

MODERN/COLONIAL PERSPECTIVE, SELF-IDENTITY, AND COUNTER- MAPPING IN SLAVICI'S FICTION

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Abstract: The present study addresses a set of key questions arising from the direct observation of the relationship between literature and knowledge, considering that the Transylvanian space that generated Romanian literature may be ascribed to the wider context of the modern/colonial world system. The present discussion focuses on the analysis of two of Slavici's less-known novels, and identifies within the narration hypostases of colonial discourse, the roots of modernity reflected by social evolution, aspects regarding work relations and the circuits of raw materials in Transylvania and the Principalities in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Keywords: Romanian novel, Slavici, inter-imperiality, colonial, knowledge, counter-mapping.

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The question we ask ourselves in today's scientific context is whether literature, from the perspective of new directions of analysis in various fields and ideological changes, can be a source of knowledge, having as a starting point the dialog with other sciences. The question is all the more important as studies emerge that find in literature clues for discussions about already established social theories, historical, sociological, and psychological explanations. It cannot be overlooked that starting from the analysis of Romanian novels, sociologists demonstrate that regions such as Transylvania had overcome their "feudal status" as Eastern European economy had been widely described (furthermore, the study¹ also mentions sources which take up this position, speaking about feudalism well into the 19th century, such as the theories of Katherine Verdery or Iosif Kovács), and embrace the theory of Wallerstein, who, taking into account also the study published as early as 1969 by Romanian sociologist, Henri H. Stahl, in *Les anciennes communautés villageoises roumaines; asservissement et pénétration capitaliste*, where he observes the beginnings of a primitive accumulation of capital in Romanian villages, holds that if the capitalist

pattern appears in the 14th century along with the Venetian presence in Crete, in regions such as Eastern Europe, the 16th century led to the spread of a new type of „social organization,” the capitalist one.² In this sense, the narration of the novel analysed being situated in the 19th century, Boatcă and Pârvolescu hold that Transylvania is “fully—or asymmetrically—integrated into a structurally unequal capitalist world-economy.”³ The perspective seems relevant to us because we can identify two directions of analysis that balance fiction and knowledge: the first of these two perspectives refers to the coagulation of modernity in the South-Eastern European society, its literary reflection, and its integration into what Walter Mignolo referred to as the modern/colonial world system.⁴ The second one focuses on the discussion regarding the observation of the existence of a type of counter-mapping, identifiable also in some of the Romanian novels of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the evolution of work relations and conflicts between workers, the circuit of products and raw materials, in the vision of Ioan Slavici's protagonists and the localizing/modernising vantage points advanced by the characters' attitudes in a society



where capitalism was starting to emerge.

Our hypothesis is that if we analyze Slavici's writings from the perspective of the definition of modernity vs. a modern world system, we can prove the existence of nuclei of modernity *avant la lettre*, sustained by the development of society and the observation of the technologization of labor processes, typical of capitalism. Romanian critics consider 1920 as a milestone of the modern Romanian novel (see G. Călinescu, E. Lovinescu, Lucian Raicu, etc.). The year marks the publishing of *Ion* by Liviu Rebreanu, also described by Parvulescu and Boatcă as "a product of inter-imperiality and as its chronicle."⁵ Slavici's literature is also such a product generated by nineteenth century realities. Slavici is a canonical Romanian writer, who belonged to the Transylvanian space but spent a significant part of his life in Bucharest. His prose contains elements of modernity that can be showcased by using the paradigm of postcolonial studies, by observing elements related to social realities, to the shaping of mentalities starting out from the inter-imperial situation existing in Transylvania (historically speaking, being part of the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburg Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire during different epochs), but also the tracing of major changes, generated by the special aspect of the existence of ethnic groups to which one can add the minorities living in the region. Caius Dobrescu identifies the creation of a certain mentality acquired by Slavici inside the Habsburg Empire, that left its imprint on his writings:

"This is, again, a cultural poesis of the transmetropolitan kind, whose mechanics Slavici witnessed inside the 'universal order' rhetoric and socio-administrative apparatus of the Hapsburg Empire and carried with him south across the Carpathians, into a Romanian Kingdom that looked, despite the coeval onset of an assortment of vociferously chauvinistic nationalisms, ready to heed Slavici's 'naturally' cosmopolitan message."⁶

