

Making the Intermediaries: The Romanian Book Market in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century Between Economics and Culture

Ioana MOROȘAN

G. Călinescu Institute of Literary History and Theory, Romanian Academy
Corresponding author emails: morosan.gyongyi@gmail.com

Making the Intermediaries: The Romanian Book Market in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century Between Economics and Culture The visit of the royal family to Transylvania in the context of the year 1919

Abstract: The present paper is the first introductory entry of a research project that largely questions the autonomy of Romanian publishing infrastructure during the last part of the nineteenth Century (1860-1900). More specifically, I endeavor to shape the limits of the professionalization of the Romanian publishing field in the last decades of the nineteenth Century, a pivotal period regarding the establishment of the professional profile of the publisher and the role of intermediaries in the local literary field. The degree of professionalization is understood concerning the field's degree of autonomy. As a minor culture that after the 1848 Revolution built the national agenda around the foundation of national cultural and linguistic identity, the Romanian publishing field faced two great impediments: the subsumption of the editorial agenda by national stakes, and a poor educational and academic infrastructure. The latter affected the formation of specific competencies of cultural agents responsible for the dissemination of cultural products, on the one hand, while the former is responsible for the reduction of readership, on the other. The involvement of foreign intellectuals in Romanian literary life compensated for this lack of skills in making culture, especially in widening access to culture. Furthermore, the economic aspect made difficult publishing activities by the insertion of this quite fragile economic sector into the market system. This fact determined publishers to ultimately replace the cultural and literary stakes with commercial ones. From this standpoint, publishers and editors are first defined as merchants and then as cultural agents. The introduction of the first copyright legislation, in 1862, does not balance the asymmetric relationship between writers and publishers, both interests revolving rather out of pure cultural recognition and symbolic gain. Thus, I attempt to highlight the significant contributions of foreign intermediaries especially concerning the economic and national constraints.

Keywords: Romanian publishing infrastructure, editors, economic constraints, copyright legislation, professionalization.

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The establishment and the professionalization of the publisher's position in the cultural field during the second half of the nineteenth century occurred against the background of the political and social shifts marked by the Revolution of 1848. The Romanian cultural production had been linked to the process

of building the national identity and local cultural values.¹ Beyond the cultural aspect and national project, the development of the book market had been in an impasse under the economic aspect, in the context of the transition to the market economy. Along with the modernization of the Romanian economic system by the adaptation of its trading system to the capitalist Western system,² the local book market was absorbed in this process of modernization as it had been compelled to the rigors of the free market based on the principle of demand and supply, as we can further see. The economic impediment will reveal the social factor that puts in difficulty editors' efforts to grow the publishing industry. The high cost of books and the low rates of literacy during this period make book consumption a silent instance along with the high costs of printing. These conditions pushed editors to pivot onto a mercantile orientation of their business, thus the first editors in Romania were booksellers at the same time, as they were selling not only books, but many types of stationery products such as calendars, pens, and even food (jam or candies)³. For instance, Ioan V. Socec was complaining about the situation of the Romanian bookstores: "book store, close to the ruin, was able to keep up only due to the auxiliary commerce with of stationery products, antique books, knick-knacks, handmade objects, etc."⁴

Moreover, many of the editors were complaining about the high cost of foreign rights that made translation quite unaffordable at the moment, although Romania was still not part of the Bern Convention⁵ at that time, and the informal import of books was deemed outlawed. As such, the acquisition of foreign rights was financially unfeasible for Romanian editors because of the price, according to C.A. Rosetti, who was complaining about the high rate of royalties practiced by the Western publishers who dealt with Romanian editors.⁶ Also worth noting is that for many editors, the stake of their editorial activity was deeply politically committed under the context of consolidating liberalism and its ethos on the one hand, and under the responsibility for the reinforcement of the national project as it regards cultural identity. Thus, the role of writers and editors had been revolving around the national stakes. While in Western countries the concept of large-scale production of sales-minded mass-market literature, had been established, in Romania, the activity of writers was involved in the national projects and satisfied the needs of the society subjected to the radical transformations.⁷ Considering the book market development under these three main social, cultural, and political forms: liberalism, capitalist trade market, and national aims; the study attempts to loop the peripheral dimension of the local culture that comes out at the level of the establishment of the Romanian book industry through the models of exercising political and economic constraints on printing and publishers' activity, as well as the foreign contribution to the local development of cultural infrastructure.

