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FOLKLORIC IMPLICATIONS IN THE WORK OF TRANSYLVANIAN WRITERS

(ION AGÂRBICEANU, PAVEL DAN)

PhD THESIS - summary

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ABSTRACT

Keywords: ***Ion Agârbiceanu, Pavel Dan, forming patterns, cultural background, literary creation, folklore, perception***

We've begun our research from the premise that when studying the work of a writer it is necessary to follow approaches of the cultural and social context as well. Therefore, our philological type view was nuanced by the anthropological and cultural one. We are interested in the writer's formation on the one hand, and on its work on the other hand. We started from the idea that the family, school, cultural benchmarks of the time are key factors that will influence the series of "choices" used by the artist in the vast field of fictionality. In this context, the reference to a folk fact, its transposition and use in literary discourse is subsumed by the cultural orientation of the moment.

The objective of our research was to detect the folk sap carefully wrapped by the two writers (Ion Agârbiceanu and Paul Dan) in literary veil. Our approach has not followed a simple inventory, but it focused on understanding the principles under which the artists operated with selections within the so vast domain of folk culture. Equally, we were interested in the purpose of this appeal. Why did we choose Ion Agârbiceanu and Pavel Dan? First, because the folk vein is visible even in the epidermis of the text (the insertion of passages of folk text - lamentations, proverbs, songs, shouts and so on - the language used, etc.). This tempting transparency urged us toward a thorough research which focused on the understanding of internal and external drivers that generated the appeal to the folk substrate. From another

angle, we were interested in observing the Intra-Carpathian collective consciousness reflected by the work of the two writers. Agârbiceanu transposed the beliefs and practices from the "Stone Land of the Moți" and the plains of Sibiu into literary discourse, while Pavel Dan chose to make the best of the resources in the Transylvanian Plain. The time period that it covers also was the basis for this choice: six decades. Agârbiceanu's work shall fatherly embrace Pavel Dan's work, without eclipsing, however, its value.

The paper is structured in four parts. The first part, which forms the theoretical framework, aimed at presenting the main concepts that have guided our analytical approach. We have provided a brief history of the terms with which we worked in this study: *culture, folk culture, tradition, folklore, folklorist / ethnologist, identity, imaginary theory*, *superstition*. The purpose of this chapter did not aim at deepening the theoretical terms, but provided a benchmarking necessary for the approaches that we proposed. On the other hand, this first journey proposed a history of the concepts that starts from the era prior to the establishment of ethnology as a scientific discipline and continues during the period of the institutionalization of the ethnological research.

A diachronic overview on the Transylvanian territory seemed an urgent necessity, as it is an integral part of the desired teaching effect of the study. Our exposition was structured according to specific, official policy changes, essential to the developments in Transylvania.

After laying down a few geographical and temporal frames, in the second part of our study we started a brief wandering through different eras, observing the stake of the appeal to folklore. During the Enlightenment, the appeal to folklore was integrated to a dual finality: on the one hand, in an action of national goal, on the other hand, in the cultural policy of educating the mentalities. In the Romantic period, the interest in folk creation gave the opportunity of asserting the national consciousness, showing the well-established and continuity of the Romanian people. During the second half of the 19th century, further changes of paradigm took place, a shift of emphasis from the enthusiasm specific to any beginning towards a deep research into the phenomenon. This theoretical framework that we proposed stops at the first decades of the 20th century, with the decrease of influence exercised by platform guidelines:

Sămănătorism and Poporanism. The journey subsequently constituted an integral part of the cultural forming landmarks of the era in which Ion Agârbiceanu and Pavel Dan became known.

In the third part of the paper we've tried to identify a few pillars which focused the writers' action to harness folk productions. Our starting point was a series of theories on the *psychology of the individual*. We presented several social groups with "interposed" action, identified by Professor Nicolae Mărgineanu[1] from Cluj, which influence and shape human personality: *family, neighbourhood, school, community and time*. Our approach perspective, for both writers, focused on two facets: formative (family, school, social environment, outstanding personalities, etc.) and situational (the trends of the era, the ideal of the era, the stakes of the writings, the historical and temporal determinism).

