# Historical Narratives of Romanian Origin and Ethnic Essentials in Folklore Studies

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## 1. Introduction

This paper deals with historical narratives about the origin of the Romanian people and the theory of ethnic essentialism found in the study of the Romanian folk tradition 'Miorița,' and tries to clarify the historical achievements of history and ethnology (folklore) about the Romanian people. The folk song, 'Miorița' (little ewe) is an ancient Romanian pastoral ballad and is considered one of the most important folklore elements in Romania.

At the time of the independence movement during the 19th century, Romanians mainly lived in Transylvania,[1] ruled by Hungary, and in the Principality of Wallachia[2] and the Principality of Moldova,[3] which were indirectly governed by the Ottoman Empire. In terms of civilization, it can be argued that Romania can be said that it is located between the Western world, where dominant faiths are Catholicism and Protestantism, and the Eastern world, which is mainly dominated by Islam. Romania at that time was located between the Catholic Habsburg Empire and the Muslim Ottoman Empire. Thus, for Romania's political leaders and intellectuals striving for their independence, building a national identity as Romanian was a very important issue. Moreover, they considered that, in order to achieve their political independence from the surrounding superpowers as a modern nation state, they should firstly strive for establishing cultural consciousness as the basis of national identity.

For that purpose, it was necessary for them to assert Romania's unique culture or history that are different from the Ottoman culture (= Islam), which symbolises the eastern one. One way to achieve this was to determine Romania's identity as belonging to a Christian civilization. However, Romanian Orthodox Church, the dominant faith in Romania, belongs to the Eastern Orthodox Church with roots in Eastern Europe and the Balkan region (that is, the Eastern world) (Photo 1). In the area of Christian civilization, there was another Church, Catholic, dominant in Western Europe, including Hungary. Therefore, more ideology was needed to establish its identity as a Western nation. To answer the question of who Romanians are, theories about the origin of Romanians, such as Latinism (Romanism), Dacianism, and Dacian-Romanism, became particularly important (Verdery 1991).

**Photo 1**  Traditional wooden church in Boteza village in Romania nominated as a world heritage (photo by author, 1995)

It was the priests of the Greek Catholic church, Biserica Greco Catolică,[4] who brought Latinism to Romania as the first Romanism. The Greek Catholic Church was established around 1700 when the Romanian Orthodox[5] converted to Catholicism in Transylvania under the rule of the Hapsburg Empire. Transylvania is a historical plateau region in North-western Romania that is separated from the rest of the country by the Transylvanian Alps. The Greek Catholic priests 'discovered' that the origin of the Romanian people came from the Roman Empire through philological research when they studied in Western Europe in places such as Rome and Vienna. This theory of the origin in the Roman Empire taught the Romanian people that they could claim the same rights as the ruling nations, and at the same time, it awakened people and became the driving force of the national independence movement as well. The theory of the origin in the Roman Empire also resulted in historical confrontations between the Roman Empire and the Orthodox Church, which prides itself on embodying the Romanian ethnicity.

Regarding cultural independence, folklore, which became popular in Germany in the 19th century, was passed on to Romania, and studies of folk tales and ballads and oral traditions were enthusiastically conducted in Romania. Among the oral traditions in Romania, the ballad called 'Miorița'[6] attracted attention as a national epic. The ballad 'Miorița' is the masterpiece of Romanian literary folklore, considered one of the Romanian fundamental myths. 'Miorița' is part of the cycle of the oldest popular Romanian productions, named by the specialists the 'pastoral repertoire.' The focus of attention that the 'Miorița' received is whether the protagonist character in the ballad was

the Romanian national character or not. This debate helps to recognise the common culture of Romanians and simultaneously, to establish the imagined nation. In addition, the idea of death expressed in the ballad captured the hearts of intellectuals involved in the Romanian Fascist movement, Legionary movement,[7] which was active between the two world wars.

The intellectuals who were involved in the Legionary movement that developed during Romania's political and social crisis and the intellectuals who were engaged in 'Miorița' research and seemingly unrelated to the Legionary movement were connected by the question of the Romanian identity. This phenomenon shows a unique framework creating the tide of intellectuals in modern Romania. Mircea Eliade (1907–1986)[8] and other intellectuals who participated in the Legionary movement were also involved in folklore research centred on 'Miorița.'

In this paper, I will discuss that the 'discovery' (historical narrative) of Romanian origin by Greek Catholic priests in the early modern period was linked to ethnic awakening and movement, whereas the study of the folk tradition 'Miorița,' which is regarded as popular culture, has contributed to the formation of national consciousness. I will explain that the combination of the two disciplines was useful to ethnicism and the political movement in an ideological way and consider the role and significance of history and ethnology (folklore) played in religious conflict and ethnic problems in Romania.
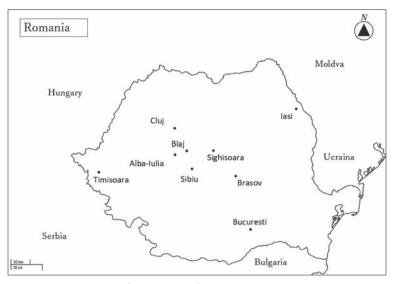
## 2. Historical Narrative of Ethnic Origins: Seeking Attribution and Identity in Western Europe

### 2.1 'What is a Race without History?': In the Case of Romania

Romania is located in the west of the Eurasian continent and is clearly part of Europe when viewed from the east (Map 1). However, since it is located at the easternmost point of the European continent within Europe, it is often considered as the 'Orient' (that is, the east) open to Asia in terms of culture and geopolitics.

This unique Romanian geopolitical position is reflected in the fact that Romania has been a migration route for various ethnic groups since ancient times, and the rise and fall among ethnic groups were repeated frequently. Probably, the Roman Empire that ruled the Mediterranean world has substantially influenced Romania to this day. It can be argued that the Roman Empire is an example of the powers that ruled whole Europe and also an essential entity serving as the basis of the representation of Western Europe alongside Ancient Greece.

For instance, the modern Romanian language has a linguistic Latin lineage, and the people of Romania accepted Christianity through the Byzantine Empire, a descendant of the ancient Roman Empire. Christianity has become a national religion in this country. Thus, we can argue that Romania has historically been closely linked to Western Europe through the rule of the Roman Empire. However, at the same time, Romania, as the eastern edge of the continent, is also open to the Orient. The Ottoman Empire moved from Central Asia to Asia Minor and extended its power across the Balkans. Therefore,

**Map 1**   Map of Romania (made by author)

since the Middle Ages, the Ottoman Empire had influenced the social, cultural, political and commercial affairs of the countries in South-eastern Europe such as Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Serbia, and Romania.