The Role of Foreigners in the Construction of the Publishing Professions

According to Alex Drace-Francis, many foreign travelers who came to Romania during the nineteenth Century noticed that the foreign influence on the articulation of Romanian culture had been pivotal. Moreover, they also take into account the regular Romanians' lack of interest in local cultural production and a lack of tradition and knowledge regarding the shaping of a new particular cultural taste. This fact allowed room for foreign editors and merchants who conducted many cultural projects that contributed to the development of the Romanian book industry. For instance, at the beginning of the nineteenth

1. Junimea's publishing and intellectual program had deemed that the book's circulation aim is a national one, first of all; see Bogdan Popa, *Comertul cu carte în România: proiect national si proiect economic: a doua jumatate a secolului al XIX-lea-începutul secolului al XX-lea* (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, 2015), 24.

2. Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building, and Ethnic Struggle, 1918–1930* (NY: Cornell University Press, 2000). also see for the case of Transylvania, Manuela Boatcă and Anca Parvulescu, *Creolizing the Modern: Transylvania Across Empires* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002)

3. see I.I.V Socec, *Cuvânt înainte*, *Buletinul Oficial al Asociației Generale a Librarilor din România* I, no. 1, October 1 (1903): 3.

4. „librăria învecinată cu ruina, s-a putut menține numai grație comerțului auxiliar de papetărie, antiquariat, mărunțisuri, manufactură etc.” I.I V. Socec, *op.cit.*

5. Berne Convention was founded in 1886 and aims to regulate, at the international level, the legislation of copyright and of books' circulation. Romania starts to be part of the Convention starting in 1926, see Barbu I. Scondăcescu, Dumitru I. Devesel, Constantin N. Duma, *Legea asupra proprietății literare și artistice. Comentată și adnotată* (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 1924), 15.

6. C.A. Rosetti, *Correspondență* (Bucharest: Minerva, 1980), 269.

7. Leon Volovici, *Apariția scriitorului în cultura română* (Iasi: Editura Junimea, 1976), 130.

Ionnițoiu, *Istoria editurii românești* (Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 1923), 132.

century, François Recordon came to Bucharest where he worked as a teacher. He observed that signs of Western influences were emerging especially among upper-middle-class people. The cultural transfer became clearer as soon as many boyars sent their children (sons) to Western universities for studies. On the other hand, the effects of international trade became very visible in Romania as well. The cultural transfer that interferes with the sphere of local intellectuals' production of ideas became strongly linked to the idea of the nation and state and has been upheld through import. The important agents of transfers were foreigners who contributed to the development of the local trade system. That fact is understandable considering that the intellectual and literary fractions from Romania are focused on consolidating "an original national taste" and "the idea of national culture", on the one hand; but, on the other hand, the development of the local cultural system was facing its minor and recent dimensions, as well as locals' disinterestedness in cultural production. For instance, according to another French visitor in the nineteenth century who also worked as a teacher, Laurencon, "he remarked that it was rare to find a book in the hands of a boyar or his wife, and that the favoured entertainment of the young was to spit into the lake at Herăstrău outside Bucharest, and marvel at the ripples thereby caused."⁸ In this vein, the process of cultural articulation undoubtedly reclaims foreign stimulation. Starting from the first history dedicated to the history of Romanian publishing, written by Theodor Ionițoiu, who was himself a publisher, the role of foreign entrepreneurs in the construction of the local cultural infrastructure was significant. According to Ionițoiu's history of books and publishing, the beginnings of the Romanian book print's establishment are mainly related to Western businessmen who were also selling books in their stores, along with other commodities.

Even the term by the concept of the publisher had been designated at that time as a translated word from German – *ferlăgar*⁹ [*germ. Verleger*]. That has to do with the practice of book printing, which was widespread in Transylvania, especially among the Saxons, as well as many German-speaking foreign entrepreneurs' involvement in the foundation and development of the local book market¹⁰. The profession of the editor is, first of all, tightly related to the occupation of bookselling, as the practice of book printing went hand in hand with its selling, the commercial purpose being pivotal for the merchants¹¹. Moreover, the first booksellers in the Romanian territories were mainly foreigners who imported Western commodities into Romania.¹² Thus, the beginnings of book distribution in Romania are tied to Westerners' involvement in trade within the Romanian-speaking territories. In this vein, one of the first booksellers was a Swiss merchant, Fr. Bell in Iași,¹³ who sold books only in French. An important role in the development of the Transylvanian book market and print had been played by Samuel Filtsch, one of the most influential Saxon scholars at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who founded in 1826 a book enterprise that had been taken over by his successor, W. Krafft. Although their cultural agenda was mainly focused on book printing and distribution in German, they contributed significantly to the dissemination of texts in Romanian as well, as Ionițoiu pointed out.¹⁴

