History, Politics, and Literature in 1848 in the Romanian Space

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The YEAR 1848 excelled at European level both by speeding up the affirmation of the principle of the sovereignty of nations against the legitimacy of the monarchies, and by changing the balance of power on the continent. The revolutions of 1848 were a continuation of the French Revolution of 1789, an event that tried to impose the principles of organization of the modern state. On the other hand, the "spring of the peoples" represents the reaction of the European nations against the system established by the absolutist monarchies following the Congress of Vienna of 1815.

The moment of 1848 represented a collective awakening of the nations, the cities being the favorite stage of the revolutionary processes. In the urban space, the popular assemblies, the courts, the explosion in number of publications and political brochures triggered an osmosis process that manifested itself from one country to another¹.

Like elsewhere, in the Romanian space the movement of 1848 was not spontaneous, but it was prepared by a whole series of transformations. In the 18th century and in the first decades of the following one, several "revolutions" took place in the demographic, agrarian, industrial, ideological, and cultural and literary fields, which gave consistency to the process occurred in 1848. We shall only mention here the numerous reform projects (over 70) devised in the Romanian Principalities during the 18th century and in the Romanian space at the beginning of the 19th century, which achieved their objectives partially or totally within the framework of the revolution of 1848. The reform proposals for which the representatives of the Romanians had militated during the previous years were to be included in a single program. Thus, in the program of 1848, the Romanian space we can talk about the triumph of the idea of nation. In both Principalities and in the Habsburg Empire they justified their demands for independence and national unity, social equity or political autonomy, by invoking the legitimate right to self-determination².

The Revolution of 1848 in the Romanian Principalities was, first and foremost, the work of young liberal intellectuals who saw in the West a political and cultural model worthy to be followed at home³. The aspirations of the 1848 generation found their practical expression in the general dissatisfaction with the existing political and economic conditions felt by all social categories in the Romanian space.

With the awakening of the feeling of belonging to Latinity in the 18th century, the links with the Western space increased, and the French influence on the Romanian Principalities entered a new phase, which we can call the active or conscious one. It increased in intensity and saw interesting oscillations until the revolution of 1848, when it reached a peak in Romanian society⁴.

As in any democratic revolution, we distinguish, in an initial phase, two levels of manifestation of the national spirit, two behaviors, the peasant (traditional) and the bourgeois one (liberal-democratic). The summoning of popular assemblies at the initiative of the elite marked the beginning of the organization of the revolution, which followed the fusion of the two distinct types of behavior. The recourse to the national assembly as a supreme body called upon to decide on national affairs had another significance, especially in Transylvania. It opposed the right of the rulers, based on conquest, to the democratic idea of the representativeness of a people, to historical and demographic arguments, and so on.

The legalistic tactic proposed by the Romanian intellectuals dominated at the beginning of the revolution in all Romanian territories. An innovation is the abandonment of the elitist principles in favor of the representativeness of the nation, incorporating in the ideas of "nation" and "homeland"—the multitude of the people, etc.⁵

In 1848, the notion of *freedom* was a feeling quite widely spread, in all layers of society. The concept of *subjective freedom* had become essential to the modern world⁶. The economist and philosopher Friedrich Hayek was of the opinion that liberalism was the only guarantor for coherent political behavior⁷.

The concept we are discussing was also the subject of numerous literary creations in poetry and prose, in both the Romanian and in the European space. Alongside this, in the writings of the Romanian generation of 1848, we identify other social-political ideals of the time: the main historical aspirations of the Romanian people, the idea of cultural and revolutionary messianism, the desire to open to the West, the struggle for the imposition of a national specificity, the civic and patriotic consciousness. All these were placed under the rhetoric of enthusiasm and awakening to action. The Romanians had "paused enough"—as one could read in a meditation, a literary genre specific to the Romantic trend—and they could no longer remain inactive in a stimulating revolutionary context, in which the whole world was boiling, eager to leave behind the medieval state of things.

The writers of 1848 participated actively in the process of establishing our national identity and of modernizing the Romanian society. They were participants or supporters of the revolution of 1848, serving through their literary work the many aspirations of the "Romanian soul," also contributing to the founding of different cultural institutions, such as schools, theaters, press, cultural societies, etc., which brought together people with the same way of thinking, eager to promote a wide variety of ideas. Moreover, the organization of cultural activities was a constant concern of the Romanian social elite during the investigated period⁸.

