

**Revista Română
de
Studii Baltice și Nordice**

**The Romanian Journal
for
Baltic and Nordic Studies**

Vol. 6, Issue 1 (2014)

Târgoviște

ISSN 2067-1725

E-ISSN: 2067-225X

Subscription information:

Revista Română pentru Studii Baltice și Nordice [*The Romanian Journal for Baltic and Nordic Studies*] (RRSBN) is a biannual multidisciplinary peer-reviewed journal dedicated to publishing the results of research in all fields which are intertwined with the aims of *The Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies* (www.arsbn.ro). The magazine is published in cooperation with Cetatea de Scaun Printing House, Targoviste, Romania (www.cetateadescaun.ro).

Annual subscription:

Institution	Lei 80	€ 20	£ 17	\$ 28
Individual	Lei 60	€ 15	£ 13	\$ 21

Online: free download (www.arsbn.ro/RRSBN.htm)

Ordering information:

Asociația Română pentru Studii Baltice și Nordice (ARSBN)
35 Lt. Stancu Ion St., 130105 Târgoviste, Romania
Telephone: (004) 0724403094, Fax: (004) 0345 819714
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Quality process:

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ISSN: 2067-1725

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Editorial Foreword

Crina Leon

Head of The Section for Nordic Studies of the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies, E-mail: crina_laurentiu@yahoo.no

The current issue of *Revista Română de Studii Baltice și Nordice / The Romanian Journal for Baltic and Nordic Studies* gathers in its first part the syllabi of the courses taught during the Romanian summer school of Nordic and Baltic studies entitled “A piece of culture, a culture of peace” (*CoolPeace*), 2014 session. This summer school is an educational programme supported by a grant from Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway.

Financed under the measure “inter-institutional cooperation projects” of the EEA grants, the summer school is meant to strengthen the institutional cooperation at the level of higher education sector between all the partners involved: Valahia University of Târgoviște as the Project Promoter, the University of Agder, the University of Oslo, the Embassy of Lithuania in Romania, Peace Action Training and Research Institute of Romania and the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies. The Programme Operator of the EEA Scholarship Programme in Romania is ANPCDEFP (the National Agency for Community Programmes in the Field of Education and Vocational Training).

This educational programme in form of a multiannual summer school includes activities divided into two modules: one on Scandinavian, Finnic and Baltic languages (Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, Finnish, Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian taught in 2014), and the other one on culture, history, geography, law and economy courses related to the North. It also includes workshops both for the students and the staff with a focus on the exchange of good practices and transfer of expertise between the Romanian trainers and the Norwegian partners. The educational programme will be followed by an international conference which will approach some of the topics debated during the summer school from the perspective of scholarly research.

The second part of the current issue continues the publication of the proceedings of the Fourth international conference on Baltic and Nordic Studies in Romania related especially to cultural studies. The conference entitled *Empire-building and Region-building in the Baltic, North and Black Sea areas* was hosted by the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies and Ovidius University of Constanța, on 24-

26 May 2013 and encouraged among others linguistic unity and diversity in Scandinavia and the Baltic states, Nordic and Baltic identity through cultural diversity and intra- and interregional comparisons involving the Nordic and Baltic states.

Thus, the contributions published in this issue approach linguistic diversity in Finland and Turkey, in Norway and in Swedish literature (the articles written by Adél Furu, Crina Leon and Roxana-Ema Dreve), the reception of Scandinavian poetry and literature in Romania (Raluca-Daniela Răduț and Diana Lățug), Norwegian and Finnish language teaching and cross-cultural encounters (Raluca Petruș, Sanda Tomescu-Baciu and Ildikó Varga), ethnic minorities and regional identities with a focus on the Meänkieli speaking community (Enikő Molnár Bodrogi), as well as images of region-building in the Baltic sea region (Michael North and Marta Grzechnik).

The present issue also includes an interview from October 2013 with Professor Arne Halvorsen, a central figure in the field of Romanian-Norwegian cultural relations. Most regrettably, Professor Halvorsen passed away in March 2014, but we would like that this interview to be regarded as a small part of our gratitude shown for his efforts of promoting the Romanian language and culture in Norway.

It is our hope that the publication for the first time in Romania of course syllabi for all the Nordic and Baltic languages will be of help for other language trainers in the future, and that the syllabi of the other courses on Nordic culture and civilization could serve as a model and inspiration for trainers interested in the same field. Moreover, the scientific articles related to the Nordic, Baltic and Black Sea areas will render a more complete image of the cultures taken into consideration. It is our aim to target not only the direct beneficiaries of the summer school and the community of scholars with an interest in Nordic and Baltic areas, but also to facilitate a transfer of expertise regarding teaching methods and to answer the interest of the general public in Nordic and Baltic studies.

COOLPEACE SYLLABI OF DISCIPLINES

*Supported by a grant from Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway
Finantat prin fonduri donate de Islanda, Liechtenstein si Norvegia*

I.

Course title	NORWEGIAN LANGUAGE	
---------------------	---------------------------	--

II.

Course structure (Number of hours per summer school session)				
Level	Lecture	Seminar	Practical course	Summer school year
A1	9	9		1 st

III.

Optionality category	Imposed	Optional	Freely chosen
		X	

IV.

Supervisor				
	Lecture	Seminar	Application	Project
Name	Crina Leon	Crina Leon		
Institution	Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași	Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași		
Department	Faculty of Letters	Faculty of Letters		
Scientific title	Ph.D.	Ph.D.		
Position	Scientific researcher Teacher of Norwegian	Scientific researcher Teacher of Norwegian		

V.

Objectives
The course aims to develop the students' ability to understand, express and interpret thoughts, feelings and facts both orally and in writing in a variety of socio-cultural contexts, in the Norwegian language. According to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages the linguistic level reached is A1.

VI.

Course structure	No.
VI.1. Lectures	hours
Lecture 1: The linguistic situation in Norway. Introducing oneself. Asking questions.	1
Lecture 2: Asking for information regarding address, age, spoken languages.	1
Lecture 3: Expressing time. The daily programme. The days of the week.	1
Lecture 4: Giving and asking for food and drink. Telling one's preferences.	1
Lecture 5: Telling about one's activities.	1
Lecture 6: Communicating at the post office, bank, library etc.	1
Lecture 7: Talking about weather. The months of the year and the seasons. Filling in a form.	1
Lecture 8: Asking and giving information in a shop. Asking about colours, sizes and prices.	1
Lecture 9: Final evaluation.	1
Total:	9
	hours
VI.2. Seminar	
During the seminars the students read and translate the lessons and do exercises based on the grammar and vocabulary acquired during the lectures.	9
Total:	9
	hours
VI.3. Application (if the case)	
VI.4. Project topic (if the case)	

VII.

Syllabus outline

VII.1. Grammar
<p>Verb: tenses (present, future), modal verbs</p> <p>Noun: gender, number, genitive case</p> <p>Pronoun: personal, possessive, interrogative</p> <p>Adjective: agreement of the adjective with the noun, the adjective “liten”</p> <p>Number: cardinal, ordinal</p> <p>Adverb: short and long forms, inversion after an adverb</p> <p>Preposition: verbs with fixed prepositions</p> <p>Article: definite, indefinite</p>
VII.2. Vocabulary
<p>Greetings and goodbyes</p> <p>Introducing oneself</p> <p>Common questions</p> <p>The family</p> <p>The time: clock, seasons, months, days of the week</p> <p>Food and drink</p> <p>At the post office, bank, library</p> <p>The weather</p> <p>Colours</p> <p>Clothes</p>

VIII.

References
<p>Halvorsen, Arne, <i>Dicționar română-norvegian (Rumensk-norsk ordbok)</i>, Polirom, Iași, 2008</p> <p>Leon, Crina, <i>Dicționar de buzunar norvegian-română/română-norvegian (Norsk-rumensk/rumensk-norsk lommeordbok)</i>, Polirom, Iași, 2009</p> <p>Leon, Crina, <i>Ghid de conversație română-norvegian (Rumensk-norsk parlør)</i>, Polirom, Iași, 2007</p> <p>Manne, Gerd; Nilsen, Gölin Kaurin, <i>Ny i Norge: tekstbok</i>, Fagbokforlaget, Bergen, 2010</p> <p>Manne, Gerd; Nilsen, Gölin Kaurin, <i>Ny i Norge: arbeidsbok</i>, Fagbokforlaget, Bergen, 2010</p> <p>Tomescu Baciuc, Sanda, <i>Velkommen! Manual de conversație în limba norvegiană</i>, Polirom, Iași, 2010</p>

IX.

Forms of	Methods and techniques used in the teaching process

activity	
Lecture	Thematic lectures, CD-player, whiteboard, projector.
Seminar	Oral and written exercises, reading, translation.
Application	
Project	

X.

Type	Assessment system (written, written and oral, oral, others)	
Exam	Written examination (for the lectures)	
Colloquium		
Continuous assessment	Continuous assessment (for the seminars)	
Project		

I.

Course title	DANISH LANGUAGE
---------------------	------------------------

II.

Course structure (Number of hours per summer school session)				
Level	Lecture	Seminar	Practical course	Summer school year
A1	12	6		1 st

III.

Optionality category	Imposed	Optional	Freely chosen
		X	

IV.

Supervisor				
	Lecture	Seminar	Application	Project
Name	Lucia Alexandroae	Lucia Alexandroae		
Institution	University College of Nordjylland	University College of Nordjylland		

Department	Marketing Management	Marketing Management		
Scientific title	AP	AP		
Position	Graduate	Graduate		

V.

Objectives
<p>The aim of the course is to enable students to function at a basic everyday survival level (basic vocabulary, grammar, morphology, syntax and phonetics).</p> <p>On completion of the course students should be able to communicate in and understand the language on a number of practical everyday matters. Language learning skills, including autonomous learning and how to approach authentic material, will be developed. Some transferable skills will also be covered.</p>

VI.

Course structure	No. hours
VI.1. Lectures	
Lecture 1: Presentation	2
Lecture 2: Family	2
Lecture 3: Education and work	2
Lecture 4: Everyday life and weekends	2
Lecture 5: Food and shopping	2
Lecture 6: Denmark. Final evaluation.	2
Total:	12 hours
VI.2. Seminar	
Seminar 1: Introduction	1
Seminar 2: Education system	1
Seminar 3: The Danish lifestyle	1
Seminar 4: Culture	1
Seminar 5: We love green	1
Seminar 6: Happiest country in the world	1
Total:	6

	hours
VI.3. Application (if the case)	
VI.4. Project topic (if the case)	

VII.

Syllabus outline		
VII.1. Grammar		
Nouns	Adjectives	Numbers
Verbs	Adverbs	Interjections
Pronouns	Conjunctions	Prepositions
VII.2. Vocabulary		
Phrases, Translation, Dictionary, Keyboard, Radio, TV, Colors, Numbers, Body, Time, Days, Food, Animals, Places, Objects, Habits, Biking, Clothes, Nature, Weather, People, Words, Culture, History, Geography, Tips and Tricks.		

VIII.

References	
Gelbek, Kirsten, <i>Tempo 1</i> , Alfabet, 2010	
Lecocq, Ben, <i>5 nye emner</i> , Alfabet, 2011	
Slotorup, Fanny and Neel Jersild Moreira, <i>Dansk for DU 3</i> , Alfabet, 2011	
Thorborg, Lisbet and Mayanna J. Riis, <i>På vej til dansk</i> , Forlaget Synope, 2011	

IX.

Forms of activity	Methods and techniques used in the teaching process
Lecture	Thematic lectures, CD player, projector, whiteboard.
Seminar	DRILLS - As a form of repetition, drills enable one to focus sharply on particular points of grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation and spelling. BUZZ GROUPS - Ability to exchange ideas drawn from their collective abilities, knowledge and experiences.
Application	BRAINSTORMING Generating a large number of ideas as quickly as possible
Project	ROLE PLAY Students use their own experience and creativity to imitate a real life situation

X.

Type	Assessment system (written, written and oral, oral, others)	
Exam	Written	
Colloquium	Oral	
Continuous assessment	Written and oral	
Project		

I.

Course title	SWEDISH LANGUAGE
---------------------	-------------------------

II.

Course structure (Number of hours per summer school session)				
Level	Lecture	Seminar	Practical course	Summer school year
A1	6	8	4	1 st

III.

Optionality category	Imposed	Optional	Freely chosen
		X	

IV.

Supervisor				
	Lecture	Seminar	Application	Project
Name	Roxana-Andreea Dragu	Roxana-Andreea Dragu		Roxana-Andreea Dragu
Institution	University of Bucharest	University of Bucharest		University of Bucharest
Department	Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures	Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures		Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures
Scientific title	M.A. (B.A. in Philology,	M.A. (B.A. in Philology,		M.A. (B.A. in Philology,

	English-Swedish)	English-Swedish)		English-Swedish)
Position	Teacher of Swedish - Bridge Language Study House	Teacher of Swedish - Bridge Language Study House		Teacher of Swedish - Bridge Language Study House

V.

Objectives
By the end of this course, students will be able to introduce themselves and others in Swedish, to give and ask for personal information, use numbers in various everyday contexts and speak about daily activities in Swedish. They will also become acquainted with the basics of Swedish pronunciation and with some representative elements of Swedish culture.

VI.

Course structure	No. hours
VI.1. Lectures	
Lecture 1: 'Hi, my name is...'	1
Lecture 2: The sound of Swedish	1
Lecture 3: Tell me a little about yourself	1
Lecture 4: Can I see what's in your bag?	1
Lecture 5: What time is it?	1
Lecture 6: Daily activities	1
Total:	6 hours
VI.2. Seminars	
Total:	8 hours
VI.3. Project	
Learning Swedish through movie making	4
Total:	4 hours

VII.

Syllabus outline
VII.1. Grammar

The verb – the present tense The noun – singular and plural Personal pronouns Interrogative pronouns and adverbs Word order
VII.2. Vocabulary
Greetings Countries and languages Family Work and study Telling the time Basic conversation Daily activities

VIII.

References	
Levy Scherrer, Paula & Karl Lindemalm, <i>Rivstart A1+A2 Textbok</i> , Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 2007	
Levy Scherrer, Paula & Karl Lindemalm, <i>Rivstart A1+A2 Övningsbok</i> , Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 2007	

IX.

Forms of activity	Methods and techniques used in the teaching process
Lecture	Presentations, brainstorming, discussions, audio-video materials
Seminar	Role-playing, exercises, listening comprehension, games, story-telling etc.
Application	
Project	Movie making

X.

Type	Assessment system (written, written and oral, oral, others)	
Exam		
Colloquium		
Continuous assessment	X	

Project	X	
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I.

Course title	FINNISH LANGUAGE	
---------------------	-------------------------	--

II.

Course structure (Number of hours per summer school session)				
Level	Lecture	Seminar	Practical course	Summer school year
A1	12	6		1 st

III.

Optionality category	Imposed	Optional	Freely chosen
		X	

IV.

Supervisor				
	Lecture	Seminar	Application	Project
Name	Adél FURU	Adél FURU		
Institution	Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca	Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca		
Department	Department of Hungarian and General Linguistics	Department of Hungarian and General Linguistics		
Scientific title	Ph.D. student	Ph.D. student		
Position				

V.

Objectives
- learning the basics of the Finnish language (beginning with the alphabet); - the students should: understand the message communicated orally; be able to convey a message correctly (phonetically and grammatically); be able to extract important information from a written text; be able to write a text respecting the spelling rules of the Finnish language.

VI.

Course structure	No. hours
VI.1. Lectures	
Lecture 1: Hello and welcome! <i>Hei ja tervetuloa!</i>	2
Lecture 2: The characters of the book. <i>Kirjan henkilöt.</i>	2
Lecture 3: Exercises. <i>Harjoitukset.</i>	2
Lecture 4: What nationality are you? <i>Minkämaalainen sinä olet?</i>	2
Lecture 5: At the ice-cream stall. <i>Jäätelökioskilla.</i>	2
Lecture 6: Finnish consonant gradation. <i>K-p-t-vaihtelu.</i>	2
Total:	12 hours
VI.2. Seminar	
Revision. Summary. Finnish puns: <i>balalaikka/ dilileikka/hilihuikka/huliheikka.</i> Finnish songs. Finnish children's books. Total:	6 hours
VI.3. Application (if the case)	
VI.4. Project topic (if the case)	

VII.

Syllabus outline
VII.1. Grammar
The verb <i>to be</i> . Vowel harmony. Conjugation of verbs, present simple, type 1. Interrogative pronouns. Interrogative particle. Adverbs of place. Genitive. Possessive pronouns.
VII.2. Vocabulary
The alphabet. Greetings (formal, informal). The days of the week. Numerals.

Personal pronouns. Countries, nationalities, languages. The weather. Shopping.

VIII.

References	
<i>Suomen mestari 1.</i>	

IX.

Forms of activity	Methods and techniques used in the teaching process
Lecture	pair work activities; dialogue; listening activities (CD);
Seminar	problem solving; class participation; recitation;
Application	
Project	

X.

Type	Assessment system (written, written and oral, oral, others)	
Exam	written	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - conjugation of verbs (affirmative, negative); - RO-FI translation of vocabulary; - translation of cardinal numbers; - sentence formation
Colloquium		
Continuous assessment		
Project		

I.

Course title	ESTONIAN LANGUAGE
---------------------	--------------------------

II.

Course structure (Number of hours per

summer school session)				
Level	Lecture	Seminar	Practical course	Summer school year
A1	7	11		1 st

III.

Optionality category	Imposed	Optional	Freely chosen
		X	

IV.

Supervisor				
	Lecture	Seminar	Application	Project
Name	Mihaela Moagher	Mihaela Moagher		
Institution	University of Tartu	University of Tartu		
Department	Philosophy	Philosophy		
Scientific title	MA student	MA student		
Position				

V.

Objectives
To introduce Estonian language (vocabulary and grammar) to students.

VI.

Course structure	No. hours
VI.1. Lectures	
Lecture 1: Tere! Ma olen... – Hi! I am...	1
Lecture 2: Minu pere – My family	1
Lecture 3: Mulle meeldib numbrid ja värvid – I like... numbers and colors	1
Lecture 4: Söögid ja joogid – Food and beverages	1
Lecture 5: Mis kell on? Millal? – What is the time? When?	1
Lecture 6: Mul on... , sul on..., tal on.... – I have..., you have..., he / she has...	1
Final evaluation	1
Total:	7

	hours
VI.2. Seminar	
1. Tere! Ma olen... - Hi! I am...	2
2. Minu pere - My family	2
3: Mulle meeldib numbrid ja värvid - I like... numbers and colors	2
4. Söögid ja joogid - Food and beverages	2
5. Mis kell on? Millal? - What is the time? When?	2
6. Mul on..., sul on..., tal on.... - I have..., you have..., he / she has...	1
	11
Total:	hours
VI.3. Application (if the case)	
VI.4. Project topic (if the case)	

VII.

Syllabus outline
VII.1. Grammar
Present tense; personal and possessive pronouns; Estonian language cases and postpositions; <i>-ma</i> and <i>-da</i> infinitive; <i>to have</i> construction
VII.2. Vocabulary
Greetings; names of different countries, cities and places within the city; name of the family members and other relatives; numbers and colors; names of food and beverages; days of the week, name of the year's months, name of the seasons.

VIII.

References
Jänese, Katrin 2011. Eesti keele grammatika. Unpublished Course. University of Tartu
Toomet, Piret 2011. Introduction to Estonian Language. Unpublished Course. University Of Tartu

IX.

Forms of activity	Methods and techniques used in the teaching process
Lecture	Expository method, demonstration
Seminar	Collaboration, teaching games, exercise-based learning
Application	
Project	

X.

Type	Assessment system (written, written and oral, oral, others)	
Exam	Written	
Colloquium		
Continuous assessment		
Project		

I.

Course title	LATVIAN LANGUAGE	
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II.

Course structure (Number of hours per summer school session)				
Level	Lecture	Seminar	Practical course	Summer school year
A1	18			1 st

III.

Optionality category	Imposed	Optional	Freely chosen
		X	

IV.

Supervisor				
	Lecture	Seminar	Application	Project
Name	Indra Lapinska	Indra Lapinska		
Institution	Latvian Language Agency	Latvian Language Agency		
Department				
Scientific title				
Position				

V.

Objectives

The course is offered for students who would like to learn basics of Latvian and get acquainted with the phonetic, grammatical and semantic structure of the language. It is based on the communicative approach in Latvian as a foreign language teaching.

The aim of the course is

- to develop the ability to start using Latvian in everyday speech, to feel at ease in Latvian society as well as make contacts,
- to develop students socio-cultural competence to give short information about modern culture and customs.

The course is provided for beginners, based on thematic planning as well as on tasks that develop four skills - listening, reading, writing, and speaking. The main questions of Latvian grammar are trained in each lesson. It is a breakthrough course which provides the first steps into Latvian. The set target level is the A1.1 level according to the scale of language proficiency levels defined by the European Common Framework of Reference: Learning, Teaching, Assessment.

VI.

Course structure		No. hours
VI.1. Lectures		
Lecture 1	Me. <i>Es.</i>	2
Lecture 2	My country. <i>Mana valsts.</i>	2
Lecture 3	My nationality, my language. <i>Mana tautība, valoda.</i>	2
Lecture 4	My relatives. <i>Mani radnieki.</i>	2
Lecture 5	My family. <i>Mana ģimene.</i>	2
Lecture 6	My town. <i>Mana pilsēta.</i>	2
Lecture 7	My address. My home. <i>Mana adrese. Mana māja.</i>	2
Lecture 8	My occupation. My work. <i>Mana nodarbošanās. Mans darbs.</i>	2
Lecture 9	My time.	2

	<i>Mans laiks</i> . Revision (Lecture 1-9). Test.	18 hours
VI.2. Seminar		
Total:		
VI.3. Application (if the case)		
VI.4. Project topic (if the case)		

VII.

Syllabus outline	
VII.1. Grammar	
Lecture 1	Latvian alphabet. Pronunciation and spelling. Questions <i>kas? kā?</i> (who?/ what?), yes/no-questions. Personal pronouns (the Nominative and Accusative case). The Nominative endings of nouns. Conjugation of the irregular verb <i>būt</i> (to be), verb <i>saukt</i> , present tense I k. Negative sentence.
Lecture 2	Questions <i>No kurienes jūs esat?</i> (Where are you from?) <i>Kā jums klājas?</i> (How are you?). Personal pronouns (the Dative case). The Genitive endings of nouns. Latvian alphabet.
Lecture 3	Question <i>Kādā valodā jūs runājat?</i> (What language do you speak?) The Locative endings of nouns. Conjugation of the verb <i>runāt</i> (to speak), present tense II k.
Lecture 4	Possessive, demonstrative pronouns. The Locative endings of nouns. Agreement of pronoun and substantive endings.
Lecture 5	Questions <i>Kurt jūs dzīvojat?</i> (Where do you live?) <i>Kas jūs esat? Ko jūs darāt?</i> (What do you do?) <i>Vai jūs esat ...?</i> (Are you ...?) <i>Vai jums ir ...?</i> (Do you have ...?) .The Locative endings of nouns. Conjugation of the verb <i>dzīvot, strādāt, studēt</i> (to live, to work, to study) + the Locative case, present tense II k.
Lecture 6	Questions <i>Cik liela? Cik veca? Cik daudz?</i> (How big? How old? How many/much?). The Locative endings of nouns. Ordinal numerals. Agreement of noun and adjective endings.

Lecture 7	<p>Question <i>Kāda ir jūsu adrese?</i> (What is your address?) The Dative and Accusative endings of nouns. Communication on phone. Cardinal numerals. The reflexive verb <i>atrasties</i>. Conjugation of the verbs <i>braukt, iet +uz</i> (the Locative case), present tense I k. The Genitive endings of noun. Agreement of noun and adjective endings. Direct Object. The Accusative endings of noun. Prepositions <i>uz</i> (on), <i>pie</i> (at), <i>virš</i> (above), <i>zem</i> (under) + the Genitive case. Conjugation of the verbs <i>apciemot, dāvināt</i> (to visit, to give a present), present tense. The phrase <i>man patīk</i> (I like).</p>
Lecture 8	<p>Questions <i>Kāda ir jūsu nodarbošanās?</i> (What is your occupation?) <i>Kur jūs strādājat? Kur jūs mācāties/studējat?</i> (Where do you work/study?) Conjugation of the verb <i>darīt, lasīt, rakstīt, rēķināt</i> (to do, to read, to write, to calculate) + the Accusative case, present tense III k. Reflexive verb <i>mācīties</i> (to learn). Ordinal numerals. The phrase <i>man patīk</i> (I like).</p>
Lecture 9	<p>Questions <i>Kad jūs ejat uz darbu?</i> (When do you go for work?) <i>Cik pulkstenis? Cikos?</i> (What time is it? At what time?). Conjugation of the verbs <i>braukt, iet +uz</i> (the Acc. case), present tense I k. Conjugation of the verb <i>plānot</i> (to plan) + the Acc. case, present tense II k.</p> <p>Overview - Latvian noun and verb system. Revision exercises.</p>

VII.2. Vocabulary

Lecture 1	Lexis: greetings. Getting acquainted.
Lecture 2	Lexis: country names in Latvian.
Lecture 3	Lexis: languages, nationalities in Latvian.
Lecture 4	Lexis: family members, relatives.
Lecture 5	Lexis: place of living, occupation, civil status.
Lecture 6	Lexis: numerals, Latvia, Riga in numbers, city objects.
Lecture 7	Lexis: address, talking on phone (phrases), description of location; rooms, furniture

Lecture 8	Lexis: occupations, description of an institution, school, university
Lecture 9	Lexis: days of the week, time Revision of vocabulary learned

VIII.

References	
During the course several materials will be used:	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The book for secondary school students <i>Atvērsim vārtus!</i>, LVA 2011 - The book Latvian for Foreign Students <i>Latviešu valoda studentiem. Mācību līdzeklis latviešu valodas kā svešvalodas apgūšanai. I. Klēvere-Velhli, Nikola Naua, Rīga 2012</i> - The exercise book <i>Palīgā 1, I. Budviķe, Br. Šiliņa, LVAVA 2009</i> - different internet sources, dictionaries. 	

IX.

Forms of activity	Methods and techniques used in the teaching process
Lecture	Interactive tasks, group work, pair work shall be organized.
Seminar	
Application	
Project	

X.

Type	Assessment system (written, written and oral, oral, others)	
Exam		
Colloquium		
Continuous assessment	X, written test	
Project		

I.

Course title	CRASH COURSE OF LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE	
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II.

Course structure (Number of hours per

summer school session)				
Level	Lecture	Seminar	Practical course	Summer school year
A1	5		13	1 st

III.

Optionality category	Imposed	Optional	Freely chosen
		X	

IV.

Supervisor				
	Lecture	Seminar	Application	Project
Name	Jūratė Derukaitė	Jūratė Derukaitė		
Institution	Klaipėda University	Klaipėda University		
Department	Faculty of Humanities, Centre for Languages and Cultures	Faculty of Humanities, Centre for Languages and Cultures		
Scientific title	MA	MA		
Position	Director of the Centre for Languages and Cultures; lecturer	Director of the Centre for Languages and Cultures; lecturer		

V.

Objectives
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To give basic knowledge of Lithuanian language at beginners' level (short introductory course). 2. Along with the linguistic preparation, to acquaint students with the Lithuanians' national character, traditions, customs. 3. To provide with the basic cultural content (Lithuania in the past and nowadays).

VI.

Course structure	No. hours
VI.1. Lectures	
Lecture 1: <i>Vocabulary:</i> Meeting people. Main acquaintance and presentation phrases. Lithuanian names and surnames. Names of the countries. <i>Grammar:</i> Personal pronouns. Nouns: number, gender, cases. Verb <i>būti</i> ('to be'). Introduction of nominative and genitive cases. <i>Culture:</i> Lithuania. Lithuanian language.	2
Lecture 2: <i>Vocabulary:</i> Lithuanian names and surnames. <i>Grammar:</i> Main survival verbs. Introduction into verbs tenses. <i>Culture:</i> Famous people of Lithuania.	2
Lecture 3: <i>Vocabulary:</i> Numerals. Cardinal numerals. Telling the age. Money. <i>Grammar:</i> Numerals with nouns. <i>Culture:</i> Lithuanian currency.	2
Lecture 4: <i>Vocabulary:</i> Getting around in town. <i>Grammar:</i> prepositions of direction and place. <i>Culture:</i> Vilnius , the capital of Lithuania	2
Lecture 5: <i>Vocabulary:</i> Telling the date and time. <i>Grammar:</i> Interrogatives. <i>Culture:</i> National festive days.	3
Lecture 6: <i>Vocabulary:</i> Food. <i>Grammar:</i> practising singular and plural forms of nouns. <i>Culture:</i> Lithuanian national cuisine	3
Lecture 7: <i>Vocabulary:</i> Describing people and things. <i>Grammar:</i> practising adjectives with nouns. <i>Culture:</i> Places and things of interest in Lithuania	2
Lecture 8: Ethnographical regions of Lithuania. Curious things about Lithuanian dialects. Singing Lithuanian folk songs. The evaluation of the course.	2
Total:	18 hours
VI.2. Seminar	
VI.3. Application (if the case)	
VI.4. Project topic (if the case)	

VII.

Syllabus outline
VII.1. Grammar
Phonetical system. Basic knowledge of the grammatical system: nouns, verbs, numbers, adjectives, pronouns, prepositions. Affirmative and negative sentences. Interrogatives. Peculiarities of the syntactical system.

VII.2. Vocabulary
Meeting people. Main acquaintance and presentation phrases. Lithuanian names and surnames. Names of the countries. Numerals. Cardinal numerals. Telling the age. Money. Getting around in town. Telling the date and time. Food. Describing people and things.

VIII.

References
Stumbrienė V., Kaškelevičienė A. Nė dienos be lietuvių kalbos. Vilnius Gimtasis žodis, 2011. Jurgaitytė V., Derukaitė J. LABAS: Klaipėdos universitetas, 2013 http://www.oneness.vu.lt/lt/ http://www.online.lt/ http://www.surfacelanguages.com/language/Lithuanian Other related websites

IX.

Forms of activity	Methods and techniques used in the teaching process
Lecture	Activities and techniques typical for the Communicative Approach
Seminar	
Application	
Project	

X.

Type	Assessment system (written, written and oral, oral, others)
Exam	Written and oral
Colloquium	
Continuous assessment	Written and oral
Project	

I.

Course title	THE NORWEGIAN CONSTITUTION AT 200 YEARS
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II.

Course structure (Number of hours per summer school session)				
Level	Lecture	Seminar	Practical course	Summer school year
Beginners	12			1 st

III.

Optionality category	Imposed	Optional	Freely chosen
		X	

IV.

Supervisor				
	Lecture	Seminar	Application	Project
Name	Ola Mestad	Ola Mestad		
Institution	University of Oslo	University of Oslo		
Department	Faculty of Law	Faculty of Law		
Scientific title	Ph.D.	Ph.D.		
Position	Professor	Professor		

V.

Objectives
The course aims to make students learn how the Constitution was adopted in Norway in 1814 and how it developed throughout 200 years.

VI.

Course structure	No. hours
VI.1. Lectures	
Lecture 1: 1814 - A year of miracles for Norwegians?	2
Lecture 2: The Constitution making process and content	2
Lecture 3: Constitutional survival of war and union with Sweden 1814-1905	2
Lecture 4: Constitutional transformations	2
Lecture 5: EEA - Norway's relationship with the European Union	2

Lecture 6: Modernization of human rights protection in the Constitution in 2014	2
Total:	12 hours
VI.2. Seminar	
VI.3. Application (if the case)	
VI.4. Project topic (if the case)	

VII.

Syllabus outline
<p>Lecture 1: 1814 - A year of miracles for Norwegians?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nordic aspects of the Napoleonic wars - The treaty of Kiel and its effects <p>Lecture 2: The Constitution making process and content</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - How to make a constitution - Popular sovereignty, separation of powers - freedom and equality <p>Lecture 3: Constitutional survival of war and union with Sweden 1814-1905</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Great power politics - the Congress of Vienna - Independence within a union <p>Lecture 4: Constitutional transformations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Development of parliamentary government (1884) - Judicial review by the courts <p>Lecture 5: EEA - Norway's relationship with the European Union</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - EEA Agreement 1992 - Integration without membership - Development under the EEA Agreement <p>Lecture 6: Modernization of human rights protection in the Constitution in 2014</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Impact of the European Convention of Human Rights in Norway - 2014 inclusion of several human rights in the Constitution

VIII.

References
<p>Mestad, Ola (2014). "Amerikansk inspirasjon i den norske grunnlova. Frihetstreet i Nord-Amerikas jord. American inspiration in the Norwegian Constitution. The tree of freedom on North American soil", in Gudleiv Forr (red.), <i>Rødt, hvitt og blått. Norsk grunnlov, amerikansk inspirasjon</i>. ART PRO Forlag AS. Kapittel. 73 - 85</p> <p>Mestad, Ola (2014). "Korleis forske på grunnlova?". <i>Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift</i></p>

(1). 53- 56
Mestad, Ola (2014). "Suvereniteten tilbakegitt det norske folk ved Kieltraktaten. Det oversedde natur- og statsrettsgrunnlaget for norsk sjølvstende og grunnlov i 1814". <i>Historisk tidsskrift</i> (1). 35-65
Mestad, Ola (2012). "Moderat revolusjonsgrunnlov". <i>Klassekampen</i> . May 16, 2012
Mestad, Ola (2008). "Næringsfridom i 1814-grunnlova", in <i>Forfatningsteori møter 1814</i> . Akademisk Publiserings, 21-94

IX.

Forms of activity	Methods and techniques used in the teaching process
Lecture	Thematic lectures, PowerPoint presentations, discussions
Seminar	
Application	
Project	

X.

Type	Assessment system (written, written and oral, oral, others)	
Exam		
Colloquium		
Continuous assessment	Continuous assessment, oral examination	
Project		

I.

Course title	A NORWEGIAN BUSINESS GAME AND THE CURRENT STATE OF THE NORWEGIAN ECONOMY
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II.

Course structure (Number of hours per summer school session)				
Level	Lecture	Seminar	Practical	Summer school

			course	year
Beginners	12	6		1 st

III.

Optionality category	Imposed	Optional	Freely chosen
		X	

IV.

Supervisor				
	Lecture	Seminar	Application	Project
Name	Arne Dag Sti	Arne Dag Sti		
Institution	University of Agder (retired)	University of Agder (retired)		
Department	Department of Economics and Finance	Department of Economics and Finance		
Scientific title	Ph.D. (Lic. NHH)	Ph.D. (Lic. NHH)		
Position	Professor	Professor		

V.

Objectives
To learn basic understanding of business concepts and the macroeconomics effects of business decisions and policies in modern economics, with special reference to the current state of the Norwegian economy.

VI.

Course structure	No. hours
VI.1. Lectures	
Lecture 1: Presentation of the SBT Business Case. Accounting Reports	2
Lecture 2: Basic Marketing Decisions and their effects	2
Lecture 3: Basic Logistic Decisions and Cordination	2
Lecture 4: Basic Financial Decisions	2
Lecture 5: Macroeconomics	2
Lecture 6: Current Norwegian Dilemmaes in Economic Policies. Is it possible to upheld full employment and economic growth?	2

Total:	12 hours
VI.2. Seminar	
The seminar will be a mix of group discussions and business decision taking, with tutoring from the supervisor.	
Total:	6 hours
VI.3. Application (if the case)	
VI.4. Project topic (if the case)	

VII.

Syllabus outline	
VII.1. A Norwegian business game	
Arne Dag Sti: Økonomisk Bedriftsledelse (Business Management). Bedriftsøkonomisk Forlag AS , Oslo. 6. Opplag 2013. Essential content will be translated to English and handed out in the lectures.	
VII.2. The current state of the Norwegian economy	
Macroeconomics: Paul A Samuelson: Economics, 1980 or later. Bank of Norway: Last Report on financial stability July 2014. Essential content will be handed out in lectures.	

VIII.

References	
Samuelson, Paul A. <i>Economics</i> . 1980 or later. Sti, Arne Dag. <i>Økonomisk Bedriftsledelse (Business Management)</i> . Bedriftsøkonomisk Forlag AS , Oslo. 6. Opplag 2013. Bank of Norway. Last Report on financial stability July 2014.	

IX.

Forms of activity	Methods and techniques used in the teaching process
Lecture	Traditional lectures 12 hours
Seminar	Decision training in groups 6 hours, under assistance from the lecturer
Application	
Project	

X.

Type	Assessment system (written, written and oral, oral, others)	
Exam		
Colloquium		
Continuous assessment	Quality of group decisions can be graded , with a minimum level of performance for acceptance	Written
Project		

I.

Course title	THE VIKINGS
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II.

Course structure (Number of hours per summer school session)				
Level	Lecture	Seminar	Practical course	Summer school year
Beginners	12	-	-	1 st

III.

Optionality category	Imposed	Optional	Freely chosen
		X	

IV.

Supervisor				
	Lecture	Seminar	Application	Project
Name	Costel Coroban	Costel Coroban		
Institution	Valahia Univ. Tirgoviste/ Ovidius Univ. of Constanta	Valahia Univ. Tirgoviste/ Ovidius Univ. of Constanta		
Department	Dept. of History/Doctoral School of Humanities	Dept. of History/Doctoral School of Humanities		
Scientific	Associate	Associate		

title	researcher/PhD Student	researcher/PhD Student		
Position	Associate researcher/PhD Student	Associate researcher/PhD Student		

V.

Objectives
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - To be able to explain and infer information from historical sources belonging to the Viking civilization; - To know and correctly apply historical and linguistic information from the age of the Viking expansion (cVII-XI A.D.); - To manifest a positive and responsible attitude towards the complexity of the phenomenon that is called “the Viking invasions”; - To ascertain, understand and employ the critical viewpoints and theories regarding the mythological and religious aspect of Viking spirituality; - To optimally and creatively capitalize one’s own admiration for the Viking civilization.

VI.

Course structure	No. hours
VI.1. Lectures	
<p>Lecture 1: Introduction. The Origins of the Vikings and their Society.</p> <p>Lecture 2: Viking Art. Runes.</p> <p>Lecture 3: Viking women.</p> <p>Lecture 4: Religion and Mythology. Rituals, feasts and sacrifices.</p> <p>Lecture 5: Skaldic literature, Saga/sögur.</p> <p>Lecture 6: Weapons and warships. The first invasions.</p> <p>Lecture 7: The Vikings in the Orkneys, Ireland and Scotland.</p> <p>Lecture 8: Medieval Viking Iceland.</p> <p>Lecture 9: The Vikings in Greenland, Vinland and Rus.</p> <p>Lecture 10: The Vikings and Alfred the Great’s England. Viking Normandy.</p> <p>Lecture 11: Scandinavian England. The Bayeux tapestry.</p> <p>Lecture 12: The Vikings and Early Christianity. Final evaluation.</p> <p>Total: 12</p>	12 hours

VI.2. Seminar	
VI.3. Application (if the case)	
VI.4. Project topic (if the case)	

VII.

Syllabus outline
<p>Lecture 1: Introduction. The Origins of the Vikings and their Society</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Locating the Old Norse people; the ethimology of the word „viking“; -The origins of the Viking society; -The Old Norse community, social classes, <i>Rígsþula</i>: Jarl, Karl, Thrall; -The military classes: Hird, Bondi/Bondar, Vik; Berserker; -Old Norse Law: Thing, Allthing, exile, wergeld, the Runic law; -Egil’s Saga, feudal relations, marriage, the importance of good fortune, the royal court. <p>Lecture 2: Viking Art. Runes.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Pre-viking ornaments, animal symbols; -ritual masks, motifs, the Borre style, jewelry, the Mammen style; -the Urnes style, mysterious animal symbols; --the Runic alphabet, reading, writing, well-known inscriptions, interpretation of runic texts. <p>Lecture 3: Viking women.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -the role of women and their social position in the Viking society; -women in Saga/sögur; -weddings, fidelity, divorce, children and childhood, royal succession; -sports and games, celebrations, traditions, cooking, holiday recipes, textiles; -women explorers. <p>Lecture 4: Religion and Mythology. Rituals, feasts and sacrifices.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -the Edda, Voluspa, Heimskringla; -Cosmology: Ginnungagap, Audumbla, Ygdrassil, Ymir, Buri and Bor, Bestla, gods and giants, Ask and Embla; -the Pantheon, Odin, Vili and Ve, the artefacts of the gods, Frey and Freyja, Heimdall, Loki, Thor, Baldr, Tyr, Hel; -Midgard, Asgard, Valhalla, Nifleheim, Ragnarök;

- The Walkyries, Elves and other spirits, dwarves, gnomes, dragons, trolls, monsters, Beowulf;
- Rituals, celebrations, sacrifices, the cult.

Lecture 5: Skaldic literature, Saga/sögur.

- Söguöld.
- classification of sögur, motifs, locations, images, scenes;
- Egils Saga, Volsungasaga, Heimskringla, Eirik's Saga, Vinland Saga;
- the Skalds, Icelandic sögur.

Lecture 6: Weapons and warships. The first invasions.

- Viking warships, Hjortspring ship, the Sutton Hoo ship, naval technology, the Oseberg ship;
- Knarr and other types of vessels, navigation instruments;
- metalsmiths and weaponsmithing;
- types of weapons, axes, *breidox*, swords, spears;
- archery, shields, armour, war steeds, coifs;
- types of raids, battles, *strandhogg*;
- causes of Viking expansion, the first invasions on the European mainland.