In the present study we set out to analyse two of his narrative texts, presenting distinct, complementary realities, but which are an essential source for the identification of elements of incipient modernity: *Corbei* introduces us to a protagonist living in the Transylvanian space, on the Mureș Valley. The second novel, *Cel din urmă Armaș* [The Last Governor] presents an ever-changing space, placing the action in the southern areas outside the Carpathian Mountains, where completely different work relations and capitalist realities rule society. The choice of the two novels, which are less known, is also motivated by the fact that in both the flux of relationships with power centers can be identified, leading to the observation of what we term a colonial world system. As early as 1972 critical observations started to bring up this documentary value, as evinced

by the statements of Dumitru Micu: "his works is more revealing from a certain vantage point, in what the knowledge regarding the process of formation of capitalist relations is concerned, than any studies undertaken by economists, historians and sociologists."⁷ Even though many critics have chosen to focus on the rural element (G. Călinescu observe this rural element in Slavici, because "Transylvanians hailed from a province that, as far as Romanians were concerned, had only one social class, the rural one," in Popa Tanda he sees an "embodiment of the colonizing spirit," and in his prose "he lacks an understanding of urban life")⁸ we will nevertheless observe the existence of references to the urban environment, including to cities abroad.

Modernity vs Modern/Colonial World System in the Early Novels

Slavici's narrations mirror late nineteenth and early twentieth century realities and advance an informed vision on certain social phenomena transposed into fiction. We are interested in these narrations, because it is along with them that the modernization of the Romanian novel takes place. It is important to explain the distinction between modernity and the modern world-system. In *Geopolitics....*, Mignolo showcases the differences between the two, highlighting the fact that the modern world-system focuses on "a spatial articulation of power rather than a linear succession of events," being connected to capitalism and commercial routes, what Quijano theorizes as 'coloniality of power'.⁹ In the case of Transylvania, this spatial irradiation is obvious, because it takes up the area where the narration's protagonists also move. The importance of the present analysis is obvious considering the particularisation of such types of prose as Slavici's, presenting power relations between distinct ethnic groups inhabiting the same space. Simultaneously, this "colonial difference" is defined as locus of enunciation and as "a connector that, in short, refers to the changing faces of colonial differences throughout the history of the modern/colonial world-system and brings to the foreground the planetary dimension of human history silenced by discourses centring on modern."¹⁰ Consequently, in the case of South-Eastern Europe, such a silenced voice may become important for the global construct.

The novel *Corbei* published in the *Tribuna* magazine between 1906-1907 and printed in volume form only with the advent of *Opere* [Works] (vol. VIII) in 1976 was written during the time Slavici spent in Bucharest. The protagonists move within a space in the Banat region, where communities experience tensions, with the action taking place in the time frame before 1867, the founding year of the dualist system of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The important moment in the novel, which generates social unrest, is the one of the harvest.

Reminiscent of the novella *Pădureanca* [The Forest Maiden], previously written by Slavici, in 1884, where such a harvesting moment appears, disrupted by the cholera epidemic, with the narrative episode surfacing the competition on the job market, when the villagers of Plopiș find out that the main protagonist, Corbei, the holder of extensive capital, to be more precise “nine special plots of land, totaling around 260 acres”¹¹ (a surface equivalent to almost 150 hectares) had hired around “sixty mountain people” from the Apuseni Mountains to replace the “unruly peasants.” A tension generated by the mobility of workforces is created, leading to increased productivity and competitiveness. This is also heightened by statements such as the one observing the existence of differences between the two social classes of the impoverished and the wealthy: “Only once a year, during harvesting season, the impoverished may take advantage of the wealthy.”¹² The narration accumulates the villagers’ discontent leading to a tentative revolt. Fragments of conversation are brought up, alongside gossip, images which seem to disrupt the apparent tranquility of the village, turning into a type of anticipation of the novel *Răscoala* [The Uprising] by Liviu Rebreanu. Observations are simple, logical, clear: “when they are many, people are engulfed by their sense of justice and feel strong enough to act on it.”¹³ Not at all accidentally we encounter, in issue no. 56 from March 10–23 1907 of the *Tribuna* magazine published in Arad, an opening article on “The peasant uprisings in Moldova,” and in the very same issue the 4th part of “Corbei (Evening road).”