Literature and history played a decisive role in the affirmation of the modern Romanian nation. From this happy combination, concrete actions resulted that served the ideals of national liberation and responded to the need to develop a distinct literature, in which the historical past had to occupy an important place. In Mihail Kogălniceanu's opinion, national history featured many heroic deeds that could become just as many subjects for the development of a native literature. As a result, the literature of this period, in which the nation had to assert itself, needed history as a precious source of inspiration⁹.

The literature of 1848 continued the classical Enlightenment, developing under the impulse of new ideas promoted by the bourgeoisie in its political-social ascension. Its connection with the historical factor presently increased, the passive writer being more appreciated the deeper his connections with the past. For these poets, literature was a militant art that had to be placed in the service of society and the nation. Therefore, their entire literary activity can be grouped under the qualification of *poet-citizens*. Most of the poetic creations of 1848 can be grouped in the category of manifesto, the poets being genuinely active and combative spirits, with history vibrating in the literary productions. Their work would not have been possible without the program outlined around the Dacia *literan*^x, led and published in Iasi, in 1840, by Mihail Kogălniceanu, who set as a purpose the unity of the Romanian people through language and literature. In its program, Mihail Kogălniceanu recommended to the Romanian writers to seek inspiration in national history, in the picturesque landscape, in village life, in the criticism of a contemporary society that offered the ridiculous image of a mixture of oriental barbarism and western civilization, but especially in folklore. The editors of the magazine set out to make the Dacia literani a journal of all Romanians, in which all Romanians could publish, regardless of the province where they lived. This a completely novel initiative, given the situation of Transvlvania, Bessarabia and Bukovina, and the separation between the two Romanian Principalities located south and east of the Carpathians. Therefore, the Dacia literană magazine helped to more clearly outline the concept of identity and national consciousness for all Romanians. Thus, for the poets of this generation, history represented a broad framework of action from which they extracted their subjects and heroes¹⁰.

The generation of 1848, drawing on the legacy of the *Transylvanian School* (§coala Ardeleană), concentrated their efforts on the reconstruction of historical literature, updating the works of the humanists and following the similar models developed by Western culture¹¹.

In this historical context, some very active personalities distinguished themselves in various fields, being at the same time teachers, publicists, writers and economists, who acquired the moral and political values of the West. In this study we shall only mention the most representative ones.

Vasile Cârlova (1809-1831) is considered the first modern Romanian poet. In his poetry, full of sensitivity, meditation and heroism, he foreshadowed the generation of 1848. For example, in the poem *Ruinele Târgoviștei* (The ruins of Târgoviște), he evoked in a pre-Romantic way the heroic past, antithetical to a present without glory, inaugurating in the Romanian literature the *motif of the ruins*, as great vestiges of the ancestors. The lyrics are representative:

Oh, sad walls! O, glorious monument! In what great glory have you also shone... An officer in the national army authored a poem entitled *Marş* (March) which, during the revolution, was an inspiration for the manifesto-poems written by Andrei Mureşan and Vasile Alecsandri:

My beloved sons of war, listen to your mother, The time has come to take up arms, And shout in unison, For the cause of our motherland, We should stand like brothers.

For him, history does not represent a succession of deeds and people, but a sentimental way of expressing his love for the country, a fact particularly highlighted in the composition *Marşul oştirii române* (March of the Romanian Army)¹².

In his turn, Cezar Bolliac (1813-1881) published an eloquent political manifesto in 1839:

Whom do you await to soothe your pain? The one who bleeds you dry? Who pummels you into the ground? Those who would sell you out a thousand times for the sake of power?

In this *Sonet* (Sonnet), the writer of 1848 manages to combine historical and social realities, the past being the central key to understanding contemporary realities. Moreover, in the poem *La România* (To Romania) he tries to put together a revolutionary manifesto with obvious references to the history of the Dacians. Other historical poems are grouped into two collections with significant titles: *Renașterea României* (The rebirth of Romania) and *Poezii naționale* (National poems)¹³.