Lecture 7: The Vikings in the Orkneys, Ireland and Scotland.

- Orkneyinga Saga, the invasion in the North Islands and Caithness;
- Haraldr Harfragi, Earl Rognvald of Møre, Rognvald Eysteinnsson, Sigurd the Brave, Olav Tryggvasson;
- the Viking kingdom of Dublin, Longphort, the Battle of Clontarf;
- Laithlind; Soxulfr, Turges, Haakon, the Kingdom of Strathclyde;

Lecture 8: Medieval Viking Iceland.

- historical sources;
- Erik the Red's Saga (Eiríks saga rauða); Íslendingabók;
- the medieval Icelandic civilization (864-1350), „the Icelandic miracle“.

Lecture 9: The Vikings in Greenland, Vinland and Rus.

- Íslendingabók, Eiríks saga rauða; The Primary Chronicle (Povest Vremeni kh Let);
- the first expeditions, Gunnbjörn Ulfsson;
- the colonization of Greenland;

-Vinland, the L'Anse aux Meadows settlement, Helluland, Markland;
-Rus, Rurik, the foundation of Novgorod, the first contacts with the Arabs, Slavs; the Varangians.

Lecture 10: The Vikings and Alfred the Great's England. Viking Normandy.

-the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *De moribus et actis primorum Normannorum ducum*.

-the conquest of England; the invasion of Guthrum's Danes.

-Alfred the Great's resistance against the Vikings, the defeat of Guthrum, Etheldun battle, Alfred's reforms, the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum, Danelaw;

-Rollo (Hrolf the Ganger), *Gesta Danorum*, the foundation of Normandy, the Treaty of Saint-Claire-sur-Epte, Normandy to William the Bastard.

Lecture 11: Scandinavian England. The Bayeux tapestry.

-*Gesta Normanorum Ducum*, the Bayeux Tapestry;

-Harald Hardrada, Knut the Great, Harthacnut, Edward the Confessor, Harald II Godwinson;

-the battles of Fulford, Stamford Bridge, Hastings 1066, the invasion of William the Conqueror; *Domesday Booke*, the conquest of England and its legacy.

Lecture 12: The Vikings and Early Christianity. Final evaluation.

-early Christian missionaries in Scandinavia;

-Denmark: Harald Bluetooth, relations with the Carolingian Empire and the Holy Roman Empire, Valdemar the Great, Bishop Absalon, Valdemar II.

-Sweden: the monk Ansgar and the missionaries; the Yngling kings, Erik the Victorious, King Olof Skötkonung, Erik the Holy (Saint Eric).

-Norway: King Harald Harfragi, the missionary kings Olav Tryggvasson, Saint Olav, Haakon the Good.

-Final evaluation.

VIII.

References	

- _____ *Beowulf*, translation by Dan Duțescu și Leon Levițchi, Editura pentru Literatură Universală, București, 1969.
- _____ *Cântecul nibelungilor*. Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă: București, 1958. Verse adaptation by Adrian Maniu.
- _____ *Cântecul Nibelungilor*. Saeculum: Bucharest, 2008. Translation by Claudiu Paradais.
- _____ *Edda*. București: Saeculum I.O., 2005. Translation by Magda Petculescu, Foreword by Dan Grigorescu.
- _____ *Egils Saga*. London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2003. Edited by Bjarni Einarsson.
- _____ *The Poetic Edda*. Two Volumes in One. Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1936. Translated with Introduction and Notes by Henry Adams Bellows.
- _____ *Walhalla și Thule. Mituri și legende vechi germanice*. Vol. 1, 2. Editura Minerva: București, 1977. Readaptation by Mihai Isbășescu.
- Baedeker, Karl. *Civilizația germanică și a vikingilor*. Prietenii Cărții: București, 2006. Translation by Liana Gomboșiu.
- Belcin, Cornelia. Popescu, Alexandru. *Vikingii*. Albatros: București, 1976.
- Bengtsson, Frans G. *Vikingii. O povestire istorică din vremurile străbune*. Dacia: Cluj, 1974. Translation by Constantin A. Gâdei.
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- Durand, Frédéric. *Vikingii*. Corint: București, 2003. Translation by Ovidiu Cristea.
- Hollander, Lee M. *Old Norse Poems*. London: Abela Publishing, 2010.
- Jinga, Cristina. *Comorile Nibelungilor*. Prietenii Cărții: București, 2003.
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- Lorinț, Florica. *Oamenii nordului*. Editura Științifică: București, 1965.
- Morogan, Elena-Maria. *Mitologia Nordică. Mituri și legende*. Editura Enciclopedică: București, 1992.
- Sawyer, Peter, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*, Oxford, OUP, 2001.
- Sturlson, Snorri. *Heimskringla or the Chronicles of the Kings of Norway*. 1996. Edited, proofed, and prepared by Douglas B. Killings.

On-line sources:

The poetic Edda in Old Norse and English, <http://www.voluspa.org/>.

Scandinavian	Runic-text	Data	Base,
http://www.nordiska.uu.se/forskn/samnord.htm . The Vikings, on-line course by Professor Dr. Sally Vaughn, University of Houston, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GN89xSq9tdo			

IX.

Forms of activity	Methods and techniques used in the teaching process
Lecture	Lecturing, expository, discovery, brainstorming, mind mapping.
Seminar	-
Application	-
Project	-

X.

Type	Assessment system (written, written and oral, oral, others)	
Exam	written	
Colloquium	-	
Continuous assessment	oral	
Project	-	

I.

Course title	HENRIK IBSEN - CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES
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II.

Course structure (Number of hours per summer school session)				
Level	Lecture	Seminar	Practical course	Summer school year
Beginners	6	6		1 st

III.

Optionality category	Imposed	Optional	Freely chosen
		X	

IV.

Supervisor				
	Lecture	Seminar	Application	Project
Name	Crina Leon	Crina Leon		
Institution	Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași	Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași		
Department	Faculty of Letters	Faculty of Letters		
Scientific title	Ph.D.	Ph.D.		
Position	Scientific researcher Teacher of Norwegian	Scientific researcher Teacher of Norwegian		

V.

Objectives
The course aims to make students acquainted with the life and work of the Norwegian writer Henrik Ibsen, who dominated the second half of the 19 th century, the so-called "Golden age" of Norwegian literature.

VI.

Course structure	No. hours
VI.1. Lectures	
Lecture 1: Norway in the second half of the 19th century. A short biography of Ibsen.	1
Lecture 2: Phases of Ibsen's dramaturgy. Characteristics of Ibsen's realism and modernism.	1
Lecture 3: Ibsen's self-exile in Germany.	1
Lecture 4: Works adapted for the screen.	1
Lecture 5: Ibsen's correspondence.	1
Lecture 6: Ibsen's poetry.	1
Total:	6
	hours
VI.2. Seminar	
During the seminars the supervisor and the students discuss about Ibsen starting from the knowledge acquired during the	

lectures, comment on texts written by Ibsen, watch materials related to his work.	
Total:	6 hours
VI.3. Application (if the case)	
VI.4. Project topic (if the case)	

VII.

Syllabus outline
VII.1. Ibsen's life
Historical and cultural context. Awakening of national consciousness through literature. Citizens' dealing with social norms. Women emancipation. Introduction of parliamentarism. Ibsen in Grimstad, Christiania and Bergen. His self-exile in Germany. Ibsen's correspondence.
VII.2. Ibsen's work
Literary phases: historical and legendary romanticism, dramatical poems, bourgeois realism, psychological realism (see Ovidiu Drîmba, "Henrik Ibsen, the founder of modern theatre", preface to Henrik Ibsen, <i>Teatru</i> , vol. I-III, Editura pentru Literatura universală, București, 1966). Ibsen's poetry.

VIII.

References
Drîmba, Ovidiu, <i>Scriitori scandinavi în cultura lumii</i> , Casa de Editură Excelsior „Multi Press”, București, 1997 Ibsen, Henrik, <i>Teatru</i> , vol. I-III, Editura pentru Literatură Universală, București, 1966 Leon, Crina, <i>Henrik Ibsen și cultura germană a timpului său</i> , Editura Tehnopress, Iași, 2011 Tomescu Baciu, Sanda, <i>Peer Gynt și miturile nordice</i> , Editura Napoca Star, Cluj-Napoca, 2000 Vartic, Ion, <i>Ibsen și „teatrul invizibil”</i> . <i>Preludii la o teorie a dramei</i> , Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, București, 1995

IX.

Forms of	Methods and techniques used in the teaching process
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activity	
Lecture	Thematic lectures, PowerPoint presentations.
Seminar	Text analysis, interactive methods of acquiring new knowledge.
Application	
Project	

X.

Type	Assessment system (written, written and oral, oral, others)	
Exam	Written examination (for the lectures)	
Colloquium		
Continuous assessment	Continuous assessment (for the seminars)	
Project		

I.

Course title	SCANDINAVIAN AND ROMANIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO PEACE DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
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II.

Course structure (Number of hours per summer school session)				
Level	Lecture	Seminar	Practical course	Summer school year
Beginners	6	6		1 st

III.

Optionality category	Imposed	Optional	Freely chosen
		X	

IV.

Supervisor				
	Lecture	Seminar	Application	Project
Name	Silviu Miloiu	Silviu Miloiu		
Institution	Valahia	Valahia		

	University	University		
Department	Depart. of History	Depart. of History		
Scientific title	Ph.D.	Ph.D.		
Position	Professor	Professor		

V.

Objectives
The course approaches and parallels the Scandinavian and Romanian contributions to peace during the Twentieth Century. Topics such as the Romanian contributions to the development of international criminal law, the Nobel Peace Prizes and Scandinavian and Romanian involvement in the promotion of collective and regional security and peacekeeping will be focused on in this course.

VI.

Course structure	No. hours
VI.1. Lectures	
Lecture 1: The Nobel Peace Prizes	1
Lecture 2: The Nansen Committee for Refugees	1
Lecture 3: Romanian and Scandinavian contributions to collective and regional security	1
Lecture 4: Romanian contributions to the development of criminal law	1
Lecture 5: Romanian and Scandinavian contributions to peacekeeping actions	1
Lecture 6: Final evaluation	1
Total:	6 hours
VI.2. Seminar	
Readings, discussions and movies about topics approached during the lectures.	6 hours
Total:	
VI.3. Application (if the case)	
VI.4. Project topic (if the case)	

VII.

Syllabus outline
Romanian contributions to the development of international criminal law; the Nobel Peace Prizes; Scandinavian and Romanian involvement in the promotion of collective and regional security and peacekeeping

VIII.

References
Archer, Clive, and Pertti Joenniemi. <i>The Nordic Peace</i> . Aldershot, Hampshire, England: Ashgate, 2003.
Heffermehl, Fredrik S. <i>The Nobel Peace Prize What Nobel Really Wanted</i> . Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2010. < http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=334221 >.
Marrus, M. R. <i>European Refugees from the First World War Through the Cold War</i> . Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2002.
Miloiu, Silviu, 2004-2005. <i>O istorie a Europei Nordice și Baltice</i> . Târgoviște: Editura Cetatea de Scaun, vol. I-II.
Popescu, Oana. 2011. <i>România și Danemarca în prima jumătate a secolului XX</i> . Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun.
Sbârna, Gheorghe. 2011. <i>Vespasian V. Pella - în slujba științei dreptului și a cauzei păcii</i> . Ploiești: Ed. Karta-Graphic.

IX.

Forms of activity	Methods and techniques used in the teaching process
Lecture	Thematic lectures, PowerPoint presentations.
Seminar	Text analysis, interactive methods of acquiring new knowledge.
Application	
Project	

X.

Type	Assessment system (written, written and oral, oral, others)
Exam	Written examination (for the lectures)
Colloquium	
Continuous	Continuous assessment (for the

assessment	seminars)	
Project		

I.

Course title	ROMANIA AND THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES: CHALLENGES OF SECURITY IN THE COLD WAR	
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II.

Course structure (Number of hours per summer school session)				
Level	Lecture	Seminar	Practical course	Summer school year
Beginners	6	6		1 st

III.

Optionality category	Imposed	Optional	Freely chosen
		X	

IV.

Supervisor				
	Lecture	Seminar	Application	Project
Name	Cezar Stanciu	Cezar Stanciu		
Institution	Valahia University	Valahia University		
Department	Department of History	Department of History		
Scientific title	Ph.D.	Ph.D.		
Position	Assistant	Assistant		

V.

Objectives
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to develop the students' capacity to formulate correct assessments of the political and historical factors which determined the evolution of postwar bilateral relations between Romania and the Scandinavian countries; - to develop the students' ability to compare different choices in matters of security relating them to existing preconditions;

- to evaluate various options in the field of security and formulate independent points of view with regard to their viability;
- to develop the students' ability to investigate sources and elaborate critical assessments of them.

VI.

Course structure	No.
VI.1. Lectures	hours
Lecture 1: Romania and the Scandinavian countries in the context of postwar reorganization of Europe	1
Lecture 2: Neutrality or alignment as security options	1
Lecture 3: Romanian-Scandinavian cooperation in politics and economy	1
Lecture 4: Political convergences: visions of détente and the role of small states	1
Lecture 5: The CSCE and its aftermath	1
Lecture 6: The limits of rapprochement: incompatibilities and failures	1
Total:	6 hours
VI.2. Seminar	
1. Premises. Bipolarity and the impact of bloc-oriented policies	1
2. Limited choices. "Nuclear umbrella" or Finlandization?	1
3. Extended choices: trade penetrates the Iron Curtain	1
4. Small states in a world of superpowers	1
5. The Cold War revived: 1975-1989	1
6. Final evaluation	1
Total:	6 hours
VI.3. Application (if the case)	
VI.4. Project topic (if the case)	

VII.

Syllabus outline
The course aims at developing student skills to evaluate various options in the field of security and formulate independent points of view with regard to their viability;

VIII.

References
Agius, Christine, <i>The Social Construction of Swedish Neutrality: Challenges to Swedish Identity and Sovereignty</i> , Manchester University Press, 2006
Burakowski, Adam, <i>Dictatura lui Nicolae Ceaușescu 1965-1989</i> , Editura Polirom, Iași, 2012
Karsh, Efraim, <i>Neutrality and Small States</i> , Routledge, London, 2012
Kullaa, Rinna, <i>Non-Alignment and its Origins in Cold War Europe: Yugoslavia, Finland and the Soviet Challenge</i> , I.B. Tauris, 2012
Malița, Mircea, <i>Tablouri din războiul rece. Memorii ale unui diplomat român</i> , Editura C.H. Beck, București, 2007
Miloiu, Silviu, <i>O istorie a Europei nordice și baltice</i> , vol. II, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște, 2004
Olesen, Thorsten B., <i>The Cold War and the Nordic countries: historiography at a crossroads</i> , University Press of Southern Denmark, 2004

IX.

Forms of activity	Methods and techniques used in the teaching process
Lecture	Lecture, demonstration, comparison, brainstorming,
Seminar	Brainstorming, debate, discovery, conversation, workshop
Application	
Project	

X.

Type	Assessment system (written, written and oral, oral, others)
Exam	50% (written)
Colloquium	
Continuous assessment	50% (oral)
Project	

I.

Course title	THE FINNISH CULTURE DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY
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II.

Course structure (Number of hours per summer school session)				
Level	Lecture	Seminar	Practical course	Summer school year
Beginners	6	6		1 st

III.

Optionality category	Imposed	Optional	Freely chosen
		X	

IV.

Supervisor				
	Lecture	Seminar	Application	Project
Name	Elena Dragomir	Elena Dragomir		
Institution	The Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies	The Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies		
Department	Center of Baltic and Nordic Studies	Center of Baltic and Nordic Studies		
Scientific title	Ph.D.	Ph.D.		
Position	Director	Director		

V.

Objectives
<p>Students will develop:</p> <p>1. Knowledge and basic understanding about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finnish culture in the 20th century, including popular culture, lifestyle, mentality, education, society, nature, and population • Finland's culture and society in a European/global context • Objects and practices which are associated to Finnish identity and traditions (e.g. naming the national symbols of Finland, being familiar with some local celebrations or holidays, etc.).

- interactions of persons, societies, cultures and environments across time
- continuity and change, personal and social futures and strategies for change

2. Skills to:

- investigate and engage in effective evaluation, analysis and synthesis of information

from a variety of sources

- communicate information, ideas and issues in appropriate forms to different audiences

in a variety of contexts;

3. Informed and responsible values and attitudes towards:

- intercultural understanding
- informed and active citizenship
- lifelong learning.

VI.

Course structure	No.
VI.1. Lectures	hours
Lecture 1: Introduction to Finland and its culture	2
Lecture 2: Finnish literature, folk culture and national epic <i>Kalevala</i>	1
Lecture 3: Education, press, radio, and sport in Finland	1
Lecture 4: Visual art, music, film, sculpture, architecture and design in Finland	1
Lecture 5: Views to Finnish culture: stereotypes, identities, way of life, traditions	1
Total:	6 hours
VI.2. Seminar	
Seminar 1: Introduction to Finland and its culture	1
Seminar 2: Finnish literature, folk culture and national epic <i>Kalevala</i>	1
Seminar 3: Education, press, radio, and sport in Finland	1
Seminar 4: Visual art, music, film, sculpture, architecture and design in Finland	1

Seminar 5: Views to Finnish culture: stereotypes, identities, way of life, traditions Final evaluation	1 1 6
Total:	hours
VI.4. Project topic (if the case)	
Students will choose an interesting topic about the Finnish culture and will prepare a presentation about it. Possible topics: A Finnish writer, architect, designer, film maker etc. A Finnish work of art (sculpture, painting, novel, poetry, building, etc.) Finnish traditions, customs and celebrations (Easter, Christmas, Midsummer celebrations etc.)	

VII.

Syllabus outline
Students will explore the Nordic country through texts, stories, historical events, movies, literature and arts. The aim is to learn what Finland is like and has been like as a nation and understand the cultural characteristics of the area. Students are encouraged to use analytical, creative and critical thinking to understand and respect the Finnish way of life.

VIII.

References	
Elena Dragomir, Silviu Miloiu, <i>Istoria Finlandei</i> , Ed. Cetatea de Scaun Târgoviște, 2011.	

IX.

Forms of activity	Methods and techniques used in the teaching process
Lecture	

Seminar	<p>Students will explore the Nordic country through texts, stories, historical events, movies, literature and arts. The aim is to learn what Finland is like and has been like as a nation and understand the cultural characteristics of the area.</p> <p>Students are encouraged to use analytical, creative and critical thinking to understand and respect the Finnish way of life.</p> <p>Student will compare the Finnish culture with other cultures in European/global context.</p>
Project	Students will choose an interesting topic about the Finnish culture and will prepare a presentation about it.

X.

Type	Assessment system (written, written and oral, oral, others)	
Attendance and class participation:	50%	
Individual assignment/ Project:	50%	

I.

Course title	SCANDINAVIA - NATURE, MAN, ECONOMY	
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II.

Course structure (Number of hours per summer school session)				
Level	Lecture	Seminar	Practical course	Summer school year
Beginners	10	2		1 st

III.

Optionality category	Imposed	Optional	Freely chosen
		X	

IV.

Supervisor				
	Lecture	Seminar	Application	Project
Name	Daniela Larion	Daniela Larion		
Institution	Al. I. Cuza University of Iasi	Al. I. Cuza University of Iasi		
Department	Geography	Geography		
Scientific title	Ph.D.	Ph.D.		
Position	Lecturer	Lecturer		

V.

Objectives
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to understand the natural elements of the Scandinavian environment, their interdependence and interference in generation the unique landscape of Scandinavia - to use the physical and human geographical elements in describing different areas in Scandinavia - to explain the regional differences in the demography and economy of Scandinavia - to elaborate studies on the environmental changes in different regional spaces (causes and consequences)

VI.

Course structure	No. hours
VI.1. Lectures	
Lecture 1: Scandinavia Region - geographical location and consequences on the natural and human environment	1
Lecture 2: Past and present glaciation in Scandinavia - fjords, glacial lakes, glaciers	2
Lecture 3: Climate and eco-zones. Scandinavian midnight sun.	1
Lecture 4: Demography and urbanism in Scandinavia. The Scandinavians.	2
Lecture 5: Natural resources and Scandinavian economic prosperity	2
Lecture 6: Environment and environmental protection in Scandinavia	2
Total:	10

	hours
VI.2. Seminar	
Map of Scandinavia (physical aspects) – practical activity	1
Map of Scandinavia (human aspects) – practical activity	1
	2
Total:	hours
VI.3. Application (if the case)	
VI.4. Project topic (if the case)	

VII.

Syllabus outline
Geographical terms (in the fields of regional geography, climatology, hydrology, geomorphology, glaciology, environment, human, social and economic geography)

VIII.

References
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Larion D. (2005) – <i>Geografia continentelor – Europa</i>, Editura Azimuth, Iași 2. Larion D. (2010) – <i>Geografia mediilor temperate și reci</i> – Editura PIM, Iasi 3. Neguț S. et al (2001) - <i>Enciclopedia Europei</i>, Editura Meronia, București 4. Neguț S. et al (1995, 1998, 2003) - <i>Statele lumii</i>, Bucuresti 5. X X X (1994) – <i>World Reference Atlas</i>, Teknologisk Forlag, Oslo 6. X X X (1995 – 2010) – <i>Calendario Atlante de Agostini</i> 7. X X X (2008) - <i>Geografica – Enciclopedia și Atlasul Lumii</i>, Editura Ullmann, Roma. 8. X X X (1980 – 2012) - <i>National Geographic</i>

IX.

Forms of activity	Methods and techniques used in the teaching process
Lecture	Interactive power point presentations; conversation; problematization; debate
Seminar	Use of diagrams and graphical representations;
Application	
Project	Geographical research methods

X.

Type	Assessment system (written, written and oral,	
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	oral, others)	
Exam		
Colloquium		
Continuous assessment	50%	
Project	50%	

I.

Course title	NORWAY AS A TOURIST DESTINATION FOR THE ROMANIAN TRAVELLERS DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD	
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II.

Course structure (Number of hours per summer school session)				
Level	Lecture	Seminar	Practical course	Summer school year
Beginners	12			1 st

III.

Optionality category	Imposed	Optional	Freely chosen
		X	

IV.

Supervisor				
	Lecture	Seminar	Application	Project
Name	Ana - Maria Despa			
Institution	Valahia Univ. Targoviste/ARSBN			
Department	Dept. of History			
Scientific title	Ph.D.			
Position				

V.

Objectives
- To be able to distinguish between various historical sources;

- To be able to explain the factors behind Norway's image as a tourist destination for the Romanian travellers during the interwar period;
- To manifest a positive attitude towards the Romanian - Norwegian cultural relations during the interwar period;

VI.

Course structure	No. of hours
VI.1. Lectures	
Lecture 1: Introduction Lecture 2: Formation process of mutual perceptions and images Lecture 3: Norway as a tourist destination for the Romanian travellers. Items of Interest (part 1) Lecture 4: Norway as a tourist destination for the Romanian travellers. Items of Interest (part 2) Lecture 5: Tourism in Norway in the interwar period. Costs, routes and social prestige Lecture 6: Romanian travellers in Norway between 1936 - 1939. Case study Lecture 7: Norway as a tourist destination for the Romanian travellers in the first half of the 20 th century (part 1) Lecture 8: Norway as a tourist destination for the Romanian travellers in the first half of the 20 th century (part 2) Lecture 9: Norway as a tourist destination for the Romanian travellers in the first half of the 20 th century (part 3) Lecture 10: Norway seen as a model by the Romanian travellers in the first half of the 20 th century Lecture 11: Norwegian perceptions on Romania during the half of the 20 th century Lecture 12: Conclusion. Final evaluation Total: 12	12 hours
VI.2. Seminar	
VI.3. Application (if the case)	
VI.4. Project topic (if the case)	

VII.

Syllabus outline
Lecture 1: Introduction

- Historical sources: diplomatic documents, travel literature, travel notes, newspapers, graphics;
- The role of travel literature in the formulation and dissemination of Norway's image as a tourist destination for the Romanian travellers;

Lecture 2: Formation process of mutual perceptions and images

- Short presentation of Romanian – Norwegian relations during the interwar period;
- Key factors in forming the mutual perceptions and images between Romania and Norway;
- Imagology. Definitions;

Lecture 3: Norway as a tourist destination for the Romanian travellers.

Items of Interest (part 1)

- Polar expedition: Fridtjof Nansen, Roald Amundsen;
- Svalbard Archipelago (Spitsbergen Island);
- North Cape;

Lecture 4: Norway as a tourist destination for the Romanian travellers.

Items of Interest (part 2)

- Aurora Borealis;
- Midnight Sun;
- Norwegian fjords;
- Indigenous population;

Lecture 5: Tourism in Norway in the interwar period. Costs, routes and social prestige

- Tourism as a social behaviour;
- Travel costs and routes;

Lecture 6: Romanian travellers in Norway between 1936 – 1939. Case study

- Diplomatic documents vs. Travel literature;
- Period relevance for the course topic;

- The assessment criteria: purpose, residence, occupation, sights visited by the Romanians who travelled to Norway between 1936 - 1939;

Lecture 7: Norway as a tourist destination for the Romanian travellers in the first half of the 20th century (part 1)

- Romanian travel literature about Norway - landscape and geographical aspects;
- Romanian travel literature about Norway - historical and cultural aspects;

Lecture 8: Norway as a tourist destination for the Romanian travellers in the first half of the 20th century (part 2)

- Romanian travel literature about Norway - economical aspects;

Lecture 9: Norway as a tourist destination for the Romanian travellers in the first half of the 20th century (part 3)

- Romanian travel literature about Norway - educational aspects;

Lecture 10: Norway seen as a model by the Romanian travellers in the first half of the 20th century

- Early Romanian perception on the Norwegian social - political realities;
- First Romanian attempt to borrow and deploy some of the social and educational Nordic features;

Lecture 11: Norwegian perceptions on Romania during the half of the 20th century

- Various positive and negative Norwegian perceptions on Romania;

Lecture 12: Conclusion. Final evaluation

Total: 12

VIII.

References

1. Riksarkivet, S-2669 - Utenriksstasjonene, Legasjonene/ Ambassaden i Bucuresti, Romania.
2. Riksarkivet, S-2259 - Utenriksdepartementet.
3. Riksarkivet, Kungl. Utrikesdepartementet, B-avd. 2, vol. 107, B-1 K/Eru, Norges intressen i Romania 1942.

A. Newspapers

1. *Aftenposten* (iulie - august 1924, august 1930, august 1932, noiembrie - decembrie 1933, mai - octombrie 1934, martie - mai 1935, martie - aprilie 1936, iulie 1937, noiembrie 1938, iunie - ianuarie 1939).
2. *Dimineața* (aprilie 1936).
3. *L'Independance Roumain* (septembrie - decembrie 1922, martie 1924, aprilie 1936)
4. *Tidens Tegn* (ianuarie, noiembrie, decembrie 1919, iulie 1928, august 1932, decembrie 1933, august 1934, mai 1935, aprilie 1936, februarie, iulie 1939).
5. *Ziarul călătoriilor și al întâmplărilor de pe mare și uscat* (noiembrie 1897 - decembrie 1939).

B. Books and articles

4. Butculescu, Nicoale, *O călătorie spre Nord. Scoția, Irlanda, Spitzberg, Norvegia*, Editura Universul, București, 1937.
5. Constantinescu, I. Stelian, *Schițe din Norvegia. Însemnări dintr-o călătorie în ținuturile nordice cu zece reproduceri după natură. Coperta și vignete de pictorul Tonitza*, Editura Al. A Stănculescu, București, 1920.
6. Cioflec, Romulus, *Sub soarele polar. Impresii și peripeții din voiajul unor saloați dela naufragiu de spărgătorul Krasin cu ilustrații*, Editura Națională, București, 1932.
7. Conea Ioan, *Din Norvegia*, Editura Cartea Românească.
8. Gunnar, Flood, *Notele unui ofițer norvegian înaintea și în timpul Războiului de Neatârnavare 1876 - 1878*, ediție de Radu R. Rosetii, în Miloiiu Silviu, *O concepție românească a Nordului sec. XIX - XX, vol. I*, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște, 2009.
9. Iorga, Nicolae, *Pe drumuri depărtate, vol. II*, Editura Minerva, București, 1987 (ediție Valeriu Râpeanu).

10. Iurașcu, Dimitrie, *Rugina toamnei. Mărturii de diplomat din vremuri apuse*, Ediție îngrijită și note de ing. Niculae Iurașcu, Editura Partener, Galați, 2012.
11. Miloiu, Silviu, *Nicolae Iorga - Țări Scandinave: Suedia și Norvegia: note de drum și conferințe*, Editura Valahia University Press, Târgoviște, 2008.
12. Negru, Mihail, *Europa în zbor în 80 de ore. Raidul continental al avionului România – Sfânta Maria. Jurnal de bord*, Editura Universul, București, 1929.
13. Novian, Radu, *Școala și Biserica în Norvegia*, București, 1904.
14. Smara, *Conferințe și Discursuri*, Editura Universul, București, 1905.
15. Smara, *O româncă spre Polul Nord*, Editura Universul, București, 1932.
16. Ștefan, C. Ioan, *O călătorie la Spitzberg (cu 15 ilustrațiuni fotografice)*, București, 1916.
17. *** *Tragedia de la Polul Nord. Destăinuirii senzaționale asupra expediției Nobile*, Atelierele Adevărul, București, 1930

IX.

Forms of activity	Methods and techniques used in the teaching process
Lecture	Lecturing, expository, discovery, brainstorming, mind mapping.
Seminar	
Application	
Project	

X.

Type	Assessment system (written, written and oral, oral, others)	
Exam	written	
Colloquium		
Continuous assessment	Oral	
Project		

I.

Course title	THE MINORITY POLICIES IN ROMANIA AND THE NORDIC AREA FROM WORLD WAR II TO PRESENT TIMES
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II.

Course structure (Number of hours per summer school session)				
Level	Lecture	Seminar	Practical course	Summer school year
Beginners	6	6		1 st

III.

Optionality category	Imposed	Optional	Freely chosen
		X	

IV.

Supervisor				
	Lecture	Seminar	Application	Project
Name	Bogdan- Alexandru Schipor and Magdalena Ionescu			
Institution	A.D. Xenopol Institute of History of Romanian Academy and Valahia University			
Department				
Scientific title	Ph.D.			
Position	researchers			

V.

Objectives

The course aims to discuss the developments of minority policies in both the North and Romania since the outbreak of Second World War, provide an overview of the way of life, and the traditions of less known minorities (eg sami, kven). The course also aims to provide an adequate definition of concepts of minority and majority, Roma policies, but also of understanding the position of the Nordic countries towards the new minorities (immigrants).

VI.

Course structure	No. hours
VI.1. Lectures	
Lecture 1: Repatriation of German minority from the Romanian territory in 1939 - 1940.	1
Lecture 2: The repatriation of Baltic Germans, 1939-1941	1
Lecture 3: Deportation to the Soviet Union. Administration and everyday life in labor camps	1
Lecture 4: Status of Minorities in Romania and the Baltic States: What is a minority? Minority vs. majority; Ethnic minorities vs. national minorities; Minority policies in Romania between 1945-1989; Analysis of minority-majority relations in the Baltic States during 1944/1945-1990; Majorities resistance to minority policies ("Forest Brothers")	1
Lecture 5: Integration of minorities in the Scandinavian space; Sami - a brief introduction; Roma in the North - from discrimination to tolerance; Participation of minorities in public decision-making (Swedes in Finland, Germans in Denmark)	1
Lecture 6: EU enlargement and new national minorities	1
Total:	6 hours
VI.2. Seminar	
Readings, discussions and movies about the topics approached during the lectures.	6 hours
Total:	
VI.3. Application (if the case)	
VI.4. Project topic (if the case)	

VII.

Syllabus outline
Repatriation of Germans from the Baltic countries; deportations in the Soviet Union, the status of minorities in Romania and the Baltic States, Scandinavian spatial integration of minorities; widening U.E. and new national minorities

VIII.

References
Dixon, John, Robert P. Scheurell, 1995. <i>Social Welfare with Indigenous Peoples</i> , Routledge, London
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IX.

Forms of activity	Methods and techniques used in the teaching process
Lecture	Thematic lectures, PowerPoint presentations.
Seminar	Text analysis, interactive methods of acquiring new knowledge.
Application	
Project	

X.

Type	Assessment system (written, written and oral, oral, others)
Exam	Written examination (for the lectures)
Colloquium	
Continuous assessment	Continuous assessment (for the seminars)
Project	

THE SEA AS SITE OF MEMORY: THE DANISH SOUND AND THE DARDANELLES IN COMPARISON

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Acknowledgments

This paper has been presented at the Fourth International Conference on Nordic and Baltic Studies „Empire-building and Region-building in the Baltic, North and Black Sea Areas”, in Constanta, Romania, May 24-26, 2013. Supported by a grant from Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway (Finantat prin fonduri donate de Islanda, Liechtenstein si Norvegia)

Abstract:

*This paper introduces the concept of the sea as lieu de mémoire into maritime history. Pierre Nora has developed his „Lieux de mémoire” in France. According to Nora „a lieu de mémoire is any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature [...] which has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community”. Nora thus highlights symbolic values, hitherto often separated from historical sciences and reduced to historical narratives. In my paper I shall focus on shared memories, divided memories and entangled histories, but especially shared sites of memory. These – material or immaterial – „lieux de mémoire divisés” constitute symbolic intersections between cultures, spaces and times. They simultaneously affect not only the neighbouring countries and the national cultures of memory, but also societies and ethnic or religious groups. In two comparative case studies on the straits of the **Sound** (Oresund) and **Dardanelles** I shall try to test the application of the concept with respect to the various memories of the seafaring nations and ethnic communities, settling at the entrance of the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea.*

Rezumat:

Această lucrare introduce în istoria maritimă conceptul de mare ca lieu de mémoire. Pierre Nora a dezvoltat conceptul său de "Lieux de mémoire" în Franța. În conformitate cu Nora, "un lieu de mémoire este orice entitate semnificativă, materială sau nematerială în natura sa [...], care a devenit un element simbolic al patrimoniului memoriei oricărei comunități". Nora subliniază, astfel, valori simbolice, anterior de multe ori separate de știința istorică și reduse la narațiuni istorice. În lucrarea mea mă voi concentra asupra unor memorii comune, memorii

divizate și istorii împărtășite, dar în special asupra unor toposuri comune de memorie. Aceste "lieux de mémoire divisés" - materiale sau imateriale - constituie intersecții simbolice între culturi, spații și timp. Acestea afectează în același timp nu numai țările vecine și culturile naționale de memorie, dar, de asemenea, societățile și grupurile etnice sau religioase. În cadrul a două studii de caz comparative privind strâmtorile Sound (Oresund) și Dardanele voi încerca să testez aplicarea conceptului cu privire la diversele aspecte ale memoriei națiunilor din sectorul maritim și comunităților etnice stabilite la intrarea în Marea Baltică și Marea Neagră.

Keywords: Sound; Oresund; Dardanelles; Baltic Sea; Black Sea; Memory

Introduction

This paper introduces the concept of the sea as *lieu de mémoire* into maritime history. Instead of reconstructing the representation of the sea in the literature (Herman Melville, *Moby Dick*), art (marine paintings) and music (Claude Debussy, *La Mer*), I would like to discuss broader concepts that have been conceptualized and require international and interdisciplinary collaboration.

Scrutinizing the sea as a global, historical phenomenon exceeds a mere investigation of its representation in the fine arts. Since biological, economic, social, cultural, political, religious, national and transnational aspects are involved, a broader concept such as the sea as a global *lieu de mémoire* could overcome the traditional limitations of individual disciplines.

The first scholars who introduced this new approach a few years ago were literature specialists by deconstructing the mythical view of the sea „- as a symbol of madness, irrational femininity, unruly or romantic anti-civilization“ (in contrast to the construction of a rational „landed“ modernity).¹

By „historicizing the ocean,“ these colleagues endeavoured to deconstruct the prevailing views of maritime encounters at sea and thereby transcended the nation state as well as traditional maritime history. One of the path breaking books of this kind was Paul Gilroy's „Black Atlantic“.² The

¹ Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun, „Introduction. The Sea is History,“ in: Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun, eds., *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean* (New York 2004), 2.

² Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness* (Cambridge 1993), 17.

Black Atlantic can be defined as a specific modern trans-cultural entity, represented and at the same time largely constituted by the sailing ship as a „living micro-cultural, micro-political system in motion“.

Oceans and ships are thus assessed as spaces and sites of cultural conflict as well as of cooperation. Others such as Marcus Rediker perceive the ocean as a virtual „Red Atlantic“, a maritime space of revolutionary dynamics, emerging capitalism, exploitation and repression, violence and resistance (an Atlantic Ocean of workers).³

Interestingly, the concept of memory is only implicitly or indirectly addressed by these approaches, but does not play a more substantial role. That is why a concept of the sea as *lieu mémoire* still offers more scientific potential.

To begin with, I would like to introduce the concept of *lieux de mémoire*, and then extend this concept to the sea as *lieu de mémoire* and end with a few case studies related to the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea.

The concept of *lieux de mémoire*

The concept of *lieux de mémoire* was developed (as you all know) in France by Pierre Nora. France is unique with respect to collective memory, since state, nation and history are indissolubly. This situation stimulated the edition of a monumental work of seven volumes „*Les lieux de mémoire*“ (1984-92).⁴ According to Nora „a lieu de mémoire is any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature ... which has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community (in this case the French community)“.⁵ Nora thus highlights symbolic values, hitherto often separated from historical sciences and reduced to historical narrative (since they constitute an integral, often unseparable part of history). Sites of memory are

- places such as archives, museums, cathedrals, castles, cemeteries etc.

³ Marcus Rediker, „The Red Atlantic, or, ‘a terrible blast swept over the heaving sea’,“ in: Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun, eds., *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean* (New York 2003), 111-130; Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston 2000).

⁴ Pierre Nora, ed., *Les lieux de mémoire*, 7 vol. (Paris 1983-92).

⁵ Pierre Nora, „From lieux de mémoire to realms of memory,“ in: Pierre Nora and Lawrence D. Kritzman, eds., *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past. Vol. 1: Conflicts and Divisions* (New York 1996), XV-XXIV.

- concepts and practices such as commemorations, generations, mottos, rituals
- objects such as inherited property, monuments, manuals, emblems, basic texts, symbols.⁶

Pierre Nora started his research on selected places of the French national heritage, and only gradually a new form of (symbolic) historiography developed. This new historiography emerged in the third volume (under the significant title *Les France*) and encompassed, according to Nora, „many voices“ that suit the scientific and social demands of our time better than the „classical historiography“. The concept of *lieux de mémoire* contributes to the development of a history of symbols or symbolic meanings respectively and to the construction of a „symbolic topology“ of France. The *lieux de mémoire* thus define France as a symbolic reality and reflect the *Grande Nation*. Also in the subsequent projects on Italy, Germany, Austria, Denmark and the Netherlands the „Erinnerungsorte“ or „plaatsen van herinnering“ are related to or better define the cultural memory of the nation or nation states.⁷ As memories in general are selective, the cultural or national memories are even more subject to selection.⁸ So the Dutch „plaatsen van herinnering“ recorded only places and monuments in the narrow sense, whereas the German „Erinnerungsorte“ include also abstract objects of remembrance such as the Reformation, the German Mark, the Bundesliga etc.

Due to the dominating national perspective, at first glance, the *lieux de mémoire* seem to oppose the demands of a transnational concept of the sea. At this juncture, however, lie the challenges and perspectives of this concept.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Maarten Prak, *Plaatsen van herinnering Nederland in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, Amsterdam 2006; Wim Blockmans and Herman Pleij, eds., *Plaatsen van herinnering. Deel I: Nederland van prehistorie tot Beeldenstorm* (Amsterdam 2007); Jan Bank, *Nederland in de negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 2006); Hagen Schulze and Étienne François, eds., *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte. Eine Auswahl. 3 Vols.* (München 2005); Mario Isnenghi, ed., *I luoghi della memoria. 3 Vols.* (Rom/Bari 1997/98); Ole Feldbaek, ed., *Dansk identitetshistorie* (København 1991/92); Moritz Csaky, ed., *Die Verortung von Gedächtnis* (Wien 2001); Sonja Kmec, Benoît Majerus, Michel Margue and Pit Peporte, eds., *Lieux de mémoire au Luxembourg, Erinnerungsorte in Luxemburg* (Luxemburg 2007).

⁸ Elizabeth Hallam and Jenny Hockey, *Death, Memory and Material Culture* (Oxford 2001); Johannes Fried, *Der Schleier der Erinnerung. Grundzüge einer historischen Memorik* (München 2004).

Like conceptualizing the ocean, a transnational extension of the *lieux de mémoire*-concept will provide a tool for the study of maritime representation. A first step has already been made in this direction by publishing a selection of the „Mémoires allemandes“ through the publishers Beck and Gallimard in France, and the „Erinnerungsorte Frankreichs“ in Germany.⁹ The idea was to show the entanglement of histories and memories of France and Germany by an intensive collaboration of French and German historians (Etienne François).¹⁰

However, all over Europe and outside Europe as well we witness entangled memories. Even if most memories and often also the realms of memory are perceived by a national prisma, they are influenced and constituted by a trans-national perspective. That is why future research has to focus on shared memories respectively divided memories (*memoria divisa*) and entangled histories, especially shared realms of memory. These – material or immaterial – *lieux de mémoire divisés* constitute symbolic intersections between cultures, spaces and times. They simultaneously affect the neighbouring countries and the national cultures of memory, but societies and ethnic or religious groups as well.¹¹ The sea provides an excellent example and object of study for this category of shared realms of memory, *lieux de mémoire divisés*.