Due to geopolitical conditions of being at the mercy of the great powers, Romania suffered the stigma of a 'nation without history,' the term coined by Emil Cioran (Cioran 2013). 'Without history' refers to the historical experience that Romania was ruled by others and was forced to submit to neighbouring nations. Here the neighbouring nations include Hungary and the Habsburg Empire, which had a long control over Transylvania, the Ottoman Empire, which had ruled the Balkan region, and Russia, which sought to move southward to the Mediterranean Sea repeatedly. According to popular understanding in Romania, the actual Romanian history began with the Dacians, who originated from the Thracian people around 2000 BC. The Dacians are regarded as the starting point of Romania's founding myths, and this understanding became dominant under the socialist system.

The relation and continuity between the Dacians and Romanians were said to have been 'discovered' by Greek Catholic priests who studied in Rome. Around 60 BC, a unified state was established by the Dacians, but due to the invasion of the ancient Roman Empire, Emperor Trajan placed Dacia, the only province under the Danube, in the north of the Danube River. Later, as the colonisation by the Romans proceeded, the Dacians were mixed with the Romans and became Romanised. Through the intermarriage between the Dacians and the Romans, the immediate ancestor of the present Romanians appeared. This is the popular theory about the origins of Romanians. Furthermore, it is believed that Christianity was brought to the area and that it became popular during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. In 271, when the Roman Empire abandoned Dacia, the region fall

under the control of the West Goths. From 378, the West Goths moved to the Iberian Peninsula as the Hun moved westward, and then the Slavs migrated due to the decline of the Hun. Among them, the Bulgar people came to rule until around 1000. Accordingly, it was Romania's claim to Hungary, especially regarding the Transylvanian territorial issue, that the characteristics of the Romans (Latin) remained despite the invasion and control of foreign peoples. However, there is nothing that can be confirmed in the material about the state during this period, and it is said to be the historical dark age.

In the 10th century, small countries began to be established in various places and converged into feudal small countries of Wallachia, Transylvania, and Moldova. At the time of the schism in 1054, when the East-West Church split occurred, the Romanian region was incorporated into the Eastern Church. In contrast, Transylvania came under the control of the Catholic Hungarian kingdom from early on, and in 1310 came under the control of the Anjou and then the Habsburgs. This led to the formation of the Greek Catholic Church.

Furthermore, Wallachia and Moldova were conquered by the Tatars in the 13th century, but they rejected the Tatars in the 14th century. They established the Principality of Wallachia and Principality of Moldova but received threats from the surrounding states, such as the Kingdom of Hungary, the Kingdom of Poland, and the Ottoman Empire. In 1415, the Principality of Wallachia entered the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire, followed by the Principality of Moldova. However, after the Karlowitz Treaty[9] signed in 1699, the Principality of Wallachia became heavily influenced by the Austrian and Russian Empires. Later the Wallachia uprising led by Tudor Vladimirescu, a Romanian revolutionary hero (1780−1821) took place in Wallachia against Ottoman rule in 1821. This Wallachia uprising is regarded as a dawn of the Greek Revolutionary War but was suppressed by the Ottoman Empire. Russia temporarily occupied these territories in the 19th century, but Wallachia and the Moldova Union Principality were established again under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire. The establishment of Romania as a nation state had to wait for the 1878 Berlin conference. The most notable result of the Berlin conference was the official recognition of (which had de facto acted independently for decades) the newly independent states of Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro.

## 2.2  Discovery of the Origin of Romanians by Philology

The church congregation in Transylvania was established between 1698 and 1700, resulting in the emergence of the Greek Catholic priests who 'discovered' the origins of Romania (Photo 1).

Originally, Transylvania was under the rule of the Hungarian kingdom since the 15th century, and it was autonomously controlled by three ethnic groups, including the Hungarian aristocracy, the Székely, and the Saxon. This regime of the Hungarian kingdom was started based on the coalition of the three ethnic groups after the revolt by the lower Hungarians and Romanians in 1437. Although parts of the Romanian aristocracy were assimilated into Hungarians, members of the general public were in a position to work like serfs.

In the 16th century, the Reformation wave reached Transylvania, and the Lutherans

infiltrated ethnic groups other than Romanians. The Calvin faction began to spread in the 1560s and it obtained many Hungarian followers. Under these circumstances, in 1564, Turda held a parliament of representatives from the three ethnic groups, gave the Calvinists and Lutherans rights equal to Roman Catholicism, and granted religious freedom to the three ethnic groups. Later, Unitarian Christianity spread the unity of God around the Székely people. They asserted the Christian Godhead as one God in three persons: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. In the parliament held at Turg Mureș in 1571, the Unitarian gained the status of the fourth recognised religion. Even under this regime, the status of the Romanian Orthodox Church was not recognised as legal, and it was just allowed as a tolerated religion against the four official denominations of Roman Catholicism, Calvinism, Lutheranism, and Unitarians.

In this context, the Catholic Archbishop Koronić of Hungary tried to convert Romanian Orthodox Christians to Catholicism. From 1691, in collaboration with neighbouring Poland, Hungary and Czech Slovakia that were under the rule of the Habsburg Empire, Transylvania (Romania) had finally a military victory over the Ottoman Empire. At that time, Leopold I (reign 1657–1705), Emperor of the Habsburg Empire, attempted to govern various regions of the empire in a unified manner. Therefore, to implement the political policy of Roman Catholic unification of the empire, Emperor Leopold I began to support the conversion movement initiated by Archbishop Koronić. The Roman Catholic Church's policy of anti-reformation was in line with the political interest of the Habsburg Empire to unify the imperial territories.

The Jesuits, who acted as a barrier against religious reform in Poland and also contributed to the Union of Brest, entered Transylvania in 1693 at the invitation of Archbishop Koronić. The priests of the Romanian Orthodox Church became the first target to be converted by them. Yet, the union of churches in Romania was not easy, because there were numerous differences in the doctrine and liturgy between the Orthodox Church and Catholicism. At first, the Catholic Church targeted the obvious differences between the churches, such as iconic worship and saint worship in the Orthodox Church. However, it was impossible to gain converts to Catholicism because of Romanian religious practice. Instead, four articles in the 1439 Council of Florence were proposed to soften the Romanian religious opposition: to approve the Pope's prerogative in the Church of Christ, to approve the use of yeast-free bread in the sacrament, to approve the Latin doctrine of the Trinity, the Father's and Son's emancipation (Filioque) of the Holy Spirit, and purgatory. Even though it was said to be a union church, its doctrine was only limited to these four changes and was not accompanied by liturgical changes (Hupchick 1995).

The reason why the union of churches moved the Romanian clergy was more political than religious, was the promise of Leopold I and Cardinal Kolonic's recognition of equal rights to Roman Catholicism. This would guarantee the political rights of the Romanian people under the rule of the day. However, despite the success of the Church, Leopold I questioned the effectiveness of Greek Catholics in political struggles against the Hungarian nobles who ruled Transylvania. Therefore, he severely limited the independence of the Greek Catholic Church and put it under the direct jurisdiction of the

Roman Catholic Church.