Ion Heliade Rădulescu (1802-1872) is noted for inaugurating the *cultural heroism* so useful to the literary beginnings, through the consecrated formula "write boys, write! But without malice," with the intent of closing some of the obvious cultural gaps. He was a true founder of modern Romanian culture, distinguishing himself as a historian, writer, thinker, cultural theorist, scholar and politician. From this perspective, he belonged to the category of encyclopedic personalities, astonishing for the breadth of his concerns and multitude of creative fields. The historical approach that helped in the identity construction of 1848 can be found especially in the representative poem *O noapte pe ruinele Târgoviștii* (One Night on the ruins of Târgoviște)¹⁴.

C. A. Rosetti was equally convinced that "the age demands progress." Being one of the most active representatives of the Romanian revolutionary emigration, he was noted for translating some popular and patriotic poems, thus making known in France the main goal of the Romanians in 1848: *the union* and *the independence*¹⁵.

Wallachian Ion Catina (1827-1851), despite his youth, understood very well the importance of the moment and joined the plethora of authors who urged to action, in the poem *Marş revolutionary* (Revolutionary March):

Come brothers, all together, For our country lies in ruin... He was an active participant in the revolutionary events, fighting on the barricades. His revolutionary march became the banner of the Wallachian revolution. After its defeat he was arrested, dying at just 23 years of age¹⁶.

Andrei Mureseanu (1816-1863) was a combatant in the Transylvanian revolution, who propagated in the press many modern Western-inspired social-political ideas. He is the author of a volume of poetry with revolutionary overtones evidently in agreement with the ideals of the time. From among his patriotic lyrics, the poem Un nisunet (An Echo) stands out, becoming a real anthem in 1848, put to music by Anton Pann. "The Romanian Marseillaise," in Nicolae Bălcescu's opinion, is a Transylvanian "echo" of the poem Desteptarea României (The Awakening of Romania) by Vasile Alecsandri. The source of the poetry was the famous speech of 2/14 May 1848 held by Simion Bărnuțiu in the Cathedral of Blaj. Thus, the poem evokes the origin of the Romanians and their burning desire for freedom and national unity. It is dominated by a sense of alarm, in which the death for the homeland ennobles one. If in Moldavia the aforementioned poem by Alecsandri became the manifestation of the Moldavian movement, Un misunet (An Echo) became the march of the Transylvanian revolution, and later of all Romanians, announcing the literary-political prophecy of Octavian Goga's poetic creation. The rhetoric of the verses is deeply anchored in national history, with exclamations and invocations, expressing unequivocally the main ideals of the democratic revolution of 1848, namely, national freedom and the union of the Romanian provinces into a single independent state:

Behold, great shadows, Michael, Stephen, Corvinus, The Romanian nation, your great-grandchildren, Weapons in hand, with your fire in their veins, Live in freedom, or die! This they all shout!

Later called *Deşteaptă-te, române* (Romanians, Awaken!), the poem endured due to the force of the patriotic message and to the powerful mobilizing tone of the general call to fight for rights and freedoms¹⁷.

Grigore Alexandrescu (1810-1885) is considered the founder of modern Romanian lyricism, George Călinescu stating that he was the most authentic Romanian poet before Mihai Eminescu. The motif of the ruins and the romantic meditation on the history of the nation bring him closer to Vasile Cârlova, who lacks, however, Alexandrescu's authentic and profound reflexivity. His entire poetic creation is pervaded by a patriotic meditation. The representative poem in this sense is *Umbra lui Mircea, la Cozia* (Mircea's Shadow at Cozia), published in 1844 in the *Propășirea* magazine, being inspired by the author's travel impressions of the monasteries in Oltenia. The poem also focuses on the romantic theme of the past-present antithesis, having the role of awakening the contemporaneity by recalling the old virtues, the model offered to the young generation being the voivode Mircea the Elder, also an exemplary figure for Mihai Eminescu in his poem entitled *Scrisoarea a III-a* (The Third Letter):

We read about your battles, as we look at the old armor That once a giant wore in war... We doubt whether such people really existed.

In 1846, he praised the valor of the Romanian army in the poem O impresie (An impression):

Few were in number the soldiers of Romania, But when their groups on the radiant plain Bravely came forward with a resounding step ...

The poet undertook a journey of historical documentation through the Romanian space together with Ion Ghica, and the fruits of this journey were the poems *Răsăritul lunii*. *La Tismana* (Moonrise at Tismana), *Mormintele* (The Tombs), and *La Dnăgăşani*(In Drăgăşani)¹⁸.