The moment is just an excuse for bringing up a power center, or in other words, the element that constitutes that which we refer to as the colonial world system: that spatial articulation of power that we have previously mentioned. Ghiurca, one of the novel’s protagonists, states: “Are the gendarmes going to defend Corbei and his mountain people?! As if Corbei was some sort of baron or a nobleman and his mountain people seklers?! So do not worry too much about Corbei’s fate, the masters so not see or hear anything”¹⁴. Thus, the two hypostases are named in which the gendarmerie would have interfered for re-establishing order, if Corbei had been a nobleman or if a Hungarian nobleman would have been threatened, and the hired people had been seklers. His status however made him vulnerable to the villagers’ wrath, discontent with not being able to blackmail him by negotiating the price. Al. Piru notes that “The transition towards the bourgeoisie, towards capitalism, occurs rapidly with Slavici”¹⁵ an aspect explained among other things by the introduction of other characters meant to herald the protrusion of insurance companies into the region¹⁶. A certain character surfaces who is described as follows: “Mr. Tihamer Erdei, an agent of an insurance company in America and a correspondent of various newspapers, some in Pesta, others in Vienna, was well known and held in high esteem not only in Bălgrad, but also in Cluj

and in Sibiu and even in other places.”¹⁷ By introducing this character who holds important powers, the narrator already constructs a network of power centres, becoming himself an effigy of the interimperial¹⁸. In another context, other six points of force are enumerated: three of them far away (America, Pesta and Vienna) and three close-by (Bălgrad, Cluj, and Sibiu), to which a function of equal value is added: “secretary of the Israelite community.”¹⁹ The reader finds out that he used to “speak to everyone in their own mother tongue,” and the business he makes with cousin Ghiurca reveals his plan of leaving the latter to deal with the conflict involving the villagers. The Romanian workers’ condition is described as follows: “This is how Romanians are! Going through many hardships, they bow to the powerful and grant him the right to use his power for as long as he might,”²⁰ with a great deal of importance being allotted to that “power” he holds. This is, in fact, a type of colonization, by means of which the powerful gains the upper hand, but he can only remain powerful as long as he holds the attributes of power, in the context of inter-imperiality: “reveals that inter-imperiality both precedes coloniality and coexists with it, while it outlasts imperialism.”²¹ If with Rebreanu we have Romani musicians,²² with Slavici the mountain harvesters, traveling to Plopiș, divided into groups, almost make up a group of fiddlers: “divided into groups, each group having its own musician, the front one with a fiddler, another two with bagpipers, and the last one with flute players.”²³ The artistic perspective typical of ruralism, as folklore is also practiced as a working habit, completes the picture where those who work are seen as pertaining to the described space. Situations have a general character, as Slavici specifies:

“It is not at all unusual in the Murăș Valley for workers to start a fight because some of them accept to work for lower wages. In order to avoid this, the mountain people talk to each other before departure and offer better prices, especially in the Hungarian flatlands, where there is much work to do and a huge number of people. But the scarcity of work is also great, especially during harvest season, prices go up quickly, and this when the gendarmerie has to interfere.”²⁴

Beyond the description of the conflict, generated by the practice of *dumping* prices, which are subsequently raised, a competitive economic situation is sketched out, which is condemned by traditional society. Another aspect evinced here is bringing up the authorities, “the gendarmerie has to interfere,” which is reminiscent of one of Fanon’s remarks, who observes that “The colonial world is a world cut into two. (...) In the colonies it is the policemen and the soldiers who are the official,” those who “speak the language of pure force.”²⁵ The gendarme Bandi is the one who first observes the conflict from a distance, the important element being that the ones fighting are members of the same ethnic group:



“Romanians are blindly fighting each other and have started a fire, as if the broad daylight was not enough for them.”²⁶ Regret is also expressed, regarding destroyed raw materials, the destruction being equated to a sin, in the religious sense, by mentioning that the poor ones are those deprived of food, in any circumstance: “it is a mortal sin to set fire to or tread on food, and it is not the wealthy, but the poor who will ultimately suffer the consequences of such a deed.”²⁷