The writer Agârbiceanu was born in the multiethnic Transylvanian area, in a time when tensions were felt acutely. His family showed a true respect for education. This climate of consideration for the written letter also integrates the use of folkloric productions. The education system helped to promote the folk text. Agârbiceanu attended primary school (1888-1891) in his village, in the alluring atmosphere of traditions. The textbooks from this period, prepared in accordance with the curriculum established by the Hungarian Ministry, represented an amalgam of scientific and religious knowledge. The Transylvanian religious education, namely the Superior Gymnasium in Blaj resorted to folk culture for argumentative purposes. The Romanian language textbooks, analyzed in our study, approved by both the Consistory and the minister had a dual structure: classical literature / folk literature. Our attention was drawn by the considerable space allocated to legends, carols, sayings or historical and literary milestones destined for several popular species, such as: doina, round dances, elders' songs, dirges, orations, etc. Agârbiceanu organized reading sessions of some "*short stories, critical analyses, folkloric analysis*"[2]. Our interest also focused on several writing exercises proposed by the textbooks for initiating pupils into the mysteries of writing.

[1] Nicolae Mărgineanu, *Psihologia persoanei*, Bucharest, Scientific Publishing House, 1999.
[2] *Programa Gimnaziului superior, preparandiei, normei și școalei de fetițe din Blasiu, pe anul scolastic 1899/1900, Blaj, 1900,* p. 48.

The documents of that time[3] show that the students of the Greek Catholic Superior Gymnasium received quarterly the task of written homework, called „*ocupări*", simple school compositions on varied topics, where the rural universe held a central place. Upon studying the content of the Romanian textbooks of the period in which the Agârbiceanu was a student, we concluded that folk culture was perceived as an instrument of defence and development of the cultural unity of the Romanians. On the other hand, if we analyze the status of folklore, we believe that it represented a border phenomenon, the texts (themselves canonized) proposed by the textbooks used tools specific to the high literature.

The Romanian United Church is the third pillar for promoting folk culture approached by us. We've looked into the tortuous route of the Greek Catholic Church in Transylvania from three perspectives: the international context, the initial moment when the Church was established, the evolution and its implications in the political and cultural area. We reviewed several clergymen who had a vast cultural contribution, such as: Athanasie Anghel, the first Metropolitan Bishop of the United Church, Innocent, Inocențiu-Micu Klein (1728-1751), Pavel Petru Aron (1752-1764), Ion Bob. This "inventory" constituted the necessary framework to surprise Agârbiceanu in a moment of great difficulty: career choice. We observed the conflictive feelings of the student, the Budapest atmosphere, the existing cultural climate. Our study focused on the theological side of Agârbiceanu. The appeal to the theological vein was subsumed to our approach to provide a complete picture of the mission of the "national" apostolate. The same area also included analyzes of the writer's clothes, terminological clarifications of the concept of intellectual, and the adolescent turmoil during the career choice period. The brief analysis of the Transylvanian pre-war cultural context, the program of the magazines which hosted Agârbiceanu's prose, the existing literary and ideological climate, the blind spots around of the Romanian intellectuals – they all represented a stable landmark in shaping the overall picture of the era.

[3] Alba County Directorate of National Archive, basis Greek – Catholic Superior Gymnasium, 278/1894-1897, 31 July 1985, apud, Mârza, Daniela, *Învățământ românesc în Transilvania. Școlile Arhidiecezei de Alba Iulia și Făgăraș la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și la începutul secolului al XX-lea,* Cluj-Napoca, the Romanian Academy, Centre for Transylvanian Studies, 2011.

In order not to create the impression of rupture, but also for the sake of brevity and clarity, we have introduced the discussion on the second author, Paul Dan, by outlining the interwar cultural context. Therefore, in the first decades after the Unification, we are witnessing a phase of exploration, specific to any beginning, sporadic approaches within the tireless endeavour of modernization (the Cenacle of Papilian attended systematically by Pavel Dan is just one example), the establishment of cultural institutions promoting national culture (the Folklore Archive of the Romanian Academy, Institute of History of Medicine, Pharmacy and Medical Folklore, National Historical Institute, Institutes of Classical Studies, etc.) on the academic background of the development of the University of Cluj. Pavel Dan was born in this cultural climate, in Tritiu de Sus. During our approach we considered the information provided by the writer's son, Sergiu Pavel Dan. On a different approach, the interwar review picture where we introduced pieces of legislation relating to the policy of culture creation represented a real mean for guiding the proposed approach.