At the beginning of the nineteenth Century, the book enterprise held by Friederich Wallbaum had been first led by a Saxon from Sibiu, attested under the name of Thierry.¹⁵ The library held by F. Wallbaum exceeded its cultural and commercial role, as it served as an important space for the coagulation and gatherings of the German Lutheran minority from Bucharest. Further, the enterprise was taken over by C.A. Rosetti and Erik Winterhalder,¹⁶ their publishing was the most specialized and well-equipped at that time.¹⁷ Before founding the enterprise, C.A. Rosetti and Winterhalder had frequented during their youth liberal circles and graduated from political schools focused on liberal-democratic topics. They

8. Ibid., 35.

9. Ionițoiu, *Istoria editurii românești*, 103.

10. During the last decades of the nineteenth century until the inter-war period, many of the publishing houses were led by foreigners, especially Germans, Ibid., p. 128.

11. Ion Heliade Rădulescu, *Opere III* [Complete Works vol III] (Bucharest: Minerva, 1975), 395-398.

12. see Constantin A. Stoide, *Comerțul cu cărți dintre Transilvania, Moldova și Țara Românească între 1730-1830* (Iași: Demiurg, 2005), 131.

13. Ionițoiu, *Istoria editurii românești*, 125.

14. Ibid., 209.

15. see Gheorghe Zane, "Enric Winterhalder tipograf, revoluționar la '48, ideolog și economist liberal," în Gheorghe Zane, *Studii*, studiu introductiv de Costin Murgescu, ed. îngrijită de Elena Zane (Bucharest: Editura Eminescu, 1980), 407.

16. Popa, *Comertul cu carte*, 30.

17. Zane, "Enric Winterhalder tipograf," 403.



were undoubtedly the most emergent intellectual revolutionary figures during the 1848 Revolution. In cultural and social terms, the peripheral position of the Romanian culture is revealed by the Westerners who bore witness to it, as they either find Romania as an “unknown culture,” as a “strangeness,” which means the “exotification” of the East, but also its minor and dominated status are already deeply embedded; or they are on their way of recovering after a familial bankruptcy, as it happens in the case of E. Winterhalder. In this vein, coming to Romania means a chance to regain a lost social status in their home country, obviously made possible in a much less developed country that was faced with poverty and a lack of resources. No doubt that many foreign intellectuals were (self)-exiled because of their unsatisfying or even degraded social conditions in their origin countries. As such, the monographic writing dedicated to book editors from this period wrote down that the case of Winterhalder is illustrative in this order: “The reason for leaving would have been the need to ensure an existence after his father’s decay. He was not bringing with him any life experience or a weighty name and in no way a heritage. He was as poor as regular emigrants.”¹⁸

Moreover, foreign intellectuals’ importance can be measured through their involvement in the development of political and cultural ideas, on the one hand, as well as their strategy for establishing the books’ circulation, on the other. For instance, E. Winterhalder played an important role in conducting the liberal political agenda. Since moving to Romania, he entered into fellowship with Ion Cămpineanu’s circle, an important revolutionary organization, especially for young intellectuals with a liberal-leaning. As such, Winterhalder contributed to the foundation of many liberal projects; for example, along with the publishing activity, he also edited with C.A. Rosetti the liberal revolutionary magazine “Pruncu Român.”¹⁹