The novel *Cel din urmă Armaş* [The Last Governor] was written during the period that Slavici spent in the Văcăreşti prison in 1919. It was published in 1923, at a three-year distance from the publication of *Ion* by Liviu Rebreanu, with the narration being placed temporally between 1875-1880, in the southern part of the United Principalities of Moldova and Wallachia. Garnering rather short and predominantly negative reviews, the novel is praised by G. Călinescu for its documentary character, as it contained “a couple of lines about the ‘Junimea’ salon and implicitly about its members.

In the case of this novel, certain details emerge such as the ones regarding the import of knowledge, as a form of colonization: “I always see him studying the estate plans and thinking about ways to reasonably exploit it. But because the landholder’s agreement expires on Saint Dumitru’s day next year, I decided to spend a few days in Paris, so that he might also get to know the French way of doing agriculture.”²⁸ That “semicolonial cultural relation to France”²⁹ is evident from the observation according to which Iorgu is preparing to govern over an estate and is in search of “good practices” from other European countries. The modernization advanced by the protagonist is connected to replacing agricultural machines with newer ones, as well as to the diversification of agricultural exploitation and the farm: “after the transaction had been completed, he bought the most reasonable ploughing tools, as well as ten new pairs of oxen, two working horses and a riding one, six cows and a Moldavian bull, one hundred sheep, six sows and one boar, as well as birds of all sorts” (...). It is shown that estates are not properly run, especially because workers are not specialized, and the lack of technologization which could have increased workers’ productivity. The landholder “does not really put the estate to good use, but rather exploits the peasants who work on it. And they have cattle, which they could use for ploughing, but they know nothing about it and are thus mercilessly exploited.”³⁰ What Wallerstein associates with “second serfdom,” defining it as “coerced cash-crop labor”³¹ is partially confirmed by the exploitation of peasants by tenants, described by Slavici.

Counter-mapping

In Transylvania, writers such as Ioan Slavici and Liviu Rebreanu inserted spaces into their novels which

could be the object of counter-mapping, starting out from fictional texts, or from the maps preserved in manuscript form, in the case of the author of *Ion*. Considering that such hypostases can be the drawn maps of the Pripas village or the estates from the novel *Răscoala* [The Uprising] by Liviu Rebreanu,³² used for the mapping of spaces which will make up fictional frameworks or the descriptions that Slavici offers for places or lands in Transylvania or in the southern part of the Principalities. The beginnings of forest mapping are not all too far away, being connected to the drawing of military maps. It is a well-known fact that in the Habsburg Empire, Transylvania is also on is the so-called Josephinische Landesaufnahme, which was drawn between 1764-1785 in order to record the entire surface of the empire, followed by the one drawn between 1876-1877, when the forests in the Austro-Hungarian Empire were also mapped. In what the Romanian territories in the Principalities are concerned, forests are partially mapped starting with the year 1900.³³ Nancy Peluso citing an entire body of literature in the domain, states that “cartography and mapping are uniquely sources of power for the powerful,”³⁴ which also confirms the existence of the Josephinian Map of Transylvania. The discussion revolving around counter-mapping is also taken up by Parvulescu and Boatcă, who note that “for counter-mapping to act as a decolonial strategy against the essentialization of nation-states and world regions (rather than as anti-imperial or anticolonial resistance with its own nationalist agenda, which is always a risk) it must be coupled with a global perspective on place making.”³⁵ Fiction offers such a counter-mapping perspective, one reminiscent of mythological maps or of the maps drawn by indigenous populations from various regions of the country. Nancy Lee Peluso in her seminal article “Whose woods are these? Counter-mapping forest territories in Kalimantan, Indonesia” advances the definition of such coverings of white space, in a double hypostasis: the one of identifying unmapped spaces and the one of particularizing the mapping process, on ethnic or national grounds. From this perspective we can see that if the forest was perceived as an important source of raw material, its mapping implied social, political and economic relations. One of the questions posed by Peluso is: “is the process of counter-mapping a ‘vernacularization’ of maps of a similar caliber?,” because “as the types of rights to land and resources changed in importance, maps became more explicit means of controlling resource access.”³⁶ In one of Slavici’s novels there is some debate on the role such a resource might play. In the novel, the forest is brought up only as a source of income, a resource that, had it been cut down, would have showered the beneficiary in immediate wealth. While Parvulescu and Boatcă analyze the impact of land ownership in Rebreanu’s novel, with Slavici we identify discussions of forest ownership