It is, however, worthwhile to divide the category „sea“ into subcategories such as oceans and seas that all constitute *lieux de mémoire divisés* and provide a framework for entangled histories. Narrowing it further down, we could investigate coastal lines, straits but also naval battles and shipwrecks.

In my case study, I would like to examine straits such as the **Sound** (Danish: Øresund, Swedish: Öresund) and the **Dardanelles**, which have great a potential as *lieux de mémoire*. Coming from the Baltic Sea, I will focus on the Sound, the strait which separates the Danish island Zealand (Sjælland) from the south Swedish province Scania (Skåne) that used to

⁹ Étienne François and Hagen Schulze, eds., *Mémoires allemandes* (Paris 2007); Pierre Nora, ed., *Erinnerungsorte Frankreichs* (München 2005).

¹⁰ Étienne François, „Pierre Nora und die «Lieux de mémoire»,“ in: Pierre Nora, ed., *Erinnerungsorte Frankreichs* (München 2005), 7–14, here 14.

¹¹ Ann Rigney, „Divided Pasts: A Premature Memorial and the Dynamics of Collective Remembrance,“ *Memory Studies*, 1 (2008): 89–97; Idem., *The Afterlives of Walter Scott. Memory on the Move* (Oxford 2012).

belong to Denmark until 1658 and compare it with the Straits of the Dardanelles.

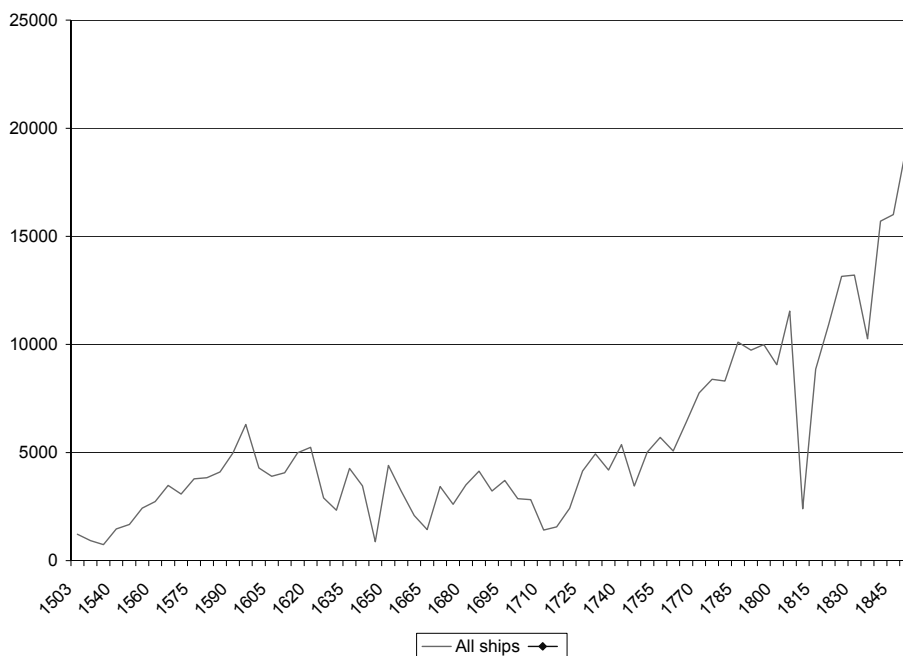
Case studies: The Sound and the Straits of Dardanelles

The Sound was and still is the gateway from the Baltic to the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean and constitutes one of the busiest waterways of the world. The entrance into and the exit from the Baltic has been guarded by the castle of Kronborg at Elsinore (Helsingør) located at a place, where the strait is only 4 kilometres wide.

Since King Erik introduced the Sound Toll in 1429, ships passing through the strait had first to pay one golden Noble and later a 1-2 % tax of the cargo value. The income from the Sound Toll was a most important source of income for the Danish ground and financed the ambitious building programme of the Danish kings in Copenhagen and Zealand including the castle of Kronborg. The Sound Toll registers have been object of extensive research by maritime historians and historians of commerce since the early 20th century.¹²

¹² Nina E. Bang and K. Korst, *Tabeller over skibsfart og vaeretransport gennem Oeresund 1497-1783* [7 volumes] (Copenhagen/Leipzig 1906-1953); P. de Buck and J.Th. Lindblad, „De scheepvaart en handel uit de Oostzee op Amsterdam en de Republiek,” *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 96 (1983): 526-562; A. E. Christensen, „Der handelsgeschichtliche Wert der Sundzollregister. Ein Beitrag zur seiner Beurteilung,” *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 59 (1934): 28-142; A. E. Christensen, *Dutch trade to the Baltic around 1600* (Copenhagen/The Hague 1941); P. Jeannin, „Les comptes du Sund comme source pour la construction d’indices généraux de l’activité économique en Europe (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle),” *Revue Historique*, 231 (1964): 55-102, 307-340 ; W. S. Unger, „De Sonttabellen,” *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, 41 (1926): 137-155.

Graphic „Number of ships cleared in the Danish Sound, 1503- 1845“¹³



Ships of all nations sailed via the Sound rendering this strait a place of shared memory for all seafaring nations. However, the Dutch and later the Scandinavians dominated the other trading-nations. Since Denmark used this location to control the entrance to the Baltic Sea, Kronborg and the Sound became object of long lasting struggles about the *dominium maris baltici*, between Denmark, Sweden, Poland and Russia, whereby the Dutch and the English entered into different coalitions with the seafaring powers in the Baltic.

In the 16th century Lübeck's fleet attacked Elsinore for several times, and during the 17th century Sweden and Denmark were constantly in state of war at the entrance to the Baltic Sea especially on the domination of Scania (Skåne). The Dutch, the major maritime and commercial power, intervened on both sides to secure the undisturbed entry to its trading area. In 1644 the Dutch fleet sailed unhindered through the Sound and joined the Swedish fleet

¹³ Presentation by Jari Ojala, „Research potential of the database and guidebooks“ for the conference „Baltic connections,“ Denmark 29–31 October 2007; Peter Borschberg and Michael North, „Transcending Borders: The Sea as Realm of Memory,“ *Asia Europe Journal*, 8(3) (2010): 279–292.

to defeats the Danes. The background for this Swedish-Dutch alliance was Christian IV's attempt to raise the Sound Toll dues. In 1657/58 the Dutch, however, regarded the prospect of Sweden dominating the Sound as equally devastating to their mercantile power. Nevertheless, Scania finally became Swedish in 1658.

Only after the Russian-Danish victory in Great Northern War (1721) Denmark enjoyed a long period of peace thanks to its neutrality. The maritime traffic through the Sound rose tremendously around 1750, when between 4,000 and 5,000 ships had to pay their Sound Dues annually, and the numbers of ships continued to rise. Captains became increasingly dependent on consuls and customs agents for the arrangement of declaring cargoes and calculating the various tariffs. In exchange for the consuls' or agents' assistance the captains bought the provisions from them.

The **Straits of Dardanelles** was subject of continuous struggles as well. From the Trojan War in the thirteenth century B. C. the control of the Hellespont was crucial for Troy that forced Greek sailors to halt there and profited from the rich Black Sea trade.¹⁴ With the Greek victory in the Trojan War the control of the straits and unlimited shipping to the Black Sea was vital for Greek merchants and the expansion of trade. The foundation of Constantinople in 330 followed late Roman strategic and political interests in the region. The city, a melting pot of Greek, Roman and oriental cultures however was challenged by the Italian trading cities Pisa, Genoa and Venice (11th century), which did not only trade in Byzantium, but demanded a free passage to the ports of the Black Sea. The struggle for Constantinople, occupied by the Venetians 1204 to 1261, was at the same time a struggle of the Dominion of the Black Sea. Here Genoa had established the colony of Caffa as an emporium of slaves, sugar and oriental products. The situation changed with the Ottoman expansion, when Suleiman seized and fortified Gallipoli in 1356. Now the Ottoman Turks had fortifications on both sides of the Dardanelles, 1.5 kilometres in widths.

Although Constantinople still defended itself, Genoa and Venice achieved the concession of the free passage through the Dardanelles from the Turks. After the fall of Constantinople the Turks established a new

¹⁴ Good overview of the following James T. Shotwell and Francis Deák, *Turkey at the Straits. A Short History* (New York 1971), 1-31.

control of the straits at the Bosphorus and gradually excluded Christian shipping from the Black Sea, thus ending the Genoese colony at Caffa as well.

The expansion of the Ottoman Empire meant not only the control of the Black Sea, but also of the Eastern Mediterranean. Traders with the Black Sea Ports and the Levant had to rely on concessions, granting extraterritorial jurisdiction to consuls and conceding special privileges. France was the first to obtain a so-called capitulation in 1535, followed by England 1579 and the Netherlands 1598 and 1612. Thus the Dardanelles were opened again and ships could reach Constantinople after stopping at the castle of Gallipoli. Since European shipping on the Black Sea was still prohibited, European traders had to charter Turkish ships.

Nevertheless the conflict between Venice and the Ottoman Empire continued throughout the 17th century, as Venice tried to defend her remaining possessions in the Eastern Mediterranean, such as Crete, Venice's largest and richest overseas territory, against the Turkish expansion. To hamper the Ottoman navy, the Venetians annually blocked the Dardanelles. This led to a number of Veneto-Turkish Dardanelles Battles in the mid-17th century. Since the Venetian ships were equipped with Dutch and English sailors, the battles entered into the European visual memory.¹⁵

The 1680s saw the defeat of the Turks at Vienna, the Turkish loss of Greek ports such as Morea and the beginning of the Russian expansion to the Black Sea. Although the campaign of Peter the Great against Azof was successful, the Turks prevented that Russian ships sailed out of the Sea of Azof and that Russian goods were shipped across the Black Sea to Constantinople. Only Catherine the Great was able to conquer the Northern Black Sea coast for Russia. To achieve this aim she had to send the Russian Baltic fleet around Gibraltar in 1770 to blockade the Dardanelles and to reach Constantinople from the West. This attempt was only partially successful. It ended, however, the Turkish monopoly of shipping in the Straits and the Black Sea. The Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji (1774) between Turkey and Russia declared „free and unimpeded navigation for the merchant ships belonging to the two Contracting Powers“.¹⁶

Other European powers followed and gained free passage for the merchant ships (Austria 1784, England 1799, France 1802, Prussia 1806).

¹⁵ David S. T. Blackmore, *Warfare on the Mediterranean in the Age of Sail. A History, 1571–1866* (North Carolina and London 2011), 91–94, 103–105.

¹⁶ Shotwell/Deák, *Turkey at the Straits*, 21.

Although the Turkish monopoly was broken with respect to merchant ships, Turkey still controlled and prohibited the passage of war-ships. In this regard during the Napoleonic era France, Russia and England struggled for the Turkish ally. Thus a British fleet forced the Dardanelles in 1807 and invaded Constantinople after Turkey had sided with France. Britain became de facto guardian of the Straits almost as much as Turkey.

Many mercantile nations were present at the Dardanelles as at other straits like the Danish Sound. Apart from merchant communities consuls played an important role. The consuls were the precursors of the diplomatic missions and closely related to trade. When the Ottoman Empire granted the so-called „Capitulations“ as privileges of residence and trade for non-Moslems, the expansion of trade was often followed by the opening of consulates at the Dardanelles and Gallipoli. Whilst Genoese and Venetian representatives were already present in late 15th century. Consuls from France 1535, England 1580, Netherlands (Holland) 1598, 1612, Austria 1718, Sweden 1736/1737, Kingdom of the two Sicilies 1740, Tuscany, Hamburg & Lübeck 1747, Denmark 1756, Prussia 1761, Spain 1782, Russia 1717/1783, Sardinia c. 1825, USA 1830, Belgium 1839, Hanseatic towns 1839?, Portugal 1843, Greece 1855 and Brazil 1858 followed. At the beginning a crucial role was played by the Jewish merchants who represented at the same time different European trading interests. It was often common that a consul was at the same time the representative of the Netherlands and France or of the Netherlands and England. Apart from the Jewish families the so-called Dragoman dynasties were also crucial in the Ottoman Empire. They were subjects of the Ottoman Empire, where they had been settled for centuries. Attached to the embassies they worked as translators and created family networks of trust in the Levant. Famous Dragoman families like the Chabert (Sardinia), the Fonton (Russia, Denmark, Sweden and Norway) or the Fornetti (France) were crucial in smoothening different trading interests and avoiding trading conflicts at the Dardanelles.¹⁷

The visual heritage of the consulates is still present, but deserves as the consular reports further investigation.

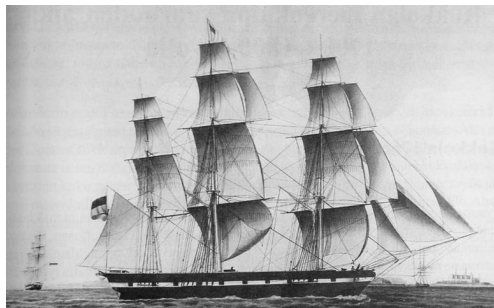
Elsinore at the Danish Sound was also a multicultural city. While in the 17th century Elsinore resembled „Little Amsterdam,“ in the 18th century,

¹⁷ Collaborative online research project „Consuls of „The Dardanelles“ and „Gallipoli“, www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/Consuls_of_the_Dardanelles.pdf, updated Version no: 4 February 2013.

due to the growing English trade to the Baltic, an increasing number of English merchants settled at the Sound. In many cases the family business was successfully carried out and handed over from generation to generation. The merchants built splendid houses and warehouses in the heart of Elsinore close to the waterfront, many of which still exist. Some of these prosperous English merchants also acquired country estates to retire to during summertime, and of course they gave them suitable English names, such as „Fairyhill“ or „Claythorpe“. These English families did little to endear themselves to the townsfolk of Elsinore, who often regarded them as unspeakably arrogant. When members of these families died they were buried in Elsinore Cemetery, but their gravestones were especially ordered from England. Many of them have survived.¹⁸

The Battle of Copenhagen (1801) and the Bombardment of Copenhagen (1807) forced merchants, consuls and agents out of business, but after 1815 the traffic recovered. Even smaller nations now sent several hundred ships per year via the Sound to the West.

The passage through the Sound was not only recorded by the Sound Toll registers, but also by painters that provided every captain with a painted snapshot of his ship, a standardised captain's picture.



Ship Adonis, mid-1830s (Ojala 1997/GSF)

¹⁸ David Hohnen, *Hamlet's Castle Hamlet's Castle and Shakespeare's Elsinore* (Copenhagen 2000), 102–105.



Barque Sovio (Raahe), 1860 (RM/Raahen historia)



Phoenix, Oulu 1827 (Snellman, Oulun laivoja ja laivureita...)

These Finnish examples date from the 1860s, when the Sound was perceived in a mere cultural perspective. Since the USA had refused to pay the Sound Dues from the 1850s, an international agreement brought the Sound Toll to its end. As a compensation 35,000,000 rix-dollars were paid to Denmark by all maritime nations, trading with the Baltic. Nevertheless at least for the Scandinavians the Sound as a gateway to the West was and still is a *lieu de mémoire*. Numerous paintings recorded Kronborg and the Sound.

As regards the **Dardanelles**, the cultural perspective is only one, since Russian-Turkish conflicts put the Dardanelles question on the European diplomatic agenda. After the Ottoman defeat in the Russo-Turkish War of 1828-29, Russia put pressure on the Ottoman Empire in the Treaty of Hunkiar Iskelesi to act as guardian of the straits on behalf of Russia. As a result the alarmed Western Powers reached an agreement in the London Straits Convention in July 1841 that only Turkish war-ships could pass through the Dardanelles in peacetime. As allies of the Ottoman Empire during the Crimean War in 1854 France and Britain sent war-ships through the straits. The convention of 1856 more or less confirmed the convention of 1841. Attempts to demilitarize and to remilitarize the straits after the First World War and Greco-Turkish War (1919-1922) ended up in the settlement

of Montreux (Montreux convention of July 1936). According to the convention the straits is an international shipping route, but Turkey has the right to restrict the naval traffic of non-Black Sea nations (like Greece). This settlement has not been challenged in the 20th and 21st centuries. The 20th-century memory of the straits, however, has been overshadowed by the battle of Gallipoli, where a British, Indian, Australian and New Zealand intervention force tried to open the straits in 1915. With more than 200,000 casualties on both sides the British defeat created a special memory which is celebrated as ANZAC-Day in Australia and New Zealand until today.

However, by building the Øresund Bridge, inaugurated on July 1, 2000 by King Carl XVI. Gustav of Sweden and Queen Margrethe II. of Denmark, the meaning of the Sound has changed again. People of Copenhagen are again moving to Scania, where they find affordable housing, and the Swedish from Scania commute for work to Denmark (14,000 people commuting every day over the Øresund Bridge). With the opening of the bridge politicians tried to create an „Øresund identity“ to overcome old Dano-Swedish stereotypes. One step in this direction was the foundation of the Øresund University, a consortium of twelve universities (four Swedish and eight Danish) from both sides of the Sound, which established joint courses, libraries and other facilities to all students, teachers and researchers from the region.

Conclusion

This case study on the **Sound** and the **Straits of Dardanelles** unveils the fact, that the extension of the concept of *lieux de mémoire* to the sea, especially to maritime regions might be a productive tool of examining maritime history after the cultural turn. The international comparative perspective of national and regional maritime histories is one of the leading tasks of the future. Hereby entangled maritime cultures and the shared or divided memories deserve closer examination.

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I NTERMARIUM: THE BALTIC AND THE BLACK SEAS ON THE POLISH MENTAL MAPS IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

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Acknowledgments

This paper has been presented at the Fourth International Conference on Nordic and Baltic Studies „Empire-building and Region-building in the Baltic, North and Black Sea Areas”, in Constanta, Romania, May 24-26, 2013. Supported by a grant from Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway (Finantat prin fonduri donate de Islanda, Liechtenstein si Norvegia)

Abstract:

The aim of the paper is to examine and compare how the Baltic Sea on the one hand and the Black and Aegean Seas on the other were conceptualized in the Polish scholarly and political discourse in the interwar period, and how mental maps of Poland's connection to both sea regions were constructed. Because of the direct access to Baltic Sea, the link to it was more straightforward, although it was constantly questioned by German revisionist scholarship. In the south there was no territorial connection to the seas – it was to be established on the political and economic level, for example through so-called Intermarium idea. An interesting question is also to what extent the discourses connected with the Baltic and the southern European seas fell within the same discourse of the ideology of the sea, and to what extent they were contradictory or mutually exclusive.

Rezumat:

Scopul acestei lucrări este acela de a analiza și compara modul în care au fost conceptualizate în discursul științific și politic polonez din perioada interbelică Marea Baltică, pe de o parte, și Marea Neagră și Marea Egee, pe de altă parte, și cum au fost construite hărțile mentale ale legăturilor Poloniei cu cele două regiuni maritime. Datorita accesului direct la Marea Baltică, legătura a fost mai simplă, deși a fost pusă în mod constant sub semnul întrebării de către scrierile revizioniste germane. În partea de sud nu a existat nici o legătură teritorială cu aceste mări - a trebuit să fie stabilită la nivel politic și economic, de exemplu, prin așa-numita idee Intermarium. O întrebare interesantă este, de asemenea, în ce măsură discursurile legate de Marea Baltică și mările din sudul Europei s-au integrat aceluiași discurs al ideologiei mării și în ce măsură au fost contradictorii sau s-au exclus reciproc.

Keywords: Poland; interwar; Baltic Sea region; Black Sea region; Intermarium; mental maps; Baltic Institute

Introduction

The idea of “Intermarium”, formulated in interwar Poland as a principle of foreign policy, rested on the notion of Poland as an intermediary between the Baltic Sea on the one hand and the Black and Aegean Seas on the other. While historical claims to the Baltic Sea connection seem more obvious, the link to the southern European seas was also not without historical background, as the catchphrase *Polska od morza do morza* (“Poland from one sea to the other”) exemplifies. The aim of this paper is to examine and compare how these seas were conceptualized in the Polish discourse in the interwar period, and how mental maps of Poland’s connection to both sea regions were constructed.

Poland in the interwar period

Point 13 of the American President Woodrow Wilson’s list of postulates for the shape of Europe after the end of the First World War was about the creation of independent Poland with access to the sea, corresponding to the idea of self-governance of nations which guided the whole project. This was indeed made reality by the decisions of the Versailles Peace Conference ending the war. Poland became an independent and maritime country in the sense of having access to the sea through a narrow stretch of Pomerania along the Vistula river, lying between Germany and East Prussia. This settlement raised mixed feelings in Poland, as the sea coast was considered too difficult to defend and too short for pursuit of active maritime policy: it was only about 74 kilometers long (not including the Hel peninsula). It also did not include any major port, as Danzig was left outside of Polish borders and made a Free City under the League of Nations instead, in customs union with Poland. Poland had the right to use the port in Danzig, however in practice cooperation with the German-dominated city turned out to be far from smooth.

Poland gained *de facto* access to the sea in February 1920, when the Polish Army entered Pomerania. On 10 February in Puck (a small port town north of Danzig) a ceremony of the so-called “Poland’s Wedding to the Sea”

was performed. It was most probably inspired by an analogous Venetian tradition and consisted in General Józef Haller riding into the sea on horseback and casting a platinum ring into it. A special session of the Polish parliament was also held on the same day. The fact of Poland gaining access to the sea was thus emphasized by grand gestures – “invented traditions” in Hobsbawm’s and Ranger’s understanding.¹ Even the limited access to the sea inspired the country’s elites to develop a certain attitude to the sea, an ideology connected to it. One practical application of this attitude was the decision to construct a port, not far from the borders with the Free City of Danzig, in the fishermen village of Gdynia. The Minister of Industry and Trade, Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski,² was among the active proponents of the building of the port, but in many ways it was seen as a great task undertaken by the whole nation, a source of national pride. The construction proceeded quickly, especially after 1926 and by 1938, when trans-shipments via Gdynia reached 9 million tons, it was already the biggest port on the Baltic Sea and tenth-largest in Europe.³

All these facts could suggest that after regaining independence and the sea coast Poland would enter active Baltic Sea region cooperation – this, however, turned out not to be so straightforward. Throughout the interwar period the country had strained relations with almost all of its neighbors, including those on the Baltic Sea. The dispute over Vilnius with Lithuania, for example, was one of the major reasons for the failure of the planned cooperation of the Baltic Sea countries, the Baltic League.⁴ Relations with Germany were even worse, especially with regards to the Baltic Sea coast, as the Germans resented the decision of Versailles of separating the territory of East Prussia from the rest of their country by the so-called Polish or Danzig Corridor.

The situation in the south was not much better; at least there, however, was Romania, almost the only neighbor – except for Latvia – with whom relations remained good. Poland did not have access to the Black Sea, although, which is perhaps worth reminding, its territorial shape in the

¹ Eric Hobsbawm, ‘Introduction: Inventing Traditions,’ in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. E. Hobsbawm, T. Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1–14.

² In office 1926–30; later, in 1935–39, Minister of Treasure and Deputy Prime Minister.

³ Bogusław Dopierała, *Wokół polityki morskiej Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej. Studia historyczne* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1978), 359.

⁴ Marko Lehti, *A Baltic League as a Construct of the New Europe* (Frankfurt am Main, New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 254–5.

interwar period placed it much closer geographically to this sea than its present day counterpart, as it stretched further to the south and especially to the east. In this international situation regional cooperation, making the full economic and military use of the sea, as well as using sea routes for transit, even through the territory of another country, was difficult.

Maritime Poland?

The origins of interwar Poland's attitude to the sea lie in the nineteenth century, when many intellectuals discussed the reasons for the fall of the state and visions of its shape in the future, after regaining independence. Access to the sea – though earlier most often neglected – was appreciated, and the shape of the reborn state was designed as stretching, as in the past, *od morza do morza* – “from one sea to the other”: a reference to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's times of greatness, when the country's territory reached from the shores of the Baltic Sea in the north to the Black Sea in the south-east. As Stefan Troebst argues, it was around the turn of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries that on the Polish mental maps the image of the sea changed from negative to positive.⁵ Earlier these maps, in their maritime aspects, were dominated by the nobles' fear of the sea and scorn of the tradesmen of Danzig who drew their riches from it.

This new found enthusiasm for the sea remained current in the interwar period, despite the disappointment with the short coast given to Poland at Versailles. In order to popularize maritime issues in the society, an organization called *Stowarzyszenie Pracowników na Polu Rozwoju Żegluga Bandera Polska* (The Association of Workers for Development of Navigation “Polish Flag”) was founded in 1918; it underwent several name changes in the subsequent years, finally settling for *Liga Morska i Kolonialna* (Maritime and Colonial League) in 1930. The League propagated maritime education, supported the building of the navy and merchant marine, and later also started propaganda of colonial expansion in Liberia and Madagascar.⁶ It was also by its initiative that, for example, the “Holidays of the Sea” were organized since 1932 until the outbreak of the war. Furthermore, in 1918 a Naval Section (later transformed into a Maritime Department) was created

⁵ Stefan Troebst, “‘Intermarium’ and ‘Wedding to the Sea’: Politics of History and Mental Mapping in East Central Europe”, *European Review of History* 10 (2003), 313.

⁶ Arkadiusz Kołodziejczyk, ‘Liga Morska i Kolonialna,’ in *Encyklopedia Historii Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1999), 191.

in the Ministry of War with Rear-Admiral Kazimierz Porębski at its head and creating a merchant marine and naval fleet as its aim.

On the other hand, it is debatable whether there existed at all a clear and consistent maritime policy.⁷ Despite the dynamic development of the Baltic Sea port in Gdynia, the Polish merchant fleet remained comparatively small throughout the interwar period. They were thus not politicians, but intellectuals, mainly scholars, who strove to put the sea on the Polish nation's mental maps by creating an outline of a maritime program. This program included first of all propaganda of the sea in the society, bringing out maritime elements in the Polish history, promoting the awareness of the sea's importance for economy and security, as well as the fundamental importance of popular maritime consciousness for united, strong and independent Poland.⁸ Of course, because of the direct access to the Baltic, it was this sea that was the subject of most actions promoting such consciousness, even though this access was narrow and throughout the whole interwar period challenged by Germany. But perhaps exactly this made this promotion all the more fervent. It did not only take the form of invented traditions such as the ones mentioned above (the Wedding to the Sea, the Holidays of the Sea etc.), but became also the subject of extensive research. The institution responsible for most of this research was the Baltic Institute, established in 1925 in Toruń. Apart from following the maritime program by striving to form in the Polish society and its leaders maritime consciousness which would translate into an active maritime policy of the state, the Institute's research also aimed to put forward arguments for Poland's right to direct access to the Baltic Sea. Most often they were at the same time counterarguments to German research, which argued, among others, that Poles were not a maritime nation and therefore did not need access to the sea nor its own ports. Finally, and to a lesser extent, the Institute promoted interest in the other Baltic Sea region countries and building of a Baltic Sea region community.

There was a reason why so much emphasis was put on shaping the Polish maritime awareness: its current state was rather poor. Such was the opinion for example of Stanisław Srokowski, the Institute's first director, expressed in a brochure *Instytut Bałtycki i jego zadania* (*The Baltic Institute and*

⁷ See e.g.: Dopierała, 267-73.

⁸ Bernard Piotrowski, *W służbie nauki i narodu. Instytut Bałtycki w latach 1925-1939* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 1991), 16-25.

its tasks) published shortly after the founding of the institution. The sea did not form part of the Polish national landscape in the way that for example the Tatra mountains and the city of Vilnius did, he argued, and for some even Pomerania – the territory of the Polish Baltic Sea littoral – was not an essential part of the state and thus was not worth defending in case of a possible future war. “The Polish sea shore in our everyday concepts” Srokowski wrote, “is still some distant borderland, not the country’s lungs and indispensable organ of its free existence.”⁹ The fact that this way of thinking was shared by the Polish authorities meant that there was a serious risk of wasting the sea’s potential.

What was the Institute’s remedy for this situation? First and foremost popularizing the knowledge about the sea and its significance for Poland, which was done through publications of various types – e.g. the series of monographs called ‘Pamiętnik Instytutu Bałtyckiego’ (‘Records of the Baltic Institute’), pamphlets in foreign languages published since 1933 (‘Biblioteczka Bałtycka’ – ‘Baltic Pocket Library’) and ‘Komunikaty’ (‘Bulletins’), which were short brochures (1–2 pages), usually containing one article analyzing a problem or an aspect of the Institute’s activity, and were sent out free of charge to different research and trade institutions, editors and press agencies. The Institute also published two journals: a quarterly *Jantar* (Amber) and, since 1935, an English language *Baltic Countries: a survey of the peoples and states on the Baltic with special regard to their history, geography and economics* (in 1937 it changed name to *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries...*). Furthermore, the Institute organized lectures. For example in the years 1931–1933 a series of them took place in Gdynia and their texts were later published in the form of the book *Światopogląd morski* (Maritime outlook). They tackled such issues as economy, geography and history, all connected by the topic of the sea and its role in the shaping of culture and economy, as Józef Borowik, the editor of the volume and the Institute’s long time director emphasized.¹⁰

A characteristic for the Baltic Institute’s research set of arguments is presented in the first essay in the book, Franciszek Bujak’s ‘Kultury morskie i lądowe’ (‘Sea and land cultures’). It is an analysis of world civilizations, past and present, which divides them into two types: sea and land cultures.

⁹ Stanisław Srokowski, *Instytut Bałtycki i jego zadania* (1926), 3.

¹⁰ Józef Borowik, ‘Przedmowa,’ in *Światopogląd morski*, ed. idem (Toruń: Wydawnictwa Instytutu Bałtyckiego, 1934), xv.

According to Bujak they are the former that develop positive qualities such as willpower, enterprise, open-mindedness, hunger for knowledge and, in the long perspective, patriotism.¹¹ He also argues that access to the sea and maritime trade are crucial for a country's development in the modern world, and "without seafaring every society is a cultural cripple and like a cripple it has worse perspectives in competition with other societies: its inescapable fate is dependence and poverty."¹² It was this crippling that had caused Poland's fall in the past and only a strong presence on the Baltic Sea coast could guarantee that this would not repeat in the future.

The promotion of the vision of the Baltic Sea as something indispensable for Poland's development was also done through presenting economic arguments and underlining the importance of the sea as a trading route. This was paired with appealing frequently in publications and on conferences¹³ to the Polish authorities for an active maritime policy and developing seaports, especially Gdynia. Kwiatkowski, the above mentioned Minister of Industry and Trade and supporter of the building of Gdynia, was among the authors whose texts about the economic importance of sea trade and ports were published by the Institute.¹⁴

The point of reference of these and others actions aiming to promote the maritime outlook was the Baltic Sea, as the one to which Poland had direct access (although the Maritime and Colonial League had more global ambitions, as indicated by their plans of colonial expansion¹⁵). The challenge

¹¹ Franciszek Bujak, 'Kultury morskie i lądowe,' in *ibidem*, 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, 18.

¹³ For example a conference in 1936 devoted entirely to the development of Gdynia.

¹⁴ E.g.: Eugeniusz Kwiatkowski, 'Powrót Polski nad Bałtyk,' in *Obrona Pomorza*, ed. J. Borowik (Toruń: Wydawnictwa Instytutu Bałtyckiego, 1930), 1-20.

¹⁵ The idea of colonial expansion followed from conviction that Poland, after regaining independence, should join the great states of Europe in the race for colonies in other parts of the world - for example by taking over some of the former German colonies currently under the administration of the League of Nations. The logic behind these projects was on the one hand that of prestige and ambition to join the European powers on an equal footing, and on the other - of securing raw materials and counteracting overpopulation in the country. Although some attempts were undertaken in Liberia, where the Maritime and Colonial League set up coffee plantations, the project turned out to be a failure - in part due to the hostility of the traditional colonial powers, but first of all the fact that the whole project was more a result of an overblown sense of Polish strength than of careful planning and rational assessment of the international situation. Piotr Łossowski, *Polska w Europie i na świecie 1918-1939. Szkice z dziejów polityki zagranicznej i położenia międzynarodowego II Rzeczypospolitej*. (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1990), 110-20. At the same time, despite the dynamic development of the Baltic Sea port in Gdynia, the Polish merchant fleet, even still in the second

here was – apart from the perceived lack of identification with the sea and maritime issues – the revisionist statements of German scholarship and politics arguing that Poland did not need access to the sea and that the “corridor” was an unnatural creation disrupting the life of Germany and especially its part cut off by it – East Prussia.

When it comes to the southern European seas, the challenge was, of course, geographical distance and lack of territorial connection. Such connection was to be established on political and economic level, through the idea of *Międzymorze* – Intermarium. It was an idea of Polish foreign policy formulated in the circles around Józef Piłsudski, and used especially by the later Minister of Foreign Affairs Józef Beck (in office 1932–39). It envisaged Poland as a regional power and leader to the countries situated between the two threatening countries: the USSR and Germany, and at the same time in the belt between the Baltic and the Black Seas – hence Intermarium, a clear reference not only to both seas, but first of all to the already mentioned vision of Poland stretching “from one sea to the other”, as in its great past. Apart from the political dimension of a strategic alliance under Polish leadership, this Intermarium was to be established on an economic level through transport connections, which would at the same time help to diversify transit routes in face of the vulnerable strategic position of Poland on the Baltic Sea coast, difficult to defend in case of war. This direction of developing trading links seemed all the more suitable taking into consideration that Romania, through which those routes were supposed to run, was almost the only neighbor with which Poland maintained good relations in the interwar period. Two projects were put forward: one involved building channels joining the Baltic with the Black Sea via rivers Vistula, San, Dniester, Prut and Danube; another – a railway connection to the Aegean Sea via Romania, Bulgaria or Yugoslavia and Greece. These trade connections were supposed to make the countries involved more independent of the threatening regional powers: the arguments were both economic and strategic. However, neither

half of the 1930s, was comparatively small – smaller even than those of the Baltic States Estonia and Latvia, according to Józef Borowik’s estimate in 1937. With these resources it was hard to think about developing deep-sea trade on the world’s oceans, let alone becoming a colonial power. Piotrowski, 202.

of the projects was realized, as both financial reasons and political disputes between the involved countries turned out to be too big a hindrance.¹⁶

Figure 1: The proposed route joining the Baltic and the Black Seas via rivers and channels



North and south

It is an interesting issue how much the discourses connected with the Baltic and the southern European seas – mainly the Black Sea – fell within the same discourse of the ideology of the sea, and to what extent they were in fact contradictory or even mutually exclusive. Did the two seas form parts of the same mental map? Could interwar Poland with all justification be indeed called a country between the seas, a bridge connecting them – an Intermarium?

Both among the ideologists of the Polish maritimity and economists discussing potential of the country's geographical location were ones embracing such a vision of Poland. For example the editors of the English language journal of the Baltic Institute, *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries*,

¹⁶ Elżbieta Znamierowska-Rakk, 'Sprawa połączenia Bałtyku z Morzem Czarnym i Morzem Egejskim w polityce II Rzeczypospolitej,' in *Międzymorze. Polska i kraje Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej XIX–XX wiek. Studia ofiarowane Piotrowi Łossowskiemu w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. A. Ajnenkiel et al. (Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 1995), 287-98.

declared that countries “not belonging to the [Baltic] region, but connected with it by the ties of a common history or culture, or by racial affinity, are dealt with on occasion. Important among these are the lands lying between the Baltic and the Black Sea.”¹⁷ Some – although not numerous – articles on these topics did indeed appear in the journal, for example ‘The Baltic and the Black Sea in Medieval trade’ by Marian Małowist¹⁸ and ‘The Dardanelles and the Sound’ by Bolesław Leitgeber¹⁹ (both in 1937).

Towards the end of the interwar period, and especially in the second half of the 1930s, economists, including those cooperating with the Baltic Institute and therefore clearly interested in maritime matters, saw the economic advantage of a connection – by way of rivers and canals – to the Black Sea.²⁰ The Baltic Sea ports of Gdynia and Danzig could in this way become connected to the East Central European hinterland and the Baltic Sea trade could gain trade links to the south. Apart from increasing Poland’s own economic potential and the ports’ competitiveness in comparison to Stettin and Hamburg, these projects were seen as answers to the ones prepared in Germany, where canals connecting Baltic Sea ports (e.g. Stettin) to Danube and by it to the Black Sea were also planned, and as a way of diminishing the German sphere of influence in the countries to the south (Austria, Czech Republic).²¹ With the development of economy and infrastructure on the one hand and an increasingly threatening situation on the international arena on the other, the ideas of economic expansion in multiple directions were put forward – goods as well as military shipments were to be transferred via Baltic and Black Sea ports, making international transport more independent of the hostile neighbors (mainly Germany).²²

¹⁷ ‘Editorial Policy’, *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries. A survey of peoples and states on the Baltic with special regard to their history, geography and economics* 4 (1938).

¹⁸ Marian Małowist, ‘The Baltic and the Black Sea in Medieval trade’, *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries. A survey of peoples and states on the Baltic with special regard to their history, geography and economics* 3 (1937): 36-42.

¹⁹ Bolesław Leitgeber, ‘The Dardanelles and the Sound’, *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries. A survey of peoples and states on the Baltic with special regard to their history, geography and economics* 3 (1937), 71-6.

²⁰ Piotrowski, 228.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Although the projects involving the construction of channels and railway bridges were unsuccessful, some transport connections were established. For example the Romanian port in Constanța was used for import of military equipment from France before the outbreak of the Second World War. There appeared also arguments that the basins of Dniester, Prut and

For this, of course, further development of merchant marine and the navy was necessary. Coupled with the project of alliance with the countries of the Intermarium this constituted, in the words of the historian Bogdan Dopierała, Minister Beck's "Jagiellonian dreams of greatness".²³

This reference to the historical Polish-Lithuanian dynasty of Jagiellons (ruling in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries) reminds of the origins of the Intermarium idea as a reference to the past greatness of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: it was during the rule of these kings that the country's expansion reached the shores of the Black Sea, making it stretch from one sea to the other. At the same time it also refers to the two competing strands of thought about Poland's vision of itself and its place in East Central Europe which appeared in the country at the beginning of the twentieth century, and which were named after two historical ruling dynasties. It was the Jagiellon vision that looked to the south and the east, and saw Poland as multiethnic, imperial and federalistic. In the current situation the control of the south-eastern territories all the way to the Black Sea (as in the times of the Jagiellons) was to be replaced by cooperation between Poland and the small countries occupying these territories - cooperation in which Poland was to be the regional leader.

The other vision was named after the Piasts, the dynasty ruling in Poland before 1370, whose representatives were supposed to be the ones with a good understanding of the importance of access to the sea and control over the estuaries of rivers Vistula and Oder. This ideology was thus oriented towards the west and the north, seeing Poland in opposition to the Germans and concentrated on what was defined as "ethnically Polish territories" - a concept comprising roughly Greater and Lesser Poland, Masovia and Pomerania, including the estuaries of both rivers.²⁴ While the former vision was attributed to the group around Józef Piłsudski and his followers (as Minister Beck), the Piast idea connected to the national democratic thought of Roman Dmowski, who was a representative for Poland at the Versailles Peace Conference, fighting for recognition of its right to independence and access to the sea. His vision focused on "ethnically

Seret were as natural hinterland of Gdynia and Danzig as Vistula. Cf.: Leszek Kirzien, *Między Wisłą a ujściem Dunaju. Problem bałtycko-czarnomorski* (Warszawa: Instytut Wschodni, 1932).

²³ Dopierała, 322-3.

²⁴ See e.g.: Zygmunt Wojciechowski, 'Rozwój terytorialny Prus w stosunku do ziem macierzystych Polski,' in *Światopogląd morski*, 99.

Polish territories” and referred to the Middle Ages and the Piasts’ fights with their German enemies.

The Piast and Jagiellon visions were often set against each other as two alternatives of Poland’s foreign policy and its attitude towards neighbors. The Baltic Institute, the main advocate of the active maritime policy, was among those who usually saw it that way – and furthermore its scholars often pointed to the Piast tradition as the one Poland should choose. For example Waclaw Sobieski, a historian sympathizing with Dmowski’s National Democrat movement and collaborator of the Baltic Institute, in his book arguing for Polish right to access to the sea and active maritime policy, referred to the Piast kings and princes – especially Bolesław Krzywousty (Boleslaus the Wrymouth, ruling 1107–38) – as examples worth following in their consistent efforts to secure control over the Baltic Sea coast and the estuaries of Vistula and Oder. The Jagiellons had not exhibited similar consistency or understanding of the active northern policy, they abandoned this direction in order to concentrate on expansion to the south and the east – and therefore were criticized.²⁵

This is not to say that the Baltic Institute was connected to Dmowski and his political movement, or even that the Polish discourse related to the Baltic Sea was of interest only to those who identified themselves with this movement: it was a topic in which intellectuals of different political views were interested (and different academic centers as well, even as far away from the Baltic Sea as Cracow or Lviv).²⁶ It has already been mentioned that one of the authors who presented their views in the Institute’s publications was Minister Kwiatkowski, who, in the 1930 volume *Obrona Pomorza (The Defence of Pomerania)* criticized the historical rulers of Poland for neglecting the matters of the sea and concentrating too much on other directions of foreign policy, whereas only the strong stance in the west and on the Baltic Sea shore could give the country enough strength to secure the eastern borderlands.²⁷ This reflected the Institute’s conviction that throughout Polish history neglecting Baltic Sea matters came hand in hand with crises in the country’s development and the postulate that the society’s attention should

²⁵ Waclaw Sobieski, *Walka o Pomorze* (Poznań: Nakład Księgarni św. Wojciecha, 1928).