Also worth noting is the fact that many foreign publishers represented key figures by their contribution to the extension of literary infrastructure and enlarging access to books as well as the growth of local readership. The fact concerns their competencies and specific tradition of literacy and literary practices, both writing and publishing in German or French-speaking cultures. Thus, under the condition of book circulation restriction due to the unaffordable price of books, the German publisher Friederich Wallbaum introduced in Bucharest the concept of a *circulating library* (*Leihbibliothek*), which had already been implemented in the West since the middle of the eighteenth Century as a solution for the low rate of book consumption because of its unaffordability. Due to Wallbaum’s project, the act of reading got through its pivotal phase of democratization, making it more accessible for larger social categories.²⁰ After the enterprise had been taken over by C.A. Rosetti and E. Winterhalder in 1845-1846, the library prolonged the model established by their predecessor. Based on the contemporary intellectuals’ evidence, E. Winterhalder led the library around independently, as Rosetti’s contribution could be measured through his financial involvement and entrepreneurial activity rather than the cultural dimension of their library’s organization²¹. The role of foreigners in the organization and development of the Romanian book market had to do with the marginal position of education as well as the higher education system that can provide access to certain specific competencies such as cultural or intellectual professions. Thus, intellectuals and foreigners played a pivotal role as it regards the stimulation of the establishment of the Romanian book infrastructure under precarious educational, social, and cultural conditions in the Romanian-speaking territories. Also, as in Romania, the profession of the publisher had been not governed at the time by “a code of professional ethic nor protected by a rigorous jurisdiction”²² resulting from a local tradition of book printing; the significant involvement of the foreigners enabled to tie the specialization of the position of intermediaries (as a cultural instance between writers and readership²³) to the moment of opening the local literature and

18. “Cauza plecării [lui Winterhalder din Viena] ar fi fost nevoia de a-și asigura o existență în urma ruinării tatălui. Nu aducea cu dânsul vreo experiență de viață, un nume, iar despre avere nici vorba; era ca orice emigrant, sărac” (my trans.), *ibid.*, 404.

19. C. A. Rosetti ca tipograf: omagiu din partea Institutului de Arte Grafice “Carol Göbl” S-sor I. St. Rasidescu cu ocaziunea desvelirii monumentului seu [în ziua de 20 aprilie 1903] (Bucharest: Institutul de Arte Grafice “Carol Göbl”, 1903), 17.

20. Popa, *Comerțul cu carte*, 29.

21. Zane, “Enric Winterhalder tipograf,” 408.

22. cf. Gisèle Sapiro, “Je n’ai jamais appris à écrire”: les conditions de formation de la vocation d’écrivain,” *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 168 (2007): 13-33.

23. see Gisèle Sapiro, Cécile Rabot, *Profession? Écrivain* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2017).

culture to the West. From this standpoint, these intellectual and cultural professions, such as publishing or writing, could be seen as an imported profession, on the one hand. On the other, this profession was relatively precarious, from a social point of view, as well as a challenging occupation for Romanian intellectuals due to the educational system, and social and resource crises²⁴. All these factors reveal the (semi)peripheral position of Romanian culture, during the last decades of the nineteenth Century in Europe, in comparison to the Western hegemonic cultures, where the publishing infrastructure had been already established and professionalized in terms of context.

The Professionalisation of the Publishing Infrastructure: Publishers between National Stakes and Economic Constraints

The uneven position of Eastern Europe raised against the background of the Revolution of 1848 by local trends of founding their national identity via "gathering of knowledge about music, literature and other forms of artistic expression."²⁵ Thus, as we can further see, the development of the literary was marked by foreign capital based on the foreign entrepreneurs' knowledge and competencies, as well as by the political agenda that shaped the cultural and aesthetic program of the book industry, on the one hand, and by the economic interests, on the other.

As Paul Cornea pointed out in his study dedicated to the origin of Romanian Romanticism, the articulation of Romanian cultural paradigms during the nineteenth century had been split between national sources of recovery and openness in front of other cultures and, implicitly, in front of translation. For instance, intellectuals and publishers such as Ion Heliade Rădulescu or Gheorghe Asachi the openness to other literatures meant the modernization of local language, culture, and taste.²⁶ On the other hand, "Dacia literară" conducted by M. Kogălniceanu and his peers such as C. Negruzzi actively encouraged the cultivation of national sources more than imitating Western models²⁷, while Transylvanian intellectuals and writers (such as those who built up the "Școala Ardeleană") stressed the Latin origins of Romanians, as well as the Romanian continuity in Transylvania. In any case, the national stakes played a pivotal role in how publishers and writers defined their agenda. Beyond this aspect, translation serves as an important way to compensate for the small production of local fictional materials. The resistance in front of translation practiced by many intellectual fractions is diminished by the interests of editors to supply their editorial agenda that could not be covered by the local literary production.²⁸