equating social identity—the status of the owner, but also a means of rapid access to wealth, a reflection of the colonial condition. In this context, it has to be noticed that is a well-known statement claiming that the abundance of certain natural resources is indirectly proportional to the inhabitant's wealth, with the economy not developing well where there is an abundance of natural resources: "it is possible to state that poverty in many countries around the world is related to the existence of significant natural resources wealth. The countries that are rich in natural resources, and whose economy is based primarily on extracting and exporting those resources, find it more difficult to develop."³⁷ In the novel *Cel din urmă armaş* [The Last Governor], the main protagonist, the last descendant of a wealthy family, Iorgu, undertakes an analysis of the state he finds his forest in, as a natural resource, and how much its exploitation would cost, using the capitalist vocabulary:

"What remains is the forest, our pride and my biggest hope, the oak trees, which have remained untouched by axes for at least fifty years. Untouched, and that precisely is the whole misfortune. The forest is wealth parents left to their children, but only if it is well kept. The wild, unkept forest, left to the mercy of nature, is a real nuisance. (...) Calculations related to how much it would cost to chop it down and carrying the logs to the nearest train station. He also added railroad transportation, and logistics. Little is left for the forest wood. More would have been left if roads had been better and villagers had cattle they could use; but calculations had to be made in accordance with the general state of the country (...)."³⁸

The territory of the virgin forest is not properly appreciated, and even becomes a burden, because of missing technology for exploiting resources, as from the business plan it is obvious that selling the forest as firewood "would barely cover the costs of work and transportation."³⁹ A systematization of the territory is also produced, resembling a mapping process where "irregularly growing trees were marked with lime, as were the lower quality ones which had to be cut during winter, so that the remaining ones could grow freely."⁴⁰ The forest is an important resource, which also acts as a pledge, because "your mortgage is three semesters late," there is a debt with the "Zerlendi bank" or with the "old moneylender Cohen," but also a form of blackmail, because the only buyer Aristotel Haricliidi, landholder of the Gropole estate, is waiting for his "citizenship to be voted on"⁴¹ in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, as a result of "some well-placed interventions in favour of a positive vote"⁴² as lawyer I. Neacşu states. The foreigner of Greek origin, a landholder, could not enjoy full legal rights until he did not receive the citizenship, as it was stipulated in the legislation of 1866. In the novel *Corbei*, reminiscent of the cosmopolitan Tihamer

Erdei, Slavici creates yet another protagonist meant to highlight a certain antisemitic attitude of Transylvanian society, Ghiurca's son, Vidu, the one, in his own words, had become an employee of the Jews because nobody else could have paid him better (...) he spoke Romanian, German and Hungarian (...) he was searching for forests fit for cutting, a thing Jews were unable to do, because people were suspicious of them and were closely following their every move wherever they went (...).⁴³ The Jewish enterprising spirit is brought up, as well as the suspicious attitude of the society in what regards them. The fact that he is employed by them ensures him substantial earnings, as do his linguistic abilities, which grant him entrance to all inter-imperial environments: Romanian, German, Hungarian. The antisemitic attitude of traditional society is obvious in statements such as "It's clear as the light of day that you became like the Jews—he told him harshly—you became shameless just like them,"⁴⁴ Corbei reproachfully tells salesman Vidu. While in *Ion*, "the inter-imperial resistance to capitalist integration that enlists antisemitism in its project is also a mode of resistance to the transformation of peasants into consumers,"⁴⁵ by means of the allusion to overconsumption of alcohol in the pub owned by the Jew Avrum, with Slavici, in *Corbei* the problem is that he does not wish to sell the forest to Vidu, in order to be exploited by foreigners. He had found out that "in Arad, where they were working on the railroad, there was huge demand for oakwood, as well as for crossbeams and woodwork for attics, and he would have made a lot of money if he could have cut Corbei's forest,"⁴⁶ intuitively sensing a good business he could make if his uncle would sell him the forest. As a result of the relationship with the Jews, a sort of transfer of know-how happens, because "they had taught him to pick the trees, measure them, divide them according to quantity, to calculate the cost of chopping down trees according to the price of the day in the area and to the transportation costs until Murăş considering the difficult roads."⁴⁷ He thus sees that by understanding the way in which economy functions, he can also understand how to negotiate and above all how to invest without risking a part of his capital. Thus, he can notice the lack of expertise of those who own the forests, as "it was very rare to find an owner who actually knew what his forest was worth"⁴⁸, but also the manner of understanding how the price for such raw materials was established⁴⁹, the essential condition being the one of a functional economy, of the movement of goods: he found out the price