However, the result of the union of the churches went in an unexpected direction. The Romanian priests elected as an elite under the control of the Hungarian Catholic Church, which had jurisdiction over the Greek Catholic Church, were under considerable ideological influences such as the Enlightenment through studying abroad in Vienna and Rome. The Greek Catholic Church became the transmitters of Western culture in Transylvania. (Hitchins 1969).

The Greek Catholic priests who studied in Western cities such as Vienna and Rome, learned not only Catholic teaching but also Western European political thought, and thereby played a historical role in awakening Romanian ethnic consciousness. Its characteristic was the paradox that these messengers of Western European thought inspired ethnic consciousness. Greek Catholic priests influenced by the Enlightenment applied the idea of the natural rights of individuals as a natural right to justify the equal rights of Romanians to Hungarians, Székely, and Saxons (Photo 2).

The concrete manifestation is the Walachian petition (Supplex libellus Valachorum),[10] which consisted of two parts.

First, the theory that the ancient Dacians and the later Romanians continued was developed. More precisely, even after the Roman Empire conquered the ancient Dacia, the Roman army settled, and Emperor Aurelius abandoned the ancient Dacia, the Romanian people continued to reside in Transylvania until the arrival of Hungarians in the 9th century. This theory has had a considerable influence on the modern day as a basis for Romania's right to Hungary over indigenous rights in Transylvania.

Second, the Romanian people proposed five conditions for regaining their former status under the control of the Hungarians, Székely, and Saxons. The first is to eliminate the adversarial word that 'permissiveness' is not recognised as one of the territories and the second is the emperor's restoration of all Romanian rights before 1437 when the



**Photo 2**  Greek Catholic Church in Boteza in Romania (photo by
author, 2005)

tribal union was formed. Third, to grant the Romanian aristocrats, peasants, and clergy of the Orthodox Church and the Greek Catholic Church equal rights to aristocrats, peasants, and clergy of other groups. Fourth, to send a considerable representative in each parliament and fifth to use the Romanian name for the residence where Romanians are the majority, that residents of the kingdom regardless of ethnicity and religion have equal rights and considerable tax and responsibility of hard work (Hitchins 1969).

The Wallachian petition argued for a chronological advantage of the Romanian people in Transylvania on the premise that the Hungarian newcomer deprived the Romanians of their rights. It was a translation of the Greek Catholic priests' philological discoveries into political terms (Sugar and Lederer 1990).

The Wallachian petition was filed under the reign of Joseph II, who sought to centralise Vienna on all matters within the empire, strengthening the unity of the empire in various territories. Therefore, Joseph II had a positive attitude towards the petition in Transylvania to restrain the Hungarian ruler and gain the support of the Romanian mass. As a result, apart from the political intention of Josef II, the Wallachian petition became a landmark as a political demand based on the ethnic awakening of the Romanian people. The creation of this by the Greek Catholic priests demonstrates the historical role of the Greek Catholic as a bearer of Westernization in the modern history of Romania.

From the perspective of the relationship between the catholic church and the empire, the formation of the Greek Catholic Church was due to the agreement of the Roman Catholic Church's policy to promote anti-reformation and the political interest of the Habsburg Empire to unify the imperial plate. In terms of cultural history, Greek Catholic priests played a role in awakening Romanian ethnic consciousness based on Western European political thought. However, it was a paradoxical inspiration. The Greek Catholic priest applied the idea of natural rights, which was given to individuals as the natural right by the influence of the Enlightenment to the Romanian group, and claimed equal rights to the Hungarians, Székely, and Saxons. At the same time, they resisted attempts by the Roman Catholic priests and the Greek Catholic bishops themselves to latinise the liturgy and church organization. More precisely, the conversion to Greek Catholic from Orthodox was based on political motives, not religious motives stemming from the spiritual desires we imagine today.

The Greek Catholic bishop, Ion Inochentius Micu-Klein (1692–1768), who played a central role in the creation of these petitions, pioneered the awakening of Romanian ethnic consciousness. Klein believed that it would be possible for the Romanian people to participate politically through the union of the churches and based on two edicts by Leopold I. He submitted 24 petitions from 1730 to 1744 with the historical significance of the first Romanian political demand to the Habsburg Empire on the basis of ethnic awareness. The knowledge of the Greek Catholic priests who accepted Western ideas greatly contributed to the creation. In other words, the Walachian petition was written from 1790 to 1991, for the realization of the two edicts of Leopold I, with the help of the Greek Catholic priest Samuel Klein as the centre, and the Greek Catholics such as Gheorghe Șincai, Ioan Para, and Petru Mayor.

However, his efforts were not rewarded, and three decades after the church was

united, Greek Catholics were not granted equal rights with Roman Catholics. Although his political activity did not pay off, through his philological studies, he first advocated theory of the Roman origins and later contributed to the formation of the Transylvanian School.

The Greek Catholic priests, on the other hand, resisted attempts by the Roman Catholic priests and the Greek Catholic bishops themselves to latinise the churches and church organizations, while promoting church unity. They thought that the abandonment of the Byzantine liturgy (Greek liturgy) meant the Orthodox's withdrawal from solidarity. Their increasing ethnic awareness manifested itself in the contradiction of opposition to the romanisation of the Greek Catholic Church, while the latinisation claims were used to prove the Roman origin of the Romanians and their Roman derivations (Hitchins 1969).

Klein's theory of the Roman origins in Romania was paramount in forming the ethnic representation in modern Romania. Although the three hypotheses, Latin (Roman) ism, Dacianism, and Dacia-Romanism, were formulated on different positions, as I mentioned at the beginning, they were all based on Klein's 'discovery.'

The Latin (Roman) principle was first advocated, and it had been a long-lasting representation of Romanian national identity. The pioneers of Latin (Roman)ism were writers in the 17th century from Moldova, Walachia, and they were known as 'chronicles.' Subsequently, the Greek Catholic Church priests in Transylvania (the 'Transylvanian School') followed their pioneers by popularising the representation (Sugar and Lederer 1990; Hitchins 1969). Latinism, advocated by the Transylvanian School, had a major political influence on the Romanian ethnic movement, but at the same time, it also evoked repulsion among the Romanians. The Romanian Orthodox Church, oppressed in Transylvania are increasingly reticent of the Catholic Austria-Hapsburg Empire, and they have a transnational sense of unity with Orthodox Christians such as the Russian Orthodox Church and the Serbian Orthodox Church. The Greek Catholic Church was distrustful of approaching the Catholics of the Habsburg Empire.