²⁶ Jörg Hackmann, ‘Zugang zum Meer: Die Ostsee in der polnischen Historiografie,’ *Nordeuropaforum* 2 (2004): 43-66, accessed at <http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/nordeuropaforum/2004-2/hackmann--joerg-43/XML/> on 5.04.2013.

²⁷ Kwiatkowski, 2.

be fixed on the sea and the north (which was essential to Poland's security and welfare), and turned away from the east (where it had been fixed for centuries, from which only crises and dissolution of the state in the eighteenth century had come). This was the only way for Poland "not to lose itself, and [for] our Polish work not to disperse on the vastness and wilderness of the Eastern lands" – as Franciszek Bujak wrote in his essay comparing sea and land cultures in the *Światopogląd morski* volume.²⁸

Moreover, seen from the perspective of this sea – land opposition proposed by Bujak, the south-eastern direction was not only a waste of potential, the vastness and wilderness – it was also inherently "unmaritime" and thus devoid of all the positive qualities associated with maritime cultures (to remind: willpower, enterprise, open-mindedness, hunger for knowledge, patriotism). It epitomized the risk for the Polish culture becoming land culture and losing the chance of acquiring those qualities and through them – political and economic strength. Yet another aspect of the argument was a warning that embracing the continental dimension of the Polish character – that associated with the Jagiellon tradition and the south-eastern direction – could lend support to German revisionist arguments and thus weaken the Polish stand on the Baltic Sea shore. Among those arguments were namely ones stating that Poland was not a maritime country and therefore did not need access to the sea nor its own ports, as it could just as well be served by ports of the other countries – for example Germany.

The south-eastern direction leading towards the Black Sea occupied, therefore, an ambivalent place on the Polish maritime mental maps in the interwar period. On the one hand, it epitomized the risk of wasting the nation's energy and falling into the same trap that had brought Poland's downfall in the past. On the other – it formed a part of the Intermarium ideology and vision of foreign policy, a way of connecting Poland and Polish trade with the Black and Aegean Seas and becoming the regional leader, a counterweight to Germany and the USSR. The two ideas – of maritime Poland and of the Intermarium – overlapped in certain discourses: the one of Poland's security and defense against the stronger neighbors or the one of Poland acquiring the status of a regional power. They did not, however, form parts of the same discourse; the federalistic idea of Intermarium, despite referring to the sea in its name, was in its ideological dimension land based.

²⁸ Bujak, 19.

Those who were the most fervent in addressing the nation and its leaders with exhortations for an active maritime policy and formation of a maritime outlook, and who spoke about the sea as “the country’s lungs and indispensable organ of its free existence”, looked to the north, not to the south-east. Maritime Poland they envisaged was supposed to be Poland on the Baltic Sea (although with trade connections in different directions), not Poland from one sea to the other.

Conclusions

This paper has aimed to analyze the interwar Poland’s visions of the country’s place in reference to the Baltic and the Black Seas. As has been shown, these visions included elements of both nationalistic, nation-building and empire-building discourses. They concentrated on the Polish nation’s historical and predicted or postulated future development – this development was considered in relation both to the seas and to the country’s neighbors. Whether by playing an active and important role in the Baltic Sea region or by the creation of the region of Intermarium reaching to the Black and Adriatic Seas, the aim was to become a regional power strong enough to withstand the pressure from Germany and the Soviet Union. However, the relations to both seas differed: only the one to which the country had direct access, the Baltic, became the object of an active and emotional propaganda of the sea and projects of creating national maritime consciousness.

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M AINTAINING LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY THROUGH MULTILINGUAL EDUCATION

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Acknowledgements

This paper has been presented at the Fourth international conference on Baltic and Nordic Studies in Romania *Empire-building and Region-building in the Baltic, North and Black sea areas* hosted by the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies and Ovidius University of Constanta, May 24-26, 2013. Supported by a grant from Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway (Finanțat prin fonduri donate de Islanda, Liechtenstein și Norvegia).

Abstract:

This paper focuses on the educational system of two states with different cultural backgrounds. On the one hand, this paper examines the current situation of Sami teaching in Finland and on the other hand, it describes the development of Kurdish education in Turkey. Through this paper I point out how education in minority languages can contribute to the maintenance of linguistic diversity in the above mentioned multilingual societies. In the multilingual Sápmi area the existing linguistic relationships are constantly changing, while the concept of linguistic diversity is redefined. In the last half decade, Turkey began taking into account the reality of multilingualism of the linguistically heterogeneous state. Today there are several possibilities to study the Kurdish language as a mother tongue.

Rezumat:

Această lucrare se concentrează asupra sistemului de învățământ din două state cu diferite medii culturale. Pe de o parte, această lucrare analizează situația actuală a predării limbii sami în Finlanda și pe de altă parte, ea descrie dezvoltarea învățământului în limba kurdă din Turcia. Prin această lucrare subliniez cum educația în limbile minorităților poate contribui la menținerea diversității lingvistice în societățile multilingve menționate mai sus. În regiunea multilingvă Sápmi relațiile lingvistice existente sunt în continuă schimbare, în timp ce conceptul diversității lingvistice este redefinit. În ultima jumătate de deceniu, Turcia a început să țină cont de realitatea de multilingvism al statului lingvistic

eterogen. Astăzi există mai multe posibilități de a studia limba kurdă ca limbă maternă.

Keywords: Finland, Turkey, Sami, Kurd, minority languages in education, linguistic diversity

The individuals living in the multiethnic and multilingual society of Europe must meet the unique needs of the multicultural environment.¹ According to the objectives of the EU related to language policy it is important to safeguard multilingualism. The EU encourages its citizens to learn at least two languages in addition to their mother tongue. When a speaker of a majority language learns a minority or a less known language he or she familiarizes with the traditions of that minority group and thus extremist ideologies are easier to be kept away. With the increase in the level of tolerance the language learner indirectly contributes to the maintenance of linguistic and cultural diversity.

Democracy, equality, diversity, universal rights, multiculturalism and particular attention to the individual can be considered those pillars of Western societies that define their attitudes to human and linguistic rights. It should be noted, however, that these rights were not equally available to the citizens, but in recent years a number of efforts were aimed at compensating them. This is true both about Finland and Turkey which needs to know that the EU has strict procedures that have to be met. The EU reminds the Turkish government that progress is needed in relation to the Kurdish problem in order to safeguard the country's stability, democracy and unity.

All states should recognize that subtractive education and subtractive programs which do not consider bilingualism as their objective and which see the learning of the official language or national language of the state the ultimate goal of instruction may lead to the eradication of

¹ Orsolya Nádor, "From Monolingualism to Multilingualism in the EU - Through Bilingual Minorities", in *Nations and National Minorities in the European Union*, ed. B. Bodó, M. Tonk (Cluj-Napoca: Scientia Publishing House, 2009), 67-74.

linguistic and cultural diversity.² However, if we consider the maintenance of linguistic diversity as a basic human interest, we should all sustain the application of multilingual education programs.

Sami languages and linguistic diversity in Finland

The Samis (Sami: *Sámi*) are the only indigenous people living in the northern parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. In Finland there are about 6000 Samis. 4000 of them live in *Sápmi*, in the region of Enontekiö, Inari, Utsjoki and Sodankylä. They make up one third of the total population in this area, but before World War II they represented half of the population. In Utsjoki they form a majority, whilst in other cities they are a minority. Three Sami languages are spoken in Finland: North Sami (*Davvisámegiella*), Inari Sami (*anarâškielâ*) and Skolt Sami (*sää'mǰiöll*).

In Finland there are specific curricula developed for the Sami education. The urban schools functioning in the traditional areas follow this Sami curriculum. In recent years, the *Sámediggi* was responsible for the developing and adaptation of the Sami curriculum.

In the case of Inari Sami there are several children who speak this language almost as a mother tongue. In the school of Inari about twelve children learn the Inari Sami language. For them immersion programs are offered whose goals are achieving competency in Inari Sami and gaining appreciation of the Sami culture. At school children use their mother tongue when encountering Sami pupils from other regions of *Sápmi*. This possibility has a beneficial influence on language revitalization and at the same time on helping language diversity forge ahead.

The teachers apply teaching methods which require active participation in the class, the language of instruction being solely Inari Sami. Their way of conducting instructional activities is part of the traditional Sami pedagogy, namely the transfer of cultural ideas and patterns of behaviour along with the Inari Sami language. Nevertheless, the differences among the distinct Sami languages and dialects impede the language maintenance. Different Sami languages or language varieties are used in the language nest and in the family, often causing the children to

² Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, "Linguistic Diversity, Human Rights and the "Free" Market", in *Language: A Right and a Resource. Approaching Linguistic Human Rights*, ed. M. Kontra et al. (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1999), 187-222.

speak the official language in the educational institutions. The maintenance of the integrity of the Sami linguistic environment is not unhindered because new children arriving at the language nest usually speak Finnish to the instructors. Although children are not allowed to speak Finnish during the lessons, a bilingual environment is created in the Inari language nest due to the fact that children socialize with each other in Finnish. Therefore, the group of Sami children present at the language nest can be described as heterogeneous from the identity and language background point of view.

In the language nests the children are acquainted with the Inari Sami vocabulary linked to the traditional Sami lifestyle, occupations and northern environment.³ In addition, Inari Sami textbooks, exercise books, spelling-books, idiom dictionaries, children's books, readers, psalm CDs, religious books, workbooks and parlour games are also accessible to the children attending the language nest. All the activities encourage the use of Inari Sami.

Sevettijärvi (Skolt Sami: Če'vetjä'urr) is the largest Skolt Sami village where 90% of the residents are Skolt. The school in this village began to introduce immersion teaching methods for the Sami in the early 1990s. The goal of this immersion program is achieving bilingualism for their pupils. The teachers' pedagogical approaches aim to help children develop bilingual competence through diverse creative writing tasks in the Sami language. In 1993 the village had the possibility to open a Skolt Sami language nest which eight years later was replaced by an adult education program called *Kultur siida*. The goal of this centre is to encourage the Sami language use in the family circle, to support language revitalization efforts, language maintenance as well as linguistic and cultural diversity.

Unfortunately, not all schools respect the immersion programs and consequently some children use the majority language at kindergarten or school and thus the use of Sami is tied only to communication with family members. However, language revitalization activities should not be left only to the families. Sami pupils even opt for the use of Finnish language at school owing to the language choices their schoolmates make.

Students completing the second level education can study North Sami in Oulu and Rovaniemi (North Sami: *Roavenjárga/Roavvenjárga*, Inari

³ Annika Jansson, *Sami Language at Home and at School: a Fieldwork Perspective* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2005).

Sami: *Ruávinjargâ*, Skolt Sami: *Ruä'vnjargg*). The University of Oulu (Finnish: *Oulun Yliopisto*) is the only higher education institution in Finland where Sami can be studied as a mother tongue. The subject-matter of instruction is fully taught in North Sami, but the studies include the other Sami languages too, especially Inari and Skolt Sami. The students deal with subjects like history of the language, language theory and general linguistics. The North Sami can be chosen as a major since 1980, whereas Inari Sami can be studied as a minor and foreign language, and also interpreter training programs are available.

The Sami language and culture may also be studied at the University of Helsinki (Finnish: *Helsingin Yliopisto*), University of Lapland (Finnish: *Lapin Yliopisto*) in Rovaniemi, Sami Education Centre (Finnish: *Saamelaisalueen koulutuskeskus*, SAKK / Sami: *Sámi oahpahusguovddáš*, SOG) in Inari and Rovaniemi University of Applied Sciences (Finnish: *Rovaniemen ammattikorkeakoulu*, RAMK).

The activities of the Sami Education Centre: in the Sami Education Centre the official languages of instruction are Sami and Finnish, yet courses are taught also in other languages. The education centre aims to preserve and develop the Sami culture and support the writing and publication of Sami textbooks. In this establishment North or Inari Sami language and culture can be learnt along numerous professions.

The Sami language teaching, the existence of Skolt and Inari Sami language nests and the language revitalization projects hold these languages in higher esteem in the view of Sami speakers and have led to their greater use⁴.

Broadening democracy in Turkey

The Kurds (Kurdish: *Kurd*) are an indigenous ethnic minority inhabiting Kurdistan, which includes parts of Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. In Turkey there are about 10-12 million Kurds and they make up 20% of the population.

In order to solve the Kurdish problem, it is important to recognize that it is a problem of ethnic origin. It is necessary to clearly and publicly acknowledge that the Kurds form a group which has its own cultural

⁴ Sari Pietikäinen et al., 'Regulating Multilingualism in the North Calotte: The Case of Kven, Meänkieli and Sámi Languages', *Acta Borealia* 27 no. 1 (2010): 1-23.

identity. After that the primary goal should be the ensuring of cultural autonomy. The linguistic and cultural diversity should be guaranteed by Turkish laws. The Turkish government ought to perform rapid changes related to minority language use. In the field of cultural reforms the following are essential: Kurdish language education at all levels, granting permission for publication, allowing various cultural events and festivals.⁵

In 2003 the Regulation on the Teaching of the Different Languages and Dialects Traditionally Used by Turkish Citizens in Their Daily Lives was published (Official Gazette - No. 25307). This regulation refers to the opening of private courses in these languages and dialects. In accordance with the provisions of Article 2 of the Regulation the Kurdish language can be taught only in private courses:

"Article 2: This Regulation covers the private courses, which can be opened in line with Law No. 625 on opening private courses to teach different languages and dialects traditionally used by Turkish citizens in their daily lives and the same functions and procedures for the language and dialect lessons which the Council of Ministers has decided for the education and teaching of different languages and dialects in line with Law No. 2923 on Foreign Language Education and Teaching and Teaching Different Languages and Dialects to Turkish citizens."

Yet, the Turkish Government has taken the following measures to control the functioning of these courses: for the opening of institutions and starting teaching permission must be granted from the Ministry of Education. Therefore, these language courses are difficult to access in cities like Van, Batman and Şanlıurfa. Despite the fact that the Turkish authorities are waiting for the EU membership, they remain adamant against the claims of national minorities. The European Parliament, however, expects a solution to the Kurdish question as a condition of their access.

The members of the Kurdish Academy encourage the use of local dialects in order to maintain linguistic and cultural diversity. Holder (2008)⁶ also emphasizes the importance of protecting social and cultural rights in the case of indigenous peoples.

The recognition and grant of minority language educational rights influence the intergenerational transmission of the language that is a vital

⁵ Henri J. Barkey and Graham E. Fuller, *Turkey's Kurdish Question* (Lanham Boulder, New York, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1998).

⁶ Cindy Holder, 'Culture as an Activity and Human Right: An Important Advance for Indigenous Peoples and International Law', *Alternatives* 33 (2008): 7-28.

factor in its maintenance. On the other hand, when a state recognizes exclusively the official language it violates the linguistic rights of its indigenous people.

Vizi (2005)⁷ points out that each state should respect its linguistically and culturally diverse society and all members of the society should be granted equal and unlimited educational, cultural and social rights. Skutnabb-Kangas (1998)⁸ considers that education is a fundamental human right which is essential in terms of language maintenance, enhancement and maintaining the linguistic and cultural diversity of a certain society.

Recent developments in the Kurdish language education

The importance of mother-tongue schooling has recently been recognized by the Turkish government. Turkey has taken steps to ensure the implementation of mother-tongue education. Thus it introduced the Kurdish language education in Turkish universities.

Higher education institutions that recently offer education in Kurdish language:

At Mardin Artuklu University⁹ (Turkish: *Mardin Artuklu Üniversitesi*, Kurdish: *Zanîngeha Mardin Artukluyê*) The Institute for Living Languages¹⁰ (Turkish: *Türkiyede Yaşayan Diller Enstitüsü*, TYDE) offers Kurdish language and literature courses, but for the time being only master's and doctoral university programs are provided. The master's program provides a two-year training approved by the Council of Higher Education (Turkish: *Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu*, YÖK). Students having a master's degree are given the opportunity to continue their research without interruption in a doctoral program. These graduates will be Turkey's future Kurdologists. Students may choose the Zazaki or Kurmanji/Kurmancî dialects as the medium of instruction. It is encouraging that many students consider Kurdish their mother tongue despite the fact that they cannot even demonstrate competence in this

⁷ Balázs Vizi, "Az európai integráció és a kisebbségi nyelvek", in *Nyelvi jogi környezet és nyelvhasználat*, ed. J. Péntek, A. Benő (Kolozsvár: Anyanyelvápolók Erdélyi Szövetsége Kiadó, 2005), 174-183.

⁸ Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, 'Human Rights and Language Wrongs - A Future for Diversity?', *Language Sciences* 20, no. 1 (1998): 5-27.

⁹ Opened in April 2010.

¹⁰ Opened in September 2010.

language. Even though Turkey is a multiethnic and multilingual state, few know the languages spoken in the country.

The Institute for Living Languages offers students a three-month Kurdish language course where they can study not only literature but also Zaza and Kurmanji dialects. After completing this course students are entitled to teach Kurdish language at universities. Optional Kurdish language courses are provided by Tunceli University (Turkish: *Tunceli Üniversitesi*).

The Bilgi University (Turkish: *Istanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi*) in Istanbul is the first Turkish university where Kurdish language, literature, history of the language, dialectology and lexicology can be studied. The Faculty of Letters offers Kurdish lectures from 2009.

The Sabanci University (Turkish: *Sabanci Üniversitesi*) in Istanbul also offers Kurdish language courses.

Furthermore, private training centres provide Kurdish language education at basic, intermediate and advanced levels. The first language course in Istanbul started in 2004, but similar courses are offered also in Riha, Êlih, Adana, Wan and Amed.

The private educational centre in Istanbul offers various programs for the language learners with different needs: programs for speakers whose mother tongue is Kurdish, but they cannot speak or write in Kurdish, programs for Turkish speakers who do not understand Kurdish and finally programs for those who would like to master the academic language.

The Turkish president, Abdullah Gül, stressed the importance of pluralism and the fact that it is the responsibility of the Turkish government to broaden democracy and to maintain linguistic and cultural diversity. In A. Gül's opinion the multitude of cultures secures Turkey's welfare and this welfare should be preserved. Moreover, the Kurdish culture is part of the existing cultures in Turkey and this fact cannot be denied. Özhan and Ete (2009)¹¹ share the same view.

Conclusions

¹¹Taha Özhan and Hatem Ete, 'A New Agenda for the Kurdish Question', *Insight Turkey* 11:1 (2009): 97-114.

In the multilingual *Sápmi* area the existing linguistic relationships are constantly changing, while the concept of linguistic diversity is redefined. Today, the Sami languages are part of the primary and secondary school curricula as mother tongues and foreign languages. Thus the national curriculum is respectful of human rights and linguistic diversity, as well as students' cultural identity and mother tongue.¹²

In the last half decade, Turkey began taking into account the reality of multilingualism of the linguistically heterogeneous state. Today there are several possibilities to study the Kurdish language as a mother tongue, and the directors of various educational institutions claim that the speakers are interested in taking Kurdish language courses and university lectures. Moreover, relearning their mother tongue seems to be important to the Kurdish speakers.

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¹² Gunilla Holm and Monica Londen, 'The Discourse on Multicultural Education in Finland: Education for Whom?', *Intercultural Education* 21, no. 2 (2010): 107-120.

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DIALECTS IN NORWAY – BETWEEN TOLERANCE AND STANDARDIZATION

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Acknowledgements

This paper has been presented at the Fourth international conference on Baltic and Nordic Studies in Romania *Empire-building and Region-building in the Baltic, North and Black sea areas* hosted by the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies and Ovidius University of Constanta, May 24-26, 2013. Supported by a grant from Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway (Finanțat prin fonduri donate de Islanda, Liechtenstein și Norvegia).

Abstract:

Norwegian is peculiar not only with a view to the written language, which has two official standards, but also regarding the spoken language, which lacks a standardized form. In fact, Norway is one of the most dialect-speaking countries in Europe. The use of a regional dialect in all fields of one's life is rather perceived as part of one's identity, and a sign of democracy and decentralization. Although theoretically there are four main dialects, in practice the variety of dialects differing in grammar, vocabulary or pronunciation is much wider, and depends on the part of the country or even on a specific town. The present paper is mainly focused on analyzing how the issue of diatopic variation in the Norwegian spoken language has been depicted in recent years (2008-2012) in Norway's largest daily newspaper, Aftenposten. Even if dialects are accepted in everyday life, one of the recurrent debates in the newspaper is however related to using a standard form at least in the news programs from the largest Norwegian television and radio company, NRK, where the language ought to be considered a point of reference. Another topic of interest is related to the dialects used in dubbing in children's television series.

Rezumat:

Limba norvegiană este deosebită nu numai din punct de vedere al limbii scrise, care are două forme oficiale, ci și al limbii vorbite, care nu dispune de o formă standardizată. De fapt, Norvegia este una dintre țările europene cele mai bogate în dialecte. Folosirea unui dialect local în toate domeniile este mai degrabă percepută ca parte a identității unei persoane, fiind un semn de democrație și descentralizare. Deși teoretic există patru dialecte principale, în practică varietatea de dialecte care

diferă în ceea ce privește gramatica, vocabularul și pronunția este mult mai mare, depinzând de o anumită regiune a țării sau chiar de un anumit oraș. Lucrarea de față este axată în principal pe analiza modului în care problematica variației diatopice din limba norvegiană vorbită a fost înfățișată în ultimii ani (2008-2012) în cel mai mare cotidian al Norvegiei, *Aftenposten*. Chiar dacă dialectele sunt acceptate în viața de zi cu zi, una dintre dezbaterile periodice din ziar este însă legată de folosirea unei variante standard cel puțin în programele de știri de la cea mai mare companie norvegiană de radio și televiziune, NRK, unde limba ar trebui să fie considerată un punct de referință. Un alt subiect de interes este legat de dialectele folosite în dublaj în seriile de televiziune pentru copii.

Keywords: Norwegian dialects, linguistic standardization, *Aftenposten*, language in mass-media

Introduction

The linguistic situation in Norway is quite peculiar, because the language has two official and literary written forms: Bokmål (Book Language, which is a Norwegianized variant of Danish and is the most common standard form) and Nynorsk (New Norwegian, which developed from the old Norwegian dialects). Nowadays Bokmål is used by 85% of the population and Nynorsk by 15%¹.

The spoken language, on the other hand, comprises four major dialects (*vestnorsk*/West Norwegian, *østnorsk*/East Norwegian, *trøndersk*/Trøndelag Norwegian and *nordnorsk*/North Norwegian)² and a multitude of mutually understandable minor ones. Interestingly enough, Europe's three richest countries regarding per capita income (Luxemburg, Norway and Switzerland) are dialect-speaking, and most Norwegians speak the dialect they have grown up with.

The wide range of dialects spoken by Norwegians represents a mark of equality and democracy. "As the dialect is a deeply integrated part of their identity it is normally regarded to be too important to be changed."³ People are allowed to speak their own dialect in all fields.

¹ Olaf Husby (ed.), Tore Høyte, et al., *An Introduction to Norwegian Dialects*, foreword by Peter Trudgill, (Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 2008), 16.

² See Eskil Hanssen, *Dialekter i Norge*, (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget, 2012), 12.

³ Husby, *An Introduction*, 12.

Dialect is accepted on television, on the radio, in literature⁴, in education, in politics. That is why, even if dialects tend to change, they will probably never die out.

Consequently, foreigners who use Norwegian have to be able to understand many variants of the spoken language. This may become very frustrating because most textbooks are written in Bokmål, and foreigners are taught spoken Bokmål during Norwegian courses unlike native Norwegians who are not taught a spoken norm related to one of the two official written standards. If during the courses for foreigners native teachers speak Bokmål⁵, otherwise, even the Education Act encourages the teacher to pay attention to the pupils' home dialect and not to try to make them abandon it⁶. That is why, understanding the different forms of the spoken Norwegian takes time and much more effort than in the case of other foreign languages which have a standardized spoken variant. This standardized spoken variant would be a variety developed in general in close relationship with the written form, and would be "an idea in the mind rather than a reality – a set of abstract norms to which actual usage will conform to a greater or lesser extent"⁷. On the other hand, "The [Standard Language Ideology] leads to a general intolerance towards linguistic variation, and non-standard varieties in particular are regarded as 'undesirable' and 'deviant'".⁸

Diatopic variation

Although in the paper "Standardtalemål? Naturligvis! En argumentasjon for eksistensen av et norsk standardtalemål" Brit Mæhlum argues for the existence of a spoken standard in Norway and makes reference to several terms used for the standardized norm: standard East

⁴ The issue of *Aftenposten*, January 30, 2012, makes reference for instance to Ove Røsbak, a contemporary Norwegian poet, novelist, biographer and children's writer, who has written in the Ringsaker dialect.

⁵ Spoken Bokmål may have prosodic varieties different from the variety spoken in Oslo, which belongs to Central East Norwegian.

⁶ See Husby, *An Introduction*, 16.

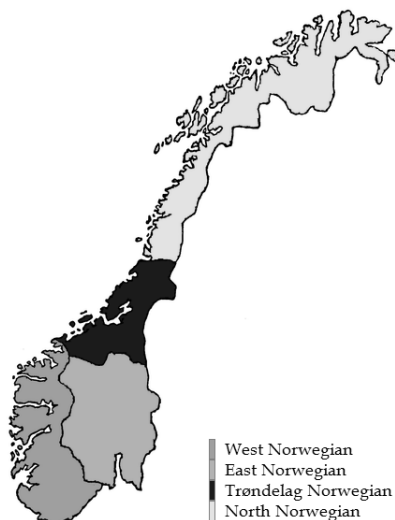
⁷ James Milroy & L. Milroy, *Authority in Language. Investigating Standard English* (New York: Routledge, 1985), 23, quoted in Brit Mæhlum, "Standardtalemål? Naturligvis! En argumentasjon for eksistensen av et norsk standardtalemål," *Norsk Lingvistisk Tidsskrift* 27, hefte 1 (2009): 9.

⁸ Joan Swann et al. *A Dictionary of Sociolinguistics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 296, quoted in Mæhlum, "Standardtalemål?", 15.

Norwegian (*standard østnorsk*), South-Eastern Norwegian spoken standard (*sørøstnorsk standardtalemål*), educated East Norwegian (*dannet østnorsk*), spoken Bokmål (*talt bokmål*)⁹, the simple fact that not only one term is used would mean that in fact this standard is not real, but rather mental as shown above. Anyway, from the point of view of an outsider the use of a spoken standard is not clearly perceived.

Since all variants of the modern language have their origin in Old Norse (*norrønt*), this helps Norwegians understand one another even when they do not speak alike. Different variants of the spoken language emerged because of the different changes undergone by the language in different parts of the country. The people's isolated settlements and solitary way of living also favored preserving one's way of speaking. Moreover, the language has transformed continuously, and changed from one generation to the other, also within the same family, due to human contact.

On the whole, dialects in Norway imply differences at the phonetic level (such as those implying monophthongization, apocope, retroflex flap/thick l, palatalization, placing the main stress), at the lexical level (regarding for instance the personal pronoun, first person, the nominative case or the negation word "not"), and at the morphological level with a view to the definitive form of feminine nouns in the singular, the use of the dative case etc.



⁹ See Mæhlum, "Standardtalemål?", 14.

Figure 1. Map of major Norwegian dialects

(Source: Wikipedia, *The Free Encyclopedia*, s.v. "File:Norwegian dialects.PNG", http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Norwegian_dialects.PNG (accessed January 15, 2013))

So as to point out some differences between Norwegian dialects and a so-called standardized norm, we used a database including transcriptions and recordings of 54 Norwegian dialects¹⁰. These ones all refer to the same story *The North Wind and the Sun/Nordavinden og sola*. People from different parts of Norway were asked to read the text below, and starting from it we chose to discuss two dialects and some of their peculiarities: the first dialect is from Trondheim (Trøndelag Norwegian, part of Eastern dialects) and the second one from Tromsø (North Norwegian, part of Western dialects).

Original text: *Nordavinden og sola*

Nordavinden og sola kjekla/kjeklet om kven/hvem av dei/dem som var den sterkaste/sterkeste. Da kom det en mann gåande/gående med en varm frakk på seg. Dei vart samde/De blei enige om at han/den som først kunne få mannen til å ta av seg frakken skulle gjelde for sterkare/sterkere enn den andre. Så blåste nordavinden av all si makt, men dess meir/mer han blåste, dess tettare/tettere trakk mannen frakken rundt seg, og til sist gav nordavinden opp. Da skein/skinte sola fram så godt og varmt, og straks tok mannen av seg frakken. Og så måtte nordavinden innrømme at sola var den sterkaste/sterkeste av dei/dem.

English translation of the text *The North Wind and the Sun*:

The North Wind and the Sun were disputing which was the stronger, when a traveler came along wrapped in a warm cloak. They agreed that the one who first succeeded in making the traveler take his cloak off should be considered stronger than the other. Then the North Wind blew as hard as he could, but the more he blew the more closely did the traveler fold his cloak around him; and at last the North Wind gave up the attempt. Then the Sun shined out warmly, and immediately the traveler took off his cloak. And so the North Wind was obliged to confess that the Sun was the stronger of the two.¹¹

¹⁰ The database may be accessed at the address <http://www.ling.hf.ntnu.no/nos>.

¹¹ Wikipedia, *The Free Encyclopedia*, s.v. "The North Wind and the Sun", http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_North_Wind_and_the_Sun (accessed November 2, 2012).

I. Orthographic reproduction of the Trondheim dialect used: *noravinn å sola kjækla om vøm a døm sm va dn stærkeste. da kãm de n mann gåene me n varm frakk på sæ. døm vart eni åm at han sãm føsjt kuinn få mann te å ta a sæ frakken va dn stærkestn a døm. så blåst noravinn av all si makt å jo mer an blåst desto tettar trakk mann frakken runt sæ å te sjlutt så ga noravinn opp. da sjein sola fram så gått å varmt å straks tok mann a sæ frakken. å så mått noravinn innrøm at sola va dn stærkastn a døm.*¹²

The user of the Trondheim dialect above is a representative dialect user born in 1969. The phonology of the Trøndelag Norwegian which is used is characterized by a phenomenon of lowering which affects short stressed front vowels. Thus “e” is pronounced /æ/: /kjækla/ (were disputing), /vøm/ (who), /døm/ (them). The example /stærkastn/ (strongest) also includes the definite ending /-n/ used for masculine and feminine forms for the adjective in the superlative when the noun is not used with the superlative. Apocope is another phenomenon typical of this dialect, referring in general to the loss of final “-e” in an unstressed position in the infinitive: /innrøm/ (admit) and comparative form of adjectives: /tettar/ (tighter). In rapid speech the article “en” (a) is abbreviated to /n/, the pronoun “han” (he) to /an/, the auxiliary verb “to be” in the past tense has the form /va/ (was) instead of /var/. In Trondheim weak verbs such as “å blåse” (to blow) use the shortened form /blåst/ instead of /blåste/ for past tense. The form /te/ replaces the preposition “til” (to). The Trondheim dialect has four extra palatal consonants besides the two palatal sounds used in Central East Norwegian (Oslo area): see examples such as /kuinn/.

II. Orthographic reproduction of the Tromsø dialect used: *noravinn å sola krangla om køm a døm så va dn stærkeste. da kãm en mainn gåans me n varm frakk på se. di ble eni om at deinn sãm føsjt kuinn få mainn te å ta a sæ frakken sku bi rægna sãm den stærkeste a døm. så blåste noravinnj a aill si makt. mæn jo mer ham blåste jo tettar trakk main frakke ruinnt se. å te sist mått noravinnj gi se. da sjinte sola frøm så gått å varnt at main straks måtte ta a sæ frakken. å så måtte noravinnj innjrømme at sola va deinn stærkeste a døm.*¹³

¹² See *Institutt for språk- og kommunikasjonsstudier, NTNU, “Dialektprøver fra Trondheim kommune”,* <http://www.ling.hf.ntnu.no/nos/?k=Trondheim> (accessed October 20, 2012).

¹³ See *Institutt for språk- og kommunikasjonsstudier, NTNU, “Dialektprøver fra Tromsø kommune”,* <http://www.ling.hf.ntnu.no/nos/?k=Troms%F8> (accessed October 20, 2012).

The user of the Tromsø dialect above is a historian born in 1941, and also a representative dialect user. Among the peculiarities of this dialect, we may mention palatalization, which is used in examples such as /noravinnj/ (North wind), /innjrømme/ (to admit), /aill/ (all), /mainn/ (man), /ruinnt/ (around), /deinn/ (the one). /Tættar/ (tighter) is both apocopated (final “-e” is dropped) and lowered (“e” is pronounced /æ/), /fræm/ (forward) and /mæn/ (but) are also lowered. /Varnt/ (warmly) is a local peculiarity instead of /varmt/, the reflexive form /sæ/ is used for “seg”. The preposition “til” (to) is pronounced /te/, the question word “hvem” (who) has the pronunciation /kæm/. /føsjt/ (first) is pronounced with /sj/ instead of ordinary /s/.

Case study

After paying attention to some peculiarities of two of the major Norwegian dialects, we will analyze in the following how dialects are perceived in different online issues of the Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* (*The Evening Post*), in the period 2008-2012. The research in the present paper is based on a number of 15 articles. We chose *Aftenposten* since it is a leading conservative daily newspaper in Norway appreciated for serious journalism.

In 2009 there existed a debate in the newspaper regarding the responsibility which should be taken by the largest radio and television public broadcasting organization, NRK (the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation) with a view to the spoken language used. Thus in the issue of October 30, 2009 the Norwegian philologists Finn-Erik Vinje, former language consultant for NRK and Sylfest Lomheim, former director of the Norwegian Language Council expressed their concern with regard to the linguistic use in the news transmissions from NRK. They considered that “in our linguistic society we must have a place where people can listen to spoken Nynorsk and spoken Bokmål and presume that what they hear can be normative”¹⁴ [our translation].

Since there was no other place where one could hear the so-called standard language, Lomheim asked for it being used in news broadcasting.

¹⁴ Cathrine Hellesøy, “NRK må ta språklig ansvar,” *Aftenposten*, October 30, 2009, <http://www.aftenposten.no/kultur/tv/--NRK-ma-ta-spraklig-ansvar-5588938.html>. “vi i vårt språksamfunn må ha en plass hvor folk kan lytte til talt nynorsk og talt bokmål og regne med at det de hører, kan være retningsgivende”.

Vinje also missed “a point of reference with a view to the Norwegian spoken language”¹⁵ [our translation]. Despite the fact that there are rules in *NRK*, they seemed to be no longer followed. Use of a standard language in this institution had been a condition as a sign of respect for the listeners who had now to pay more attention to the form of the message transmitted than to its content. *NRK* broadcasts in both Bokmål and Nynorsk (at least 25% of the oral news is to be transmitted in Nynorsk). Besides language rules, there are also language consultants specialized in both Bokmål and Nynorsk working for *NRK*.

Finn-Erik Vinje criticized Hans-Tore Bjerkaas, the Director-General of *NRK* since 2007, in the issue of October 28, 2009. Vinje also noticed a lack of consistency, as with the use of both forms “syv” and “sju” by the same newsreader for number 7 (which contradicts the language guidelines of the Norwegian language council, namely guideline 2.2).¹⁶ Among the linguistic rules which are to be found on the website of the Norwegian Language Council, we may also mention guideline 1.1 referring to the use of official Bokmål or Nynorsk in news programs. However, dialect may be used in news stories, interviews or comments within the news broadcasting (guideline 1.2). At the same time, local dialects ought to be used in regional transmissions according to guideline 1.3.

On October 30, 2009, Ruth Vatvedt Fjeld, the language consultant within *NRK* replied that Norway did not have any official standardized spoken language and according to surveys 70% of the people agreed to the use of dialect in news broadcasting.

What is very interesting is that depending on the part of the country Norwegians come from, people have different perceptions on them. In television for instance the most serious characters speak East Norwegian. On the other hand, “if anything should be called a dialect, Trøndelag Norwegian ought to qualify for this designation in any case”¹⁷ [our translation], and this dialect is considered as having the lowest status in films and children’s programs on television. That is why, it is used in case of odd, slow and naive characters, speaking a countryside idiom. There

¹⁵ Ibid. “et referansepunkt for norsk talespråk”.

¹⁶ See *Språkrådet*, “Språkregler for NRK.”, <http://www.sprakradet.no/nb-no/politikk-fakta/spraakpolitikk/nrk/> (accessed February 2, 2013).

¹⁷ Arne Torp, Berit Helene Dahl and Ingard Lundeby, *Språklinjer* (Oslo: Norsk Undervisningsforlag, 1993), 151. “Dersom noko skal kallast dialekt, bør vel i alle fall trøndersk kvalifisere til denne nemninga”.

also existed some unwritten rules that policemen should also be from Trøndelag and have moustache¹⁸.

The Trøndelag dialect is considered as “weird and gives negative associations”¹⁹ [our translation], believes Ann-Kristin Molde, a dialect researcher at the University of Bergen, according to the issue of September 12, 2012. On the other hand, “the passionate and violent children’s TV character is often from Bergen”²⁰ [our translation]. Molde considers that “it is not good that they [children] learn these prejudices so early. When children’s TV and films have most of the characters speaking East Norwegian, it shows that we do not have full dialect tolerance in the country. This may influence the child’s perception of oneself”²¹ [our translation]. If the dialect from Trøndelag has negative connotations, the dialect from Sunnmøre in west Norway (*sunnmørsk*) is associated with something positive, being regarded as resonant, while dialects in North Norway are considered to use bad language.

In dubbed cartoons, there also exist prejudices associated with dialects, as shown in the issue of March 14, 2011. Bergen dialect is used in children’s television by nasty or rough animals instead of sweet ones or with bragging, authoritarian and violent people. While the Bergen dialect sounds hard, the one from Southern Norway is soft.

Around 5000 episodes for children are dubbed every year, and this implies several hundred actors. 75% of programs shown by the children’s channel *NRK Super* are foreign-produced television series for children. Children play approximately 30-40% of the parts. Since most of the dubbing studios lie in Oslo, East Norwegian is mostly used. Otherwise, dialect is spoken in series dubbed in Volda in a studio belonging to the company NorDubb. On the whole, dubbing has influence on about 500 000 children watching cartoons.

On the other hand, Kristin Melum Eide, professor at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) considers according to the

¹⁸ See Kristoffer Furberg and Sophie Bergersen Moen, “Raringer på barne-tv er trøndere,” *Aftenposten*, September 12, 2012, <http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/Raringer-pa-barne-tv-er-trondere-6988688.html>.

¹⁹ Ibid. “rar og gir negative assosiasjoner”.

²⁰ Ibid. “den engasjerte og voldsomme barne-tv-figuren ofte er en bergenser”.

²¹ Ibid. “Det er ikke bra at de lærer disse fordommene så tidlig. Når barne-tv og -filmer har flest karakterer som prater østnorsk, viser det at vi ikke har full dialekttoleranse i landet. Det kan påvirke barnets opplevelse av seg selv”.

issue of September 12, 2012 that “when small children learn many dialects, they will get basic fundamental understanding for languages for the rest of their life”²² [our translation], that is why it would be preferable that by children’s television one should not render the impression that other dialects than East Norwegian are perceived as deviations.

According to the issue of January 27, 2008, the British sociolinguist and academic Peter Trudgill is of the opinion that “the language controversy between Nynorsk and Bokmål has led to a greater linguistic awareness in the Norwegian population than is common elsewhere in Europe, which has given us greater linguistic tolerance and freedom”²³ [our translation]. The use of dialect is related to roots, identity, and tradition. Since people have the liberty all over the country to speak their own dialect in all contexts, this makes it even more difficult for foreigners who want to use Norwegian as a means of communication, and it is most certainly strange for a language spoken by around only 5 million inhabitants in a peripheral state. This means in fact that “learning Norwegian is a lifelong project.”²⁴ [our translation]

The situation is completely different from other countries where one should speak the standardized norm so as to gain respect. The fact that Norwegians are accustomed to linguistic diversity and develop language skills makes them understand also Swedish and Danish more easily. However, foreigners trying to learn Norwegian should not feel it as a burden. Åsta Øvregaard, Assistant Professor at the Department of Language and Communication Studies of Norwegian University of Science and Technology, considers in the article “Når dialekt blir maktspråk”, written on January 27, 2008 that “Normalization is a skill, something that requires a bit of practice”²⁵ [our translation], but something absolutely necessary in the process of integration.

The different dialects used influence as well the babies’ ways of expressing themselves, as shown in the issue of January 6, 2010. Thus

²² Ibid. “når små barn lærer mange dialekter vil de få en grunnleggende forståelse for språk resten av livet”.

²³ Åsta Øvregaard, “Når dialekt blir maktspråk,” *Aftenposten*, January 27, 2008, <http://www.aftenposten.no/meningar/kronikker/article>. “språkstriden mellom nynorsk og bokmål har ført til en større språklig bevissthet i den norske befolkningen enn det som er vanlig ellers i Europa, noe som igjen har gitt oss større språklig toleranse og frihet”.

²⁴ Ibid. “Å lære norsk er et livslangt prosjekt”.