Dimitrie Bolintineanu was a poet of the 1848 generation who favored the poetry of historical inspiration—one of the fundamental themes of Romanian romanticism. His poem *Mihnea și Baba* (Mihnea and Baba) was a creation of wide breath in the society of the time. He created a poetic historical repertoire. Moreover, the poet is also the author of historical compilation works, such as *Viața lui Mircea Vodă cel Bătrân* (The Life of Voivode Mircea the Elder), *Viața și faptele lui Ștefan Vodă cel Mare* (The Life and the Deeds of Voivode Stephen the Great), *Viața și faptele lui Mihai Viteazul* (The Life and the Deeds of Michael the Brave), *Viața lui Vlad Țepeş Vodă* (The Life of Voivode Vlad Țepeş). Among his poems of historical inspiration, we mention: *Cântec de libertate* (Song of freedom) (later turned into a march), *Către români* (To the Romanians), *La românii din Ardeal* (To the Romanians from Transylvania), *Mircea cel Mare și solii* (Mircea the Elder and the Envoys), *Muma lui Ștefan cel Mare* (The Mother of Stephen the Great), *Daniel Sihastru* (*Daniel the Hermit*), *Năvala lui Țepeş* (The Onrush of Țepeş), *Preda Buzescu*¹⁹.

Vasile Alecsandri (1821-1890) was one of the most active animators of the revolutionary events in Moldavia. In his poem entitled *15 mai 1848* (15 May 1848), he speaks of the freedom and national unity so much desired by Romanians:

Brethren, there's hope! The future you are pursuing Will be worthy of the past of the glorious ancestors! Your bravery and the union between you will endure be forever, And shout freely: Long live Romania!

Enthused by the revolutionary advance, he was the one who authored of abovementioned militant poem *Desteptarea României* (The Awakening of Romania):

You who slumber, you who are standing still, Don 't you hear in your sleep that triumphant voice... Freedom has ignited a proud sun before the world, So now all the nations turn towards it.

The lyrics are filled with obvious pathos. They opened the events of national importance occurred in Iaşi in the spring of 1848. Alecsandri was the most representative poet of the time. The rhythm of national history vibrated in all the genres and literary species he approached. This poet of 1848 believed that his entire generation must be involved in the struggle for national independence, and in all his writings he paid tribute to the patriotism and bravery of the forefathers²⁰.

Costache Negruzzi (1808-1868) was known for his poem of historical inspiration *Marşul lui Dragoş* (The March of Dragoş), frequently used during the War of Independence of 1877-1878, in which he evokes the feeling of the glorious past that is meant to awaken the contemporary consciousness. Also, his poem *Aprodul Purice* was the first historical poem in the Romanian literature²¹.

One trend of that time involved collecting popular creations and publishing them. Feeling the pulse of the times, the writers of the Romanian generation of 1848 embraced, in their turn, this project. Ballads, folk songs, fairy tales are creations that preserve elements of national identity, which is why they could not be neglected. The first attempts in this regard took place in the Transylvanian area. Here, Timotei Cipariu left us a manuscript from 1831 that includes stories and anecdotes, riddles and proverbs, published and commented by Ion Muşlea. George Barițiu, in the pages of the publication *Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literature* that he founded in Brașov in 1838, supported the publication of numerous creations from the Romanian folklore. Along the same lines, Vasile Alecsandri, in his collection of Romanian folklore entitled *Poezii poporale* (Folk Poems), *Balade (Cântice bătrânești) adunate și îndreptate de Vasile Alecsandri* [Ballads (Old Songs) collected and edited by Vasile Alecsandri]²², which was translated into French²³ and German²⁴, provides a number of interesting details in the foreword to the volume, more precisely he defines ballads as being "short poems about historical events and great deeds."

All these writings are dominated by a *revolutionary-romantic* drive taken from the West, accompanied by historicism, which was trying to find in the history of each nation a *gold-en age*. This return to the past occured in Western Europe after the failure of multiple revolutionary experiences—from the *Jacobins* to the *Thermidorians*. Hence the special interest for a national history that had to offer both models of social happiness, and the justification of the changes on the political level.

The aforementioned poets managed to create, through the historical sources, a cultured poetic literature, with well-articulated historical themes, managing to outline through their verses some great figures of Romanian voivodes and historical events of certain importance²⁵.