The departure from Latin (Roman)ism and the beginning of the birth of the second Dacianism occurred between the elites of the two principalities. Their concern was not to acquire equal rights with the ruler of the time, but to gain independent control and ensure a privileged position with senior officials. To that end, they found that the proper origin helps to justify their right to independence, initially considering the common origin of Latin as a weapon of independence. However, those who emphasised the Dacian origin, albeit in a minority, appeared, and they began to associate the strangeness with the Romans.

The Dacian ancestral claim could allow the origins of the Romanians to be traced back a thousand years and was the basis for claiming a larger area than Trajan's Roman territory. The two opposing positions of the Romanian elite on such origins gave rise to pro-Western groups and ethnic groups, while corresponding to regional differences due to the territories of the Habsburg and Ottoman empires. The Ottoman-dominated two Principalities' interest was the achievement of independence, whereas the Habsburg-dominated Transylvania's interest was a movement for equality with other people (Sugar and Lederer 1990).

In the process of Romania's struggle for national and ethnic independence, manipulating the national image for an alliance with Europe was performed more than before and the Western character of Romania's ethnic representation was determined. This pro-Westernism culminated in 1859 with a shift from the Cyrillic alphabet to the Latin alphabet. However, such types of imitation of Western European society, politics, and culture caused a reaction inside the Romanian society. As a result of this reaction, a group reluctant to the strong inclination towards Western culture appeared.

People of this group despised the pro-Western culture, arguing that this type of imitation could destroy the originality of the Romanian people. They even criticised the import of any culture into Romania. Backed by these critics of modernisation, Dacianism naturally had greater political significance at home than on the international stage.

Dacianism, unlike Latinism, implies political independence and the establishment of logic countering Austria and Hungary's claims on territorial issues. Owing to these features, Dacianism gradually became the central idea for the task of defining ethnic essence, and by the late 19th century, Dacianism had become a discourse aimed at countering Latinism. According to the third concept of Dacia-Romanism, their ancestors were at first the Dacians and later the Romanians were born as a result of intermarriage between the Dacians and the Roman settlers. Therefore, it is an eclectic version of the two theories, but its political effect is similar to Dacianism. This Dacia-Romanism gradually became an important national symbol of Romania during the socialist era, especially under the Ceaușescu regime. It also holds a central position in the present-day theory of origins in Romania.

Regarding the origins of the Romanian people, there have been conflicting opinions that reflect the respective positions of the three ethnic groups, Romanians, Germans, and Hungarians, with a focus on the sovereignty of Transylvania. The question was which ethnic group first settled in Transylvania and which had the indigenous right or the most legitimate political right in Transylvania.

Accordingly, the Greek Catholic priest established Latinism of Roman origin in Romania. Romania's nation-state independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1877 and the merge of Transylvania in 1918 after the First World War made the Greek Catholic Church the next largest in the Kingdom of Romania, after the Romanian Orthodox Church. In the Constitution of 1923, after the annexation of Transylvania, the Greek Catholic Church was recognised as a dominant religion for other denominations next to the Romanian Orthodox national religion (Nakajima 2006: 393).

Politically, the Greek Catholic presence is remarkable, and among the politicians during the interwar period, their member was Transylvania's first Prime Minister Vaida-Voievod (1872−1950), from the National Peasant Party,[11] the largest party opposed to the National Liberal Party.[12] There were many Greek Catholics, including Iuliu Maniu (1873–1953), who was also the prime minister. In other words, the confrontation between the two parties can be considered as a confrontation between the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Greek Catholic Church (Nakajima 2006: 394).

In the first place, the confrontation between the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Greek Catholic Church was not only due to the antipathy associated with the formation

of the Greek Catholic Church under the Habsburg Empire, but also because of the historical circumstances in relation to the conflict between Western European values and ethnic values (or traditional values). The conflict over this value dates back to the pre-war period or even to the 1700s (Verdery 1991). It is not formalised like the conflict between Western and ethnic groups in Russia, but what stance it takes on Western culture, especially after its modern age, involved many Romanian intellectuals. It has historically been a serious problem (Petreu 2013). Thus, the Greek Catholic Church, which claimed Romania's Western origin for the independence of the Romanian people, became the focus of historical confrontation between Western Europe and Romania.

## 3.  In Search of the Romanian People: Ethnic Essentialism and Ethnic Rebirth

### 3.1  'Miorița' Assimilated into the Romanian People

Folklore that was formed in Germany played a major role in the formation of the Romanian national consciousness, while the theory of historical origins also stimulated the rise of the national consciousness in the Romanian national movement. The subject of the study, 'Miorița'[13] is a national oral poem collected and published in 1851 by poet Vasile Alexandri (1821−1890). Many texts were collected in addition to Alexandri's text. However, the common and basic content in the texts of 'Miorița' is as follows.

Three shepherds look after the sheep, but they break apart, and the two shepherds decided to kill the third one. Hearing it, mysterious Miorița invites the shepherd who is about to be killed to flee. However, the shepherd refuses to fight or escape, accepting obedience and death. He gave a message for his mother seeking him and wandering, and for herds, not to tell her about his death but to tell that he married the queen in that world and asked her to be buried near the herd.

The ballad first sings about the natural landscape that is the scene of the incident.

> Down flowery peaks, thresholds of paradise, heavenly gardens, come three flocks of sheep with three shepherds — one a Moldavian, the other two Wallachians (Eliade 1972: 227).

This is a typical natural landscape that can be found in many parts of Romania and is shared by everyone in Romania (Photo 3). The rolling hills continue up to the mountains. Shepherds still live there, chasing sheep. In Romania, sheep grazing took the form of high mountain transhumance. Sheep graze grass at the foot of high mountains in summer, and Romanian shepherds move to the north of the Black Sea in winter (Photo 4). Living with sheep has played a major role in Romanian culture.

Now, the three shepherds broke apart and two of them tried to kill one shepherd. This is illustrated by the image of a beautiful marriage.

> Tell them that in good truth I married a peerless queen, the bride of the world; that at my wedding a shooting star fell; the sun and the moon held the crown for me; that the great mountains were my priests, the beeches my witnesses, all to the singing of a thousand birds and the stars my torches! (Eliade 1972: 228).

**Photo 3**   Field in a countryside, a typical landscape in a mountain-
ous area in Romania (photo by author, 2002)



**Photo 4**   Sheep and *cioban* (shepherd in Romanian) for summer
transhumance in the mountain (photo by author, 1995)

This passage sings about the death of a shepherd like that it is a wedding, singing in a cosmic expanse. It means that shepherds join the existence of the universe through death. It is represented by the image of marriage. The entire nature participates in this ceremony and celebrates the shepherd's participation in space.