The emergence of the market constrained publishers to split their editorial agenda between ideological, cultural (in terms of national consolidation), and economic stakes. Against this background, two important directions divided the perspectives on the role of intellectuals, writers, publishers, and librarians from a juridical point of view. The first discussions regarding the specialization of copyright legislation occurred through the debates of Constantin Hamangiu and Constantin Dissescu, two emergent figures in the legal field in the last decades of the nineteenth Century. On the one hand, Dissescu held up the means of writers and intellectuals to produce cultural value without mercantile interests, the act of cultural production is seen as a symbolic occupation that serves the cultural needs of nations and cultures²⁹. On the other, his position-taking is abolished by the Minister of Justice, Constantin Hamangiu, who stands up for the importance of the professionalization of writing, editing, and printing occupation by the insertion of literary and cultural goods within the transactional system of goods; according to Hamangiu, authors have to be very well paid for their occupation and be able to make a living from writing. From this standpoint, C. Hamangiu considered the importance of authors' remuneration, according to the intellectual rights legislation established in 1862, as an important phase

24. see M.A Corradini, "Hai la vorbă!," in Paul Cornea and Mihai Zamfir, *Gândirea românească în epoca pașoptistă (1830-1860)*, vol. 1 (Bucharest: Editura pentru Literatură, 1968), 127.

25. Christopher Clark, *Revolutionary Spring: Fighting for a New World*, 2nd edition (London: Penguin Book, 2023), 311.

26. Paul Cornea, *Originile romantismului românesc. Spiritul public, mișcarea ideilor și literatura între 1780-1840*. Bucharest: Cartea Românească, 2008, 422.

27. Ibid., 499.

28. Ibid., 395.

29. Constantin Dissescu, *Dreptului constituțional: istoria dreptului public, dreptul public comparat, teoria generală a statului, dreptul constituțional al României*, ediția a III-a (Bucharest: Socec, 1915), 507.

of the modernization of Romanian culture.³⁰ Nevertheless, many Romanian intellectuals deemed the introduction of the idea of profit would negatively influence the act of writing, cultural, artistic, and intellectual production as the act of creation would be financially motivated and interesting. For instance, since the beginning of the nineteenth Century, Dinicu Golescu noted the way cultural modernization and national projects of social development are mainly based on cultural production that must be economically disinterested.³¹

The establishment of the first intellectual rights legislation in 1862 marked the first important phase of the professionalization of the Romanian book industry, both writing and publishing occupation. Before the legislation's implementation, the publishing industry's professionalization was tied to I.H. Rădulescu, one of the most important publishers at the time, who proposed to establish a "Central National Library" that was meant to guarantee a profit for editors and enlarge the channels of book distribution. According to his project, the books were sold by different kinds of intermediaries such as priests, teachers, or merchants, and the association retained a percentage of the sales. Rădulescu's effort of the professionalization of the relationships between writers and editors occurred against the background of the author's rights law establishing and implementation.³² The legislative structure of the rights law was mainly profiled after the French legislation of *droit d'auteur*. The French model of *droit d'auteur* has to do with the moral implication of writers regarding their works despite the copyright legislation that is focused on the economic aspect of the relationship between writers – works, and editors.³³ As an effect, the legislation of intellectual rights could not protect writers financially. The author's rights were often negotiated, whereas the writers' work was poorly paid. Moreover, according to the copyright agreement from 1869 between Dimitrie Bolintineanu and the editor Ioan V. Soccec, the printing cost was entirely covered by the publisher, and print runs were about 15000 copies, which was a generous print run for a Romanian author; but the text editing and revising were obligations of the author. The precarious condition of Bolintineanu who tried to make a living from the writing profession is well-known and documented.³⁴ The mercantile motivation of the editor-librarians will determine jurists specialized in intellectual rights legislation, in the inter-war period, to decline the rights legislation implemented in 1862 and to express the need for professionalization of the writing occupation by improving its legislation: "Our literature and art have taken new shape that the jurists from 1862 did not imagine. The relationship between writers and editors regarding some material benefits has become very frequent and very complex whereas it is impossible to leave it under the vague regime of the law still in effect."³⁵ Also, they were complaining about the precarious status and insufficiency of the local legislation compared to the Western rigorous copyright laws.³⁶