Also, in the western part of the space inhabited by Romanians, more precisely in the historical province of Crişana, some literary concerns mirrored the main ideas behind the revolutionary process of 1848. The most eloquent example is offered by the young student George Deheleanu of the Law Academy in Oradea, who wrote *Cântecul libertății* (The Song of Freedom). The poem was printed on a flyer and was circulated in the city and other settlements in Bihor County. The lyrics are modest from an aesthetic point of view, but they represent the strong testimony of a feeling shared by many people on the European continent. The poem in question does not only represent the echo of a state of mind, but it also includes exhortations with an obvious political message:

Freedom and nature Hardened the retrogrades To sweeten the mouth With the honeyed word Salvation! and the rust That destroyed the heavy iron And we know the queen Who was called escape.

Freedom was, in Deheleanu's conception, a "honeyed" word, representing "salvation" and "escape" from the shackles of medieval oppression. Next, the state of rebellion against everything represented by the "Old Regime" is encouraged:

Burn that whole house Where nature was locked ...

The verses referring to the Romanian brothers from across the Carpathians are expressive, reflecting the support felt by the Romanians from the Habsburg monarchy:

Stand up Romanian! ... With the zephyr to the East Sing as it celebrates here The wishes of all Romanians.

Obviously, when reading between these lines, one can easily perceive the idea of the national unity of Romanians, a political desideratum that transpires without a doubt from the following verses:

If God knew what The Aurelian Dacia wants When it dances Saved from the enemy!

This extraordinary dynamic of the national state emerged with tremendous vigor, almost everywhere in the European space, from the belief of the bourgeoisie that the modernization program can be implemented under optimal conditions only within the national state.

The last stanza shows the attachment to the emperor in Vienna, a feeling widespread among the Transylvanian Romanians. It is even addressed to the emperor, who subscribed to the "just law" and thus showed that he loved his subjects:

Long live Ferdinand Our king and emperor, Who reigns by the just law,

And love has shown.²⁶

The lyrics of the young Deheleanu are part of a true *manifesto-poem*, which was put into circulation in Oradea in 1848. It expresses a significant reality of the moment: the effect of proclaiming freedom among Romanians and the feeling of national unity. Through these poetic attempts, which had a great capacity for social penetration, the Romanian youth from the western parts of the Romanian space tried to externalize their own political experiences and reflections. Moreover, the poem contains a series of mental schemes and symbols present in the social imaginary during the revolution, which shows that the crisis phenomena also generate symbolic effervescence.

The general choice of the main actors from 1848 was for the revolution, perceived as a method of rapid emancipation of the Romanian territories, in order to have a quick synchronization with the European model. If, on the political and social level, their proposals for change, desired with the romantic enthusiasm of the time, failed, in culture and literature the ideas of modernity, of the imitation of Western cultural models, but also of the originality of the Romanian literature, eventually prevailed.

First of all, the understanding of the *concept of literature* changed. Taken as neologism from French (littérature), the term acquired a broad meaning, encompassing *everything that was written*. Starting with the movement of 1848 and continuing with the work of the Junimea cultural association, it came to designate the field of humanistic writings of all kinds, rhetoric, historiography, literature, philological studies, etc. The literature thus defined had as its purpose not only the aesthetic pleasure, but also the cultivation of the spirit, the humanistic development of the individual, his education, the change of morals, of attitudes etc. Moreover, I. H. Rădulescu emphasized the vital role of books written *in a language* for creating *a nation's self-awareness*, as well as contributing to shaping its *identity* among other nations of the world.

As a result, after the stage of enthusiastic imitations and adaptations, of translations and faithful borrowings, the intellectuals of 1848 rediscovered the value and function of the idea of originality and national identity.

In the realm of ideas, aesthetic attitudes and influences coalesce, they seek to impose a certain order and thus discover the urgent need for the idea of originality and identity, also generated by the aesthetic program of European romanticism. Discovering the folklore, the national history, the heroic past and nature, the literature of 1848 also brought within Romanian culture a special interest for the identity paradigm, for the local and national specificity, for folklore, for the medieval past of the Romanians or for the picturesque Romanian landscape, especially the rustic one. V. Alecsandri, A. Russo or I. H. Rădulescu were interested in these aspects of collective imaginary life as an invaluable treasure, which would have a major influence on the originality of our literature from 1840-1848²⁷.