The place where death as the destiny is praised as sacred marriage, and the meaning the death in the cosmos is central to the interpretation of Romania's representative intellectuals. Numerous research books about Miorița have been published. Some of its authors are Ion Dan Botta, Mircea Eliade, and other intellectuals who were prominent in the Romanian fascist Legionary movement.

They enthusiastically discussed whether or not the main character of the shepherd who does not resist conspiracy and accepts submissiveness and death is the Romanian national character, and what is otherwise implied. 'Miorița' was announced at the time

when Romania was released from the rule of the Ottoman Empire and was searching for the construction of a modern nation state. It has been regarded as the basis for Romania's cultural independence.

Since the modern age and an increase in the ethnic consciousness, the Balkan countries began to seek the formation of a modern state based on the nation, escaping the rule of the Ottoman Empire. Romania, one of them, tried to establish the identity as a nation by finding a self-portrait (identity).

Main actors who sought these self-portraits were intellectuals such as clergy, landlord aristocrats, and teachers. Furthermore, these intellectuals targeted ordinary people or the general public such as farmers, craftsmen, fishermen, shepherds, musicians, and woodcutters. Because 'Miorița' was thought to represent the traditional culture that has been consistently preserved by the Romanian people, the shepherd's attitude, which avoids fighting and escapes, seemed to be a historical struggle for intellectuals. Among them, it was regarded as a symbol of the spirituality of the all Romanians who accept destiny.

Tracing their interpretation chronologically, it was the poet Vasile Alexandri, who first published the text that began the study of 'Miorița,' which had a peculiar direction. His interpretation directed the subsequent Miorița controversy.

The direction was that the shepherd's attitude of accepting death without resisting the plot of murder had a fatal tendency as a spirit unique to the entire Romanian population. According to his interpretation, there was no negative meaning to the fateful tendency, and the shepherd's spirit in 'Miorița' was affirmed as aesthetically overlapping with that of the Romanian people. He found the example in the passage of 'Miorița' (if I die). According to his interpretation, there was no negative meaning to the fateful tendency, and the shepherd spirit in 'Miorița' was greatly affirmed as aesthetically overlapping with that of the Romanian people. Alexandri did not foresee, that his interpretation would form a big flow in the subsequent research on 'Miorița.'

Ion Dan Botta (1907–1958) argued that fate had a cosmic function and that idealism and numbness were characteristics of the Romanian people. This idea, according to him, appears in all Romanian creations. Therefore, idealism and numbness appear in 'Miorița,' a creation of the people. The following passage illustrates his claim:

> The theory of fate, the rigorous and absolute feeling of need in relation to this world, was raised to a greater representative, unity in diversity in a space-limited life, the universal participation of soul participants. It becomes a feeling of solidarity and a cosmic feeling (Botta 1936).

Some researchers have tried to understand 'Miorița' from a socio-historical context, whereas others considered this trait as the general notion that numbness is considered part of life where wisdom and happiness are desired. Botta belongs to the latter.

Botta enthusiastically added words to the wedding of a shepherd with the death in Miorița:

> Death as the entrance to great delight, the death of the brides of the people in the private ballad, the soul of Dionysos, which Plato also described in his aesthetic work (Botta 1936: 18).

Regarding the shepherd's soul, he commented as follow.

> The souls of the white joy spheres that have been released and undulated. Somewhere in a space that has been reduced to the essence of self, the marriage of the shepherd and the death is fulfilled (Botta 1936: 35).

Botta thus praised marital death and deepened the meaning of the relationship between wedding and death in the 'Miorița' study. Furthermore, as the nostalgia for death, he associated the word itself with Thrace. It is because he believed that the origin of the Romanian tribe was the Thracian, and the Greek Orpheus, the Dalmatian alleged deity Zarmoxis, and the shepherd in the Miorița lined up together in his value universe.

Liviu Rusu (1901–1985) also emphasised the fatalistic personality of Romanians. His work focused on the meaning of existence for Romanians as reflected in folklore. Then, in the tradition of Romania, he recognised the following spirits peculiar to Romanians.

> Instead of chasing the enemy with force, folk poets were content with expecting the tranquillity of their origin, and the Romanians did not resist the presence of evil, but their intervention was powerless. He knows that there is something and he is satisfied by recognizing its existence (Rusu 1935: 34).

> He feels the need to give up on suffering and rarely, only show signs of resistance in the form of a curse to that suffering, and the human power of the individual is in the course of the incident, that is, of the Romanian folk poet. It has no effect on the cause of the visible role of action (Rusu 1935: 72).

According to Rusu, fate is an unavoidable reality that must be realised. Because the harmony of the world is completely perfect, there is no possibility of escaping from its uncompromising and strict laws, and perfect harmony or ideal equilibrium is the disappearance or death of action. Rusu argues that the highest ideal of life is only the highest fulfilment through death. There is the sound of the homage of the death and self-sacrifice of Legionaries, which will be described later. For Rusu, the strongest impression that Miorița makes is giving up. The shepherd accepts with resignation, showing no resistance and no intention of fleeing, no matter how destined. His only comfort is that death will allow him to rest in his natural bosom. In Rusu, like Botta, the fateful attitude of the Romanians was not derived from socioeconomic reality, but from a Romanian perspective on the world and life.

Caracostea (1879–1964) is regarded as the most ardent and long-term person involved in the Miorița discussion. He denied the historical studies that sought the origin

of the concrete cases mentioned above.

> Folk poetry stems from the human experience characteristic of human beings in the people, and therefore must be studied as a poetic life, not as a reflection of historical fact. Through the dismantling of history, research only loses its superficial dignity, in return for proof of humanity and poetic life (Caracostea 1933: 326).

According to Caracostea, the basis of the dispute in tradition is not the facts of historical events, but the existence of 'human primitive experience' that gave rise to a poetic image of the world.

Eliade marks the end of the philosophical trend of 'Miorița' interpretation. He criticised these preceding Botta and Rusu, but he also affirmed the Romanian spirit. Eliade presented the interpretation of 'Miorița' as follows in connection with the manifestation of the 'sacred,' which is his theory.

> In the Miorița the whole universe is transfigured. We are taken into a liturgical cosmos, in which Mysteries (in the religious sense of the term) are brought to fulfillment. The world proves to be sacred, though at first sight its sacredness does not seem to be Christian in structure (Eliade 1972: 251).

Eliade also arrived at the idea of Christianity, which is specific to Romania and Eastern Europe, from the perspective of the Romanian people. This Christianity has a strong pagan and ancient character, and I think that Christianised religious elements are barely seen. He claimed that Christianity with such a religious character was a new religious creation peculiar to Southeast Europe and called it 'cosmic Christianity.'

Marriage to death in 'Miorița' was the most important subject for Eliade. This marriage was said to have a cosmic structure and scale, which disclosed the mysterious solidarity between humans and nature that is no longer accessible to the consciousness of modern humans.