"after he started taking rafts to Seghedin. The Jews were very careful that the wood should not be lying around, because, if they did, their price would go up. In most cases they would postpone finishing the transaction until they found a buyer and thus, they were chopping the wood they had already sold, that they had to deliver on a given date,



and he set out on a raft not to sell the wood, but in order to receive the money.”⁵⁰

Thus, a principle of market economy is brought up, focusing on the manner in which raw materials enter the commercial circuit. Slavici creates a novice-character, instructed by those holding more knowledge than him regarding trade, but at the moment he decides to apply what he learned in order to increase his own wealth, he realizes that he is still not in command of the communication skills necessary to ensure success. As compared to Iorgu, who wants to cut the forest, Corbei says:

“As long as I live no axe shall touch it. It’s the only pleasure I have left!”⁵¹ Vidu’s reply, “But I will not cut it entirely, I will just slightly reduce its size. It will become even more beautiful than it already is. Many of the oak trees have started to dry out from the top, and here and there the forest is too thick. (...) I did not waste any of the time I spent with the Jews. And—he continued obstinately – now is the time, because I have found some very good buyers.”⁵²

The youngster’s motives, partially related to taking care of the forest, and on the other hand to signing

a commercial contract on beneficial terms, remain auxiliary with Slavici, as for Corbei what is essential is family life, the traditional spirit, and not business relations, as in the case of his nephew.

The conclusions that arise from our incursion into the less known Slavici novels are connected to two aspects: the first one refers to identifying elements of incipient modernity in Transylvanian society, by analysing references generated by the interimperial situation, as it was theorized and applied in the study undertaken by Parvulescu and Boatcă. Furthermore, we also focused on the manner in which the writer’s novels reflect fundamental issues of Romanian society such as work regulations, antisemitism, the forest fund and the manner of exploiting certain basic natural resources, as well as the early stages of capitalism. We noticed an important documentary character related to the modernisation of the society in Transylvania, and in the Principalities, and alongside it also a modernisation of Romanian prose, as Slavici’s narrations become a confession of the interdependency between social and economic processes and literary and cultural ones, and implicitly, an inclusion of Romanian literature in the same European evolutionary paradigm.

Notes:

1. Anca Parvulescu and Manuela Boatcă, *Creolizing the Modern. Transylvania across Empires* (Cornell University Press, 2022), 49.
2. See Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern Worldsystem I. Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 91-92. The distinction that Wallerstein makes sharply is that there are fundamental differences “between the feudalism of medieval Europe and the ‘feudalisms’ of sixteenth century eastern Europe and Hispanic America.”
3. Parvulescu, *Creolizing the Modern*, 49.
4. See Walter D. Mignolo. “The Geopolitics of Knowledge and the Colonial Difference,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 1 (2002): 57-96.
5. Parvulescu, *Creolizing the Modern*, 11.
6. Caius Dobrescu, “‘Soft’ Commerce and the Thinning of Empires: Four Steps toward Modernity Caius,” in *Romanian Literature as World Literature*, eds. Mircea Martin, Christian Moraru, and Andrei Terian (New York: Bloomsbury, 2018), 90.
7. Dumitru Micu, “Un Balzac al satului ardelean,” *Convorbiri literare* 15 (1972): 5.
8. G. Călinescu, *Istoria*, 445.
9. Mignolo. “The Geopolitics of Knowledge,” 60.
10. Ibid.
11. Ioan Slavici, *Opere. IV. Din două lumi. Cel din urmă Armaș. Corbei. Din păcat în păcat* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 2003), 565
12. Slavici, *Opere. IV*, 565.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
15. Al. Piru, *Varia. Studii și observații critice* (Bucharest: Editura Eminescu, 1973), 179.
16. See also Daniel Vighi, *Onoarea și Onorariul* (Bucharest: Editura Cartea Românească, 2007) for the discussion concerning the capitalism germs in Slavici novels.
17. Slavici, *Opere. IV*, 568.
18. The travels the protagonists undertake place certain spaces on the narrative map, for example important cities of the Empire: “Passing towards Vienna, it would be a pity not to stop in Pesta and not to visit Buda, the ancient citadel with its numerous