Dan's first contact with folklore took place in the intimate atmosphere of the family and rural community. The location of the house (nearby the cemetery) facilitated its access to careful observation of funeral rites (which occupies the largest place in its creation of all folk productions). As a child, he came in contact with the Romanian literary language only in the third grade through memorizing the tales and proverbs from the *Reading TxtBook*. The enrolment at the High School for boys in Turda triggered the nostalgic return to the rural world. On the other hand, the curriculum in 1908– approved by the Romanian Directing Council in 1908[4] and applied at the High School for boys in Turda, where Pavel Dan studied – placed the values of national culture under the name of "heritage" understood as "memory of representative national creations"[5]. Romanian language textbooks allotted considerable space to ethnographic texts, entitled either directly (*Descriptive Prose*) or indirectly, through descriptions of journeys (e.g. *A trip to Romanian Countries in the Seventeenth Century in*

[4] *Programa analitică pentru școalele secundare de băieți din Ardeal, Bănat și Părțile ungurene pe timpul de transiție*. Published by the Romanian Ruling Council, Directorate of Culture and Public Education. Printed in manuscript, Sibiu, 1919, Printing of the Graphical Arts Institute A. ANCA, Cluj, *apud*, Pamfil, Alina, Tămăian, Ioana, *Studiul limbii și literaturii române în secolul al XX-lea. Paradigme didactice*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Cărții de Știință, 2005, p. 41.

[5] *Ibidem*, p. 35.

Moldova). At the he High School for boys in Turda Paul Dan would find teachers that would channel the literary steps towards the appeal to folk culture. Such a personality is the Romanian language teacher Teodor Murărașu (who encouraged him to create school essays on: the hard life of Romanian peasants of the Transylvania Plain). We further analyzed two means of culture propagation – the university and cultural institutions - focusing on tracing folklore's place in this cultural context. As elements of detail, we followed who were the personalities who had made their mark on the student Dan, to which direction they turned his attention, what cultural institutions did he attend in Cluj, or which was the moment of first contact with folklore as a science. On the one hand, our attention was drawn by the strong literary ambitions and the title chosen for future literary projects, which unfortunately did not come to fruition (an extensive work of nearly twenty volumes entitled *The Childs of Our Days*, the three volumes that would have been entitled *The Peasants*), on the other hand the deep teacher-student affection (George Bogdan Duică - Paul Dan) which resulted in a diploma paper focused on folk culture. Therefore, Pavel Dan completed his academic studies by defending the paper entitled: *The Popular Ballad*. The paper is structured in three parts: the Cycle of Pintea the Brave, the Cycle of Novăceşti, *the "Lenore" reason in Transylvanian folk poetry*. The *Cycle of Pintea the Brave* proposes a journey into a fantasy world. The assumption is that the analysed ballad complies with the pattern of universal ballads. In the second part of the paper - the *Cycle of Novăceşti* - Pavel Dan follows step by step the "autochthonism" of a reason of Serbian origin. He would use the scientific research to show that once entered the Carpathian space, the universal themes will bear its geographical footprint. The chapter devoted to the folk poetry - *the "Lenore" reason in Transylvanian folk poetry* - tries to undertake a thorough research of the presence of the universal reason "the kidnapping of the girl by the ghoul" in the Transylvanian literary space. An important document remained in manuscript and kept by the writer's family (made available to us by the courtesy of the writer's son, Sergiu Pavel Dan, to whom we thank) is a jotter entitled *Folk Songs*. The first part contains no data on the referee, while in the second part, entitled *Songs of Tritiu de Jos*, Ana Ceclan is the referee, whose names is marked at the end of the texts collected. We've written *in extenso* the text of those shouts. The text had not been published before (not even in the collection *Folk Literature. Notebooks*), this is why the photographed

manuscripts were included in Annexes. When transcribing the texts, we fully complied with the spelling, punctuation and numbering of the collector.