The universe is itself sanctified through its own existence, not as 'sacred,' but through the mystery of marriage; Eliade also considers this central to 'Miorița.' Considering that the meaning is the most profound gospel,

> The most profound message of the ballade lies in the shepherd's will to change the meaning of his destiny, to transmute his misfortune into a moment in the cosmic liturgy, by transfiguring his death into mystical nuptials, by summoning the Sun and Moon to attend him, and projecting himself among the stars, the waters, and the mountains (Eliade 1972: 253).

In addition, Eliade put forward the idea of 'fear of history' on the formation of the south-eastern European religious world that also appears in 'Miorița.' According to it,

> Cosmic Christianity endured the disasters and persecutions of the inhabitants of Eastern

Europe and was redeemed by the death and resurrection of the Savior, by the footsteps of the Gods Jesus, Mary, and all Saints. The idea of the sanctified universe allows us to rediscover a world in which the aggression and the fear of its aggression bear the power and beauty that the historical world has shed, albeit only as sporadic and symbolic. Historical events are assumed as moments inseparable from the Christological drama and finally transfigured (Eliade 1972: 255).

Common to all intellectuals who have carried out the philosophical interpretation of 'Miorița,' such as V. Alexandri, Ion Botta, Liviu Rusu, and Mircea Eliade, is the assumption of only one Romanian national spirit. They thought that the quintessential spirit of the Romanian people would appear in the folklore. However, the relationship between folklore and the people who carry it is likely to be more complicated. The people are divided into farmers, pastoralists, city commerce and industry workers, craftsmen, and other various occupations and levels, and the difference between men and women cannot be ignored. Ignoring the diversity of the people, their interpretation of 'Miorița' was valid. Rather, the interpretation space was an illusionary world with 'Romania-like things' as a mixture of the thirst for ethnic culture created by intellectuals and the rural image expected as a bearer.

### 3.2  The Road from 'Miorița' to Unification

The relation between this 'Miorița' study and the representative movement of Romania, the Legionary movement, is that the intellectuals were strongly attracted by the Legionary movement, and one of the elements that they praised was the attitude of not being afraid of death and the atonement of the people. The praise of death and worship of the dead occupied a privileged position in the mysticism of the Legionary movement. For instance, Patrașcanu, one of the leading intellectuals at the time, gave in his work an example of worship of the dead in the Nazism-inspired Legionary movement.

This kind of Legionary worship of the dead can be observed in the March of the Iron Guard. Death was perceived as an ultimate thing in itself or otherwise a sign of absolute obedience to Capitan (Photo 5).

In short, these trends are typical features found in the right-wing radical movements. Self-sacrifice and dedication that should be remembered forever are common phrases in the demagogue language of the right-wing radical movements. However, it was not just the words that drove the Legionary to get drunk. A vibrant symbolic representation that shakes their senses must have been found in the Legionary movement itself. The symbolic power that strongly appeals to that feeling is thought to have been rooted in the traditional oral tradition of Romania, which is endlessly captivated by poetry. Otherwise, it would not be possible to explain that such intellectuals had assembled in the Legionary movement in the Romanian ideological context.

Furthermore, the religious character of the Legionary movement was strongly seen from the beginning of the establishment of the Legion of Archangel Michael by Codreanu. It is natural that it was the experience of the vision of Archangel Michael in prison that led to the decision of Codreanu to establish an army. Of course, it is a well-

**Photo 5**  Iconostasis covered with many icons in the church. Each icon has its fixed position and meaning. The Orthodox church has distinct theology concerning icons (photo by author, 1995)

known fact that right-wing radicalism bears a great degree of familiarity with mysticism, whether it be the fascist movement in Italy or Nazism in Germany. It shows the tendency of mysticism in terms of offering oneself and uniting.

However, with regard to the Legionary movement, religiousness was also manifested as a more direct phenomenon at the level of mass mobilization and political policy. One intellectual said, 'the legionary movement signifies in itself a religious resurrection of the nation both by the moral purification of man and by putting faith back in the place that it merits' (Panaitescu 1990[1940]). Furthermore, at the level of mass mobilization, mass worship, and hymns, it is pointed out that a series of rituals, such as marching, were used to guide members of the organization and followers to collective uplift.

> The elements that touch the masses, the skillfully composed and broadcast popular songs, the impressive marches, the theatrical but impressive cavalcades, a whole cortege of means that induce a quasi-religious impression in the masses, and are not limited to repeating the borrowed tactical clichés, but are adapted to Rumanian conditions (Polihroniade 1933).

Furthermore, in the ceremony held by Legionary, vivid colours were often used to stimulate the senses of the members who belonged to them and to identify them as a group. In the villages, special forms of worship were organized as religious performances. It was a kiss on the ground, a small pouch filled with soil, hanging it around, and asking the peasants to vow their loyalty to them (Ioanid 1990: 146).

On the other hand, the constitutional principle of the corps required absolute loyalty to the leaders of the Legionary movement. As a basis for this, the leader Codreanu was deified by the Legionary members as the god itself. There was also a strong demand for voluntary sacrifice. The ritualistic and atonement values of sacrifice were believed and practised. The religious nature of the Legionary movement was closely linked to the

religious nature of the masses, and they worked deeply on the masses.

What comes to mind, then, are the lively, symbolic representations of the sensation that characterise the Romanian right-wing radical movement. The great march performed by Codreanu in a folk costume on a white horse and the ritual performed during the wedding ceremony are deeply rooted in the Romanian tradition and are deeply related to the traditional symbols. The atonement theory, the theory of fate, and the inclination to self-sacrifice in the Legionary movement suggest that the fateful death of Romania's traditional oral tradition 'Miorița' is endlessly captivating.

This is the power of symbolism in Eliade's sense. Whether Eliade intended or not, there seemed to be a very strong connection between the emotional aspects of the right-wing radical movement and the epistemological position underlying Eliade's research.

Eliade considers the death of the protagonist's shepherd in 'Miorița' as a trigger for the transformation of the universe. The shepherd's death ritual was equated with the marriage ritual, and this death marriage became the most important subject for Eliade. This marriage is a marriage of cosmic structure and scale, which reveals mysterious solidarity between humans and nature that is no longer accessible to modern consciousness. This universe is itself not sanctified by its own mode of existence, but by the mystery of marriage.

Eliade views Romania as a historical offering by interpreting the Christian drama historically. Romania suffers a privileged position due to historical hardships, which is parallel to what the Jewish people regarded as the subject of history by captivity. From such a Christian interpretation, Christianity is not a universal religion for Eliade, but rather a very ethnically and historically limited special character. This understanding of Christianity appears as sympathy for the religious character of the Legionary movement of Codreanu.