²⁵ Ibid. “Normalisering er en ferdighet, noe som krever litt trening”.

babies cry “on the same melody as the mother and father talk”²⁶ [our translation]. It is typical of Norway that “in East Norwegian sentences end upwards, while West Norwegian is characterized by the fact that the sentence melody ends downwards”²⁷ [our translation].

It seems that teenagers also use Norwegian dialects rather than English words in phone text messages (SMS). The issue of December 29, 2010 makes reference to a study led by Berit Skog, Associate Professor at the Department of Sociology and Political Science of the Norwegian University of Science and Technology. The study revealed that 57% of the teenagers who answered the questions used dialects and moreover 82% of girls used abbreviations. For instance, teenagers in Trondheim use Trøndelag Norwegian: “Klæm. Gla i dæ” (“Hug. I love you”), instead of the standardized “Klem. Glad i deg”, while others use just the abbreviation due to practical reasons: “gid”, that is “glad i deg” (“I love you”). Moreover, “the distance from one’s own speech to the written language (Bokmål) varies, and when the distance is great and thus the dialect differs markedly from the written language, the stated use of dialect is larger”²⁸ [our translation].

Regarding the use of dialect at *NRK*, some program hosts prefer to use their own dialects considering it as the safest way of expressing themselves and state that it is more important to let themselves understood and be best possible mediators than speak standardized Norwegian.

However, as far as Norwegian-speaking foreigners are concerned, it may turn frustrating when the variant spoken by Norwegians is very different from the linguistic variant studied by them. Åsta Øvregaard admits according to the issue of July 16, 2008 that “Norwegians’ lack of willingness to normalize their language, particularly in interaction with foreigners, is unique in Europe”²⁹ [our translation].

²⁶ Knut A. Nygaard, “Babyer skriker på morsmålet,” *Aftenposten*, January 6, 2010, <http://www.aftenposten.no/viten/Babyer-skriker-pa-morsmalet-5314080.html>. “etter samme melodi som mor og far snakker”.

²⁷ *Ibid.* “i østnorsk ender setningene i hovedsak oppover, mens vestnorsk kjennetegnes ved at setningsmelodien ender ned”.

²⁸ Svein Lie, *Det digitale språket*, (Oslo: Ling forlag, 2011), 62-63. “avstanden fra eget talemål til skriftspråket (bokmål) varierer, og når avstanden er stor og dialekten dermed skiller seg markert fra skriftspråket, er den oppgitte bruken av dialekt større”.

²⁹ *Aftenposten*, “Utlendingguide til norske dialekter,” July 16, 2008, <http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/article2542307.ece>. “Nordmenns manglende

Conclusions

Although Norway is one of the most dialect-speaking European countries, and dialects may imply differences in pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary, what is extremely important is that “there is an enormous societal tolerance for linguistic diversity [...] linguistic diversity in Norway is officially recognized and officially protected”³⁰. Despite the fact that “there is a variety which has achieved a unique position in the Norwegian speech community”³¹, this variety is not clearly established as a spoken standard to be used by the people. On the contrary, people are free to speak their own dialect in all situations.

While most listeners are of the opinion that it is good to use dialect in official circumstances, specialists consider that if a standardized form were used, this would lead to a better understanding of the message transmitted by Norwegians and better concentration on what is transmitted. The analysis of recent issues of *Aftenposten* reveals that the debates related to the relationship between tolerance and standardization of the linguistic situation are still actual and far from being solved. It is also our opinion as a Norwegian-speaking foreigner that the use of a standardized spoken form would greatly improve the quality of communication with the native speakers.

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vilje til å normalisere språket sitt, kanskje særlig i omgang med utlendinger, er enestående i europeisk sammenheng”.

³⁰ Peter Trudgill, *Sociolinguistic Variation and Change* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002), 31.

³¹ Mæhlum, “Standardtalemål?”, 25.

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LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY IN *THE THIEF*, BY GÖRAN TUNSTRÖM

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Acknowledgements

This paper has been presented at the Fourth international conference on Baltic and Nordic Studies in Romania *Empire-building and Region-building in the Baltic, North and Black sea areas* hosted by the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies and Ovidius University of Constanta, May 24-26, 2013. Supported by a grant from Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway (Finantat prin fonduri donate de Islanda, Liechtenstein si Norvegia).

Abstract:

The linguistic diversity in The Thief, a novel written by the Swedish author, Göran Tunström, has as a central element the negative influence of the father figure. The evolution of the characters is profoundly connected to childhood and to the difference between the way they speak at home and the way they express themselves in society or among friends and teachers. The insertion of dialects as well as the use of comparisons and metaphors regarding the sacred / profane world, seem to point that cultural identity and unity is, paradoxically, acquired through diversity. We intend to tackle the relationship between the individual and the group / the family by using linguistic analysis of various fragments. Our aim is to show that the transition from childhood to adolescence is not only revealing for the child itself, but also for the entire community, as it insists on how we all have multiple social roles, while we never cease to be our true selves.

Rezumat:

Diversitatea lingvistică din romanul Hoțul, scris de autorul suedez Göran Tunström, are ca element central influența negativă a figurii tatălui. Evoluția personajelor este legată de copilărie și de diferența dintre modul în care aceștia vorbesc acasă și felul în care se exprimă în societate, printre prieteni sau profesori. Existența dialectelor, precum și folosirea comparațiilor sau a metaforelor privind dihotomia sacru / profan, par a indica faptul că identitatea culturală este, în mod paradoxal, dobândită prin diversitate. Intenționăm să arătăm relația dintre individ și grup sau familie prin intermediul analizei lingvistice a unor diverse fragmente literare. Scopul nostru este să punem în lumină ideea conform căreia trecerea de la

copilărie la adolescență este esențială nu doar pentru copil, ci și pentru întreaga societate, deoarece insistă asupra multiplelor roluri pe care le deținem în comunitate, în timp ce niciodată nu încetăm să fim cu adevărat "noi".

Keywords: identity, childhood, abuse, transition, memory

In *The thief*, a novel written by the Swedish author Göran Tunström, one of the sources of introspection- acting as a catalyst for the true identity of characters - is illustrated by the father figure. Following the emergence of non-compliance and dissolution, we realize that the non-being or the indifference of parents can install the child's fluctuation between his chronological and his spatial references. From the non-being different techniques used to approach a literary text, we believe that the primacy of details - typical of fractals - as well as the analysis of symmetrical and similar fragments could present, in its complexity, the transition from childhood to adolescence.

In order to refine the functioning of the self-similar sequences that exist between the various characters of the novel, we have spotted many literary events in relation to self biography. The first aspect that drew our attention was the desire to be in "the father's shoes". Let's only think about Göran Tunström's statement: "My mother says that I resemble my father so much"¹[our translation], that finally projects itself on the literary text, giving birth to a dual, yet logical author. From this perspective, Tunström is not only the writer of *The thief*, but the thief himself² [our translation].

Another element that we considered to be very important for the representation of self biographical and self-similar characteristics of childhood is related to a seemingly contradiction. Reading the novel we can discover many repetitions. The text, however, is not repetitive. In this regard, a most intriguing role is given to the polyphony of characters, since the children represent different, but complex aspects of the author's life and creations. Let's focus on Johan, abandoned by his real biological father or on his adoptive mother, a woman who dreams to be a writer while her husband can barely spell her name: Ida Veronica. This mutation, expressed further

¹"Min mor siger at jeg ligner min far så meget". Doris Ottesen, *Om kærtegn: det guddommelige i Göran Tunströms författarskap* (Frederiksberg: Materialecentralen, 1989), 81.

²"Det är jag som är Tjuven". Göran Tunström quoted by Lars-Olof Billvik, *Gudsriket i Värmland. En tvärvetenskaplig studie av Selma Lagerlöf och Göran Tunströms författarskap utifrån tre teologiska temata* (Lund, Lunds Universitet: Teologiska Institutionen, 1988), 13.

more through the dichotomy written / oral language, remains fundamental for the plot, because, as Philippe Lejeune presents it, "all men carry a kind of rough, constantly reworked, of their life story"³[our translation]. Or, from this point of view, adolescence, childhood, love, memory, marginalization – are all related to paternal filiation.

The father's entrance in Tunström's universe can be observed already from the author's first narrative texts. If *Quarantine*⁴ is based on the history of Henrik Synge and the relationship that this man establishes with his suicidal parent, *The dandelion ball*⁵ stages two heroes that are experimenting the suffering after the genitors' absence : Sigfrid and Bastian. *The holy geographers*⁶ is founded on Jacob's yearning after Hans-Christian Wermelin, his missing father, while the self biographical book, *The pastor's kid*⁷, uses the metaphor of reason and imagination in order to construct a renewed world of boyhood. The self analysis⁸ that Tunström is announcing in *The thief* seems to reflect, as well, the dual identity of the father, which makes us believe that for this particular Swedish author, the recollection of childhood and the denial of "classical" genetic anchor points towards the destabilization of the present and the emerging of the past's tyranny.

The proliferation of "once upon a time" produces a shift of the historical settings and leads to the existence of some characters that grow up beyond a fixed chronology or "normal" social context. These children prefer wandering to stability, vagrancy to confinement or dreaming to reality. Gone in search of traces of the alleged father or of freedom, Johan and Hedvig are equally exposed to doubts and uncertainties. We cannot remain insensitive to their despair or fear, while we hear them cry out, with the heroes from *The Christmas Oratorio*: "How could the world start again?"⁹ [our translation].

One of the ways needed to rebuild "childhood" is the use of language. Let's recall first the fact that with this novel, written in 1986, Göran Tunström enters the area of pioneering authors regarding the aesthetics of

³ "Tout homme porte en lui une sorte de brouillon, perpétuellement remanié, du récit de sa vie". Philippe Lejeune, *Le pacte autobiographique* (Paris: Seuil, 1975), 362.

⁴ Cf. Göran Tunström, *Quarantine* [Karantän] (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1961).

⁵ Idem. *The dandelion ball* [Maskrosbollen] (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1962).

⁶ Idem. *The holy geographers* [De heliga geograferna] (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1973).

⁷ Idem. *The pastor's kid* [Prästungen] (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1976).

⁸ We refer to the concept introduced by Pierre Bourdieu, *Esquisse pour une auto-analyse* (Paris : Raisons d'agir, 2004).

⁹ "Hur kunde världen börja?". Göran, Tunström, *The Christmas Oratorio* [Juloratoriet] (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1983).

ugliness. Children doomed to wickedness, to violence or trauma, take in this text a central role. The logic that governs the relationship between Hedvig and her father, Fredrik, or between Ida and her adoptive child, Johan, exposes the intergenerational conflicts in which youths are victims. This results in a splitting of the inner "self". Two types of fragmentation appear iteratively in connection with the homothetic structure of the novel: the feminization and the anthropomorphism.

Analyzed from the point of view of the mimetic shimmering, the link between Johan and Hedvig seems to derive from the family's instability. The brother / sister relationship reflects a mismatched collection of self biographical traces that are still keeping evidence of the suture. The source of the damage lies in the repeated rape of their mother, a violent image that the two heroes have to assist to (either directly - by actually seeing the sex scenes or indirectly - by hearing the sounds made by their parents while mating). The non-spoken language has here a well established place. However, far from installing a disjunction of the conscience, the physical abuse actually makes them grow closer to each other: "Hedvig and Johan gained the habit of falling asleep early, or better said: they were never able to fall asleep before the silence was installed on the other side. Every night they were forced to listen to a strange fight, to the cries of Ida and to Fredrik's moans and jumps in the bed writhing walls. They had acquired the habit to tighten against each other. It hurt so much to hear those noises¹⁰[our translation].

In *The thief* the voyeuristic act is associated to the incapacity of establishing real connections to the family members. Ida's lack of freedom inserts a lessening of commitment from her children. Hedvig and Johan promise each other to never repeat the shameful actions of their parents.¹¹ The heroes' aversion towards the sexual contact leads to a dual, self-reflected withdrawal. On the one hand, we can talk about the psychological distance

¹⁰ "Hedvig och Johan hade vant sig av med att somna tidigt, eller rättare sagt: de kunde aldrig somna innan det tystnade på andra sidan. Natt efter natt tvingades de lyssna till ett underligt slagsmål, till Idas och Fredriks stönande och gungande i sängen, som fick väggarna att båga. De vande sig vid att trycka sig inntil varandra. Det var så plågsamt att lyssna till de där ljuden". Idem, *The thief* [Tjuven] (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag, 1986), 50.

¹¹ See the quotation :

"We will never do this, Hedvig, when we grow up. Never - No, Johan, never"[our translation].

"-Så ska vi aldrig göra, Hedvig, när vi blir stora. Aldrig.

-Nej, Johan, aldrig". Ibid. 51.

characterizing the child and the parent, on the other about the unwillingly recurrence of the father's gestures. While repeating obsessively the words "at-the-same-time", Johan and Hedvig suspend the future and gain emotional stability: "Hedvig and Johan have only the right to use the dew water to brush their teeth. [...] The first of them who discovers a leaf waits for the other. Then they shake their heads and pronounce just a word. And to say it each of them dips his mouth into the soul of the other: 'At-the-same-time'¹²[our translation].

A second critical element for the child's identity is expressed by the illegal incursion of the two brothers in their teacher's library. Johan proves himself to be the protector of his sister, since his gestures reveal a double responsibility towards Hedvig. He is the initiator to the Swedish reality of his time; but in the same time he represents Hedvig's guide to language or to the fantastic world of books. Their friendship grows progressively to an intellectual space, while their singularity is gained through the freedom given by reading.

The common aspects between the use of dialects and the standardized language as well as the link between the abused child and his buddy is equally detected by Stina Hammar who insists in *Duets torg*, on the heroes' non-compliance, and on the fact that each of them is for the other "the true half"¹³[our translation].

The schizoid movement of consciousness is also described by anthropomorphism. If mother's rape has brought together the brother and his sister, anthropomorphism seems to derive especially from incest. Exposed to the sexual brutality of her father, Hedvig refuses to accept herself as a human being, and unconsciously destroys her true "self". She distances herself from the world, refuses to talk or connect to other persons and prefers the company of animals. Her denial of civilization results in the adoption of a raven named Germund, that becomes her best friend, her confident. In *The thief*, the raven acts as a specular double of Hedvig. It has a well defined personality, it is courageous and strong and, unlike the girl, it is capable of

¹² "Hedvig och Johan får bara använda daggkåpevatten att borsta tänderna i. [...] Den som först hittar ett blad inväntar den andra. Sedan nickar de och säger ett enda ord. Och de säger det med en mun in i varandras morgonöppna själar: 'Sam-tid-igt'". Ibid., 46.

¹³ "Johan och Hedvig är var för sig ofärdiga. Johan har bara ett halvt ansikte, sedan hans fostermor Ida trappade honom i stengolvet när han var liten. Hedvig är Johans förlorade 'äkta hälft'". Stina Hammar, *Duets torg : Göran Tunström och tankekällorna* (Stockholm: Akademisktryck, 1999), 75.

facing traumatic situations. This is why "he accompanied her to school and did not appreciate at all staying in the hallway during classes [...]"¹⁴[our translation], an action that legitimizes its central location at the family table: "At table, Germund had his plate, at the right of that belonging to Hedvig. She served him first. She leaned towards him and whispered words that nobody else could hear. Together they were a highly dignified couple and the fear reduced their court to silence. It would be difficult to say who held the real power during their brief reign period. Germund took perhaps the major decisions. Hedvig was the spokesperson"¹⁵. [our translation]

The identity of Hedvig takes the form of a labyrinth where childhood's specificity can easily be lost. The different part of the "self" fit into each other, resulting in a non-linear or sometimes even chaotic nesting. Among the key-moments of the psychosomatically development we mention the refusal of the priest to baptize the raven. The snub brings an inner fragmentation, a kind of betrayal on the part of humanity, divinity, but also family. The dissolution of identity is here combined with a decentralization of the "self". In this regard, the killing of the bird indicates not only the loss of a true friend, but is equivalent to a metaphorical suicide, to an emotional collapse¹⁶ : "- Germund first. [...]

- He is my only friend, she said. [...]

- I cannot baptize a raven. I have already made a fool of myself.

-Then you cannot baptise me either.

-I am also your friend, Hedvig, whispered Johan.

She turned her beautiful thin face and her white long neck:

- You, indeed. But you, you are already baptized.

She took a step towards the baptismal font, she clenched her hands around Germund's neck and broke it, until her knuckles were white and his

¹⁴ "Han följde med henne till skolan och trivdes inte alls med att få sitta i korridoren under lektionerna". Göran Tunström 1986, 78.

¹⁵ "Germund hade en särskild tallrik på Hedvigs högra sida i mitten av matbordet. Hon serverade honom först av alla. Lutade sig över till honom och viskade ord som ingen annan kunde höra. De var tillsammans ett mycket värdigt par och deras hov skrämdes till tystnad. Vem som ägde den reella makten under deras korta regeringstid var svårt att säga. Kanske fattade Germund de stora besluten. Hedvig var språkröret". Ibid., 78.

¹⁶ "When Hedvig kills Germund, it is like a suicide. In fact, she dies by her own decision" [our translation]. "När Hedvig vrider huvudet av Germund är hennes ändå också ett självmord. Äntligen dör hon av sitt beslut". Stina Hammar 1999, 87.

blood spurted. Then she threw the raven in the font and rushed out.”¹⁷[our translation].

The violent attitude towards friends appears also in *Stella*, a text taken from *The true life*. The raven is in this case replaced by a parrot that the protagonist tries to steal and kill. If in *The thief*, the murder leads to a double killing (of Germund and of Hedvig), in *Stella* the death is limited to the potential resurrection of identity. In other words, death appears to be a part of a larger and more complex puzzle that the child approached by curiosity. Let's recall a dialogue between Stella and Jakob regarding the need to kill the parrot and its social implications: “ - What were you doing?

- I wanted to kill the parrot, as you saw.

- Why ?

- Simply...that is what I felt. [...]

- Was he old, this parrot?

-I don't know.

-You don't know. It wasn't yours then?”¹⁸ [our translation]

Prevented by Jakob's voyeurism, the murderous act indicates only the burst of an identity crisis. At the end, the “about to be” crime helps the girl establish a friendship with the boy: “Jakob got up and took her by the

¹⁷ “Germund först. [...]

- Han är min enda vän, sa hon. [...]

- Jag kan inte döpa en kråka. Jan har redan gjort mig löjlig.

-Då kan du inte heller döpa mig.

-Jag är också din vän, Hedvig, viskade Johan till henne.

Hon vred det späda fina ansiktet på den långa vita halsen:

-Du ja. Men du är ju redan döpt, du.

Hon tog ett steg fram mot dopfunten, knöt handen runt Germunds nacke och bröt den, tills de små knogarna vitnade och blodet sipprade fram. Hon slängde kråken i dopfunten och rusade ut.” Göran Tunström 1986, 85-86.

¹⁸ “ - Qu'est-ce que tu faisais ?

- J'avais envie de tuer le perroquet, tu l'as bien vu.

- Pourquoi ?

- Simplement...je le sentais comme ça. [...]

- Il était vieux, ce perroquet ?

-J'sais pas.

-Tu ne sais pas. Il n'était pas à toi, alors ?”. For this story we have used the French version, since the Swedish one was unavailable to us. Göran Tunström, 'Stella', *De planète en planète* [Det sanna livet], 1993, 868.

hand. [...] They often stopped to look back. The liquorice ribbon bound them together"¹⁹[our translation].

Taken into account the irregularity, the lack of freedom, the linguistic diversity and the disappearance of parents, *The thief* describes the spiritual adventure of a child while moving to adolescence. The mental wandering refers to the modular imbrications of the "self". This is the case of Johan, a character that transforms the scenes of wandering and hiding in areas of revelation and intellectual foundation. Of all the symbolic places in the text, it is Hägern's library that installs the synaesthesia game. The journey into the bookish universe is to the young Johan an opening to infinity. Indeed: "so reduced the outside world, but so vast the inner world for those who knew where the Keys were!"²⁰[our translation].

A fruit of a passing relationship, the progeny of Johan makes us worry early in the novel by the strangeness and brutality that characterizes it. Abandoned by his biological father, the boy is raised by Ida and Fredrik. But nothing positive ever comes from the relationship between Johan and his adoptive parents. It is only through reading that the boy is able to go beyond the family's abuses and discover himself. In the text, this dichotomy is expressed by the use of dialects *versus* refined and well-developed vocabulary. This recovery occurs gradually, by each incursion into the mystical land of the library.

For Tunström, the spiritual wandering is placed at the edge of the sacred and it implies a transformation of the inner child. The change experienced by Johan is exposed by the juxtaposition of adjectives ("new", "genuine", "bohemian"), nouns ("threshold", "way", "entrance") or verbs ("enter", "cross over", "find") and indicate the idea of illegal border transgression. By following the path of the bohemian, we realize that his transformation is facilitated by the sterility of the family and of the social environment. The "at-home" gives place to a stroll in a city-abyss embodying the attributes of a palimpsest. The walk suggests in this case the transition towards new horizons, but also the exploration of the unconscious.

Initiated at a mental level, the "possession" of the spirit is later reflected on the body. The traces of the transfiguration become visible

¹⁹ "Jakob se leva et la prit par la main. [...] Souvent, il s'arrêtait pour se retourner. Le ruban de réglisse les liait". Ibid., 870.

²⁰ "Så litet av yttre värld och vilken stor inre för dem som visste var Nycklar fanns!". Göran Tunström 1986, 104.

through "the heat who was rising in his body [...]. He looked around him with completely new eyes and saw the books' variously colored covers"²¹[our translation]. The revival is also illustrated in the sentence: "Fifty pages later Johan woke up dazed and *new*: a light from another world illuminated his head"²²[our translation].

The universe that the child discovers following the entry in the Hägern's library is vast and unpredictable and characterized by potentiality. However, the movement of Johan is the subject of a soon-to-be-gained maturity. "The self" emerges from the conscious action of entering a prohibited area. The recurrence of unintentional gestures and attitudes, subject to the incomprehensible²³, accompanies the crossing of childhood's threshold: "Upon entering this home, Johan crossed the threshold that would forever separate him from the humble side he had so far shown Fredrik. He was about to find his way"²⁴[our translation] or "Near him was another world. And, as if he had looked for a real entrance to this world he arrived in what was the office of the Hägern"²⁵[our translation].

Mircea Eliade noted with regard to the relationship between the sacred and the profane that the break operated in space allows the formation of the World, because it is able to find the central axis of future²⁶. We agree with the philosopher. Indeed, the transition to maturity equals in *The thief* to the entrance in the unconsciousness. From this perspective, the teacher represents a link between the past and the present, between the reality and the imaginary universe. Johan, who was actually "eating"²⁷[our translation] knowledge is ensured of the superiority of his status by the enthusiastic

²¹ "Värmen steg i Johans kropp. Han såg sig om med nya ögon och de föll på böckernas olikfärgade omslag". Ibid. 100.

²² "Femtio sidor senare vaknade Johan till liv, omtumlad och *ny*: ljuset från en annan värld genomspolade huvudet". Ibid., 101.

²³ Carl Jung analyzes this relationship in 'The relations between the Ego and the Unconscious', Joseph Campbell, ed., *The Portable Jung* (New York: Viking Press, 1971).

²⁴ "När Johan klev in i huset tog han ett steg över en tröskel som för alltid skulle avskilja honom från den hunsade del av sin personlighet han hittills visat Fredrik. Han stod i begrepp att finna sin väg". Göran Tunström 1986, 99.

²⁵ "Johan ville in i tavlans värme. Helt nära honom fanns en annan värld. Och som om han letade efter en verklig ingång till den världen kom han in i det som var Hägerns arbetsrum". Ibid., 99.

²⁶ Mircea Eliade, *The sacred and the profane. The nature of religion* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987).

²⁷ "Han *ät*, skulle han senare säga". Göran Tunström 1986, 104.

encouragement of Hägern: "But it's rather your story than mine"²⁸[our translation] or "The silver Bible is *your* book, Johan!"²⁹[our translation].

As the story progresses, the Bible becomes the pivot around which the story of the protagonist is woven. The discovery and the recovery of ancestral legacy associated with Johan's mental drift appear, paradoxically, as a source of life and fertility. The narrator points out in this regard that the boy "had a treasure"[our translation].

The spiritual journey of the character indicates the potential to solve the problem of becoming, by setting a personality transplant resulting in the multiplication of the "self". Johan – a shy child, Johan – a courageous lecturer, Johan – an empathic brother, Johan – an abusive lover, Johan – the thief, are all one and the same person. The transition from the profane sphere to the transcendental level reveals, in rotation, the heroes' faces, it *forms*, *deforms* and *transforms* his soul.

This movement is also undertaken by Tunström who reveals in his literary creation the wounds of his first years. This is the way he makes us discover the vicissitudes of filiation and the structuring of the single parent families. Gone in search of the early disappeared father, just like Johan, the author becomes aware of the paradoxes that characterize his journey. Since Rolf Alsing states that he has "travelled a lot in order to arrive at home"³⁰[our translation], we can only hope that the country he was dreaming of was not a lost but a promise land : childhood.

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²⁸"Men det är ju mera din historia än min". Ibid., 129.

²⁹"Silverbibeln är *din* bok, Johan!". Ibid., 130.

³⁰"Han reste bort också för att komma hem". Rolf Alsing, *Prästunge och maskrosboll : en bok om Göran Tunström* (Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag, 2003), 8.

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AN OVERVIEW OF THE SCANDINAVIAN POETRY TRANSLATED IN ROMANIAN CULTURE

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Acknowledgements

This paper has been presented at the Fourth international conference on Baltic and Nordic Studies in Romania *Empire-building and Region-building in the Baltic, North and Black sea areas* hosted by the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies and Ovidius University of Constanta, May 24-26, 2013. Supported by a grant from Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway (Finanțat prin fonduri donate de Islanda, Liechtenstein și Norvegia).

Abstract:

In this paper we shall focus on the impact of Scandinavian literature in Romanian culture. The area of interest is poetry in a general context as it was perceived in Europe and especially in Romania. The period under analysis is 1848-1941. The paper is structured as follows: the initial part aims at an overview of the evolution of the Norwegian poems along the centuries. The second part of the paper presents an interview by Florin Dan Prodan in the magazine called „Mixul de cultură” (“Culture mix”), where the Norwegian poet Øystein Hauge talks about the relationship between European and Norwegian culture. The third part encompasses an overview upon Scandinavian poetry translated in Romania. Moreover, the Norwegian poets, Knut Hamsun, Astrid Hjertenæs Andersen, Rolf Jacobsen and Sigbjørn Obstfelder, have attracted the attention of the Romanian translators. In addition, we shall present also an article about Sigbjørn Obstfelder – „Un poet original: Sigbjørn Obstfelder” (“An original poet: Sigbjørn Obstfelder”) – written by Romanescu Marcel in „Flamura” magazine. Swedish and Danish poems were also translated in the Romanian anthology „Poezie nordică modernă”. In the last part of the paper there are presented a few Romanian translators such as Veronica Porumbacu, Tașcu Gheorghiu and others who have contributed at creating an intercultural bridge.

Rezumat:

În această lucrare ne vom îndrepta atenția asupra impactului literaturii scandinave în literatura română. Zona de interes o constituie poezia în context general așa cum a fost ea percepută în Europa și în special în România. Perioada supusă analizei este 1848-1941. Lucrarea este structurată astfel: prima parte are ca scop prezentarea generală a evoluției poeziei norvegiene de-a lungul secolelor. Cea de-a doua parte prezintă un interviu cu Florin Dan Prodan în revista numită „Mixul de cultură”, în care poetul norvegian Øystein Hauge pune în discuție relația dintre culturile europene și norvegiene. A treia parte cuprinde o prezentare generală a poeziei scandinave tradusă în România. În plus, poezii norvegiene Knut Hamsun, Astrid Hjertenæs Andersen, Rolf Jacobsen și Sigbjørn Obstfelder, au atras atenția traducătorilor români. Mai mult decât atât, vom prezenta, de asemenea, un articol despre Sigbjørn Obstfelder – „Un poet original: Sigbjørn Obstfelder” (“An original poet: Sigbjørn Obstfelder”) – scris de Marcel Romanescu în revista „Flamura”. În antologia de „Poezie nordică modernă”, au fost traduse în limba română și poezii suedeze și daneze. În ultima parte a lucrării sunt prezentați o serie de traducători români ca de exemplu, Veronica Porumbacu, Tașcu Gheorghiu și alți câțiva care au contribuit la crearea unei legături interculturale.

Keywords: translation, translator, Scandinavian poetry, Sigbjørn Obstfelder, Nordic modern poetry, European culture, Norwegian culture

The Norwegian poetry along the centuries

“What can I say about Poetry? What can I tell you about these clouds, about this sky? ... Look, look at it, look at it, and nothing more. You will understand that a poet cannot say anything about Poetry. Let’s leave this in critics and teachers’ charge. Neither you, and I and a poet knows what the Poem is.”¹ [our translation]. These words belong to the most popular and influent Spanish writer of the 20th century, namely Federico García Lorca (1898-1936), who tried to present in brief this theory regarding *Ars Poetica*. He thought that a poet could not give the definition of poetry and he could not explain what his poems were about. This is because each artist has his inner thoughts that cannot be explained through words or

¹ „Dar ce pot să-ți spun eu despre Poezie? Ce pot să-ți spun despre norii aceștia, despre cerul acesta? ... Privește, privește-l, privește-l, și nimic mai mult. Vei înțelege că un poet nu poate spune nimic despre Poezie. Să rămână asta în seama criticilor și profesorilor. Dar nici tu, nici eu și nici un poet nu știe ce este Poezia”. Federico García Lorca, “*Ars Poetica*,” *Revista de literatură universală* 6 (1966): 4.

phrases. He continued with the idea that the poem: "It is here, look at it. Its fire burns in my hands. I understand it and I can work with it perfectly, but I cannot speak about it without doing literature. [...] In my conferences, sometimes I spoke about Poetry, but the only thing that I cannot talk about is my poem."² The writer presented explicitly that he could talk about his own creation, because he found this an almost impossible issue.

Poetry has always been a way through which writers create their own universe expressing their own feelings and experiences. When dealing with poetry the focus is set on words, rhyme, structure and topic.

Poetry in Norway (Dikt i Norge) is a very complex book that encompasses a brief history of the Norwegian poetry beginning with the years 200 until 2000. The book begins with a short fable that presents briefly the well-known scene from the Bible when Adam and Eve were driven away from Paradise. There is a suggestive description of the two people who are completely changed since their driving away from Eden.

"They needed to breathe and the pulse was quickening, but their steps through the broken stones became slower. Eve regretted so much that she let herself tempted by the snake. Adam longed for the lost innocence"³ [our translation]. It is visible the primordial peace and tranquillity were ruined by the avidity of the two people. They were not satisfied with the goods received from God. On the contrary, they ate from the forbidden tree, being tempted by the Evil One. Up to now this fable seems to have nothing in common with poetry and poems in general, but the last part of it elucidates the present situation. Thus, "the short-tempered pulse, the shallow breath, the slow steps through the broken stones arrange the language such as to express the tempo and Eve's meditations, Adam's longing floating as feelings, thoughts and desires. Thus, they talked to each other. Their first child, The Poem, was born"⁴ [our translation]. In this

² „E aici, uite-o. Focul ei arde în mâinile mele. Eu îl înțeleg, și lucrez cu el perfect, dar nu pot vorbi despre el fără să fac literatură. [...] În conferințele mele am vorbit uneori despre Poezie, dar singurul lucru despre care nu pot vorbi e poezia mea”. *Ibid.*

³ “De hev etter pusten, og pulsen gikk høy, men skrittene deres i grusen ble langsommere. Eva angret forferdelig på at hun latt seg friste av slangen. Adam lengtet tilbake til uskylden som var tapt”. Ivar Havnevik, *Dikt i Norge – Lyrikkhistorie 200-2000* (Oslo: Pax Forlag A/S, 2002), 10.

⁴ “Den hissige pulsen, den korte pusten, de langsomme skrittene i grusen fikk språket til å ordne seg i rytmiske takter, og Evas meditasjoner, Adams lengsel, fløt sammen som følelse og tanke og begær. Så talte de til hverandre. Deres første barn, Diktet, var født”. *Ibid.*

quotation there is one thing that is strengthened and that is the rhythm of the spoken language. It can be understood both as noise and as pulse. All in all, there is a strong relation between the surrounding world and the inner feelings of the two biblical figures and the emphasis is set both on how rhythmical a poem can be and on the musicality of the spoken language. Because only after Adam and Eve talked to each other, only then was the Poem born.

The Scandinavian poetry dates from the Middle Ages when popular ballads and improvised poems were written for different occasions and celebrations. Moreover, the so-called skaldic poems were representative of the regions from the North of Europe, being kept from changing or loss in sagas about kings and rulers both from Norway and from the other countries from Scandinavia. Those who used poetry for becoming cultivated persons were the men of God or the priests. With their help a new category of poems was developed, such as religious poems. Besides that, the poetry had a prominent role at the beginning of the 20th century when the well-known Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832-1910), one of the "The Four Great" Norwegian writers, together with Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906), Jonas Lie (1833-1908) and Alexander Kielland (1849-1906), was a Nobel Prize Laureate. Bjørnson is also the author of the poem entitled *Yes, We Love This Land* (*Ja, vi elsker dette landet*). This literary work became the National Anthem of Norway on the 17th of May 1864, in Oslo (Christiania).

The symbolist writer Sigbjørn Obstfelder (1866-1900) was considered towards the end of the 19th century as one of the greatest innovators of Norway in matter of poetry. As well as Rolf Jacobsen (1907-1994), who made his debut in the literary world with the volume of poems entitled *Earth and Iron* (*Jord og jern*), he was translated into numerous languages, including Romanian. For example, the Romanian poet Marcel Romanescu (1897-1956) wrote an article about the Norwegian writer Sigbjørn Obstfelder. It was published in 1926 in *Flamura*, a Romanian literary magazine, about which we shall discuss later in our paper.

Olav H. Hauge (1908-1994), Paal-Helge Haugen (b. 1945), Eldrid Lunden (b. 1940) and some other Norwegian poets were representative figures through their topics and their writing style. On the contrary, the 1960s were representative of their modernist and experimental poetry,

followed by the 1970s and the 1980s which gave birth to a new type of poetry that combines the political issues with the social and aesthetic ones.

Finally, there is another type of poetry, namely the contemporary poems that show a great fascination towards reality. These poets wanted to illustrate through their works that not only the philosophical and romantic feelings can be expressed but also the concrete, simple and sometimes ordinary and unimportant things. Jan Erik Vold (b. 1939) is a contemporary poet who creates this type of poems. His volume of poetry entitled *Mor Godhjertas glade versjon. Ja* is a collection of poems that illustrate very well this new type that characterizes today's poetry.

In what follows, we will focus on Norwegian poetry and its translation in the Romanian culture. Firstly, we present an interview with the Norwegian poet Øystein Hauge, taken by the Romanian poet Florin Dan Prodan.

An interview with the Norwegian poet Øystein Hauge

According to the Norwegian writer Øystein Hauge (b. 1956), a cultural relation was created among the European countries, especially between East and West. "I see these openings especially in a literary context – but also from the perspective of various European projects I have attended within the last years [...] There is a great interest – the invitations of the cultural organizations both in East and in West – that made possible to reach this reciprocity"⁵ [our translation]. As far as Norway is concerned, there are two cultural organizations of major importance, NORLA (Norwegian Literature Abroad) and NFI (The Norwegian Film Institute).

When the focus is set on the contemporary poetry, Hauge says that: "the fairy-tales were the essential and the vital part of the so-called Norwegian folk literature that united our people. But I have to be fair and say that the poem from the beginning of the 19th century had a very important role in 'the birth of the Norwegian nation'."⁶ [our translation].

⁵ „Eu văd aceste deschideri în special în context literar – dar și din perspectiva diverselor proiecte europene la care am participat în ultimii ani [...] Există un mare interes – invitațiile organizațiilor culturale atât din est cât și din vest – care a făcut posibil să ajungem la această reciprocitate” Florin Dan Prodan, „Interviu cu poetul norvegian Øystein Hauge,” *Mixul de cultură* (2009), <http://www.cristinaandries.ro/pagini/mixu/?p=3937>, accessed March 25, 2013.

⁶ „basmele au fost partea esențială, vitală a așa-numitei literaturi populare norvegiene, care a unit poporul nostru. Dar să fiu corect și să spun că, de fapt, poezia de la începutul secolului

Here he makes reference to Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson and Sigbjørn Obstfelder, to figures that have been already mentioned in our paper. Moreover, Øystein Hauge presents some of his volumes of poetry namely: *Green (Grønt)* (2000), a volume of haiku poems of a real success according to the critics' assessment, *Only (Bare)* (2002), *Radio Poems (Radiodikt)* (2003) and *Photography with a dancing couple (Fotografi om to som dansar)* (2005) are another three volumes of poems that were appreciated by readers. Through this interview the Norwegian poet wanted to emphasize the idea that throughout the years many Scandinavian writers embraced the *haiku* style using it in their literary works. These traditional Japanese poems use two important elements: man and nature. In the interview, Øystein Hauge concludes in this way: "The forms of the poem must have the ability to evolve and not to stagnate and then become archaic. The *haiku* poem showed that this form-text has special capacities"⁷ [our translation].

Besides the Norwegian poet Øystein Hauge, we shall focus our attention on other Norwegian writers such as: Knut Hamsun (1859-1952), a prominent figure of the Norwegian literature who had an important role in the modernization of the European novel with his famous work *Hunger (Sult)* (1890). Among the symbolist poets we can mention Astrid Hjertenæs Andersen (1915-1985) who was inspired by the famous sculpture *Bird in Space*. Thus, she wrote a poem entitled *Brancusi's Bird - a Romanian Sculpture (Brancusi-fuglen - en rumensk skulptur)*. These two Norwegian poets together with Rolf Jacobsen (1907-1994), Astrid Tollefsen (1897-1973), Inger Hagerup (1905-1985), Gunvor Hofmo (1921-1995), Paal Brekke (1923-1993) and others were translated by three Romanian translators, Veronica Porumbacu (1921-1977), Tașcu Gheorghiu (1910-1981) and Petre Stoica (1931-2009). They gathered the Romanian translations of the Scandinavian poems in a two-volume anthology that has the title *Modern Nordic Poetry (Poezie nordică modernă)* (1968). In our paper, the focus will be set on the second volume that refers to Norway and Sweden, but we will also make references to the first volume that includes Denmark, Finland and Iceland.

In the second volume of the Romanian anthology there are 35 Norwegian and Swedish writers translated into Romanian. Concerning the

19 a jucat un rol important în 'nașterea națiunii norvegiene'." *Ibid.*

⁷ „Formele poeziei trebuie să aibă abilitatea de a evolua și nu de a stagna apoi deveni arhaice. Poemul haiku asta a arătat: că această formă-text are aceste capacități speciale.” *Ibid.*

first volume there are 30 Danish writers each having two poems translated into Romanian. As for the Icelandic and Finnish poets there is a reduced percentage.

Norwegian poems translated into Romanian

The Romanian anthology begins with the prominent writer and poet Knut Hamsun, namely with two poems *Island in Archipelago* (*Skærgårdø – Insulă în arhipelag*) and *The Song of the Red Roses* (*Med røde roser – Cântecul trandafirilor roșii*), both translated by Veronica Porumbacu. The latter is one of the poems taken from his single volume of poetry *The Wild Choir* (*Det vilde Kor – Corul sălbatic*) first published in 1904. This literary work is a very complex one, when dealing with its contents. For example, there are both deep feelings of desperation, anger and feelings of happiness and joy, resulting from the entire volume of poetry. The poet belongs to the literary movement called expressionism, being also, as we mentioned before, the promoter of the modernist movement in Norway. With a view to the poem *Island in Archipelago* (*Skærgårdø – Insulă în arhipelag*), it illustrates the features of this expressionist movement.

In the article „Un poet original: Sigbjørn Obstfelder” (“An Original Poet: Sigbjørn Obstfelder”), published in 1916 in *Flamura*, a Romanian cultural magazine, the Romanian writer and translator Marcel Romanescu (1897 – 1956) who was, in fact the author of this article, presents some useful features both of the Norwegian poetry in general, and of Sigbjørn Obstfelder’s literary work, in particular. Thus, he states the following: “The young writers left back the theories, making their way towards living things; [...] the life was welcomed with a new hope, with a living fear. [...] It was an almost religious enthusiasm, a progress towards poetry, [...]. It is the period of the 1890s, the epoch of the Renaissance of Norwegian poetry”⁸ [our translation]. The present article plays an important role in the Romanian literary life because it emphasizes a very special Norwegian poet, namely Sigbjørn Obstfelder. Marcel Romanescu underlines the idea that: “A struggling existence rarely explained better a new literary

⁸ „Scriitorii tineri părăsiseră teoriile, îndreptându-se către fapte trăite; [...] viața era întâmpinată cu nădejde nouă, cu teamă vie. Era, în aceasta, un avânt aproape religios, un avânt spre poezie, [...]. E epoca dela 1890, epoca renașterii liricei norvegiene”. Marcel Romanescu, „Un poet original: Sigbjørn Obstfelder,” *Flamura literară, artistică și socială* 4-5 (1926): 106.

movement. [...] The six little books that form his entire literary work, [...], they are worth known by those who, in art, are looking for the uncommon and the original personality"⁹ [our translation]. The Romanian translator uses noble words when he describes the personality of the Norwegian writer: "Mild and modest, unassuming, Obstfelder built his own life with a childish uncertainty"¹⁰ [our translation]. In addition, the Romanian translator points out a few special features of Sigbjørn Obstfelder's literary work: "[...] Obstfelder finds out what boundlessness means through the gold dust that sparks in the sun; in every breath; in everything he wrote, he struggled with philosophy issues. Poetry and art were for him the proclamation of the greatest ideals [...]"¹¹ [our translation]. Moreover, Marcel Romanescu states that there are two important figures that appear in the poems of the Norwegian poet: the world and the man, two opposing entities. The man tries hard to create his own universe far from the chaotic world that surrounds him, and that is the cosmic infinite or the "home of the stars"¹² [our translation] as the poet wrote in his poem *I see (Jeg ser – Må uit)*. In Marcel Romanescu's article there are three poems translated into Romanian: *I see (Jeg ser – Må uit)*, *Friends (Venner – Prietenii)* and *Nameless (Navnløs – Fără nume)*. Moreover, the Romanian translator not only translated the poems from Norwegian into Romanian but also analyzed them in detail. Besides these poems he also refers to some fiction such as: *The Cross (Korset – Crucea)*, *The Red Droplets (Den røde dråber – Picăturile roșii)*, *Two Novelettes (To novelleter – Două nuvele)* and *A Priest's Diary (En præsts dagbog – Însemnările unui preot)*. In his analysis, Marcel Romanescu compares Sigbjørn Obstfelder with the Russian novelist Fyodor Dostoyevsky's writing styles: "You feel the same pity for human sufferings that burned inside Dostoyevsky's heart"¹³ [our translation].