The brief presentation of the institutions that promoted folklore (the Museum of the Romanian Language, the Ethnographic Museum of Transylvania, the Folklore Archive of the Romanian Academy) played a contextual role. We allotted a less detailed presentation to the Folklore Archive of Cluj, for reasons related to the direct contact that Pavel Dan had with its founder, Ioan Mușlea. Moreover, we consider that the inventory of classes that promoted folk culture that the writer attended (delivered by Sextil Puşcariu) represented a real guide to the folk universe. Keeping the same direction, we stopped at Pavel Dan's relationship with Ion Mușlea. Therefore, unlike Agârbiceanu which reached the folkloric material due to his profession, Pavel Dan was actually concerned in collecting folklore. We do not refer here to a chaotic recording, but to the actual enrolment in the network of correspondents carefully directed by Mușlea. Later, the result did not fail to pay off: Pavel Dan put together a brief collection of folk customs that he sent to the Romanian Academy Archive. We presented several lines from the correspondence of Pavel Dan with Ioan Mușlea, as well as fragments from the collection put together by the writer, which compiles the following titles: *Rafting, Beekeeping, Holiday Customs, Death Customs, Mythical Beings, Magical Practices, Folk Medicine, Stories, Anecdotes And Legends, Wailing, Doine And Shouts, Invocations*. In conclusion, we can assert that folklore represented an accumulation and research stage for Pavel Dan, which strengthened its intellectual structure and conferred him its writer power.

In the fourth part of our study we looked into Agârbiceanu's literary imaginary - crystallized in more than eighty volumes - from the perspective of folk selection. The focus was not on the chronological appearance of works, but on the force with which they reflected the image of the Transylvanian mentality. The organizing and structuring of the "folklore imaginary" was based on the thematic criterion. The beliefs in the dark spirit of the earth from the "Stone Land" of the Moți occupied the largest place: the Vâlva of the Mines, the Spirit of the Mines. Our analysis algorithm was the same (for the creation of both writers assessed by us).

We've chosen to highlight the ethnological endorsements, followed by their subsequent analysis. To enhance the clarity of our analysis, we presented the elements kept, omitted or transformed under the imaginary world by the Transylvanian writers, by reporting to ethnological research undertaken in the same region. The first observation refers to the fact that Agârbiceanu preserves the first semantics of the *vâlva* attested by ethnologists, but subordinates it to the apostolic ethicism with which it was endowed. Therefore, the *vâlva* is a mythological representation which oversees and distributes gold in the valleys, but punishes the individual athirst for becoming rich. It seems interesting and unique at the same time that the writer assumed the voice of either the *insider* or the *outsider* of the peasant, respectively, the intellectual − to offer dual perspective of the beliefs presented. There are many tales, short stories, drawings following this pattern, showing in detail: the mentality of the gold mine worker, the entire series of verbal prohibitions, the inner dramas, the accidents at work, and physical and moral misery in which he lives. Agârbiceanu did not choose to seize the beliefs of the folks, but chosed the path of empathy specific to the confessor. Details on the representation of space, the man facing death and universe are added to all these − real landmarks that shape the distinctive profile of the Moţ from the Bucium Commune.

On the other hand, our study presents two mirror type novels, the one of a folklorist and the one of a writer −Agârbiceanu's *Arganghelii* and Ovidiu Bârlea's *Șteampuri fără apă* − aiming the same space: the Bucium Commune. As a preliminary stage, we started from the biographical element of both writers (which included a stopover at Bucium). The reasons why we chose these two proses related to: the thematic narrative, the writers' training, the folk material translated into literary imaginary, the editing technique and the purpose of the appeal to folklore. Our presentation focused on the radiography of the differences and similarities of the two writings. A first remark is that Ovidiu Bârlea's text is a literary construct with the instruments of a specialist in the field, of a folklorist, while the writer Agârbiceanu resorted to folklore to the extent that it managed to outline mentalities and archaic spaces. Bârlea would choose another way to save the folklore document: literature. His text soaks in ethnological details, revealing the methodology and rigorousness of the research. In Agârbiceanu's *Arhanghelii*, folklore is present in terms of reasons, symbols and narrative descriptions.