The dynamization of intellectual life, with the promotion of individual investigations, represented a solid support for the major changes occurred in the mentality of the Romanian society around the revolution of 1848. The poets, in this effervescent cultural climate, rejected the "courtly" poetry by embracing the "militant" one. With the acceleration of the movement of ideas, history became part of the social sciences, gaining a new dimen-

sion, namely the transposition into the living, social reality. History, according to the mentality of the generation of 1848, had to draw on popular poems, writings containing private customs, at the same time with the analysis of laws, chronicles and inscriptions, going towards to the embrace of the *total*, that is to say *a total history*²⁸.

From the examples given above, we infer a poetry adapted to the historical moment and process. We are talking about a social, historical and even political poetry, in line with the ideals of freedom and unity shared by Romanians everywhere. The poetry of the generation of 1848 contributed to the strong affirmation of the national spirit, of the traditional values, of the local folklore, all of which became favorite topics of the writers. So, we are dealing with a militant, rhetorical and declamatory poetry that approaches modern ideas on the basis of a motivational language understood by the multitude of readers. Old themes such as *love, death, destiny, happiness*, are now complemented by historical themes reminiscent of *battles, uprisings, historical personalities, national consciousness, the meditation on the place of man in national and universal history*. The national idea represents the main thematic nucleus of the Romanian poetry of 1848, nuanced in the form of attachment to the forerunners, to the values of the people, the land and the Romanian traditions, as it results from the main poetic creations of V. Alecsandri, D. Bolintineanu, Gh. Asachi, C. Bolliac, I.H. Rădulescu, Gr. Alexandrescu, etc.²⁹

Also, for poetic inspiration, foreign models adapted to the Romanian realities were used. Evocation is almost always linked to the glorification of the past in order to prepare the spirits for the process of national revival. A suggestive example in this regard is the anti-Ottoman poem *Trâmbița românească* (The Romanian Trumpet), an adaptation after Coray, in which the names of the ancient heroes Licurgus, Solon, Leonidas, etc., are replaced by Romanian historical figures, such as Mircea the Elder, Michael the Brave, and the battlefields are located in the Romanian Principalities, at Rovine or Călugăreni³⁰.

A common secular history marked by defeats and victories fostered the unity of the Romanian community on both sides of the Carpathians. This is clear from both the elaborate political programs and the revolutionary literary publications, which categorically affirmed the identity of the language, religion and customs of Romanians from all over the Romanian space. The verses of these poets widely disseminate the idea that the revolution represents an embodiment of the aspirations of the whole people, of the nation, and therefore only he who strives for freedom and national unity can be called a son of the Romanian nation. Only in this way could a true Romanian revival occur. The idea that the homeland means the whole country was strengthened in the collective mentality of the Romanians, who considered themselves a solidary community, despite the arbitrary political borders imposed by the regional imperial powers³¹.