Eliade finds his idealistic religion in the Legionary movement, emphasising that it has a spiritual and Christian meaning rather than a political character. That led to the later Eliade's justification. Eliade's devotion to the religious character of this Legionary movement is reflected in the following words:

> The Legionary movement has spiritual and Christian meanings. If all the contemporary revolutions have as their goal the conquest of power by a social class or by a man, the legionary revolution aims, on the contrary, at the supreme redemption of the nation, the reconciliation of the Rumanian nation with God, as the Captain said. That is why the legionary movement has a different meaning with regard to everything that has been done up till now in history; and the victory of the Legion will lead not only to the restoration of the virtues of our nation, of a hardworking Rumania, worthy and powerful, but also to the birth of a man who is in harmony with the new kind of European life (Eliade 1990[1938]).

Eliade hopes not only for the Legionary movement to revive the Romanian people, but also for the birth of a 'new human.' However, the evaluation of the role played by the Legionary movement of reconciliation with the nation's atonement and god shown here for the nation's rebirth is not limited to Eliade, and is common to the words of other

intellectuals.

> The legionary movement signifies in itself a religious resurrection of the nation both by the moral purification of man and by putting faith back in the place that it merits (Panaitescu 1990[1940]).

> The sympathy that I felt for the legionnaires has grown since I became aware of their profound and sincere religious faith. I began to love the legionnaires from the moment that I read the Captain's book, a moving epic on the most humiliating persecution, a work guided by the most pure idealism (Puscariu 1990[1937]).

Furthermore, intellectuals were strongly attracted to the Legionary movement, and one of the elements that they praised was the attitude of not fearing death and the idea of the atonement of the people. Thus, worship of the dead occupies a privileged position in the mysticism of the Legionary movement.

> However tragic and paradoxical it may appear, it must be acknowledged that the prospect of war is what gives the young people a certain hope in life……And even if the 'prudent' should cry out, lifting their arms to heaven, 'We don't want to die!' Today's youth hopes to be able to sacrifice something himself, at least by death to be able to find at last his own face, which cannot be found elsewhere (Vulcanescu and Manoilescu 1990[1934]: 21).

> The legionnaire loves death, because his blood will serve to prepare the bond of union for legionary Romania, thus he who renounces tombs renounces the resurrection: … Death is the only means capable of ennobling poor human turpitude: I preach the voice of love in order to develop your taste for eternity (Patrascanu 1990[1970]: 56).

Religious words and behaviours that colour the Legionary movement that intellectuals such as Eliade and Nae Ionescu sympathise with are right-wing radical demagogues such as self-sacrifice, dedication, agreement with the great, and mother unity to be remembered forever. It is a language idiom, and one might think it is a style typical of right-wing radicals.

However, it was not only by the words that the members of the Legionary were inspired, but also the religious ideas based on the sensitivity deeply rooted in the spiritual life of Romania gave hope and excitement to the participants of the Legionary movement. It is thought that it would have been an aesthetic euphoria over the acceptance of the death of a shepherd who had been enthusiastic about Romanian intellectuals since the 19th century in the 'Miorița' study, and also a fateful history of the impossibility of individual independent choice.

## 4. Conclusion: Mission of History and Ethnology

The origin theory of Romanian (Roman)ism, that Romanians emerged with the rule of

the ancient Roman empire, was developed from the 'discovery' made by the literature study of the Greek Catholic priests and became the ideology of the independence movement. The beginning was an interest in 'history,' but what turned out, then, was history for Greek Catholic priests in the first place.

Generally, the history in Christianity is said to have been formalized by Father Augustine (Shibata 1985). For the first time as a Christian thinker, 'Kingdom of God' defined the flow from creation to the end, final judge, by God. However, Christianity also has a non-historical character implying the significance of the incarnation of Jesus, the Son of God, as a human being in the ultra-historical eternity. In the Middle Ages, history was subordinate to theology under the influence of Augustine, but the development of philology centred on the Saint Maur Society brought empirical criticism of the literature. Besides, in Renaissance, Italian Humorists tried to find the classic works in ancient Greece and Rome through the manuscript. It provided understanding of the importance of the critique of the literature. Without such a historical view in Christianity and Humorists, there would have been no study of Greek Catholic priests.

Furthermore, during the Renaissance, religious reforms began in Germany, and Protestant historical awareness became important. Protestants have increased their interest in history in order to deny the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. Also, the idea of limiting authority to the Bible became an interest in the Bible itself. Even the Roman Catholic Church began to consider the Bible in order to maintain the authority of church tradition. Thus, history had become an important area from both perspectives.

When it comes to so-called modern 'history,' it is closely related to the romanticism that emerged from irrational and emotional literature and artistic tides different from the preceding classical, enlightenment dogmatic, rationalistic worldview. This is embodied by Ranke (1795–1885), who developed his career from philological studies and became the representative of historicism. Ranke became the founder of historical science in the form of 19th-century scientism, as he emphasised the importance of criticising historical materials and telling the truth by the fact itself. Furthermore, the political expression of Romanticism in Germany was the cultural anti-French struggle. It is a well-known fact that romanticism developed against the universalism of France in the non-occupied lands such as Prussia and, more precisely, against the universalism of the French Revolutionary Army. Romantic nostalgia, a sentimentality for the past period or place traces back to the origins of Germanism, which allowed the discovery and subsequent development of the concept of the Germanic race, a common origin in Germany, which was divided into states. This German romanticism and nationalism eventually made a deep impression of historicism on German historical studies.

Furthermore, ethnology itself, which is a modern discipline along with history, began with abandoning history. Ethnology was based on the principles that explain society from the social functions that are currently observed. However, the research group depended on the outline of ethnic groups born from an interest in history. Here, inevitably, the ethnological beings are also linked to historical studies or historical glances.

In the Romanian case, philological and historical studies by the Greek Catholic

priests inspired Romania's theory of Roman origins and, as a result, a new conflict with Western Europe was introduced into the Romanian identity. Specifically, the Roman origin of Rome guarantees the Western European character of Romania, but the Romanian Orthodox Church that people believe belongs to the Eastern Orthodox Church. Moreover, the Slavic Eastern European character found there disrupted the Romanian identity. On the other hand, the quest for an orthodox historical past was limited by the lack of literary material from the Middle Ages of Romania and the inability to identify a lasting united group. Therefore, intellectuals lamented 'the lack of history.' Therefore, the interest of intellectuals turned towards ancient times.

Folklore, a modern ideology along with ethnology, flourished through a study of a ballad called 'Miorița' in Romania. What was developed there was that the ballad's main character's fateful attitude expressed the spirituality common to the Romanian people. This has led to the cultural-historical task of defining the Romanian people and it influenced the intellectuals who wished the rebirth of the Romanian nation.