Due to the change of parish, Agârbiceanu experienced closely the regions of Sibiu. Therefore, the second theme element of the third part focused on the inventory of the beliefs and habits originating in the Transylvanian plain village. We reckon it is a brave action to save by writing, in a time of distress (in full fascist regime), beliefs and habits of a "volcanic" community: the Gypsies. We stopped and presented *in extenso*, as did the writer himself, the song that accompanied the work of coppersmiths, the landmarks that composed their worldview (the story *Faraonii*). Intrigues of the texts were placed subsidiarily. Our attention focused on the effects of appeal to folklore, such as: eliminating racial barriers through songs, increasing the dynamics of the text, advocating for unconditionally accept, etc. Then we followed Agârbiceanu's attempt to take the gown of the ethnologist. Writings such as *La moartea Dăniciului, Fierarul Petrea, Faraonii* offer details of the enthronement of King Țanco, the oath of fidelity, the description of the actors' clothes etc.

The third thematic item of the same part revolves around the novel *Strigoiul*. We grouped the habits recorded, not according to their appearance inside the text, but according to the possibility of them falling into a particular category. The first approach was the erotic rites and rites of passage. In this segment we inventoried the habits specific to the bee: the bee of the young people / the bee of the married women. We presented in detail the specific prohibitions of this moment, the internal structure, the discussions that flourished, etc. We paid equal attention to the description of interiors or language particularities. Harvesting habits were the most dense and meaningful part of our analysis. Our approach had a comparative follow: Agârbiceanu's text placed face to face with the habits recorded by ethnologists. Agârbiceanu pays particular attention to: the choosing of the foreman, shouts accompanying the tasting of the spirits, songs that accompany the youth exiting the harvesting, the ritual songs, the dances groups of lads, the choosing of the ears, weaving and the watering of the wreath, the ritual meal, the storing of the wreath at the host's home.

On the other hand, our analysis plays the role of an inventory. We noted the elements that Agârbiceanu kept, altered or transformed in relation to the ritual attested by specialists. Some examples: we do not find in Agârbiceanu's text the watering of the wreath in the dust from which it was taken, the shaking of the wreath over the ritual meal or the priest's presence to

the hosts' house. The absence is complemented by the idyllic descriptions that enhance the attractiveness of the text. In the scope of the same habit, our study suggests another sale for reading a novel dedicated to the harvest wreath (*Claca*): gradual redefinition of identity. The third thematic item based on the same text, *Strigoiul,* refers to the Winter customs. The favourite holiday is Christmas. We've decided to analyze the ritual practices in terms of indissoluble relationship with the meaning of the holiday. We noted the variations of carols (both children and young men) presented by the writer, and finally we made some comments on the text about the symbols presented, the area of distribution, their role in the global background of the holiday. Threshold holiday, the New Year is full of various apotropaic practices. Those occupying considerable space are the erotic ones. When presenting the customs, the writer recourses to the local contemporary folklore, as would Pavel Dan pretty much in the same period. The customs over the year, the second subdivision of this category, are grouped around some key points: Shrove Tuesday, Sântoader, Midsummer Day. The descriptions given in Agârbiceanu's text are quantitatively unequal. Sometimes the ritual is presented *in extenso* (like the one related to Midsummer Day), sometimes the writer chooses a cut-out. For example, there are no ancient beliefs about Sântoader horses. The void would be filled with the ritual of the "blood brothers" practiced in regions of Sibiu.

Man's attitude towards death is carefully exploited by the writer and occupies considerable space in all his works, and in our analysis. We've chosen from this vast field the beliefs about the return of the deads: the ghouls. After consulting the literature in the field, we focused our attention on the text itself. Agârbiceanu proposes a description of folk views over the dead ghoul. Against the backdrop of a matrimonial banning, the writer captures the immense power held this view, disseminated through folk narratives. Subsidiarily, the writer outlines the specific burial rituals: the wake, the actual ceremony and burial of the deceased. For the sake of cohesion and understanding, our analysis also contains passages on the subjugation through word (oath on the deathbed), warning signs, the returns of the ghoul on the background of the recently installed disease of the son, the reaction of the community, the increasing tension leading towards a tragic end.

The second chapter of part three is devoted to Pavel Dan's imaginary. We've chosen an approach based on a folklore selection dichotomously structured: urban / rural. In the prose that deals with the urban environment, in addition to numerous descriptions imbued with an acute sense of being uprooted, we found multiple references to folklore, also by representatives of the rural environment as well: the father coming to bury his son in the novel *Tatăl* and that give rise to the folk mourning is just one example that reinforces our assertion.