Coming back to the Romanian anthology of *Modern Nordic Poetry*

⁹ „Rareori, o existență mai sbuciumată a tălmăcit mai bine un curent nou. [...] Cele șase cărțile ce cuprind toată opera sa, , [...], merită să fie cunoscute de toți acei, ce, în artă, caută personalitate rară și original”. *Ibid.*, 107.

¹⁰ „Blând și modest, lipsit de orice pretenție, Obstfelder, și-a croit viața cu nesiguranță copilărească”. *Ibid.*

¹¹ „Obstfelder află nemărginirea în firul de praf ce scânteie la soare; simțea veșnicia în orice răsufare; în tot ce scria, se lupta cu probleme de filozofie. Poezie și artă erau pentru el, proclamare a marilor idealuri, [...]”. *Ibid.*

¹² „căminul stelelor”. *Ibid.*, 108.

¹³ „Simți aceiaș milă pentru durerile omenești, ce ardea în inima lui Dostoievski”. *Ibid.*, 111.

(*Poezie nordică modernă*), the Norwegian writer Rolf Jacobsen is represented by poems such as *Europe (Europa- Europa)*, *Towards the sea (Til sjøs – Spre mare)* and some others. The Norwegian woman writer Astrid Hjertenæs Andersen used in her poetry nature, sensibility and art, having also a direct connection with the Romanian literature, as a result of her visit in Romania in the 1970s. She was impressed by the works of the famous Romanian sculptor, Constantin Brâncuși (1876-1957), especially by *Bird in Space*. As we mentioned before, the Norwegian writer composed a poem entitled *Bird in Space (Brancusi-fuglen - en rumensk skulptur) – Pasărea lui Brâncuși*. *Lizard Embraces Woman (Kninnen og øglen – Femeia și șarpele)*, *The Woman and the Dance (Kvinnen og dansen – Femeia și dansul)* are other translations that appear in the Romanian anthology.

Swedish and Danish poems translated into Romanian

In the following we will also refer, in a few lines, to the Swedish and Danish poems that were translated in the Romanian anthology of Modern Nordic Poetry (*Poezie nordică modernă*). Thus, Selma Lagerlöf (1858-1940) with the poems *Hamlet and Margareta*, Gunnar Ekelöf (1907 – 1968) with a number of nine poems translated into Romanian by Veronica Porumbacu and Petre Stoica, are only two Swedish poets who appear in the Romanian anthology. Among Gunnar Ekelöf's translated poems there are: *Late on Earth (Sent på jorden – Târziu, pe pământ)*, *Legend (Sagan – Legendă)* and others. There are 36 Swedish writers each of them with two, five up to nine poems translated into Romanian. Regarding the Danish poets there is a number of 30 poets translated: Johannes V. Jensen (1873-1950), Otto Gelsted (1888-1968), Inger Christensen (1935-2009) and others.

Taking all these into consideration, the 20th century was the period when a great amount of translations were made from other languages into Romanian. Romanian translators such as Veronica Porumbacu, Tașcu Gheorghiu, Petre Stoica, Nora Iuga, Marcel Romanescu and others felt that they could relate themselves easier to the Norwegian literary works that had to be translated.

Romanian translators

Veronica Porumbacu (1921-1977) was a Romanian poet, translator and chief editor of the most representative Romanian cultural magazine *Viața Românească* (1949-1953). Besides Norwegian poetry, she also

translated from Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805), Emily Dickinson (1830-1886), and Jean Racine (1639-1699). The fact that she translated Norwegian poetry showed her interest in Nordic cultural life. In *Steaua* magazine, there is an article about Veronica Porumbacu published by the contemporary writer and essayist Adrian Popescu (b. 1947). He begins his article expressing his own regrets concerning the loss of such a “charming and detached, excited and thus moving us”¹⁴ [our translation], that was “the hardworking poet and translator”¹⁵ [our translation] Veronica Porumbacu. Unfortunately, she lost her life in the earthquake that took place in Romania in 1977. Adrian Popescu continues his noble characterization of Veronica Porumbacu’s literary work: “Her poem that pays attention to the imperious reality, to weather’s metamorphoses, vibrates at the miracle of love and at small but wonderful daily events”¹⁶ [our translation]. Towards the end of the publication, Adrian Popescu also mentions that through passion, understanding and patience, Veronica Porumbacu managed to translate an impressive number of German and Norwegian poems.

Petre Stoica (1931-2009) was as well both a poet and a translator. He made his debut in the Romanian literary magazine *Steaua* in Cluj-Napoca and Bucharest. Petre Stoica contributed with translations of Scandinavian poems in the Romanian anthology *Modern Nordic Poetry (Poezie nordică modernă)* together with Veronica Porumbacu and Tașcu Gheorghiu. He was often awarded for his well done translations.

Nora Iuga (b. 1933) is a poet, writer and translator from German and Swedish literature. She graduated from Bucharest University in 1953, the Germanic Philology Department. Tudor Vianu (1897-1964) and George Călinescu (1899-1965) were her teachers of literature. She was also a teacher of German between 1954 and 1955 when she went deeply into the study of Nordic texts.

Last but not least, the poet **Marcel Romanescu** (1897-1956) had great contributions to different Romanian culture magazines: *Flamura*, *Viața literară și artistică (Craiova)*, *Ramuri*, *Lumina nouă*, *Zorile*, *Glasul Bucovinei*, *Convorbiri literare*, *Gândirea* and many others. He made his editorial debut

¹⁴ „fermecătoare și dezinvoltă, emoționată și emoționându-ne”. Adrian Popescu, „Veronica Porumbacu,” *Steaua* 3 (1977), 9.

¹⁵ „vrednică poetă și traducătoare”. *Ibid.*

¹⁶ „Poezia sa, atentă la imperativele realității, la metamorfozele vremii, vibrează la miracolul dragostei și al micilor dar minunatele întâmplări cotidiene”. *Ibid.*

with the volume of “sonnets and poems”, namely *Clear Springs (Izvoare limpezi)* in 1923. As a hardworking translator he translated both from Johann W. Goethe (1749-1832), and from Norwegian poems such as Gunnar Heiberg (1857-1929) and Sigbjørn Obstfelder (1866-1900). As we mentioned before, Marcel Romanescu wrote also an article in *Flamura* magazine about the poet Sigbjørn Obstfelder. Through this article, the Romanian translator presents an overview of the Norwegian poet’s literary work. This publication consists of poems translated from Norwegian into Romanian: *I see (Jeg ser – Mă uit)* and some other poems.

Conclusions

The work of translation implies not only serious knowledge of the language from which one tries to translate, but also a very solid documentation related to the culture, literature and the social life of that specific country. Thus, the translator has to be a hardworking person and above all he or she has to be passionately fond of this work.

Veronica Porumbacu, Tașcu Gheorghiu and Petre Stoica are those writers who translated the two well structured volumes of *Modern Nordic Poetry (Poezie nordică modernă)*, which begin with a short preface that consists of interesting and useful information regarding the Scandinavian literature. In addition, at the end of the second volume there are brief biographical and bibliographical notes including the Scandinavian writers who were translated into Romanian.

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THE RECEPTION OF KNUT HAMSUN IN ROMANIA IN THE PERIOD 1919-1926

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Acknowledgements

This paper has been presented at the Fourth international conference on Baltic and Nordic Studies in Romania *Empire-building and Region-building in the Baltic, North and Black sea areas* hosted by the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies and Ovidius University of Constanta, May 24-26, 2013. Supported by a grant from Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway (Finantat prin fonduri donate de Islanda, Liechtenstein si Norvegia).

Abstract:

The present paper presents the Norwegian author Knut Hamsun as he has been perceived in the Romanian literary and cultural frame between 1919-1926. Such a work intends to do research upon relevant articles written in this period. His positioning as a well-established predecessor within the modernist European literary framing is empowered by biographical information to be found in abundance in a wide range of literary specialized magazines. Among them, „Adevărul Literar și Artistic”, „Sburătorul Literar”, „Viața Literară”, or „Viața Românească”. The work is structured on a chronological overview of his reception in the Romanian culture from the interwar period. The novels whose reviews were shortly mentioned are “Pan”, “Victoria” and “Hunger”. The translators are also to be mentioned, given the fact that they are outstanding figures for the Romanian culture. The biographical details concern his winning of the Nobel Prize in 1920, and how this was perceived by the Romanian literary critics. More precisely, if there is any shift in the perception of the author before and after the Nobel award.

Rezumat:

Lucrarea de față îl prezintă pe autorul norvegian Knut Hamsun așa cum a fost perceput în contextul literar și cultural românesc al anilor 1919-1926. Intenționăm cercetări ale articolelor relevante scrise în această perioadă. Poziționarea sa ca un predecesor al modernismului european este împluternicită de informații biografice apărute într-o gamă largă de reviste literare de specialitate. Printre ele, „Adevărul

literar și artistic”, „Sburătorul literar”, „Viața literară” sau „Viața Românească”. Lucrarea este structurată pe o prezentare cronologică a receptării sale în cultura românească din perioada interbelică. Romanele la ale căror recenzii se face referire sunt „Pan”, „Victoria” și „Foamea”. Traducătorii trebuie de asemenea menționați, dat fiind faptul că sunt figuri de marcă pentru cultura românească. Detaliile biografice au de a face cu câștigarea Premiului Nobel în 1920 și cu modul în care acest lucru a fost perceput de către criticii literari români. Mai exact, dacă se produce vreo schimbare în percepția autorului înainte și după Premiul Nobel.

Keywords: Nobel Prize winner, interwar period, biography, review, translations, Romanian culture, periodical

Who could be “the best Norwegian writer”¹ [our translation], the one who wrote *Pan* and *Hunger*, “a massive writer who was awarded the Nobel Prize three years ago”² [our translation]? Characterized by having “an optimism and an exceptionally contemplative serenity among Nordics”³ [our translation], he is also “opponent to Ibsen’s work”⁴ [our translation]. **Knut Hamsun** is the only name that could join together so many controversial representations in a foreign culture.

Starting with the 20th century, Knut Hamsun was considered to be one of the best novelists in Europe. Even though during World War II he was associated with the Norwegian Nationalistic Party and was accused of treason at the end of the war, in 1945, his writings remained masterpieces, clear of any political ideology. Nowadays, regardless of what his political inclinations might have been, Knut Hamsun is one of the most appreciated authors in Norway.

Furthermore, he is a forerunner of the stream of consciousness technique which he promoted in his novel *Hunger*, published in June 1890. Modernist characteristics such as solitude, estrangement, revolt against the society and against the divinity are concepts that support its positioning as

¹ „Knut Hamsun – Însemnări,” *Adeoărul Literar și Artistic*, nr. 1 (1920): 4. „cel mai bun scriitor norvegian”.

² Demostene Botez, „Knut Hamsun: Victoria,” *Opinia*, nr. 4719 (1923): 1. „scriitorul masiv care a primit premiul Nobel acum trei ani”.

³ A. Dominic, „Knut Hamsun. Portrete străine,” *Mișcarea Literară*, nr. 9 (1925): 1. „optimism și o seninătate contemplativă de excepție printre nordici”.

⁴ „Knut Hamsun. Cărți, idei, oameni,” *România Nouă*, nr. 7 (1921): 4. „un adversar al operei ibseniene”.

the first modernist novel in Norway. He thus redefined the concept of the novel not only in Norwegian literature but also in world literature, being considered the first modernist novelist in Norway.

Before publishing *Hunger* he theorized upon a new type of literature in his programmatic article, *From the Unconscious Life of the Soul (Fra det ubevidste sjæleliv)*. In his 1890 manifesto, he insisted as well on creating a literature centred upon the individual, that is a psychological literature. That was due to the fact that the psychic activity was considered too delicate to be communicated through already existing literary techniques, namely the typologies imposed by the realistic trend. He thus focuses not only on the way they act under the pressures of the environment, but also on understanding what happens in the mind of his characters: "What if literature would finally start investigating a little closer psychical states?"⁵ [our translation].

What I intend in this paper is to provide an overview of his reception in various Romanian literary periodicals in the period from 1919 to 1926.

Starting from the above mentioned premise, the main topic of my paper is to offer a general perspective of his influence in the Romanian cultural life as presented in this precise period. Biographical and bibliographical details before and after he received the Nobel Prize for literature support this thesis. Furthermore, I shall also make reference to some reviews of the translations that primarily entered the Romanian literary market. The work was based on a close reading of articles in old periodicals, followed by a critical interpretation. The access to all these articles has been considerably eased by a bibliography investigating the relations of the Romanian literature with foreign literatures, in periodicals, for the period 1919-1944. It contains clear and concise bibliographical information in order to find the article directly⁶.

To begin with, one should analyze Knut Hamsun's recognition as a Nobel Prize winner, by mentioning that he was one of the most prominent Norwegian writers of his time and one of the three Norwegian Nobel laureates in literature. Hamsun is considered one of the foremost representatives of neo-romanticism in Norway. He was unhappy with the

⁵ Knut Hamsun, "Fra det ubevidste sjæleliv," *Samtiden*, June, 1890. "Hvad om nu Litteraturen i det hele taget begynte at beskæftige sig lidt mere med sjælelige Tilstande...?"

⁶ Ana-Maria Brezuleanu et al., *Bibliografia relațiilor literaturii române cu literaturile străine în periodice (1919 - 1944)*, vol. III (București: Ed. Saeculum I.O., 2000).

way realism portrayed stereotypes within people and would put emotion in the centre. This stood at the basis of writing a new type of literature with psychological insights⁷.

There are of course many articles in the cultural area of early 20th century illustrating his award. Before dealing with them, it is important to note articles denying his awarding of the Nobel in 1920. One of them is in *Luceașărul* at the very beginning of the reference year: 1st February 1920⁸.

In any case, the year 1919 highlights his reputation as a literary personality: "A social writer with deep psychological insights"⁹ [our translation], bearing all the hallmarks of the Nordic style. Thus, in magazines such as *Patria*, *Adevărul* or *Sburătorul Literar*, to name just a few, there was information about the person who had written *Hunger* and *Pan*, and who now had achieved a successful position. Whether there are clear references to Hamsun as a Nobel Prize winner, or just comments on his writing, one thing is for sure: the Norwegian author became representative in the European context, beginning with the first part of the 1900s and until today.

Indicative of Hamsun's reception on the Romanian literary market is a chronological overview of articles from literary periodicals. *Însemnări literare* from 1919 contains an article where Mihai Ralea states that Hamsun had just been awarded the Nobel Prize: "An art researcher could classify contemporary literature in two main sections: Nordic literature and European literature. The Nordic point of view is different, having other ethics concepts, actions. In this respect, the most representative is today's Nobel Prize winner, Knut Hamsun [...] Knut Hamsun is a cultivated primitive. [...] With a modest start, Knut Hamsun has received enough culture to disturb the mind, without satisfying it. His life, unimaginably varied, is the obsession of a bewildered."¹⁰ [our translation].

⁷ Roar Lars Langslet, *Hamsun. Det skiftende spilllets dikter* (Oslo: Aventura Forlag, 1996), 58.

⁸ „Premiul Nobel pe 1919 – Cronică. Însemnări,” *Luceașărul*, nr. 2-3 (1920): 48.

⁹ C. Săteanu, „Knut Hamsun: Părerii și fapte,” *Mișcarea*, nr. 171 (1919): 1. „scriitor social și profund psiholog”.

¹⁰ Mihai Ralea, „Knut Hamsun. Portret literar,” *Însemnări Literare*, nr. 33 (1919): 13. „Un geometru în ale artei ar putea clasifica literatura contemporană în două mari capitole: literatura europeană și literatura nordică. Punctul de vedere nordic e altul; altele sunt moravurile concepțiile, acțiunile. În privința aceasta cel mai reprezentativ tip e premiantul Nobel de azi, Knut Hamsun [...] Knut Hamsun e un primitiv cultivat. [...] Pornit de jos, Knut Hamsun a primit atâta cultură cât poate tulbura o minte, fără s’o satisfacă. Viața sa, de o varietate neînchipuită, e obsesia unui dezorientat”.

1921 is characterized by substantial reviews after the first translation of *Pan*, not directly from Norwegian, but from German. Prior to analyzing them, I shall portray a biographical background, influenced by the breakthrough with this novel. "I swear to God I'm going to write an extraordinary book now, just trust me, I'm really into it. [...] Oh, I've got something in my mind! Bolette Larsen, may God punish me if I don't amaze you a bit next time with my book from Nordland. As it will be beautiful!"¹¹ [our translation]

And it was a beautiful book indeed! "Your book is natural and simple, like cherries in the summer"¹² [our translation]. A presentation of an unmentioned author appeared in *Cuvântul literar*, Bucharest, shortly after Ion Luca Caragiale's translation of *Pan*. He is the first to translate this novel, but through a contact culture, namely German. The article is entitled *Din străinătate (From abroad)*.¹³ A wider presentation - this time of the author's originality was written by Adrian Drăgoescu in *Adevărul literar și Artistic*.¹⁴ A review that I find worth mentioning at this point is from *Sburătorul literar*, written by Mihail Iorgulescu. *Pan* is characterized as: "A good book, with a bad translation. Luca I. Caragiale is to be praised for kind intentions of spreading Scandinavian literature. The final result unfortunately overshadows his remembrance. [...] The diary form accurately describes the sufferings of a primitive soul, with almost wild outbursts, but in fact of a completely modern refinement."¹⁵ [our translation].

Hence, it is the first time that the book's primary translation is criticized, although Caragiale's work shall remain a standpoint for many other literary analyses hitherto. Some of them will also be referred to during the current study.

¹¹ Hamsun til Larsen 31.10, 12.11 and 23.11.93, qtd. in Ingar Sletten Kolloen, *Hamsun Erobreren* (Pössneck: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 2005), 190. "Jeg skal ved Gud i Himmelen skrive en underlig og inderlig bok nu, tro mig, bare, jeg er aldeles omtåget av den. [...] Å, jeg har noget i hovedet! Bolette Larsen, jeg skal så Gud straffe mig forundre Dere lidt næste gang med min bog fra Nordland. For den skal blive vakker".

¹² B. Fundoianu, „Knut Hamsun, Pan, traducere de Ion Luca Caragiale,” *Rampa Nouă Ilustrată*, nr. 987(1921): 1. „Cartea ta e firească și simplă, cum sunt vișinii vara”.

¹³ „Pan, de Knut Hamsun,” *Cuvântul Literar*, 1, nr. 2 (1921): 29.

¹⁴ Adrian Drăgoescu, „Knut Hamsun, Pan,” *Adevărul Literar și Artistic*, nr. 16 (1921): 4.

¹⁵ Mihail Iorgulescu, „Knut Hamsun, Pan,” *Sburătorul Literar*, nr. 1 (1921): 20. „O carte bună, tradusă rău. Luca I. Caragiale merită laude pentru frumoasele intenții de a răspândi literatura scandinavă. Executarea intențiilor sale e însă o pată pe amintirea lui. [...] În formă de jurnal sunt prinse cu fidelitate suferințele unui suflet de o primitivitate și candoare aproape sălbatecă în manifestări, în fond însă de o rafinerie cu totul modernă”.

Pan is not the only novel to be reviewed in 1921. *Victoria* is described as “a romance novel written by a modern writer.”¹⁶ [our translation]. *Markens Grøde* (*The Growth of the Soil*), translated as *Cultura Pământului* is presented as the last work, with “literary, social and moral value.”¹⁷ [our translation]. An advised reader, who knows the original language, will certainly contradict with this title, but this is a totally different topic.

One year later, in 1922 Adrian Drăgoescu published in *Flacăra*, Bucharest an article in which he is an advocate of the author’s originality: “The originality in portraying characters, the positivism used for emphasizing such a veridical state of mind [...] such a representative and vibrant description of ordinary life ...”¹⁸ [our translation].

Cora Irineu wrote a review of *Pan* in *Viața Românească* from 1922, two years after the book appeared at a publishing house with the same name, in Caragiale’s translation. Petre Pandreal Marcu is the one who in 1923 started the series of Hamsun articles with, again, an appreciative review of *Pan*. By providing multiple quotes from Caragiale’s translation, he tries to explain what nature means for the Norwegian author. Furthermore, he deals with Knust Hamsun’s style (perhaps this extra *s* is just a misprint). “Hamsun’s *Return to nature* is not a romantic refuge, [...] since Nature is for him a reality he can live in, the necessary ambience where the soul can exist and have a resonance. [...] Hamsun is hopelessly antisocial.”¹⁹ [our translation].

As aforementioned, not only *Pan* has been more or less criticized, but also *Victoria*, to some extent. Silvan Lorin’s translation has received a negative commentary, as it stands against a standardized Romanian language: “From a certain point, the literary world, convinced of the great gap that can be filled with translations of universal literary works, rightly turned their attention towards them. [...] It was precisely because these productions were necessary, well received and rewarded enough [...] all

¹⁶ „Knut Hamsun, *Victoria*,” *Adevărul Literar și Artistic*, nr. 19 (1921): 4. „roman de dragoste, scris de un autor la modă”.

¹⁷ „Ultima operă a lui Knut Hamsun,” *Opinia*, nr. 4370 (1921): 1. „valoare literară, socială și morală”.

¹⁸ Adrian Drăgoescu, „Knut Hamsun. Din neguri scandinave,” *Flacăra*, nr. 15 (1922): 236. „originalitatea cu care schițează caracterele, pozitivismul cu care subliniază starea sufletească atât de veridică [...] descrierea atât de reprezentativă și vibrantă a vieții ordinare...”

¹⁹ P. Marcu, „Pan, de Knut Hamsun. Aspecte contemporane,” *Flacăra*, nr. 6 (1923): 115. „Reîntoarcerea la natură a lui Hamsun nu este un refugiu romantic, [...] ci Natura pentru el este o realitate în care poate trăi, ambianță necesară unde sufletul poate exista și poate avea o rezonanță. [...] Hamsun este iremediabil nesociabil.”

those who know to look up in a foreign dictionary and are still able to link two crippled phrases in Romanian felt themselves obliged to darken a world personality, mutilating it as barbaric as possible and claiming as their last excuse: our language is poor! [...] the whole book is completely anti-Romanian, translated thoroughly unaesthetic. Poor Knut Hamsun, poor *Victoria!* Poor Romanian language!"²⁰ [our translation].

It seems that the great number of attempts to analyze Hamsun makes it difficult to coherently choose what should be mentioned and what should be left aside, him being an author who presents the deepest thoughts of his characters in such a way that: "He himself is surprised by their behaviour, just like us."²¹ [our translation].

Given the fact that the intention in this paper is to focus on a particular period, I have also chosen to limit the investigation at presenting the reception of only a few of his books. These were, until now, *Pan* and *Victoria*. *Hunger* comes next, thus 1924 as another representative year for Hamsun's reception. Enric Furtună is a Romanian poet and playwright. He is important as he was one of the first to review *Hunger*: "The novel entitled *Hunger* is undoubtedly an autobiographical one: an artistic and meaningful confession of Knut Hamsun's years of poverty. But this horrible poverty is overcome by the pride and dignity of a human nature aware of its superior essence [...]. Through its unparalleled art, this novel arrays Knut Hamsun (the author of *Pan*) among the greatest masters of writing and of the poor human soul." ²² [our translation].

²⁰ C. Mihăilescu, „Traducerile – cu prilejul Victoriei de Knut Hamsun,” *Clipa (București)* nr. 28 (1923): 1. „Dela o vreme, lumea literară, convinsă de golul cel mare pe care îl umple traducerile capod'operilor universale, au îndreptat, pe bună dreptate, toate atențiile înspre ele [...] Tocmai pentru că aceste producții au fost necesare, bine primite și răsplătite îndeajuns [...] toți câți știu să caute într'un dicționar străin și mai pot să lege două fraze schiloade în românește, s'au simțit obligați să întunece câte o personalitate mondială, mutilând-o, cum nu se poate mai barbar și gășind ca ultimă scuză: limba noastră e săracă! [...] Cartea e întregă antiromânească, complet inestetic tradusă. Bietul Knut Hamsun, sărmana *Victoria!* Biata limbă românească!”

²¹ Tudor Ispravă, „Ultimul capitol, noul roman al lui Knut Hamsun,” *Dreptatea (Chișinău)* nr. 98 (1924): 2. „și Hamsun se miră el însuși de purtarea lor tot așa de mult ca și noi.”

²² Enric Furtună, „O spovedanie artistică,” *Lumea (Iași)* nr. 3 (1924): 6. „Romanul intitulat *Foamea* e, fără îndoială, de natură autobiografică: o spovedanie artistică și plină de tâlc din anii de sărăcie ai lui Knut Hamsun. Această oribilă sărăcie însă este biruită de mândria și demnitatea unei firi conștiente de esența ei superioară [...] Prin arta lui incomparabilă, romanul acesta rânduește pe Knut Hamsun (autorul lui *Pan*) între cei mai zguduitori meșteri ai scrisului și-al bietului suflet omenesc.”

An article from 1925 states that Hamsun was born in 1860 in a Norwegian village.²³ One could drop such a harsh criticism (as Hamsun was born in 1859), if taking into account that the primary dates could have been mistaken since the attention was on the authorship and not on the years. For those not knowing that Hamsun was “a limited, unsociable spirit [...] misanthrope”²⁴ [our translation], this image will remain in their minds after reading the article. The same person is the one who in his late years “clings to his habits from misery times: when he received a yellow watch as a gift, he did not know what to do with it. He had another one, made of nickel!” [our translation].

Om hundrere år er alting glemt (*In One Hundred Years Time, Everything Is Forgotten*), is the title of one of his poems. But within six years from winning the Nobel, he was not forgotten at all. 1926 might be called as another reference year for the Romanian literary field. Firstly, because one finds in two different periodicals from that same year references to a coming publication of *Sult* (*Hunger*). From a French translation, purportedly: “French newspapers announce the translation of Hamsun’s *Hunger*. Thus, the reading of the most heartbreaking tragedy of mankind will be open to our public.”²⁵ [our translation].

All these quotes do nothing but express the same idea in many words, namely that *Hunger* had a great impact in Romania, as it had worldwide. It was a book expected with curiosity by the Romanian public, thanks to its so-called autobiographical character. Ion Pas provides an overview of the novel, by pointing out that there is a proper relationship between creativity and misery in the act of writing. His review plays an important role as he is the first to translate the novel in Romanian. “It is announced that Knut Hamsun’s *Hunger* shall appear in Romanian, as well. [...] This literary work is and will remain forever shocking because it’s written with extraordinary sincerity. The novel’s hero is the Scandinavian writer himself, whom life has not caressed at the beginning, as it has not caressed that impressive legion of

²³ „Însemnările săptămânii – Knut Hamsun,” *Cuvântul Literar și Artistic*, nr. 5 (1925): 4. „Născut la 1860, într’un sat norvegian...”

²⁴ Ibidem. „spirit mărginit, lipsit de sociabilitate [...] mizantrop [...] bătrân, își păstrează încă apucăturile sale din timpurile de mizerie: când i s-a făcut cadou un ceas de aur n’a știut ce să facă cu dânsul. Avea altul, de nichel!”

²⁵ C. Narly, „Knut Hamsun,” *Viața Literară*, nr. 4 (1926): 3. „Ziarele franceze anunță traducerea *Foamei* lui Hamsun. Astfel va fi accesibilă și publicului nostru lectura celei mai sfâșietoare tragedii omenеști.”

writers whose biography itself seems an excerpt of untrustworthy literature. [...] Elements of the author's life overlap with those of the book's hero. This is why this book shocks, from its first to its last page, and because it is written so sincerely, despising any literary contrivance, it remains unique in the universal literature."²⁶ [our translation].

Two more reviews were written in 1926 in periodicals like *Clopotul* and *Cultura Proletară*, in order to strengthen the novel's impact. Both of them came out in October, the first at the beginning of the month and the other in the middle of the month.

I have decided not to end up with 1926, but to go on further at something written in **1929**, that is, when the Norwegian author became seventy. He is still portrayed as "a misanthrope, a solitary. When he was awarded the Nobel Prize, he was asked about the way he wanted people to be like. He answered: *They should be good people, able to sacrifice themselves for home and children. There is nothing more you can ask them*"²⁷ [our translation].

Was Knut Hamsun really a solitary and a misanthrope person? Yes, he was lonely in trying to explain as many unknown aspects of our behaviour, offering a valuable piece of writing to readers all over the world. The Romanian readers can as well have access to Hamsun's universe through the work of Ion Luca Caragiale or Ion Pas. Mihai Ralea, Cora Irineu, Demostene Botez or Enric Furtună, to mention the authors of only a few articles, have been advocates of Hamsun's mastery, acknowledged also nowadays. This aura of success around Hamsun may be explained by his winning of the Nobel Prize in 1920. But this positive reception shall only last until the 1940s, when there is a huge shift in his image in Romania and the

²⁶ Ion Pas, „Foamea,” *Lupta*, nr. 1372 (1926) : 1. „Se anunță că va apare și în românește *Foamea* lui Knut Hamsun [...] Opera a rămas și va rămâne de-a pururi zguduitoare căci e scrisă cu extraordinară sinceritate. Eroul romanului e însuși scriitorul scandinav pe care viața nu l-a dezmiertat la început cum n'a dezmiertat acea impresionantă legiune de scriitori a căror biografie ni se pare ea însăși o pagină de literatură neverosimilă. [...] Elementele vieții autorului se confundă cu ale eroului din carte. De aceea cartea zgudue dela prima la cea din urmă pagină, - iar pentru că e scrisă cu desăvârșită sinceritate, în disprețul ori cărei preocupări de artificio literar, ea rămâne fără echivalent în literatura universală.”

²⁷ „La 4 august scriitorul norvegian împlinește 70 de ani,” *Gazeta Noastră*, nr. 87 (1929): 9. „a rămas în fond un mizantrop, un singuratic. Când i se atribui Premiul Nobel, fu întrebat cum ar dori să fie oamenii. Răspunse: *Să fie buni și să se sacrifice pentru cămin și copii. Mai mult nu le poți cere*”.

entire world, because of his Nazi sympathies. Since this is not the subject of this paper, it shall be investigated in further studies.

To conclude, his reception in the first years of the 1920s denotes a growing interest in his work combined with a positive attitude on his activity. It is one of Hamsun's greatest periods of reception in Romania.

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CULTURAL ACCOMMODATION IN LEARNING AND TEACHING THE NORWEGIAN LANGUAGE IN CLUJ-NAPOCA

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Acknowledgements

This paper has been presented at the Fourth international conference on Baltic and Nordic Studies in Romania *Empire-building and Region-building in the Baltic, North and Black sea areas* hosted by the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies and Ovidius University of Constanta, May 24-26, 2013. Supported by a grant from Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway (Finantat prin fonduri donate de Islanda, Liechtenstein si Norvegia).

Abstract:

This paper intends to focus on the role of socio-cultural accommodation and cultural awareness in relation to both learning and teaching the Norwegian language. A research has been conducted in order to investigate the would-be teachers' points of view regarding the appropriateness of teaching Norwegian by focusing on enhancing both cultural and linguistic elements. The would-be teachers enrolled in an initial teacher training program have proven to be aware of the intricate links that exist between language and culture. They have understood that Norwegian cannot be taught without taking into consideration its cultural elements.

Rezumat:

Acest studiu își propune să pună accentul pe relevanța integrării aspectelor socio-culturale și a conștientizării culturale în contextul predării și învățării limbii norvegiene. Cercetarea realizată a avut ca scop identificarea perspectivei pe care studenții care participă la programul de formare inițială și-au format-o cu privire la relevanța predării limbii norvegiene dintr-o perspectivă care susține utilizarea integrată a culturii și a limbii. Studenții care sunt înregistrați în cadrul programului de formare inițială au dovedit faptul că sunt conștienți de conexiunile existente între limbă și cultură. Aceștia au înțeles faptul că limba norvegiană nu poate să fie predată fără a lua în considerare elementele culturale care se regăsesc în limbă.

Keywords: culture, foreign language learning and teaching, cultural accommodation, cultural awareness, intercultural competence

This paper is comprised of two parts. The first part provides details about the intricate relationship existing between culture and foreign language learning. When learning a foreign language one has to accommodate to a new social and cultural environment. This process of acculturation is not a natural one; it takes time, effort and willingness to accept *the other*. The development of the students' intercultural competence within initial teacher training programs is also brought under discussion. The second part of the paper presents details about the research and the results that have been reached.

Culture and foreign language learning

Culture is a concept that is difficult to pin down because it means so many things to so many people. It can comprise the beliefs, way of life, art, and customs that are shared and accepted by people in a particular society.¹ Still, another definition of culture that is more appropriate in the context of foreign language learning is that suggested by Steele: "culture is the invisible component that becomes visible when foreign language learners begin to converse with a native speaker interlocutor and realize that the linguistic code by itself does not guarantee successful communication"².

When learning a language, one's mother tongue or a foreign language, the learner is exposed to various cultural norms and conventions because "language is not a culture-free code"³. In the case of the mother tongue, the child acquires simultaneously both linguistic and cultural knowledge in an unconscious way. On the other hand, the learners who learn a foreign language have to accommodate in a conscious manner to new cultural and linguistic norms.

¹ from the Latin *cultura*: to cultivate, http://www.ldoceonline.com/dictionary/culture_1 (accessed April 7, 2013)

² Ross Steele, 'Developing intercultural competence through foreign-language instruction: Challenges and choices', in *Linguistics, language acquisition, and language variation: current trends and future prospects*. Ed. James E. Alatis et al. (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 1996), 72.

³ Claire Kramsch, *Language and Culture*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 8.

When interacting and communicating with an interlocutor, the speaker cannot transmit a neutral message since even “through their register (formal, informal), their key or tone of voice (...), their choice of lexical and grammatical structures, the distribution of their silences, participants in verbal exchanges play out various social roles that reveal a great deal about the social persona they represent”⁴. This inseparable bond between language and culture should represent an utmost concern for language teachers who want their students to be proficient in an intercultural dialogue. If in everyday life “culture is communication and communication is culture”⁵ then this pattern should also be applied in the foreign language classroom which is sometimes wrongfully perceived as being an artificial environment. The classroom can be reduced to a micro-cultural level because it is comprised of students who have different cultural backgrounds and different mother tongues. Therefore, it is necessary that foreign language courses address the issue of cultural diversity and intercultural contact since students are going to interact with individuals inside and outside the classroom. Lies Sercu sustains this point of view and states that teachers “have to prepare learners for life in an increasingly multicultural world, in which they have to be fluent in more than one language and interculturally competent”⁶. In addition, foreign language learning should not be reduced to acquiring linguistic competence i.e. lexical, phonological, syntactical knowledge, because successful communication cannot be resumed to this narrow perspective.

In responding to diversity in schools Dunn suggests that “it is important for the field of second language teacher education to continue to look beyond the emphasis given to teaching grammar, vocabulary, and language skills”⁷. Knowledge of grammar and knowledge of culture should be taught in an integrated way since a foreign language environment is challenging for the language learners because “they have to enhance

⁴ Ibid., 32.

⁵ Edward Hall, *The Silent Language* (New York: Anchor Books, 1981), 186.

⁶ Lies Sercu, “Teaching Foreign Languages in an Intercultural World”, in *Foreign Language Teachers and Intercultural Competence. An International Investigation*, ed. Lies Sercu et al. (UK, USA, Canada: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 2005), 163.

⁷ William Dunn, “Working Toward Social Inclusion Through Concept Development in Second language Teacher Education”, in *Research on Second language Teacher Education. A Sociocultural perspective on Professional Development*, ed. Karen Johnson E., Paula Golombek, (New York, UK: Routledge, 2011), 64.

background knowledge and sociocultural competence without direct contact with the target language environment and culture''⁸. That is why this cultural accommodation can be understood as a process of taking small steps towards adjusting to a new culture that is governed by new rules.

Initial teacher training programs

In 1977 the Council of Europe conducted a training course for those responsible for teaching migrant children and Rey von-Allmen "(...) invited its members to adopt an intercultural approach"⁹. This was the first time that a program targeted an understanding of the intricate links existing between the mother tongue culture and the target language culture. Later on in 1984 it was "passed a recommendation stating that teacher training should be based on intercultural understanding"¹⁰. This was a turning point in the methodology of teaching foreign languages. It was acknowledged that teachers would need a different set of skills, abilities and knowledge when teaching in multicultural environments. A great number of documents and recommendations (Profile for Language Teacher Education, The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue, The European Language Portfolio etc.) imply that language and culture should both be integrated into the foreign language classroom.

Dirba implies that "language teachers are rarely specialists in intercultural learning. Therefore, language teacher education programs need to be complemented by courses that help future language teachers to develop intercultural competence (...)"¹¹. In addition, Smolcic suggests that teacher education programs "need to be concerned with helping teachers to examine their own cultural assumptions and inquire into the backgrounds of their students"¹². Teachers should help students overcome the problems

⁸ Istvan Kecskes and Tunde Papp, *Foreign Language and Mother Tongue*, (NJ and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc., 2000), 108.

⁹ Micheline Rey-von Allmen, "The Intercultural Perspective and its Development through Cooperation with the Council of Europe", in *Intercultural and Multicultural Education. Enhancing Global Interconnectedness*, ed. Carl Grant A., Agostino Portera, (New York: Routledge, 2011), 34.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 23.

¹¹ Mara Dirba, "Towards proteophilic competence? Intercultural learning and language education in Latvia". *Intercultural Education* 18, no. 3 (2007): 193–205.

¹² Elizabeth Smolcic, "Becoming a Cultural Responsive Teacher. Personal Transformation and Shifting Identities during Immersion Experience Abroad", in *Research on Second Language*

they might encounter in relation to being faced with new values, beliefs, and a new conceptual framework that characterizes the foreign language. Because globalization enables people to interact in so many ways and on so many levels "[T]he need to understand the role of culture in interpersonal communication is growing"¹³. In view of the arguments presented above one can draw the conclusion that teacher training programs should accommodate the requirements of today's society and address the diverse teachers' needs.

The Didactics of the Norwegian language

The European Parliament and the Council of the European Union adopted in 2006 the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages¹⁴ that sets out eight key competences for lifelong learning. These eight competences have been included in the Romanian Law on National Education¹⁵ passed in 2011. Every student who graduates the compulsory education in Romania should acquire these competences that provide a cross-curricular perspective on learning. The students who are enrolled in the initial teacher training program at bachelor level are supposed to have already acquired these competences to a certain degree. We suggest that would-be teachers of Norwegian require three key competences in order to develop their intercultural competence: to be able to communicate in Norwegian, to have social and civic competences and to be aware of cultural awareness and cultural expression.

A competence-based curriculum has also been introduced into the Norwegian educational system. The National Law of Education passed in 2006 in Norway¹⁶ focuses on four main competence areas: written resources, spoken resources, multimodal resources and literature and culture. If the first three competence areas intend to improve the students' skills (writing, speaking, listening and reading) and familiarize them with different types of

Teacher Education. A Sociocultural perspective on Professional Development, ed. Karen E. Johnson, Paula Golombe, (New York, UK: Routledge, 2011), 15.

¹³ Myron W. Lustig and Jolene Koester, *Intercultural Competence: Intercultural Competence Across Cultures*, 6th edition (Boston, USA: Pearson Education Inc., 2010), 3.

¹⁴ <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32006H0962:EN:NOT>. (accessed April 7, 2013).

¹⁵ <http://www.edu.ro/index.php/legaldocs/14847>, art. 68. (1), 11. (accessed April 7, 2013).

¹⁶ <http://www.norway.gr/PageFiles/372262/Kunnskapsloftet.pdf> (accessed August 8, 2013).

resources, the last area, namely literature and culture focuses on developing students' national and international perspectives. The Norwegian Education Law¹⁷ states that students should be stimulated to develop their identity, their social and cultural competence. The Norwegian language as a school subject focuses on enhancing cultural understanding, on communication and identity development from an international perspective. Because the Norwegian society is becoming more multicultural the international perspective in education has gained a paramount importance in the Norwegian educational law. "These international perspectives can sustain cultural understanding, tolerance and respect for people from other cultures"¹⁸. In this respect the Norwegian cultural heritage comprises a selection of texts that are used for didactic purposes in order to acquire new and unexpected meanings from a globalized perspective.¹⁹

The Didactics of the Norwegian language, an optional course that is offered to the students who are enrolled in an initial teacher training module at Babeș - Bolyai University also focuses on the above mentioned competence areas. The course intends to provide students with guidelines within the teacher professional career. In order to become teachers of Norwegian students should acquire strong subject-matter knowledge, pedagogical skills, and the ability to work with learners belonging to different age groups. The duration of the course is 14 weeks, namely 4 hours each week (two hours of course and two hours of seminar). The course offers five credits (ECTS). The evaluation consists of a written exam and a formative evaluation (presentations, projects, assignments, etc.).