Thus, history and ethnology, two modern disciplines, represent the origins of various problems in Romania, such as ethnic awakening, ethnic independence, and ethnic conflicts, and moreover, the relationship between Western Europe and the Balkans. In conclusion, it was shown that history and ethnology (folklore) each had a negative connection that created ethnic conflict in the historical experience of the people and territory of Romania.

The purpose of this study is to pursue a meaningful connection between history and ethnology, that is, the possibility of historical anthropology. If so, the conclusions of this may be somewhat inconsistent with its objectives. As is has been reaffirmed, history and ethnology can be used according to the practical demands of various ethnic groups and nations, and therefore, there is a possible risk in historical anthropology. However, trying to avoid possible risks in historical anthropology is not meaningless. If the scholarship is shaped by the scholar's position and epistemology (Sasaki 1998: 164), I would like to close the paper by expecting a connection between history and ethnology (folklore) in different ways.

## Notes

1) Transylvania is a region occupying the present central part of Romania. It was a Hungarian territory until it was annexed to the Kingdom of Romania in 1918. Historically the majority of the population in Transylvania area was Romanian.

2) Romanian principality, centred in the North-western part of Romania. It became a tribute country to the Ottoman Empire following Wallachia in the early modern times.

3) Romanian principality, cantered in the North-western part of Romania. It became a tribute country to the Ottoman Empire following Wallachia in the early modern times.

4) The Romanian Greek Catholic Church is one of the Catholic churches (also known as the Joint Church, the Eastern Catholic Church, or the Eastern Catholic Church) established in Eastern Europe and the Middle East in an attempt to join the churches by the Catholic Church. With

only four changes in the doctrine, the liturgy uses the traditional Orthodox liturgy; thus, it is indistinguishable from the Orthodox. Excluding the Middle East, the Greek Catholic Church in Poland and Ukraine and the Greek Catholic Church in Transylvania, Romania are the representative joint churches.

5) The Romanian Orthodox Church was founded in Wallachia under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church of Bulgaria. Under the influence of Bulgaria, Romania received Christianity from the Eastern Orthodox Church (Byzantine church) in the 9th century. Eventually, Mitropolitul Ungrovlahiei, who was in charge of Wallachia, was in 1359 in Curtea de Argeș, followed by 1370, in which Severin was in charge of Oltenia, in 1401. In Suceava, the presbyterian seat governing Moldova was placed in Suceava. In Transylvania, which was under the control of the Hungarian Kingdom, the Romanian Orthodox Church was established in the 14th century. The central bishop of Alba Iulia, the prestigious seat of the Alba Iulia, has been active since the 15th century under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Bucharest. Romanians were believed to have maintained their collective character through religious practice under the Orthodox jurisdiction, along with the use of the same Romanian language (Hitchins 1969).

6) A ballad name collected and published by the Romanian poet Vasile Alexandri, Miorița means a female lamb.

7) One of the right-wing radical movements starting from the student movement established in Romania during the interwar period, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu is revered as a charismatic leader and is known for his radical political behaviour and religious character. It begins with the formation of 'Archangel Michael's army' (*Legiunea Arhanghelul Mihail*) through mysterious experience in prison (the apparition of Archangel Michael). The corps was an elite organization centred on 11 founding members, but because the 'iron guard' (*Garda de Fier*) was formed as a political organization, the name iron guard is often used. After receiving the dissolution order, the name was changed to 'Tutul pentru Țară.' In this paper, the popular name 'Legionary movement' (*Mișcarea Leginară*) is used.

8) Mircea Eliade was a Romanian historian of religion, fiction writer, philosopher, and professor at the University of Chicago. He is also a world-famous historian of comparative religion, as well as a master of fantasy literature such as 'Fairy Forest,' 'Muntryassa Street' and 'Maitreya.'

9) The Treaty of Karlowitz signed in Sremski Karlovci (today in Serbia) marks the end of Ottoman control of much of Central Europe, with their first major territorial losses after centuries of expansion. It established the Habsburg Monarchy as the dominant power in the region.

10) The submission of the Walachian petition *Supplex libellus Valachorum* had the historical significance as the first Romanian political demand to the Habsburg Empire based on ethnic awareness. The knowledge of the Greek Catholic priests, who accepted Western ideas, contributed considerably to the creation. In other words, the Walachian petition was written from 1790 to 1991, centred around the Greek Catholic priest Samuel Klein, and the Greek Catholics such as Gheorghe Șincai, Ioan Para, and Petru Mayor. It was created with the help of priests and intellectuals.

11) The National Peasant Party was formed in 1926 by the Peasant Party of the Old Kingdom (Walachia and Moldova) and the Transylvanian National Party.

12) The National Liberal Party is backed by the bourgeoisie, a growing industrial and financial

sector in the old kingdoms (Walachia and Moldova).

13) Down flowery peaks, thresholds of paradise, heavenly gardens, come three flocks of sheep with three shepherds-one a Moldavian, the other two Wallachians. The Wallachians, the foreigners, are talking together good God! They are plotting to kill the Moldavian at nightfall, for he is braver than they, he has more fine horned sheep, splendid horses, keen dogs.

For three days his favorite lamb has been in misery, bleating sadly, refusing the grass.

O mu curly lamb, my ringleted lamb, for three days now you have been sadly bleating. Has the grass lost its savor, or are you ill, my dear little lamb?

O my dear master, take us to feed in the woods here is grass there for us and shade for you. Master, master, keep a dog with you, the strongest of all our dogs, for if you do not, those two will set on you and murder you at nightfall.

O loving lamb, if you have the seeing eye, if I die tonight in this flowery valley, tell them, dear lamb, to put me in the ground in my own sheepfold, close to all my possessions, so that I can hear my dogs, and be close to you, my flock. Then, when all is done, put ant my head pipe made of hornbeam − sweetly it sounds! − a pipe made of holly − sadly it sounds! − a pipe made of oak − wildly it sounds! When the wind blows it will play music on them; then my sheep, gathered mournfully together, will weep tears of blood one after the other. But say no word to them of murder! Tell them that in good truth I married a peerless queen, the bride of the world; that at my wedding a shooting star fell; that the sun and the moon held the crown for me; that the great mountains were my priests, the beeches my witnesses, all to the singing of a thousand birds, and the stars my torches!

But if, my dear, you see an old mother, running and weeping through these flowery fields, pale with distress, ever asking: Which of you has seen, which of you has known, a proud shepherd, slim as a young prince? His mustaches are spikes of rye, his hair crow's wings, his eyes the color of mulberries! − then, my dear little lamb, tell her that in good truth I married a peerless queen, the bride of the world, in a beautiful country, a corner of paradise. But, my dear lamb, never tell her that at my wedding a shooting star fell; that the sun and the moon held the crown for me; that the great mountains were my priests, the beeches my witnesses, all to the singing of a thousand birds, and the stars my torches. (Eliade 1972: 227)

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