- elements of beauty, as well as the isle of Margret and all the rest. They reached Vienna only on the weekend (...) and the Alps are nearby and Venice with its infinite sea-blue is not that far away.” (Slavici: 666–667)
19. Slavici, *Opere. IV*, 568.
 20. *Ibid.*, 572.
 21. Parvulescu, *Creolizing the Modern*, 23.
 22. See Chapter “The longue duree of enslavement: Extracting Labor from Romani Music” from Parvulescu and Boatcă, *Creolizing the Modern*.
 23. Slavici, *Opere. IV*, 573.
 24. *Ibid.*, 573.
 25. Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: Mcgibbon & Kee, 1961), 38
 26. Slavici, *Opere. IV*, 577.
 27. *Ibid.*, 578.
 28. *Ibid.*, 234.
 29. Parvulescu, *Creolizing the Modern*, 21.
 30. *Ibid.*, 246.
 31. Wallerstein, *The Modern Worldsystem I*, 91
 32. See, in this respect, the manner in which the geographical scale is faithfully reproduced, the accuracy, but also the fictional inserts in the maps drawn by Rebreanu.
 33. The best-known source of information on the statistics regarding Romanian forests is Vasile Sabău’s volume published in 1934, *Die Grundlagen der rumänischen Forstwirtschaft und ihre Bedeutung für den internationalen Holzverkehr*. Important data is also included in Constantin Giurescu’s *Istoria pădurii românești din cele mai vechi timpuri până astăzi* [History of the Romanian forests from ancient times to today] (Bucharest: Ceres 1975)
 34. Nancy Lee Peluso, “Whose woods are these? Counter-mapping forest territories in Kalimantan, Indonesia,” *Antipode* 274 (1995): 385.
 35. Parvulescu, *Creolizing the Modern*, 28.
 36. Peluso, “Whose woods are these?,” 386.
 37. Alberto Acosta, “Extractivism and Neoextractivism: Two Sides of the Same Curse,” in *Beyond Development: Alternate Visions from Latin America*, ed. M. Lang and D. Mokrani (Amsterdam: Transnational Institute and Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, 2013), 62
 38. Slavici, *Opere. IV*, 260.
 39. *Ibid.*
 40. Slavici, *Opere. IV*, 261.
 41. “Citizenship is granted by the legislative branch. Only acquiring citizenship can make the foreigner equal to the Romanian in order to be able to exercise political rights” - Article 8 of the 1866 Constitution, from the era of Charles I, referring to obtaining the Romanian citizenship, published in Monitorul – Jurnal Oficial al României nr. 142 din 1/13 iulie 1866 [Monitorul – Official Journal of Romania no. 142 of 1/13 July 1866].
 42. Slavici, *Opere. IV*, 249
 43. *Ibid.*, 670.
 44. *Ibid.*, 673.
 45. Parvulescu, *Creolizing the Modern*, 62.
 46. *Ibid.*, 671.
 47. *Ibid.*, 670.
 48. *Ibid.*, 671.
 49. See also the discussion about raw materials and the quasicolonial relationship in East Europe, provided in Parvulescu, *Creolizing the Modern*, 46.
 50. *Ibid.*
 51. *Ibid.*
 52. *Ibid.*, 677.

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