The course aims to familiarize would-be teachers of Norwegian with the theoretical and practical implications that emerge from teaching a foreign language. The academic skills targeted by the course refer to: developing critical thinking, learning autonomy and time management skills, improving intercultural communicative skills, tackling different genres and understanding various registers, providing arguments using connectors, summarizing/analysing a text (video) etc. The course intends to develop several transversal competences such as: learning to learn and lifelong learning skills, social competence, digital literacy, cultural awareness,

¹⁷ Ibid., 5-7.

¹⁸ Ibid., 7.

¹⁹ Ibid., 7.

interpersonal skills, self-reflexive attitude, group work, and professional ethics.

The research

The current research aimed to identify the would-be teachers' opinions regarding the appropriateness of teaching Norwegian by enhancing both linguistic and cultural elements. Taking into consideration the research question and the number of respondents we considered that the suitable research method was the qualitative one. The research consisted in a questionnaire that has been applied to the students who are enrolled in the course *The Didactics of the Norwegian language*. The students have also been enquired about their confidence in identifying Norwegian cultural elements in different types of teaching resources.

Location: The Department of Scandinavian languages and literature, The Faculty of Letters, Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca.

Span of time: The research was conducted in the period 25th of March - 8th of April 2013.

Respondents: Currently there are fifty-five students enrolled at the Department of Scandinavian languages and literature in their second year. Their specialization is either Norwegian major or minor. These specializations offered at Babeş-Bolyai University are unique in Romania at Bachelor level. Twelve students have Norwegian as major. Out of these students eight have enrolled in the optional teacher training course. These eight students have responded to the questionnaire.

The percentage of second year Norwegian major students who have enrolled in the initial teacher training program is presented in figure 1 below:

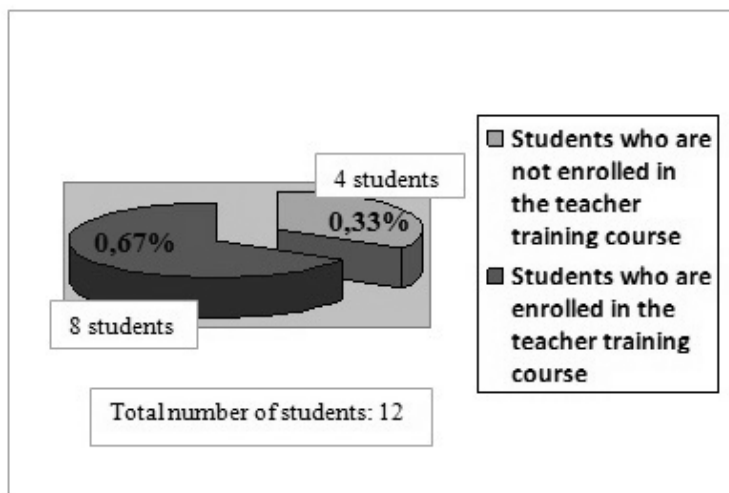


Figure 1.

The percentage of would-be teachers

In terms of gender we can state that all of our respondents were females and no male has enrolled in this teacher training course. The students who have enrolled in the didactics course are not very confident that they would perform in this field of activity. Six of them replied that they are 'not sure' if teaching suits them. When asked what career options they have almost all of the students answered that they would like to work in other domains such as interpreting, translations and public relations. Some of the reasons that sustain their choice refer to the low pecuniary advantages that are gained by teachers, the status of teachers in today's society and the heavy workload they would have to perform in their activity. Moreover, there are many multinational companies in Cluj-Napoca that recruit our students even before their graduation. Genpact, Emerson, Sykes and Bombardier provide outsourcing services for the Scandinavian countries and they are very much interested in collaborating with our students. Therefore, from this point of view, teaching cannot compete with a job that provides higher pecuniary advantages.

Recruitment: the respondents have been recruited from the above mentioned group. The students volunteered to take part in this research and they have been informed about the details of the study.

Assumptions: the findings are based on the assumption that the students' answers reflect their personal opinions.

Research presentation

A questionnaire with closed ended questions has been applied. The first part of the questionnaire gave students the possibility to evaluate their cultural knowledge about Norway. Students could choose answers ranging from 1 to 5 (details are presented in figure 2 below). The students have been asked the following questions:

- Q1: Rate your knowledge of Norwegian culture in the moment when you registered at the Faculty of Letters in Cluj-Napoca.
Q2: How would you rate your knowledge of Norwegian culture now?
Q3: Rate your knowledge of visible culture.
Q4: Rate your knowledge of invisible culture.
Q5: Rate your knowledge of non-verbal behaviour as concerns the Norwegian culture.

Figure 2 presents the data that have been obtained.

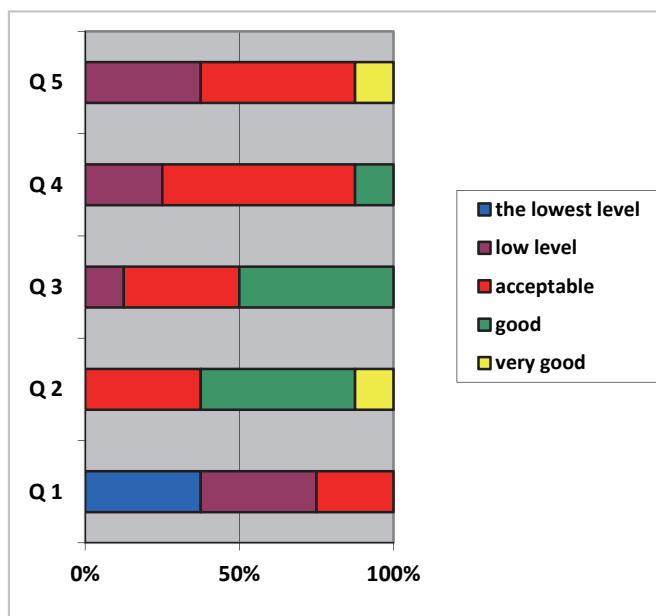


Figure 2. Knowledge of Norwegian culture

The results obtained for the first question indicate that when they enrolled in their first year the students were not so knowledgeable in identifying Norwegian cultural elements. The ratings provide the following details: three students had a very low level of knowledge of Norwegian

culture, three students had a low level and 2 students had an acceptable level. The answers to the second question indicate that students have improved their knowledge of Norwegian culture during their two years of academic studies. Three students have reached an *acceptable* level, four students have reached a *good level* and one student is confident that she has a *very good* command of Norwegian culture. Nevertheless, students tend to find it difficult to identify elements that pertain to the 'invisible' side of the culture. This rating (four students) could be explained by the fact that during the first three semesters students have focused on learning the structure and the vocabulary of the Norwegian language and have dedicated their time to acquiring factual knowledge about culture: holidays, traditions, literature, arts, history, culture and civilization etc. We consider that in order to be able to discuss with the students about the 'invisible' culture the first stage that has to be reached is to acquire knowledge about vocabulary and grammar. Without this knowledge students are not going to be able to decipher the cultural load of connotations. Only after students reach a satisfactory level of proficiency in Norwegian would they be able to work with authentic teaching resources (newspapers, songs, films etc.) in order to grasp the full meaning of the 'invisible' culture.

The students' knowledge of non-verbal behaviour associated with the Norwegian culture ranges at an acceptable level (four students). Students would have to pay more attention to the meaning of personal space, gestures, eye-contact etc. in order to be successful communicators. Still, we are confident that this type of knowledge is going to be attained by the end of the third year because students are involved in many activities that take place at the Scandinavian department (*Julefest* - Christmas holiday, *17. mai* - Constitution day, Norwegian film festivals etc.), they have the chance to attend to lectures delivered by visiting professors from Norway or they have the chance to receive one semester Erasmus scholarships to Norway. All these activities help them to improve their communication and non-verbal skills.

We asked students to rate their confidence in identifying Norwegian cultural elements while using different teaching resources: written form, audio resources and video resources.

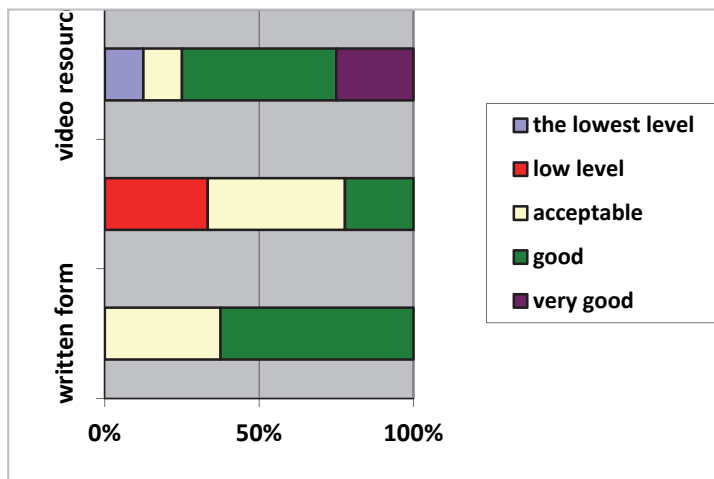


Figure 3.

Teaching resources appropriate for identifying cultural elements

The results indicated in figure 3 suggest that students (6 students) are more confident when they work with visual aids. Likewise, they can grasp better the 'invisible' and 'visible'²⁰ parts of the Norwegian culture. Audio resources have both advantages and disadvantages when used in the foreign language classroom. Therefore, in the second year some students might find it difficult to listen to and understand conversations spoken in different dialects and in an informal style. That is why four students rated their knowledge as *acceptable* and three students rated it as *low*.

The second part of the questionnaire contained closed ended questions which targeted the students' opinions regarding the appropriateness of teaching Norwegian from an intercultural perspective, i.e. by focusing on cultural elements when teaching the foreign language. The students had to answer the following questions:

Q1: Do you think that the Norwegian language and the Norwegian culture should be taught separately?

²⁰ According to Guy Rocher, who created the model of the *cultural iceberg*, culture has visible and invisible parts. The invisible parts (values, attitudes, expectations, beliefs etc.) are sometimes difficult to grasp and to accept by an individual who has already been immersed into his/her mother tongue culture. <http://www.international.gc.ca/cfsi-icse/cil-cai/magazine/v02n01/doc3-eng.pdf> (accessed April 7, 2013).

Q2: Teachers should teach Norwegian by integrating cultural knowledge in their lessons.
 Q3: Teachers should have at least a basic level of intercultural competence before teaching a foreign language.
 Q4: Teachers should be preoccupied with promoting intercultural competence only when in the classroom there are learners having different ethnic backgrounds.
 Q5: Intercultural competence can be acquired at school, in a formal setting.

Figure 4 presents the results:

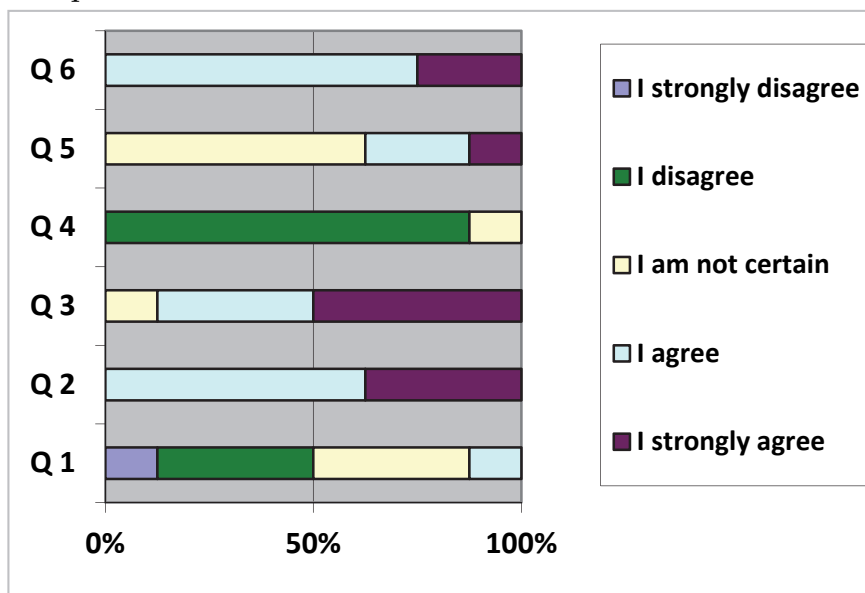


Figure 4. Teaching language and culture in an integrated way

The results indicate that students (five students agree and three students strongly agree) are aware of the fact that language and culture should be taught in an integrated way. They also 'agree' (three students) and 'strongly agree' (four students) that teachers should have at least a basic level of intercultural competence. Still, a large number of students (seven students) stated that a teacher should not be preoccupied with promoting intercultural competence when learners have the same cultural background. Nevertheless, one should keep in mind that there are many sub-cultures in every classroom, even though all the students have the same mother tongue. Being self-reflective about one's own culture is an attitude that lays the

foundation for becoming an intercultural competent speaker. The results that have been obtained at question no. 5 indicate that five students are not certain if intercultural competence can be acquired in a formal setting in the school. This result is contradictory because as depicted in figure 5 below, almost all the students consider textbooks and literature studied at university level as the main source of information for becoming familiarized with the Norwegian culture.

The students had to answer to the following question: *Which are your main sources of information for finding out more details about Norway's culture?* Their answers referring to different resources that facilitate the contact with the Norwegian culture could range from *never-seldom-sometimes-often* and *almost always*.

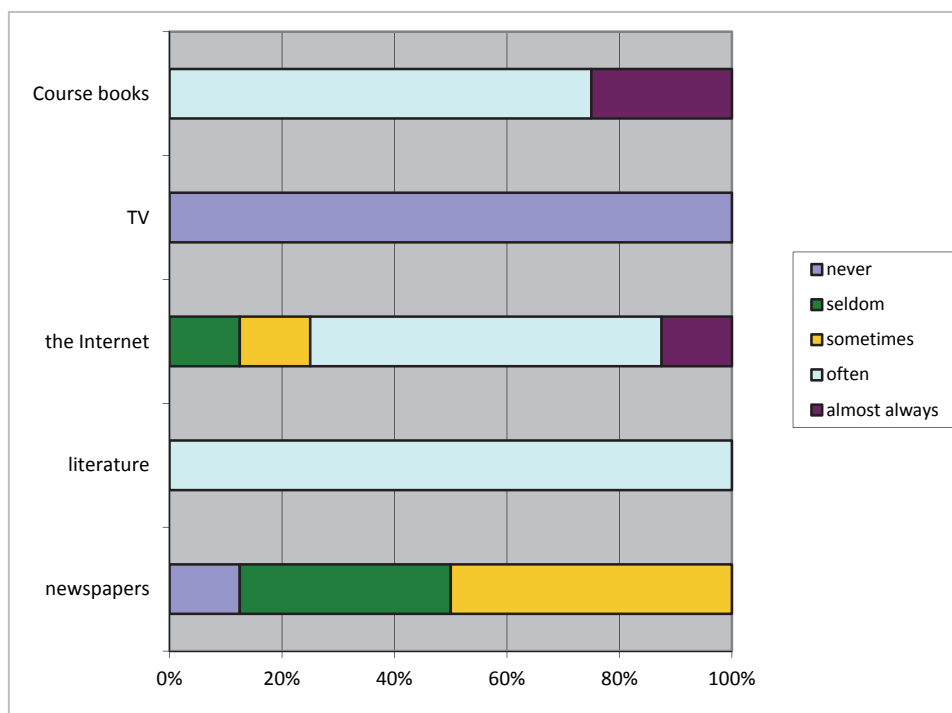


Figure 5. Teaching resources that facilitate the contact with the Norwegian culture

Most of the students consider that the resources which help them to grasp better the Norwegian culture are *literature*, *course books*, *newspapers* and

the Internet. Our students, like most of the teenagers have developed a keen interest in being always “online”. They use the Internet not as a learning resource but as a space for socialization. Six students read often course books in order to understand cultural elements and two students consider course books as their main source of information for understanding Norwegian culture and civilization. None of the students (eight students) watches TV with the specific purpose of acquiring cultural elements. In fact the Internet has replaced nowadays the TV. Students can easily find TV programs on the Internet. This might constitute one of the reasons why students prefer other channels of information. All the students responded that they *often* read literature in order to find out cultural details. This last question related to the use of teaching resources indicates that students are already engaged in meaningful non-formal learning activities. Authentic teaching resources, such as newspaper articles, literature, pictures, songs etc. are definitely broadening the students’ perspective on the Norwegian cultural heritage.

We hope that the questionnaires have provided an eye-opening experience to our students. In a multicultural society every teacher trainer should be concerned with finding new ways to increase the would-be teacher’s interest in teaching language from an intercultural perspective.

Conclusions

This current research brought some perspectives on the way in which would-be teachers in their second year of Norwegian major studies, at Bachelor level at Babeș-Bolyai University, perceive the appropriateness of teaching Norwegian by focusing both on culture and language. Even if at the very start of their Norwegian university studies (keeping in mind the fact that Norwegian is taught at beginner level and students have no previous knowledge of Norwegian) the students’ level of knowledge related to the Norwegian cultural heritage was quite low (six students provided this answer), after two years of study five of the students have reached a good or high level of knowledge. At the same time this study allows us to conclude that students have proven to be aware of the intricate links that exist between language and culture. Moreover, all the students agree that the Norwegian language cannot be taught without taking into consideration its cultural elements.

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TOWARDS AN INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY. A PROFESSORSHIP AT THE FRANZ JOSEPH UNIVERSITY (CLUJ-NAPOCA) IN 1901

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Acknowledgements

This paper has been presented at the Fourth international conference on Baltic and Nordic Studies in Romania *Empire-building and Region-building in the Baltic, North and Black sea areas* hosted by the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies and Ovidius University of Constanta, May 24-26, 2013. Supported by a grant from Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway (Finantat prin fonduri donate de Islanda, Liechtenstein si Norvegia).

Abstract

The Franz Joseph University in Kolozsvár (now Cluj-Napoca, Romania) was the second modern university in the Kingdom of Hungary and it was founded in 1872. This paper presents a micro-historical investigation of a case from 1901, when the University considered inviting a Finnish linguist to the Department of Hungarian and Comparative Linguistics after the death of the Hungarian Jewish Professor Ignác Halász. The study sheds light on the arguments made to justify the need for a foreign professor and why this plan was not realized and on the role played by Emil Nestor Setälä, the professor of Finnish language and literature at the University of Helsinki, in the appointment process. The study is based on the personal correspondence of one of the candidates, Béla Vikár and the official documents of the University.

Rezumat

Universitatea Franz Joseph din Kolozsvár (acum Cluj-Napoca, România) a fost cea de a doua universitate modernă din Regatul Ungariei și a fost fondată în 1872. Lucrarea prezintă o investigație micro-istorică a unui caz din 1901, când Universitatea a invitat un lingvist finlandez la Departamentul de Maghiară și Lingvistică Comparată, după moartea profesorului maghiar evreu Ignác Halász. Studiul clarifică argumentele aduse pentru a justifica necesitatea unui profesor străin și de ce acest plan nu a fost realizat, dar și rolul jucat de Emil Nestor Setälä, profesor de limba și literatura finlandeză de la Universitatea din Helsinki, în

procesul de numire în funcție. Studiul se bazează pe corespondența personală a unuia dintre candidați, Béla Vikár și pe documentele oficiale ale Universității.

Keywords: Franz Joseph University, Cluj, professorship, application process, 1901, Béla Vikár, E. N. Setälä, Heikki Paasonen

Introduction

The present paper is going to investigate the circumstances of the filling of the vacant professorship of Hungarian and comparative linguistics at the University of Cluj in 1901, attempting to describe the application process for the position. A special focus will be given to the factors due to which the name of a Finnish researcher arose in connection with the open position, as well as to the role played by Emil Nestor Setälä¹, the professor of Finnish language and literature at the University of Helsinki, in the appointment process.

The investigation is based on the personal letters of a candidate, Béla Vikár, as well as certain official documents related to the vacant professorship figuring in the records but missing from the archives of the university.

Historical antecedents: the foundation and structure of the University of Cluj

The University of Kolozsvár (today: Cluj-Napoca, Romania) was founded by royal decree in 1872 as the second modern institution of higher education in Hungary after the University of Budapest. Following its foundation, the university was given the name Royal Hungarian Franz Joseph University. The university started functioning with four faculties: a faculty of medicine, of law, of natural sciences and of arts. The faculty of arts we are presently interested in included, besides language departments, the departments of history as well. There were a total of 11 departments, this number increasing by the turn of the century to 16. The growing number of departments was often related to the demands of the visiting professors or those occupying the vacant professorships. In 1886, for instance, József Szinnyei, chosen to fill the professorship of Hungarian literature and

¹ Emil Nestor Setälä (1864–1835), linguist, professor of Finnish language and literature at the University of Helsinki, politician. He learned Hungarian from Béla Vikár among others.

linguistics, proved unwilling to teach literary subjects. Therefore the department split in two, a separate department of Hungarian literature was established, and Szinnyei continued to work at the university as a professor of the Department of Hungarian and Finno-Ugric Comparative Linguistics until 1893, when he occupied the vacant professorship in Budapest. This practice that the teachers of the University of Cluj continued their career in Budapest was fairly common in those times.

Ignác Halász also applied for the professorship at the Department of Hungarian Linguistics in Budapest, together with Szinnyei, and after it was occupied by Szinnyei, he was appointed to Cluj. His appointment to Cluj was probably due also to the fact that Halász was of Jewish confession. Conversion to Catholicism was a kind of implicit requirement for being recruited to the University of Budapest², Halász worked at the University of Cluj as a professor of Hungarian and comparative linguistics until his death in 1901.

In 1901 several applicants competed for the vacant position at the increasingly prestigious university. The professorship was eventually occupied by Mór Szilasi, who was also of Jewish origin.

The competition

In April 1901, the Faculty of Arts announced a competition to fill the position of professor of Hungarian linguistics, and later, on May 17, the announcement was complemented. The notifications of the Faculty of Arts regarding this issue may be found among the files of the Cluj County Branch of the National Archives of Romania. However, the records of the proceedings related to the notifications are missing, just like the records of the nominating committees.

² "The situation of Jews in Hungary was regulated by a quite favorable legal framework due to Joseph II's emancipatory aspirations. The De Judaeis law issued in 1790 assured undisturbed life to the Jews settled in towns, they were permitted to practice any profession, attend schools and universities, pursue scientific or artistic careers. In 1840 the Hungarian Parliament confirmed and extended these rights. This meant the beginning of the formation of a Jewish intellectual class. After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 the Hungarian Parliament adopted the law 1867/XVII., ensuring full emancipation. The first paragraph of the law states the following: <The Israelite residents of the country are declared equal with Christian inhabitants in exercising their civil and political rights.> The application of the law encountered, of course, many obstacles and prejudices. However, it was undoubtedly put into effect at the University of Cluj." György Gaal, *Egyetem a Farkas utcában* (Cluj-Napoca: Magyar Műszaki Tudományos Társaság, 2001), 77.

Because of the incompleteness of the documentation to be found in the archives I must rely on Béla Vikár's letters in reconstructing the course of the competition. Indirect information shows that the university was disposed to invite a visiting professor from Finland in the person of Yrjö Wichmann³ or Heikki Paasonen.⁴ By 1901 they were both recognized Finno-Ugrists, but did not yet hold a full professorship at the University of Helsinki.

Vikár's correspondence provides us with background information about professional, ethnic, religious as well as personal motives involved in the nomination procedure and the choice, too.

Vikár himself also applied for the job. Because of his personal involvement the information to be found in the letters should be treated with reservation.

Béla Vikár and his correspondence

In order to examine the letters and the information contained in them we need to know, on the one hand, who Béla Vikár was, on the other hand, we should be able to position and contextualize the letters in his correspondence as a whole.

Vikár was born in 1859 in Hetes in Somogy county, Hungary. By profession he was a parliament stenographer, but he is known for his interest and activity in the field of ethnography and literary translation as well. He was the first ethnographer to collect and record folklore by phonograph in Hungary. As a translator he translated from several languages. His best-known work is probably the Hungarian translation of the Finnish epic, *The Kalevala*.⁵ From Finnish he translated contemporary short stories and plays,

³ Yrjö Wichmann (1869–1932) Finno-Ugrist linguist, professor of the University of Helsinki from 1920. Besides smaller Finno-Ugric languages he studied the Csángó dialect, too. Wichmann visited Hungary several times since his wife, Hermann Julie/Zsüli was Hungarian.

⁴ Heikki Paasonen (1865–1919) was professor of Finno-Ugric languages at the University of Helsinki from 1904 till his death. He was the successor of Arvid Genetz in this position, and he was succeeded later by Yrjö Wichmann. Paasonen's wife, Paskay Mária, was also Hungarian.

⁵ The full translation appeared only in 1909, but Vikár repeatedly published fragments from the translation in preparation before 1904: in the Budapest Szemle in 1890 (runes 1-8), in the memorial volume entitled *Hunfalvy Pál félszázados akadémiai tagsága emlékére kiadják tisztelői* in 1891 (rune 9), in the Eperjesi Lapok (rune 10), in the Budapest Szemle (runes 11-15) and in the journal Erdélyi Múzeum (runes 16–19) in 1899.

too, and besides Finnish he made translations from French, German, Estonian, Italian, Dutch, Norwegian, Turkish and Georgian. Vikár deserves attention also as a literary organizer and editor, as he served in several editorial boards. As a literary organizer he worked in associations having the aim of fostering intercultural relations through literary translations and organizing literary/poetic evenings/matinees. As part of these literary and cultural organizational activities and editorial work, Vikár conducted an extensive correspondence with many significant Hungarian and foreign artists of the age in Hungarian, Finnish, German and French, up to his death in 1945.

Vikár's correspondence is still unprocessed, although attempts have been made at publishing it.⁶ In the case of the letters written by Vikár the problem is that the legacy of recipients lies in various manuscript collections and archives in Budapest and Helsinki, but some also happen to be in the possession of private individuals and collectors.

As regards the letters written to Vikár the greatest problem is that his apartment was bombed during World War II, thus, only a part of the correspondence has been preserved. These letters are to be found currently in the Manuscript Archive of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest. In the course of my research I have found so far about 650 letters written by Vikár, and about 200 addressed to him. Twelve of them were written in 1901. He mentions the professorship at the University of Cluj in 6 letters. The recipients were: Bernát Munkácsi⁷ – 2, E. N. Setälä – 3 and István Apáthy⁸ – 1. The letters written to Setälä may be found in the National Archives of Finland (*Kansallisarkisto*) in Helsinki, the rest of the letters in the Manuscript Archive of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTAK Kt.) and in the Manuscript Archive of the National Library (OSZK Kt.) in Budapest.

On the whole, the fewest letters are addressed to Apáthy: a total of seven letters, mostly linked to Vikár's editorial work, as he asks for writings or expresses his thanks for them to Apáthy. 42 letters are addressed to Munkácsi. The large number and length of the letters, as well as the topics discussed in them suggest that the correspondents were very good friends.

⁶ See the references.

⁷ Bernát Munkácsi (1860–1937) linguist, Finno-Ugrist, specialized in Udmurt and Mansi languages. Editor of the journal *Etnographia* between 1894–1910.

⁸ István Apáthy (1863–1922) zoologist, university professor, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1898). From 1890 professor at the university of Cluj.

They were engaged in a constant exchange of letters, especially in the 1880s, then, by the turn of the century, the number and length of letters became reduced. Parallely, personal questions were being replaced by professional topics. This also indicates that the friendly relationship between the two of them deteriorated.

A total of 101 letters are addressed to Setälä. These are usually quite long, and deal both with personal and professional topics. The number and length of the letters, the personal issues mentioned – eg. plans to spend the summer vacation together, the management of each other's finances in Hungary and Finland – suggest that they were very good friends. The correspondence between the two of them ceased shortly only when Vikár's first wife died, and later, at the time when Setälä moved to Budapest in the quality of Ambassador of Finland in Hungary.

Letters to Munkácsi and Setälä

In the following, let us see the letters in a chronological order. In two letters dated 27 May 1901 – that is, ten days after the official complementation of the announcement of the competition – Vikár reports that he is in Cluj in order to take over part of Ignác Halász' legacy and take it along to Budapest.

I quote the first two lines of the two letters: "I am writing these lines to you in confidence. While being here in Kolosvár to take over from Mrs Halász part of our dear friend's legacy, I received encouragement from local linguists to apply for Halász' position if you or Szilasi were not willing to apply. As I see, Zolnai would not be accepted by the university, and they are averse to Melich, too, because he is sent by Szinnyei, and they do not accept anybody's influence in this matter." **Vikár to Bernát Munkácsi, MTA Kt. Ms 10285/ö**

"I came in here to Kolosvár, to take over from Ignác Halász' widow the literary legacy of my late friend, and imagine: all those teachers at the university who are most closely interested in Halász' department, encourage me to apply as Halász' successor. The reason for this encouragement is not that they would consider me the strongest available choice to replace the deceased, but because no better candidate, who would also know Finnish, has applied. Namely, the two aspirants this far are Gyula Zolnai and János Melich." **Béla Vikár to E.N. Setälä, KA VAY 5466.**

Apparently the letters contain the same information: the professors of linguistics invite Vikár to apply for the position. It turns out, however, from the letter written to Munkácsi, that only if the recipient himself or Mór Szilasi does not apply. The lines written to Setälä suggest that there would be only three candidates, of whom Vikár has the best chances due to his competence in Finnish language. The question is whether Munkácsi was really being considered for the position. It seems probable that he was. This fact could by no means be omitted from the letter written to Munkácsi, because he was quite certainly aware of it. From Setälä the information was withheld because the letter would not have reached its goal otherwise. Vikár wrote to the professor of the University of Helsinki to ensure his support for himself. Among the main points of his "curriculum vitae" sent to Setälä he included the fact that he had been Budenz's student and disciple, and in 1889 he worked as Budenz's assistant, too. He also emphasized his Finnish language skills, which he had perfected during his study tour in Finland in 1889 through participating in ethnographic collecting trips and Setälä's university lectures. Besides, he attached importance to his work as a collector of Hungarian folklore, which would help him in the field of Hungarian linguistics, as part of the job offered. His Finnish language skills, on the other hand, would be of aid in the field of Finno-Ugric comparative linguistics. Vikár was, however, aware that he did not have the support of Setälä against Munkácsi. Munkácsi was better-known in Finno-Ugric scientific circles, he could boast of significant achievements, and he had applied with good chances of success for the professorship in Hungarian linguistics at Budapest in 1896. His lack of success in that case was most probably a consequence of his being of Jewish confession, too. Vikár's aim with the letter seems to have been to ask for a kind of declaration of intents from the addressee, to be sure that he is not interested in applying. In fact, through Munkácsi, he tried to obtain a similar declaration from Szilasi, too.

Unfortunately, Vikár did not name the linguists asking him to apply for the position in either of his letters. In 1901 the following appointed professors held permanent positions at the University of Cluj: Gábor Szentkatolnai Bálint as the professor of Ural-Altai comparative linguistics; Gregoriu Szilasi, the professor of Romanian language and literature; Hugó Meltzl, of German language and literature; as well as Gyula Haraszti, of French language and literature.

The letters also show that recruitment of teaching staff on invitation basis was being considered at the Faculty of Arts. Bernát Munkácsi's and Mór Szilasi's names figured among those to be invited. However, the documentation to be found in the Cluj archives shows that the faculty finally decided to open the position for application. This is supported by the above mentioned official documents dating from April and May 1901: the call for applications and its supplement.

The listed candidates

Among the names of eligible candidates we may find Bernát Munkácsi, Móric (or Mór) Szilasi, János Melich and Gyula Zolnai.

The most competent of them, and best known in professional circles was Bernát Munkácsi. He had published the results of his research in the field of Udmurt and Mansi languages at the end of the 19th century already. He was the author of the Votyak/ Udmurt dictionary published in 1892 in Budapest, too.

Móric Szilasi (1854-1905) studied Indo-European linguistics during his university years, committing himself then to Finno-Ugrian studies. His special field of study were the smaller Finno-Ugric languages, in 1896 he published a glossary of the Vogul language, and in 1901 a dictionary of the Mari language in Budapest.

János Melich (1872-1963) was engaged in the study of Hungarian linguistics, more exactly of onomastics. His other field of research were the Slavic languages. In 1899 he made a study trip of several months to Moscow and St. Petersburg, while he visited Helsinki as well.

Gyula Zolnai (1862-1949) was a specialist in Hungarian linguistics, his research field being language history and etymology. He had a good knowledge of Finnish, he also translated Finnish literature under the pseudonym Somkuti. (And let us note in parentheses that after Szilasi's death, in 1906 he would eventually occupy the professorship in Cluj).

One of the problems in connection with the open position was that the candidate had to be a good Hungarian linguist and specialized in Finno-Ugrian studies at the same time. Among those listed above, Melich was the only one who had had no contact with Finno-Ugric languages. Gyula Zolnai was specialized in Finnish and an accomplished translator, Munkácsi and Szilasi, in turn, were engaged in the study of minor Finno-Ugric languages, they conducted field work, too, at the end of the 19th century, and published

their results in German or in Hungarian. As regards Vikár, he could be deemed eligible as a specialist in Finnish. In terms of qualifications he, together with Munkácsi and Szilasi, had been a student of József Budenz, the (originally German) founder of the department of Ural-Altai linguistics at the University of Budapest, and the “father of Ugric comparative linguistics.”

Vikár’s plan in case of his election

The common point in the above mentioned two letters is Vikár’s plan proposed in the event of his appointment: the separation of the Department of Hungarian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics into a department of Hungarian and of Finno-Ugric comparative linguistics. This is the point when the Finnish names, Heikki Paasonen and Yrjö Wichmann, are first mentioned. Both were Finno-Ugrists studying smaller Finno-Ugric languages, and they spoke Hungarian well, too. Their interest in the language was, of course, strongly motivated by the fact that they both had Hungarian wives. Vikár’s choice would fall to the person who would not have a position at the University of Helsinki at the time.

The plan was actually a part of his lobbying for the job, since it served as a pretext for Vikár, the writer of the letters, to inform the recipient, Setälä, on his extensive network of contacts. As a parliament stenographer he could come in contact with the leading politicians of the country. Through these personal contacts/relationships he could thus promote the separation of the department further. The invitation of a Finnish professor to the department of Finno-Ugric linguistics after the bifurcation was also part of the ambitious plan.

At a first glance, the plan appears to be feasible, but if one takes a look at the structure of the Faculty of Arts at the time it has to be realized that there was no special need for a Finno-Ugric comparative department. The reason is most simple: besides the department of Hungarian linguistics there existed a department of comparative linguistics, namely of Ural-Altai comparative linguistics founded in 1893 and led by Gábor Szentkatolnai Bálint. Szentkatolnai, born in 1844, had studied Persian and Arabic in Vienna, and had a good knowledge of Turkish and Finno-Ugric languages. With the support of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences he had conducted research in Russia and Mongolia between 1869 and 1874, collecting linguistic

material.⁹ After Ignác Halász' death and before the election of the new professor he taught Finnish language, as a substitute teacher.¹⁰ Vikár's insistence on creating a department of Finno-Ugric comparative linguistics was probably due to the fact that Szentkatolnai did not accept that the Hungarian language would be of Finno-Ugric origin, and although the Ural- Altaic department was set up along the lines set at the University of Budapest, Finno-Ugric contrastive linguistics was not part of the profile of the Cluj department, unlike in Budapest. Vikár, as a Finnist, wanted – and he was not alone – that Finnish would be taught by someone committed to the idea of Finno-Ugric linguistic affinity.

The next letters to Munkácsi and Setälä

During the summer vacation following the closing of the university year the issues related to the application process were also put on hold. Vikár wrote one single letter to Munkácsi, in which he touched upon the question of the Cluj professorship only briefly: "I have received a most interesting letter from Setälä. He would have stood up for me if this gesture did not appear to be against you. Thus he does not get implicated." **Vikár to Bernát Munkácsi** on 18.08. 1901. MTAK Kt. **Ms 10285/ö**

Thus Setälä, who knew Bernát Munkácsi's professional achievements well, did not write a recommendation for Vikár out of consideration for Munkácsi. He felt that through this he would take sides against Munkácsi. So the question remains whether Setälä tried to support Vikár after having learned that Munkácsi refused to accept the position in Cluj.

The issue of the open position became topical again in the new academic year. Vikár's letter written to Setälä provides us with more information on the course of events at the university: "The nomination committee chaired by prof. Meltzl, the professor of German linguistics, the rapporteur being Gábor Sz. Bálint, whom you know personally, decided to nominate only me from among the applicants, but they are going to nominate – with three votes against the chairman and the rapporteur – someone who has not applied for the position, namely Mór Szilasi. As I learned later, I had as good chances as Sz[ilasi]. at the faculty, moreover, in fact it did not seem impossible that Sz[ilasi]. would drop out altogether, and

⁹ Cf. Gaal 2001, 71.

¹⁰ Cf. Enikő M. Bodrogi and Ildikó Varga P. 'Suomen opetuksen historia Romanian Kolozsvárisissa', *Virittäjä* 4 (2002): 586–592.

I would be nominated alone. The explanation for this lies in the fact, that Zolnai also is supported by a considerable party – the Catholics – my antagonists thus being divided in two, inter duos litigants I could easily be the tertius, who gaudet” **Vikár to Setälä on 29.10.1901. KA VAY 5466.**

According to the letter thus there was a five-member committee appointed, consisting of a chairman, a rapporteur and three members. The chairman was Hugó Meltzl, the professor of German language and literature, the rapporteur Gábor Szentkatolnai Bálint. There is no information regarding the identity of the three members. The duty of the rapporteur was to present the academic career of one of the candidates. Szentkatolnai’s choice fell upon Vikár, and presented him to the nomination committee. If we are to believe the writer of the letter, he earned the chairman’s vote as well. However, the members nominated a candidate who had not applied for the job, namely Mór Szilasi. Vikár hoped that the voting ratio could change at the faculty meeting. In other words, besides the nominating committee, the faculty assembly also had nominating rights. Based on the information Vikár had obtained, it was Gyula Zolnai who also had the chance to get among the candidates at the faculty meeting.

About Szentkatolnai’s recommendation we may also learn as much that he pointed out Vikár’s translation work in his oeuvre, namely the translation of *Kalevala* under work: “The whole Finnish school has not done as much for the acceptance of Finnish-Hungarian affinity, as this – in his [Szentkatolnai’s] opinion classic – Hungarian *Kalevala*.” **Vikár to Setälä 29.10.1901. KA VAY 5466.**

As for the Finnish candidates, it was Paasonen whose name arose as a possible aspirant for the position. Vikár acted as an intermediary between the university and Paasonen, since the Associate Dean of the Faculty of Arts, János Csengeri wrote to him first in order that Vikár would ask for information from Paasonen, whether he would be interested in occupying the professorship in Cluj if it was offered to him without competition, on an invitation basis. Paasonen had sent his reply to Csengeri before Vikár’s following letter to Setälä: “A few days later I sent to my friend, Csengeri (a copy of) P[aasonen]’s answer, which he gave to my question addressed to him under the influence of the first news about the invitation of Sz[ilas]-i (in spite of some small errors in beautiful Hungarian language and very cleverly, among other things reserving for himself the right to publish the

results of his research work in Finland)." **Vikár to Setälä on 29.10.1901.KA VAY 5466.**

Vikár sent Paasonen's letter to the Ministry of Culture, too, to the minister Gyula Wlassics, who immediately informed the university on the Finnish researcher's letter. This resulted in a situation that was definitely disadvantageous for Vikár. Consequently, the letter written to Setälä was not just a report on the situation in Cluj, but also a request addressed to the professor of Finnish language and literature of the University of Helsinki, asking for support both for himself or Paasonen, and for the plan of the splitting of the department.

As it has already been mentioned earlier, their correspondence shows that Vikár and Setälä were on friendly terms with each other. However, the Finnish professor did not consider this a sufficient basis for supporting the candidacy of his friend in writing. Not even after that Munkácsi, whom he considered professionally superior to Vikár, indicated that he does not want to apply for the position in Cluj, but would continue his editorial work at the journal *Etnographia* at Budapest, as well as his inspectorial activities in the Jewish community. Setälä's silence could actually mean two things: on the one hand, he did not consider Vikár quite competent for the job, on the other hand, he was well aware of the fact that a letter of recommendation and support signed by him could have crucial influence on the election of the professor.

On the same day with the letter written to Setälä, Vikár also contacted István Apáthy, Professor of Zoology at the University of Cluj. A year later, in the academic year 1903-1904, Apáthy was elected rector of the university. He was certainly an influential person at the time of the writing of the letter already.

