescu 1972).
12. The original reads: "Am scris această carte anume pentru cei mici, care n-au ajuns încă în clasa a IV-a, când încep a învăța istoria patriei după manual . . . râvna de a ajuta micuții noștri preșcolari și școlari, copiii noștri dragi, să înceapă a desluși, încă din fragedă pruncie, câte ceva din adevărul istoriei și din lumina legendelor patriei. . . . Auzite încă din copilărie, am credința că faptele strămoșilor se vor imprima în conștiința copiilor adânc și de neuitat."
13. The original reads: "Eu însă de aici nu plec, voiesc să mă îngrop aici, în pământul sfânt al Daciei. . . . Traian când a aflat că Dochia a luat o turmă de mioare, s-a făcut păstoriță și a urcat în munți, departe, s-a supărat foc. . . . 'Te iau cu de-a sila. Te răpesc!'" Și a făcut semnal ostașilor s-o prindă. Speriată, Dochia a ridicat mâinile spre cer și a șoptit: '"Stană de piatră mă fac și rămân aici, în tara mea!'" În adevăr, cât ai clipi din ochi, Dochia cea preafrumoasă, cu toate mioarele ei răspândite pe pajiște, s-au prefăcut în stânci, înfipte în piatra muntelui."
14. The original reads: "N-am ce face; dacii, bărbați şi femei, sunt legați de țara lor ca munții şi stâncile lor.""

15. The original reads: "Apoi s-a retras, cu grijă, din calea vitezei și numeroasei oștiri a lui Carol Robert. S-a retras în munți și în codri. Că doar codrul e frate cu românul și-l apără. Acolo l-a așteptat, la o strâmtoare cu pereții foarte înalți și așa de îngustă, că abia încăpeau zece-doisprezece călăreți alături. Acelui loc i-a zis Posada. Voievodul a poruncit ostașilor lui să se urce pe munți, deasupra acelei strâmtori, și să pândească apropierea dușmanului. Foarte dornic să-l prindă pe Basarab, ca pe un urs în culcușul lui, precum zisese, Carol Robert a înaintat semeț și încrezător că nimeni nu-l poate birui. Așa a vârât oastea în strâmtoarea de la Posada. Dar iată că, tocmai când nici gândea, de sus, din munte, din piscuri, din vârfuri de brazi, au început să cadă, ca un potop: stânci, butuci, bolovani, suliți și săgeți. Părea că toți munții se prăbușesc asupra lor, potopindu-i."
16. The original reads: "Parcă reînviaseră vremurile bătrîne, cînd românii luptau la Posada ocîrmuiți de Basarab Întemeietorul."
17. The original reads: "Foarte, foarte ostenit, Horea mai mult se târa decât mergea. Gleznele îi sângerau din pricina cătușelor; mâinile îi amorțeau sub povara fierului, iar gâtul îi înțepenise în cătușă. . . . Peste toate acestea îl mai chinuia și o sete grozavă; de-abia aștepta să întâlnească în cale un izvor să și-o potolească. După o îndelungă suferință, iată, în sfârșit, un izvor, la marginea drumului. Un șipot cu apă multă, limpede și rece. Horea s-a oprit și s-a aplecat să bea apă. Dar soldatul călare, care-l ținea legat, a smucit lanțul și nu l-a lăsat să atingă apa ca să-și răcorească buzele. Horea l-a privit, cu mânie, și a rostit: '"Secătură!'" Se zice că din clipa aceea, izvorul a încetat să mai curgă: a secat. Așa că nici cei care-l păzeau pe Horea n-au maj avut cu ce-și potoli setea."

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