In rural inspiring prose, we've tried to capture the principle under which Pavel Dan selects and processes the folk material. We stopped on a few central themes of his prose, following the stakes of this cut-out from an anthropological point of view. We've structured our analysis based on the folklorist Dumitru Pop's article, *The Folklore in Pavel Dan's*[6] *Literary Creation*. We've taken from him the approach perspective, selected themes and language features, but dropped the order of argumentative structure. Therefore, our research was focused on the recording of popular beliefs that exist: as individual parts as sayings and proverbs, as artistic narrative prose or real *formae mentis* created on an anxious religious background. As a first step, we reviewed the beliefs that have become popular among the people through expressions of imperative value. As for the expression of collective mentality artistic creations in prose, the favourite space was occupied by the traditional view in exchanging the child. The short story subject to our analysis was *Copil schimbat*. We've kept the same analyse algorithm as in Agârbiceanu's creation. We summarised the spread of the faith in the foothills of the Carpathians, followed by the subsequent actual analysis of the text (inventory of apotropaic practices, mystical conceptions held by the protagonist, the representations and metamorphoses of evil).

On the other hand, prose provides a vision of the way the traditional human reports to disease. Pavel Dan's shepherd would categorically reject the presence of an incurable disease in his family. Seen as a consequence of an individual sin, the disease is "exteriorised" from the family circle (the child is exchanged), but not from its "medium" (the shepherd shall take the exchanged child in his long wanderings). Another artistic figment in prose is the faith in fate.

[6] Dumitru Pop, „Folclorul în creația literară a lui Pavel Dan", in the work *Studii de istoria folcloristicii române*, Baia-Mare, Umbria Publishing House, 1997.

In the short story *Ursita*, the patient's narrative discourse is under the aegis of destiny (belief in fate). In the short story *Iobagii*, Dan took the national - apostolic voice and recorded the drama of the Transylvanian people subjugated by foreign blood suckers. The same registry shall also include representations of divinity and the saints, or descriptions of peasant houses.

As for the transposition of folkloric manifestations into literary discourse, we started from the assumption that different cultural structures determine the reporting of the individual to an existential fact. Upon reviewing the anthropological studies of death (here we mention that of Philippe Ariès, *Essais sur l'histoire de la mort en Occident du Moyen Age à nos jours*[7]) we conclude that the funeral rites and rituals are set depending on people's scenarios about the world beyond. Regarding Pavel Dan's imaginary, our analysis followed a chronological route. We started recording the warning signs, then we observed the funerary ritual: the wake and the ceremony itself. Our analysis suggests two types of opposite wake: Christian and pagan. Therefore, in Pavel Dan's text one can find: wake games, the willingness atmosphere, the parody of religious rituals, the dialogue with the deceased. Moreover, the writer creates a character, Șuta, who improvises a theatrical scene specific to the pagan ritual. The parody of sacred texts, priests and religious rituals, recorded by ethnologists is completely absent in Pavel Dan's imaginary. It remains, however, the image of the party-wake where the cheer conceals the fear before the deceased. Sexually explicit comic scenes are replaced in Pavel Dan's wake with subtle allusions to those left alive. Wake games focusing on the fire were replaced with burning and total purification of the misery place.

We lingered a little on Urcan "comâdării" for reasons related to the abundance of studies and articles which dealt with this issue. Furthermore, the text does not provide enough details that would help us "reconstruct" the ritual itself (the emphasis is on overthrowing and parodying the rite). The views of our approach were ethnological. Consequently, we were interested in: dirges, prohibitions of religious calendar related to the day of burial, the splashing of the dead man with wine, giving burnt wine and knot-shaped bread over the coffin, the mortuary cart.

[7] Philippe Ariès, *Omul în fața morții, I, Vremea gisanților*, Translation and notes by Andrei Niculescu, Meridiane Publishing House, 1996.