Vikár recounted in this letter, too, the nomination committee's decision. Paasonen's name arose also here as the probable successor in the professorship. Yet, this letter is more explanatory. The staff of the university had interpreted Vikár's acting as an intermediary as a gesture of withdrawal from the competition. Vikár tried to deny this in his letter, and asked for Apáthy's help, trying to convince him to support Vikár's nomination if the university would renounce the invitation of Paasonen, the Finnish professor. There is no information about any intervention on the part of Apáthy. Most probably the basically offensive tone of the letter also contributed to this,

since Vikár lobbied for himself so, that he tried to discredit the other candidates professionally and personally as well.

Personal and professional objections

Besides the letter written to Apáthy there are also other letters revealing personal and professional controversies that were likely to affect the nomination process.

The candidates mentioned in the first round, Gyula Zolnai and János Melich, would not have been welcomed by the Cluj staff, the latter mainly because he enjoyed the support of Szinnyei – the former professor of Hungarian. From the first letter written to Setälä we may also learn that Bernát Munkácsi was not liked because he was too conflictual, and Mór Szilasi was believed to belong to Munkácsi's circle.

In the letters written to Setälä Vikár himself takes stand against the other possible candidates. Although Vikár's correspondence on the whole is not characterized by personal attacks based on religious affiliation, prejudice appears to the following extent: "It is, indeed, odd that the science of Hungarian language is transferred as a heritage from a Jew to a Jew." **Vikár Béla to E.N. Setälä on 16.8.1901. KA VAY 5466.**

He considered Munkácsi and Szilasi inadequate to fill the position because they were both of Jewish faith, and the professor of Hungarian language, in his view, should not be Jewish again. As I have mentioned the previous professor, Ignác Halász was Jewish, too.

He raised professional objections mainly against Szilasi, arguing that although he specialized in minor Finno-Ugric languages and peoples, and had published dictionaries (Vogul vocabulary – in 1896, dictionary of the Mari language – in 1901), he had not conducted field research, had "never seen relative peoples, never heard relative languages spoken." **Vikár to István Apáthy on 29.10.1901. OSZK Kt.**

He did not, however, question Munkácsi's professional competence.

The decision

As I have already mentioned, the minutes of the election meeting may not be found among the documents preserved in the university archives, thus it is impossible to reconstruct the meeting. The index books recording the incoming and outgoing official documents of the faculty, however, include the titles of the once issued documents. One of these

documents, a decree of the ministry issued under the number 1963/1901, bore the title: "Dr. Móric Szilasi is appointed to the Department of Hungarian and Comparative Finno-Ugric Linguistics." Another document listing the lectures to be kept by Szilasi dates from the same year, under the number 1983/1901.

Unfortunately, there is no information on the developments in connection with the nomination of the Finnish Heikki Paasonen. The letter written by vice-dean János Csengeri to Vikár has been most probably destroyed in wartimes in the bombing of Vikár's house. The Minister's letter addressed to the university, to which Paasonen's answer had been attached, came probably to the same fate as the records of the meetings and most of the documents from the years 1901-1902: during moving to Budapest and then to Szeged, as a consequence of the peace treaties ending World War I, then during the return following the Vienna Treaty of 1940 – according to which Northern Transylvania was attached to Hungary – a significant part of the documents were lost.

The internationalization of the university referred to in the title happened thus on two levels, even if it did not yet produce tangible results. On the one hand, the name of a foreign candidate, the Finnish Paasonen came up during the nomination process, on the other hand, the lobbying for the position in question spread to an international level, implying an influential Finnish professor of the University of Helsinki, E. N. Setälä, whose support was sought by candidates.

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THE VOICE OF A “TONGUELESS” PERIPHERY

“My Tongue Means Yes and Amen”¹ (Bengt Pohjanen)

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Acknowledgements

This paper has been presented at the Fourth international conference on Baltic and Nordic Studies in Romania *Empire-building and Region-building in the Baltic, North and Black sea areas* hosted by the Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies and Ovidius University of Constanta, May 24-26, 2013. Supported by a grant from Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway (Finantat prin fonduri donate de Islanda, Liechtenstein si Norvegia).

Abstract:

In my study, I am going to examine the relationship between language, politics and poetry in the context of identity development concerning the Meänkieli speaking community living in the Torne/Tornio² Valley.

The Torne River Valley (or Tornedalian) Finns were cut off from Finland in 1809, when Sweden lost the territory of Finland in favour of Russia. Ever since, the Tornedalian Finns have become the victims of a definite assimilation policy.

Their linguistic emancipation started in the 1980s. Their language, Meänkieli, has been a minority language officially acknowledged in Sweden since 2000. Still, it is a seriously stigmatized and endangered language nowadays, as well.

Many people in the world think that “language” should be understood as the language spoken by the majority of a national state. Still, most of the world’s endangered languages are the languages of indigenous and ethnic groups that only exist as minority languages. It is paradoxical that minority languages constitute, in fact, the large majority, although they have been considered peripheral or marginalized.

The notion of “periphery versus centre” has a long tradition in being applied in different fields of human sciences, mainly in social and political analysis. The aim of my research on the identity of ethnic and linguistic minorities is to rethink these

¹ Quoted from Bengt Pohjanen’s poem *My Tongue Is My World*. Original Meänkieli title: *Minun kieli oon minun mailma*.

² The name of the border-river between Sweden and Finland is Torne in Swedish and Tornio in Finnish.

notions in terms of the dynamics of multilingual ethnic minority versus unilingual national majority. I disapprove of the idea that what belongs to the centre is to be considered a standard and of greater value than what is associated with the periphery. In fact "periphery" and "centre" are related and dynamic terms, depending on the perspective from which we look upon them.

The most eloquent example of the spiritual richness of the periphery in Sweden is Bengt Pohjanen who writes poetry, prose, drama, opera librettos, articles, film scripts etc. in three languages: Meänkieli, Swedish and Finnish. Possessing a thorough knowledge of the once lively Meänkieli culture, he is also a consistent representative of alterity in the hegemonic Swedish culture.

As Bengt Pohjanen is a writer and a poet, as well as a public figure, a key personality of revitalizing the Meänkieli language, his works are especially suitable to be examined in a complex way, from the point of view of different human sciences (linguistics, literature, sociology, psychology).

Rezumat:

Acest studiu își propune să prezinte legăturile multiple dintre limbă, cultură și politică în contextul dezvoltării identității colective a unei populații fino-ugrice din valea râului Torne/ Tornio din nordul Suediei, vorbitoare de limba meänkieli.

Această populație a fost desprinsă de Finlanda în anul 1809, când, în urma războiului de cucerire a Finlandei de către Imperiul Rus, Suedia a fost nevoită să cedeze teritoriul Finlandei în favoarea Rusiei. Începând de atunci, finlandezii din valea râului Torne/ Tornio au fost victimele unei politici puternice de asimilare.

Trezirea și emanciparea lor lingvistică și culturală a început în anii 1980. Cu toate că în Suedia de azi limba meänkieli este în mod oficial recunoscută ca limbă minoritară (din anul 2000), totuși a rămas o limbă grav stigmatizată și amenințată. Din punct de vedere cultural, cea mai importantă personalitate publică a comunității vorbitoare de meänkieli este scriitorul și poetul Bengt Pohjanen. Scrie în trei limbi - meänkieli, suedeză și finlandeză - proză, dramă, poezii, librete de operă și publicistică. În a doua parte a studiului prezintă metodele prin care Pohjanen reprezintă vocea „periferiei” în limba sa maternă, meänkieli, deconstruind ideea hegemoniei culturii suedeze.

Keywords: *minority language, policy of assimilation, Meänkieli, stigmatization, linguistic and cultural identity, postcolonial discourse.*

Language and politics

For the majority of the citizens of a national state, their language and ethnic affiliation is obvious. This is not accidental, as in most European countries, for instance, they speak a dominant language which has a solid

social and political position. In a stereotypical monolingual national state, land, nation and language can be interpreted as mirroring one another, as different manifestation forms of one and the same identity.³

But what about minority languages and their speakers? These languages are almost all endangered and researches concerning them all draw attention to the fact that more than seven thousand languages spoken nowadays in the world will be reduced to their half by 2100, as there is a language dying every fortnight.⁴ Since each language includes the given community world-view, their way of thinking, knowledge about their surrounding and their history, all these would die out with the language, meaning that an important part of our world's heritage would disappear, as well.

In case of language death it is as if it were a natural process in analogy with human life: we are born, we live and once we die. But the extinction of a language, nowadays the death of languages in mass, we could say, cannot be considered natural at all. The replacement, as well as the extinguishing of a language is a response to the pressure (social, cultural, economic, military) upon the community that speaks it.

When a monolingual community becomes bi- or multilingual, the identity principles change, as well. Naturally, there are always changes in a language-community, but nowadays the number of endangered and extinguishing languages has reached a frightening level. Endangerment of languages does not only mean continuous weakening of language-identity, but also changing and fragmentation of the language-connections system. And there is no new identity automatically forming instead of the one connected to land, language and culture.⁵ This is generally a long process, full of contradictions.

The status of Meänkieli in Sweden

In the Torne/ Tornio Valley (Tornionlaakso in Finnish and Tornedalen in Swedish) there were probably already living Finns before the

³ Riho Grünthal, "Kieliyhteisön rapautuminen ja kielellisen identiteetin muutos: 2000-luvun ersämordvalaiset ja vepsäläiset", in *Kielissä kulttuurien ääni*, ed. A. Idström, S. Sosa (Helsinki: SKS, 2009), 268.

⁴ <http://travel.nationalgeographic.com/travel/enduring-voices/>, accessed March 25, 2013.

⁵ Riho Grünthal, "Kieliyhteisön rapautuminen ja kielellisen identiteetin muutos: 2000-luvun ersämordvalaiset ja vepsäläiset", in *Kielissä kulttuurien ääni*, ed. A. Idström, S. Sosa (Helsinki: SKS, 2009), 269.

Middle Ages and the area was basically unified both from the language and cultural point of view.

After more than six hundred years of Swedish supremacy (1155-1809), Finland had become part of the Czar's Empire. In 1808-1809 the so called "Finland's War" took place between Russia and Sweden; as a result, Finland became part of Russia. The agreement signed on September 17 in Fredrikshamn (Hamina in Finnish), 1809 did not take into consideration the situation of languages and divided the Torne/ Tornio Valley into two: its eastern part, as belonging to the Finnish Grand Duchy, was annexed to Russia, while its western part remained under Swedish hegemony. Politics made the contact between the two parts much stricter. The Finns living on the eastern bank of the river have become part of the Finnish nation and their language has remained a Finnish dialect. Those on the western bank have become a linguistic and ethnic minority in Sweden, their language having separately developed.⁶

According to 1998 state statistics data, there are about 50,000 Tornedalians living on the territory of five municipalities of Northern-Sweden: Haparanda, Övertorneå, Pajala, Kiruna and Gällivare.⁷ According to Winsa their number is 35,000–75,000.⁸ Only a fragment of them still speak Meänkieli and they are middle aged or old. Tornedalians live also outside the valley of the Torne/ Tornio, in the southern and central parts of Sweden.

As seen from Stockholm, the political and cultural centre of the national state, North-Sweden and its Torne/ Tornio Valley have always been marginalized from every point of view, as an extraneous region, inhabited by people speaking foreign languages: Sami (by the Lapps) and Meänkieli⁹. This population speaking Finno-Ugric languages represented an

⁶ Paula Andersson and Raija Kangassalo, "Suomi ja meänkieli Ruotsissa", in *Monena suomi maailmalla*, ed. H. Jönsson-Korhola, A.-R. Lindgren (Helsinki: SKS, 2003), 104–108; Leena Huss and Anna-Riitta Lindgren, "Monikielinen Skandinavia", in *Monikielinen Eurooppa. Kielipolitiikka ja käytäntöä*, ed. M. Johansson, R. Pyykkö (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2005), 257–258.

⁷ Leena Huss and Anna-Riitta Lindgren, "Monikielinen Skandinavia", in *Monikielinen Eurooppa. Kielipolitiikka ja käytäntöä*, ed. M. Johansson, R. Pyykkö (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 2005), 257.

⁸ Birger Winsa, "Flerspråkighetens socioekonomi i Tornedalen", in *Kieli- ja kulttuurikontaktit*, ed. H. Sulkala (Oulu: University of Oulu, 2000), 148–149.

⁹ I am only going to deal with Meänkieli in my study and only mention Sami, as they have more or less a similar fate.

embarrassing factor in the Swedish imagined community¹⁰. At the same time Meänkieli is also marginalized in the Finnish official discourse considering it only a dialect, while it is an officially accepted minority language in Sweden.

The reasons for such an extended loss of language are to be mostly found in the minority policy. These are, for instance economic subordination (the basically thinly populated Torne/ Tornio Valley is getting abandoned because of lack of jobs), as well as cultural marginalization, negative attitudes concerning the minority language (from the Swedish majority, from the Finns in Finland, from the inner group members who have become Swedish-speaking inhabitants), as well as the direct language discrimination (deep gap between official acceptance of linguistic human rights and their putting into practice, lack of education in the non-dominant language, discrimination of those speaking the minority language).

Despite the official acknowledgement of Meänkieli in Sweden, this can hardly be noticed in rights practice or in public awareness. It does not have a generally accepted literary language yet and revitalisation of the language – so much needed in the area – is at an initial phase.

Bengt Pohjanen – the trilingual Meänkieli

Bengt Pohjanen (born in 1944) is the prodigiously multilateral and prolific writer of the Torne/ Tornio Valley and dedicated representative of Meänkieli literature. He pays a lot of attention to use Meänkieli almost as much in his literary and public activity as he uses Swedish. Besides these two languages he also writes in Finnish. His own forty-two pages long bibliography includes different genres: novels, poems, lyrics, essays, dramas, feuilletons, texts for musicals, short stories. He is also a translator in nine languages: Swedish, Meänkieli, Finnish, English, German, French, Russian, Livonian and Karelian.

He wrote his first novel in 1979, in Swedish – *Och fiskarna svarar Guds frid* (*So The Fish(ers) Befit God's Peace*). At the beginning of his career he wrote in Swedish. Then, an international seminar in Stockholm was fate (and language-) turning for him. It was here that he discovered that there are a lot

¹⁰ I use the notion "imagined community" in the Andersonian sense. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

of writers in the world who are constrained to create in a language different from their own mother tongue.

“But there are lots like me living in the world! Colleagues came from Africa, from the Caribbean Islands, from India, Japan and many other places. There were a lot of us bind together by our mutual experiences of living along the border, being in minority and despised. It was easy to understand one another. I felt them close though they were living in far away places. They seemed to be my relatives, even if the colour of their skins was different from mine. I realized then that the world is not monolingual. The world was like our small community at the seminar and I was part of this world. I met Salman Rushdie there, the British writer from India, who told us about the way he wrote his first novel in English, while thinking in his own mother tongue. I only knew this situation very well. I was thereafter that I wrote my first Meänkieli novel – in my own tongue”.¹¹

Members of a language minority can easily feel themselves some kind of rare, strange beings, until they realise that there are quite many in a similar situation, and try not to feel their own difference in language as a hindrance. As a matter of fact, those are in majority in the world who think in their own mother tongue but are constrained to speak a more ‘valuable’ language in order to be considered humans in their own countries.

Pohjanen’s mother tongue is Meänkieli but the Swedish educational system had tried to eradicate it in him. He rediscovered his mother tongue as a young adult, ever since assuming an important role in the revitalisation of the Meänkieli language and culture.

His mother tongue is the immovable basis of his personality and even if he declares three languages as his own, his whole activity proves that Meänkieli has always been the most important for him, even if he does not explicitly say so.

Pohjanen is the author of the first novel ever written in Meänkieli (*Lyykeri*, 1985 – meaning *The Luger*), as well as of the first drama (*Kuutot*, 1987 – *The Kuutto Family*). His works prove that literatures give the individual a possibility to share in their own people’s or ethnic group’s culture and collective memory. One of Pohjanen’s main aims is to present the relation of the Meänkieli culture to the majority (Swedish and Finnish) cultures. He has

¹¹ Bengt Pohjanen, *A csempészkirály fia*, transl. by Enikő M. Bodrogi (Kolozsvár/ Cluj: Koinónia, 2011), 8.

a high sense of presenting the reticulation of sub- and over-ordination between the minority and majority cultures, the individual's experience in sharing the same fate or being different, as well as minority strategies in an exclusionary society.

Culture as a strategy for survival

Postcolonial discourse draws attention upon the fact that the cultures of peripheral groups are willingly left out from definitions built upon traditionally hierarchic structures. After the notion has been re-evaluated in a post-modern sense, the cultures of previously overshadowed groups have now received their deserved role. The most important increment of postcolonial researches is the surfacing of colonial unseen discourse, a discourse loaded with heavy psychological trauma. According to Said when we are talking about the cultures struggling against one another we easily forget that different designations can get in conflict even in the same culture.¹²

This phenomenon can be easily exemplified by Torne/ Tornio Valley literature as a whole, as its multilingualism and cultural multicolourness can be well fitted into the frame drawn by postcolonial discourse. Bhabha ascertains that a whole range of groups marginalized from the cultural or racial point of view *a priori* wear the distinct features of minority. “[...] a range of culturally and racially marginalized groups readily assume the mask of the black, or the position of the minority, not to deny their diversity, but audaciously to announce the important artifice of cultural identity and its difference [...]”¹³.

Postcolonial researches also suggest that – along the history – the very groups that mostly suffered (suppressed, forced to live in diaspora, and relocated) offer the really lasting moral teachings to humanity. “In this salutary sense, a range of contemporary critical theories suggest that it is from those who have suffered the sentence of history – subjugation,

¹² Edward W. Said, “Bevezetés a posztkoloniális diszkurzusba”, in *A posztmodern irodalomtudomány kialakulása*, ed. Bókay A. et al. (Budapest: Osiris, 2002), 605.

¹³ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London & New York: Routledge, 2008), 63–64, <http://www9.georgetown.edu/faculty/irvinem/theory/Bhabha-LocationofCulture-chaps.pdf>, accessed February 13, 2013.

domination, Diaspora, displacement – that we learn our most enduring lessons for living and thinking”¹⁴.

Bhabha says that “Culture as a strategy of survival is both trans-national and translational.”¹⁵ It is trans-national as nowadays postcolonial discourse is deeply rooted in the special stories of being culturally uprooted. And it is translational at the same time, as the local stories of uprootedness give a complex picture of what culture is.

In the postcolonial theoretical context, the notion of hybridity has a central role¹⁶. I am not in favour of this word, firstly because practically every language and culture is interconnected with other languages and cultures, so it is hybrid from this point of view; on the other hand, the notion also has a negative connotation (half-breed, mixture, mongrel).

Deprived of mother tongue

One of the leading themes of the Torne/ Tornio Valley literature and the Meänkieli one in it¹⁷ is the trauma of the Swedish assimilation and loss of identity. This is the central theme of one of Pohjanen’s early poems, originally written in Swedish and published in 1973, entitled *Jag är född utan språk* (*Born Tongueless*). Then he translated it himself into Meänkieli and Finnish. Here is the poem in Meänkieli and English.

<p>Bengt Pohjanen: Olen kielettömännä syntyny</p> <p>Olen kielettömännä syntyny, mykkänä. Kieletön paanmuska katkasi naparihman.</p> <p>Kasusin rajala kahen kielen traakissa jonka viimassa</p>	<p>Bengt Pohjanen: Born Tongueless</p> <p>Tongueless I was born, dumb. A midwife – tongue-less herself – cut my funiculus.</p> <p>I grew up on a frontier; the crossfire of two languages kept cutting, dumbing</p>
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¹⁴ Ibid., 171–172.

¹⁵ Ibid., 172.

¹⁶ See, for instance *ibid.*

¹⁷ I make clear difference between Meänkieli minority literature which is written in Meänkieli, on the one hand, and Torne Valley literature, written in Swedish, on the other hand; I do not consider the latter to be a linguistic minority’s literature, but the literature written in and about one of the regions of Sweden, having a strong collective identity.

<p>olematon kieleni mykisty.</p> <p>Minut kasuatihiin olheen ihmiseksi, oppimhaan ruottin ja tunnusthaan kansalisuuen.</p> <p>Minua piiskathiin koulussa oppimhaan ruottin, olheen ihmisiksi kunnan alamaisena. Minua piiskathiin häpeähmään sitä mikä oli minun ommaa: kielettömyys ja raja.</p> <p>Minut rakennethiin ulkoa päin suunatulla väkivallalla ja sisäisellä pakola lyhennyksilä ja väärinkäsityksillä.</p> <p>Multa otethiin oma lekitimasuuni.</p>	<p>my tongue.</p> <p>As I was brought up into a human being, they warned me to learn language foreign to me and form my national identity.</p> <p>At school I was rammed language, and brought into a good citizen and subjection. They rammed in: what's mine – my being tongue-less and my border-existence – are shameful.</p> <p>I have been created with external violence internal constraint deprivations and misunderstandings.</p> <p>I was deprived of my identity Card.</p> <p>Transl. by Betty Léb</p>
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The poem is a manifestation of being excluded and deprived of identity. The lyrical ego is born "tongue-less" because the only accepted language in the given cultural and social environment is Swedish. Being continuously stigmatised, excluded and humiliated because of his mother tongue, an experience mostly connected to school, he finishes his poem with the line "I was deprived of my identity Card". It logically follows that the one who does not master the "language" does not even exist. In a

monolingual and monocultural society only those whose mother tongue is the majority language are considered citizens.

Lack, alienation, fragmentation characterizes the discourse of the poem. Its gloomy tension at rhythm level, as well as the diverging dynamics of poetic and everyday expressions perfectly fit the message.

This poem has a special significance according to Pohjanen. He had it published many a time in different places, translated it and had it translated into several languages. It can be found right on the opening page of his website¹⁸ in Swedish, Finnish, Meänkieli, Russian, English, Hungarian, Estonian, and Czech.

The poem has been published as the opening poem of Pohjanen's Meänkieli Grammar published in Swedish, first in 2005 and then in 2007.¹⁹ This still is the single Meänkieli Grammar published in Swedish.²⁰

It is an irregular grammar book. It clearly mirrors that its author is a writer of literature and his aim is not mainly to write a traditionally descriptive grammar, but rather to arouse interest for a language which not many know about even in its own fatherland. He made it more colourful by including literary texts, and in his examples and explanations he pays attention to assure an attractive lecture.

Pohjanen is a rebel. He revolts against a usual, accepted norm in almost all his works. He fights for his mother tongue and deconstructs the authority discourse. His poem *Born Tongueless* is undoubtedly one of the basic pieces of his creative world.²¹

Almost three decades passed after the poem was published until Meänkieli was declared an independent minority language in Sweden in 2000, together with other four languages (Finnish spoken in Sweden,

¹⁸ http://www.sirillus.se/index_bp.htm, accessed January 29, 2013.

¹⁹ Bengt Pohjanen and Muli, Eeva, *Meänkieli rätt och lätt* (Överkalix: Barents, 2007).

²⁰ The grammar is built upon an earlier Meänkieli variant, unique in its nature, as well: Matti Kenttä and Bengt Pohjanen, *Meänkielen kramatiikki* (Luuleå: Kaamos, 1996). The poem can be found in the Meänkieli variant on p. 141, but he has changed his translation several times since then. It is generally characteristic of Pohjanen to re-form his text again and again.

²¹ See also Anne Heith, "Fluid Identities and the Use of History: The Northern Lights Route and the Writings of Bengt Pohjanen" in *A European Cultural Studies Conference in Sweden 11-13 June 2007* (Linköping University Electronic Press, 2007), 234, <http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp/025/024/ecp072524.pdf>, accessed March 7, 2013 and Anne Heith, "Voicing Otherness in Postcolonial Sweden. Bengt Pohjanen's Deconstruction of Hegemonic Ideas of Cultural Identity", in *The Angel of History. Literature, History and Culture*, ed. V. Haapala et al. (Helsinki, 2009), 142.

Yiddish, Romani and Sami). The previous cultural and language limits seemed to have shifted to a positive change, at least at a political level. Still, an ethnic and linguistic researcher's perspective upon legal requirements and their application is different from the one of a majority member. It is mainly a member of a minority who is able to understand why – for the speakers of a language stigmatised for a long time – it is not implicit to wish to learn a given language when it is not forbidden any more.

Creating an alternative past and self-understanding

Socio-psychological researches have drawn attention upon the fact that the descendants of the victims of language and ethnic persecution have inherited such a trauma that they have not managed to go through it. But persecution has consequences that affect the descendants, as well.²² The history of the community living in the Torne/ Tornio Valley is an eloquent example that the generations that experienced the trauma of language and ethnic assimilation have not passed their ancestors' tongue, Meänkieli, over to the new generation. For the young people this language is nothing but the language of the old, part of a passed world.

An integral part of Pohjanen's mother tongue-world creating activity is also the creation of the past (confronting the authority discourse), functioning as self-creation all along his literary activity. He sublimates the historical experience of his community into literature, obviously having also other aims beside aesthetics.

In Pohjanen's works – no matter if prose, poetic, dramatic or journalistic ones – you can find a sometimes openly revolutionary expression. He speaks about and to his own group which is confused in its tongue and identity, being also despised and stigmatised by the majority. He makes an attempt of unifying them into a real community and to awaken the wish of returning to their own roots. This rhetoric sometimes also bears defiant confrontation. Let's see a few examples from his autobiographic novel.²³

²² Erős Ferenc, *Az identitás labirintusai* (Budapest: Janus/Osiris, 2001), 110.

²³ In Swedish: Bengt Pohjanen, *Smugglarkungens son*, (Stockholm: Norstedts, 2007). In Meänkieli: Bengt Pohjanen, *Jopparikuninkhaan poika*, (Överkalix: Barents, 2009). In Finnish: Bengt Pohjanen, *Jopparikuninkaan poika*, transl. by Jorma Aspegren (Helsinki/Jyväskylä: Minerva, 2006). In Hungarian: Bengt Pohjanen, *A csempészkirály fia*, transl. by Enikő M. Bodrogi (Kolozsvár/ Cluj: Koinónia, 2011).

“Extra lingua nostram nulla est salus! There is no redemption outside our language! And in this language – the language of faith and noble conceptions – I also feel a home, as if God’s memory existed only for us”.²⁴

“Language is the fingerprint of the soul. Nowhere else can you get from one social stratum into the other but in the Tornio Valley. You only need to talk Swedish to your child. Still, we kept talking Meänkieli with stubborn non-compliance. As subjects, we are carrying this cultural heritage, as if it were a dead child under our hearts”.²⁵

A central element of Pohjanen’s past-creating activity is the Meänmaa-idea. He himself is the father of this notion. The name, meaning first of all a geographic territory (‘our land’), means also the name of a virtual country for the writer, whose inhabitants are bound together by a mutual language and culture. When talking about the territory inhabited by Meänkieli speaking people, the international connected literature uses the term Torne/ Tornio Valley. As the language is spoken in other regions as well, the use of Meänmaa seems to be more appropriate. This imagined community lives in a border area, not only from a geographical point of view, but also from a cultural perspective: it does not mean either the Finnish or the Swedish imagined communities; it is much more an intermediate area, “the third room of the border” – the way the writer speaks about it in his autobiographic novel.²⁶ For him, the history of the area where the Meänkieli live is different both from Swedish and Finnish ones and not at all less important. It is the story of this area he writes again and again about in his literary and journalistic works. And while he is trying to awaken the collective memory of his community, he is also attempting to understand his own place and role in this context. His literary image is in line with his concept of history, something in which he significantly differs from other writers of the Torne/ Tornio Valley. His perception overarching the borders means a boldly new image opposing state-centric thinking.

Pohjanen’s activity can also be approached from the point of view of creating mythology, both literally and figuratively. Pohjanen only knows well that it is crucial for a community – confused in its identity, alienated from its mother tongue traditions – to have its collective memory revived

²⁴ The novel is being translated into English by Betty Léb. The quotation is from Pohjanen 2009, 27.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 26.

²⁶ See: Pohjanen 2011, 12, 19, 101, 197.

and its traditions re-created. In order to survive as a community, the Meänkieli need mutual memories, mutual symbols, mutual positive examples that can tight the bounds of belonging together. This is also the aim of Pohjanen's latest work, *The History of King Faravid*²⁷. The author has been working on this piece of prose since 2010, writing it in parallel in Meänkieli and Swedish. As I have found out from the writer himself in a private letter, he finished the Meänkieli variant on February 7, 2013. History, imagination, folk beliefs and traditions come to life under literary form in Faravid's story, further enriching the author's life work. According to the author's own words, the writing of this story awakened many linguistic memories in him and made many words surface from the deep well of his community's memory, which had long disappeared from everyday use.

Conclusions

This study is an attempt to highlight the strong connection between native tongue, cultural heritage and collective identity of a community with a highly endangered language.

Pohjanen's attitude towards his native language is a rare and commendable example in Torne/ Tornio River Valley literature of the fact that linguistic assimilation can be reversed on a personal level and that somebody who really wishes to preserve and develop his own language is able to do it.

It would be a big mistake to consider the work of a minority writer like Pohjanen marginal or regional either in Swedish or the world literature. The themes he deals with - the border, minority, smuggling, childhood memories, the experience of losing one's own language and learning a new language instead, faith, sorrow, happiness and love - are universal topics of literature.

Pohjanen is an artist whose work is at the same time universal and who has a strong local colour. He writes fiction having a high aesthetic value and meets at the same time the need to create a vast narrative about his own minority community, a narrative which helps the members of this minority place themselves in their own history that differs from that of the majority, laugh at their own jokes and recognize their own cultural heritage.

²⁷ Faravid I, king of Kvens lived in the 9th century. Pohjanen's story takes place somewhere between 990 and 1056.

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A LIFE DEDICATED TO ROMANIAN LANGUAGE. INTERVIEW WITH PROFESSOR ARNE HALVORSEN

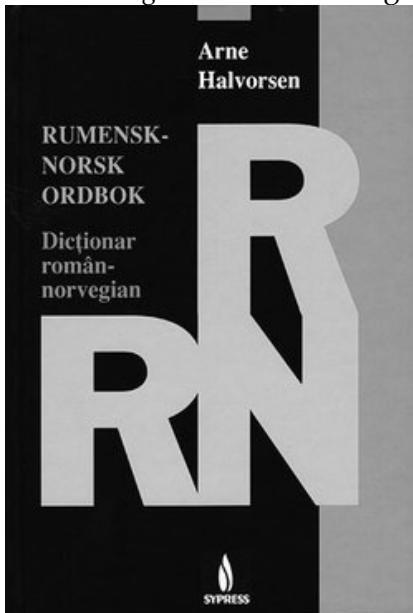
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Acknowledgements

Supported by a grant from Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway (Finanțat prin fonduri donate de Islanda, Liechtenstein și Norvegia).

Professor Arne Halvorsen (1939-2014) was and remains a central figure when referring to Romanian-Norwegian cultural relations. In 2010 he was awarded the Order of Cultural Merit, in the rank of Commander, by the President of Romania, for his “exceptional contribution to promoting Romanian culture and language as well as Romania’s image in the Kingdom of Norway”. Due to his efforts, a Romanian language lectureship was established at the University of Trondheim (NTNU) in the period 2008-2011. Moreover, he wrote the first *Romanian-Norwegian Dictionary* (2001) and the first *Romanian grammar* in Norwegian (2012) – photos below.



In what follows, we will publish a short interview taken with Professor Arne Halvorsen in October 2013.

Kan du fortelle oss hvordan du ble interessert i det rumenske språket?
Could you tell us how you became interested in the Romanian language?

Det er en lengre historie, og som så ofte et resultat av tilfeldigheter. Men i korte trekk: Jeg studerte eldre fransk da han som var professor i romanske språk, Leif Flydal, tilbragte sitt sabbatsår i București og hadde begynt å undervise i norsk der. Han mente at jeg burde dra ned og overta undervisningen. Etter å ha sett på kartet og funnet ut at București var hovedstaden i et land hvor de snakket et romansk språk, sa jeg ja. Etter et språkkurs i Sinaia, dro jeg så til București med rumensk statsstipendium. Med opphold var jeg der fra høsten 1967 til våren 1968. Rumensk syntes jeg var et vanskelig, men fascinerende språk. En heftig kjærlighetshistorie holdt nok også interessen vedlike!

It is a long story, and as it often happens the result of chance. But in brief: I was studying old French when the one who was a professor of Romance languages, Leif Flydal, spent his sabbatical year in Bucharest and began to teach Norwegian there. He thought that I should go and take over the teaching lessons. After I looked at the map and found out that Bucharest was the capital of a country where a Romance language was spoken, I said yes. After a language course in Sinaia, I went to Bucharest with a Romanian state scholarship. I stayed there from autumn 1967 to spring 1968. I thought that Romanian was a difficult, but fascinating language. A passionate love story probably maintained the interest as well!

Hvordan prøvde du å fremme rumensk i Norge?
How did you try to promote Romanian in Norway?

Jeg har i årene fra 1990 arbeidet for å innføre rumensk som universitetsfag. Det har vært en tung marsj mellom norsk utenriksdepartement og universitetene. Ifølge den interne arbeidsdeling mellom de norske universitetene skulle NTNU i Trondheim få rumensk. Problemet var bare at ingen hadde spurt om mitt universitet hadde penger til å finansiere et nytt fag. Som kjent ble faget innført først da rumenske myndigheter bevilget penger til en utenlandsklektor i rumensk og den daværende rumenske konsul ga støtte til bolig.

In the years after 1990 I have worked to introduce Romanian as a university subject. It has been a difficult march between the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the universities. According to the internal division of labour between the Norwegian universities, NTNU¹ in Trondheim should get Romanian. The problem was that no one had asked if my university had the money to finance a new subject. As it is known, the

¹ Norwegian University of Science and Technology

subject was introduced only when the Romanian authorities granted money to a foreign Romanian lecturer and the Romanian consul at that time gave support for housing.

Hvordan ser du norskens framtid i Romania?

How do you see the future of Norwegian in Romania?

Norsk vil vel alltid være et marginalt språk i Romania, tross den store innsatsen fra mine svært så kompetente kolleger i Cluj og Iași. Romania har jo vist en større vilje og evne til å fremme små språkfag, så der ligger et håp.

Norwegian will probably always be a marginal language in Romania, despite the great efforts of my very competent colleagues in Cluj and Iași. Romania has shown a greater willingness and ability to promote small languages, so there is hope.

Hva er din mening om rumensk litteratur?

What is your opinion about Romanian literature?

Rumensk samtidslitteratur har jeg dessverre liten kjennskap til (stoppet ved Cărtărescu), men klassikerne hadde jeg stor glede av. Min favoritt var nok Caragiale og hans noveller. Planen var en gang å oversette dem til norsk, men som med mange planer ble det ikke noe av.

I have unfortunately little knowledge of contemporary Romanian literature, (stopped at Cărtărescu²), but I enjoyed a lot the classics. My favourite was probably Caragiale³ and his short stories. Once I was planning to translate them into Norwegian, but as in case of a lot of plans it did not come into fulfilment.

Siden du reiste til Romania for første gang (på 60-tallet), har mange ting forandret seg både i Romania og i Norge. Hvordan betraktet du den tiden og hvordan betrakter du nåtiden i disse to landene? Hva var forholdet mellom de to landene da og hvordan er det nå?

Since you first travelled to Romania (in the 60s), many things have changed both in Romania and in Norway. How did you look upon that time and how do you look upon the present time in these two countries? What was the relationship between the two countries then and how is it now?

² Mircea Cărtărescu (born 1956) is a Romanian writer of prose, poetry and essays. His works which were translated from Romanian into Norwegian by Steinar Lone are: *Travesti* (Bokvennen, 1998), *Nostalgia* (Bokvennen, 2001), *Blinding: The Left Wing* (Bokvennen, 2008), *Europe Has the Shape of My Brain* (Gasspedal, 2008), *Blinding: The Body* (Bokvennen, 2010) and *Blinding: The Right Wing* (Bokvennen, 2011).

³ Ion Luca Caragiale (1852-1912) was one of the greatest Romanian playwrights and short story writers.

Romania i 1968 var en annen verden, nå har landet blitt svært mye likt vest-europeiske land. Mitt møte med rumenske intellektuelle var en sjokkerende opplevelse for en lettere arrogant vest-europeer: kunnskapsnivået hos studenter og lærere i București var imponerende. De hadde ikke bare inngående kjennskap til Norge og norske forhold (jeg husker en som ville vite hva jeg syntes om den norske komponisten Sinding), men kunne f. eks. en sen nattetime begynne å sitere gammelgreske tekster. Ellers var București en nokså dystre by, grå om dagen, mørk om natten. Mine rumenske venner mente at nå gikk alt så mye bedre: det var mat å få, og det fantes utenlandsk litteratur å få kjøpt. Jeg syntes ikke det var mye å skryte av og reagerte negativt på at det faktum at min korrespondanse ble lest, og at mine venner måtte melde fra om kontakt med meg. Men vi var få vest-europeiske studenter og stipendiater i București på den tiden (kanskje 10).

Det var heller ikke problemfritt å undervise i norsk der. Kopieringsmaskiner fantes ikke, og jeg måtte skrive av en lærebok jeg hadde med meg med mange blåkopier. Skrivemaskiner betraktet jo regimet som våpen (sant nok!), men jeg fikk låne maskinen som dekanus disponerte.

Forholdet mellom Romania og Norge har alltid vært fjernt, men vennlig. Det var en viss turisme til Svartehavet allerede i 60-årene. Men ellers var nok Romania et ukjent land for de fleste nordmenn. Turismen har nok stilnet, til gjengjeld fins det en del næringsvirksomhet som gjør at landene har oppdaget hverandre på en ny måte.

Romania was a different world in 1968, now the country has become very much like Western European countries. My encounter with Romanian intellectuals was a shocking experience for a slightly arrogant Western European: the level of knowledge among students and teachers in Bucharest was impressive. Not only did they have thorough knowledge about Norway and Norwegian relations (I remember someone wanting to know what I thought about the Norwegian composer Sinding⁴), but could for example start quoting ancient Greek texts at late night hours. Otherwise Bucharest was a rather gloomy city, grey in the daytime, dark at night. My Romanian friends considered that now everything went so much better: there was food to get, and there was foreign literature to buy. I did not think there was much to write home about and reacted negatively to the fact that my correspondence was read and that my friends had to report any contact with me. But we were few Western European students and scholarship holders in Bucharest at that time (perhaps 10).

Neither was it unproblematic to teach Norwegian there. There were no photocopiers, and I had to copy a textbook I had with me by using many sheets of carbon paper. Typewriters were regarded as weapons by the

⁴ Christian Sinding (1856-1941) was a Norwegian composer regarded as the successor of the most famous Norwegian composer Edvard Grieg (1843-1907).

regime (true enough), but I could borrow the typewriter that the Dean possessed.

The relationship between Romania and Norway has always been distant, but friendly. There was some tourism to the Black Sea already in the 60s. But otherwise Romania was certainly an unknown country for most Norwegians. It seems that tourism has become less intensive; on the other hand there are some business activities that allow the countries to discover each other in a new way.

Hva er din mening om stillingen Romania har i Europa nå?

What is your opinion about the position Romania has now in Europe?

Etter min mening har Romania to hovedproblemer, som til en viss grad er knyttet sammen, nemlig en litt lite fundert demokratisk tradisjon og en utbredt korrupsjon på alle nivåer i samfunnet. I mai 1990 var jeg valgoppservertør og opplevde det rene kaos i en landsby sør for Craiova. Folk var blitt narret til å tro at de ikke ville få jord hvis de ikke stemte og var rede til å trække hverandre ned for å få stemt. Mye har selvfølgelig endret seg siden da, men en skikkelig demokratisk holdning tar det tid å utvikle (i Norge har det tatt 200 år). Korrupsjonen i Romania er gruoppvekkende og ødelegger forhold mellom mennesker. Forandringer er selvfølgelig et kollektivt ansvar, men holdningsendringer må utvikle seg hos hver og en av oss.

In my opinion, Romania has two major problems, which to some extent are linked together, namely a slightly less founded democratic tradition and a widespread corruption at all levels of society. In May 1990, I was an election observer and experienced pure chaos in a village south of Craiova. People had been fooled to believe that they would not receive land if they did not vote and were ready to trample one another so as to vote. Much has of course changed ever since, but it takes time to develop a proper democratic attitude (in Norway it has taken 200 years). Corruption in Romania is horrible and destroys the relationships between people. Changes are of course a collective responsibility, but attitude changes must evolve with each and every one of us.

På hvilken måte tror du at forholdene mellom Norge og Romania kan bli bedre i framtiden?

In which way do you think that the relations between Norway and Romania can be improved in the future?

Nøkkelordet er her utvidet kontakt, på alle områder.

The key word here is extended contact in all fields.

Revista Română pentru Studii Baltice și Nordice – The Romanian Journal for Baltic and Nordic Studies is a biannual peer-reviewed journal dedicated to publishing the results of research in all fields which are intertwined with the aims of *The Romanian Association for Baltic and Nordic Studies* such as:

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- **Baltic and Nordic Europe in International Relations;**
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- **Economics of Baltic and Nordic Europe;**
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The journal has been established with the aim of fostering research and dialogue among scholars working in Romania and abroad in fields of research related to the interests of ARSBN. In the interest of pluralism, RRSBN accepts contributions in English or any other major European languages.

In order to promote the knowledge of the Baltic and Nordic languages and cultures in South-Eastern Europe, additional issues of the journal may be published on the internet with articles in any of the Baltic or Nordic languages or in Romanian, case in which a different ISSN and numbering system will be used. The general submission guidelines apply in this case too, except for the English language abstracts which must consist of some 300 to 400 words.

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

Next deadlines: August 1, 2014 (Vol. 6, issue 2).