Notes

- 1. Dan Berindei, "Moștenirea lui 1848," in Magazin istoric, 6 (2008), 6-8.
- Gheorghe Platon, Istoria modernă a României, (Bucharest: Editura Didactică and Pedagogică, 1985), 114-115; Alexandru Duţu, Cultura română în civilizația europeană modernă (Bucharest: Minerva, 1978), 204-205.
- 3. Iulian Oncescu, Ion Stanciu, *Introducere în istoria modernă a românilor (1821-1918)* (Târgoviște: Cetatea de Scaun, 2009), 81.
- Pompiliu Eliade, Influența franceză asupra spiritului public în România (Bucharest: Univers, 1982), 262-267.
- 5. This idea was first expressed by Tudor Vladimirescu in the famous definition given to the homeland ("the homeland is the people, not the band of robbers") in his letter to the boyar Barbu Văcărescu, who was member of the Ruling Council. Corina Moisa, Gabriel Moisa, "Potere e immagini della violenza nella Romania communista: Scenario repressivo e clinico delle rivolte contadine di Bihor (1949)," in *Transylvanian Review*, vol. XXIV, Supplement 2, (2015), 96-104.
- 6. Alexis de Tocqueville, Despre democrație în America, (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2017) 15.
- 7. Eugene F. Miller, *Hayek's The Constitution of Liberty* (London: The Institute of Economic Affairs, 2010), 49.
- 8. Keith Hitchins, Românii (1774-1866) (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2004), 242.
- 9. Dan Berindei, Cultura națională română modernă (Bucharest: Eminescu, 1986), 327.
- Roxana Ivaşca, Visul scriitorilor romantici români (Cluj-Napoca: Cluj University Press, 2012), 78-80; Poezie și istorie la 1848, (Bucharest: Albatros, 1974), VIII-IX; XIX.
- Alexandru Duțu, Cultura română în civilizația europeană modernă (Bucharest: Minerva, 1978), 210.
- 12. Poezie,17; Nicolae Manolescu, Istoria critică a literaturii române. 5 secole de literatună (Pitești: Paralela 45, 2008), 166-169.
- 13. Poezie, 58-59; Mihaela Cojocaru, Literatura română medievală și modernă, secolele XV-XIX (Ploiești: Editura Universității Petrol-Gaze din Ploiești, 2006), 238.
- 14. Grigore Georgiu, *Istoria culturii române moderne* (Bucharest: Comunicare.ro Publishing, 2002), 115-116; Nicolae Manolescu, *Istoria*, 169-171.
- 15. Poezie, 65-66.
- 16. Ibid., 99.
- 17. Ion Buzași, Andrei Mureșanu. Poetul revoluției de la 1848 (Alba-Iulia: Altip, 2003), 7-8; Poezie, 68-69.
- 18. Poezie, 45-50; Nicolae Manolescu, Istoria, 193-194.
- 19. Nicolae Manolescu, Istoria, 209-217.
- 20. Poezie, 71-72; XVIII.
- 21. Ibid., 71-72; 39-42; Dan Berindei, Cultura, 330.
- 22. Poezii poporale, Balade (Cântice bătrânești) adunate și îndreptate de Vasile Alecsandri (Iași: Tipografia "Buciumului Român," 1st part, 1852, 2nd part, 1953). The full edition appeared later: Poezii populare ale românilor adunate și întocmite de Vasile Alecsandri (Bucharest: Tipografia Lucrătorilor Asociați, 1866).
- 23. Ballades et chants populaires de la Roumanie (Principautes danubiennes) (Paris: 1855).
- 24. Rumanische Volkspoesie. Gesammelt und geordet von B. Alecsandri (Berlin: 1857).
- 25. Dan Berindei, Cultura, 330.
- 26. Viorel Faur, Românii din Crișana în evenimentele revoluționare din anii 1848-1849, vol. I: Studii (Oradea: Editura Universității din Oradea, 2005), 64-65. This is about the "myth of the good

emperor" present in the collective memory of the Transylvanian Romanians since the 18th century.

- 27. Mihai Chioveanu, "The Constitutive Other: Topical and Tropical Phanariot in Modern Romania," in Modernity in Central and South-Eastern Europe. Ideas, Concepts, Discourses (Bucharest: Rao, 2018), 181-184; Gabriel Moisa, Corina Moisa, Under the Sign of Malnutrition. Economic and Propaganda Policies in Romania at the End of the 1980s. Case Study: Bihor County, in Transylvanian Review, vol. XXVII, 4, (2018), 100-111.
- Alexandru Duţu, Sinteză și originalitate în cultura română, (Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică Română, 1972), 188-200.
- 29. Paul Cornea, Originile romantismului românesc. Spiritul public, mișcarea ideilor și literatura între 1780-1840 (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 2008), 427-448.
- 30. Dan Berindei, Cultura, 330.
- 31. Apostol Stan, Revoluția română de la 1848 (Bucharest: Albatros, 1992), 377-378.

Abstract

History, Politics, and Literature in 1848 in the Romanian Space

Through their poetry, the generation of 1848 from the Romanian space tried to give free expression to their own political experiences and reflections, this type of literary creation having a great potential for social penetration. Moreover, the poems contain a series of mental schemes and symbols present in the social imaginary during the revolution of 1848, which shows that crisis phenomena also generate symbolic effervescence. The poets, in this effervescent cultural climate, rejected the "courtly" poetry by embracing the "militant" one. Thus, ballads, *doinas*, marches, folk songs, etc. are creations that retain elements of national identity, which is why they could not be neglected during a period of national constructions. They also capture other socialpolitical ideals of the time, the idea of cultural and revolutionary messianism, the desire to open up to the West, the struggle for the imposition of a national specificity, the civic and patriotic conscience. All these were placed under a rhetoric intended to stir enthusiasm and drive to action.

Keywords

history, poetry, revolution, nation, culture