To concentrically complete the analysis of the creation of the two Transylvanian writers, we chose to end our research with a study aimed at disseminating the texts. Therefore, in the fourth part entitled *Perception*, we decided not to discuss the labelling criteria for the title of literary value, but to radiography an existing state of facts. Our approach was analytical. We believe that the last part of our study is designed to provide an image of the writing promotion of the two writers in different cultural environments. We started our discussion from an institutionalised order, also called: the canon. In the vast area of active cultural memory, we targeted the literary canon (*aesthetic and curriculum*). In terms of structure, we divided our study aimed for perception into three segments. In the first part, we covered the *aesthetic literary canon*. We've tried to capture the label set by the competent authority - the literary criticism – fr the literary creation of the two authors. We selected the critical instances (canonized themselves): Titu Maiorescu, Eugen Lovinescu, George Călinescu and Nicolae Manolescu. We were interested in the contemporary perspectives to the extent in which they were included in literary dictionaries. A review of studies devoted to the work of the two writers (1984-2003) played a role which we considered essential: the observation of recurrent over time; the analyses of folkloric reflections are also included in this context.

The second segment aimed the *curricular canon*. We followed, from a diachronic point of view (1900-2013), which of Agârbiceanu's / Pavel Dan's writings were included in the Romanian language textbooks, which were the selection criteria, to what topics were they integrated, which was the vanishing point of these writings, to which accompanying speeches was the text included. From the methodological point of view, we selected representative textbooks of the period 1900-1945, and subsequently cut out the series of representative textbooks of 2012-2013 from the post-revolutionary period. The third segment dealt with the editorial policies. Out of didactic reasons, we've chosen a schematic description of the program of the publishing houses and their relationship to the existing political regime. We have referred to the publishing houses which hosted Agârbiceanu's / Pavel Dan's prose in the pre-war, interwar, communist and post-communist period.

We present below some of the conclusions we reached. Agârbiceanu's and Pavel Dan's prose was placed on the line of Transylvanian realism. Agârbiceanu was labelled as a writer

belonging to the traditionalist currents. On the other hand, thanks to the folkloric material translated into literary discourse, Iordan Datcu's dictionary (*Dictionary of Romanian Ethnologists*, 2006) places Ion Agârbiceanu in the series of Romanian ethnologist, but not Pavel Dan. From another perspective, our study is intended to be a continuation of the bibliography of Ion Agârbiceanu, composed by Dimitrie Vatamaniuc[8] (which stops at the year 1974), respectively, of the "Octavian Goga" County Library, Cluj-Napoca[9] in respect to Pavel Dan's work. In quantitative terms, during the selected period (1984-2003) the writings of Ion Agârbiceanu and Pavel Dan enjoyed a consistent analysis. From a thematic point of view, studies aiming the inclusion of the works into a literary macro-system structure prevailed, inventive publications completing the accompanying speeches, but also new interventions designed to break down the stereotypes set out by the inherent power of the literary tradition. In terms of the influence of popular culture, we observe the tilting of the balance toward Pavel Dan's prose. The analyses of funeral rites, the particularities of language and attitudes specific to the Transylvanian Plain were the most extensive.

As for the *curricular* literary canon, we are witnessing a subscription within hierarchic value lists. Pavel Dan's creation during the period under review (1989-2013) was not considered to be "worthy" of entering under this construct. Therefore, the series of textbooks reviewed would contain Agârbiceau's writings: *Fefeleaga*, *Luminița*, *Arhanghelii* (fragments,) *Darul lui Moș Miron*. The prose considered to bend over the mental structure of pupils, regardless of the existing political regime, is *Fefeleaga*.

The last segment was the restoration of the tortuous route of (re)publishing of Agârbiceanu's / Pavel Dan's writings. We reviewed publishing houses which hosted the Transylvanian prose, as well as the big projects continued by the descendants after the writer's death. In addition, we offer a few pieces of correspondence between the writer – publishing house that had been published, or were related to us by their closed ones (as in the case of the writer Pavel Dan).

[8] Dimitrie Vatamaniuc, *Ion Agârbiceanu: bibliografie*, București, Editura Enciclopedică Română, 1974.
[9] Ioan Bob, *Pavel Dan. Bibliografie*, "Octavian Goga" County Library, [http://www.bjc.ro/new/files/bibliografii/pavel_dan.pdf], consulted on: May 2013.