Starting from the last decades of the nineteenth Century and at the beginning of the twentieth Century, the differences between these two professional identities started to be articulated. Thus, an editor is gradually associated with the profile of a cultural agent whose role is to "publish an author's text", while the role of a publisher is to sell the books and assure their circulation³⁷. From this point, since the end of the nineteenth Century, the editor is identified with the concept of *gatekeeper*. More specifically, the notion of gatekeeper, in Pierre Bourdieu's terms, is understanding the mediation act between "the production of symbolic and cultural goods, on the one hand, and the production of cultural taste, on the other."³⁸ As Bourdieu defined the function of the editor in the absence of a

30. Constantin Hamangiu, *Scriitori și artiști. Studiu asupra dreptului lor*. Bucharest: Editura Librăriei Carol Müller, 1987), 22.

31. see Dinicu Golescu, *Scrieri* (Bucharest: Minerva, 1990), XXXIII.

32. Andrei Pippidi, "Despre tipografia lui Eliade Rădulescu la 1848," *Studii și cercetări de bibliologie*, XIII (1974): 173-174.

33. see Gisèle Sapiro, "Droit et histoire de la littérature: la construction de la notion d'auteur," *Revue d'histoire de XIX siècle* 48 (2014): 107-122.

34. Popa, *Comerțul cu carte*, 71-72.

35. "Literatura și arta noastră au luat dezvoltări pe care legiutorii din 1862 ne le puteau bănuî. Raporturile dintre autori și editori, în vederea unor beneficii materiale, au devenit așa de frecvente și așa de complexe încât e peste putință a le lăsa sub regimul vag al legii în vigoare" (my translation). Scondăcescu, Devesel, and Duma, *Legea asupra proprietății literare și artistice*, 2.

36. Ibid., 2-4.

37. Popa, *Comerțul cu carte*, 48.

38. see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction – The Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2015).

specific certification through the force of “election” that serves as a certification and the first symbolic recognition of an author’s manuscript³⁹; the editor is considered in the Romanian publishing field from the end of the nineteenth Century, a cultural agent who is invested with the power of decision on manuscripts and authors. In other words, at the time, the editor is deemed in Romanian culture as a gatekeeper and is recognized for his/ her pivotal role in making the local culture and literature, as well as their involvement regarding the routes of books (in both terms of books success or failure).⁴⁰

The instauration of the economic principle of the market against the background of increasing liberal influences and the need for social and economic modernization after the Western capitalist model led to certain difficulties regarding the professionalization of the writing profession. The capitalist model in the publishing infrastructure led editors to often prioritize the economic aspect, while the financial compensation for writers is mostly neglected. According to Ionnițoiu’s history dedicated to Romanian publishing, the role of cultural intermediaries was to obtain profit from cultural production.⁴¹ Due to economic issues, many intellectuals consider this aspect responsible for the local cultural and literary development. As such, Nicolae Iorga deplored Romanian writers’ social condition at the end of the nineteenth Century, as the occupation of writing remains a symbolic profession even after the introduction of intellectual rights legislation, in 1862. Moreover, as the writing profession could not earn one’s living, writers were compelled to get a second professional position, called in Bourdieu’s term *profession « alimentaire »*⁴², which is often not related to their cultural competencies.

During the second half of the nineteenth Century, the Romanian publishing industry was stuck between economic constraints and cultural affinities quite often engulfed by the ideological options of publishers and the needs reclaimed by the project of the construction and consolidation of the national identity. From this standpoint, at the moment both the publisher and librarian are considered first of all merchants rather than cultural agents. Nonetheless, as I already mentioned, editors were invested not only with the role of gatekeeping, but they were important agents regarding their involvement in literary life, although their purpose was an economically interested one: “the editor [between 1860-1940] is responsible with the coagulation of a writers group through they tried to assure the commercial successful of their enterprise”⁴³. Thus, the market system that defines the way of functioning of the publishing infrastructure contributes to the highlighting of the hierarchy between editors and writers. While editors occupy a decisional position being able to select and offer legitimation because they own the economic capital and the means of cultural production, and their purpose is to extend the existing social and economic capital; writers are silenced and motivated by the social competition and advantages, in this vein being transformed into an “intellectual workers.”⁴⁴ All publishers and editors were firstly economically interested, against this background is illustrative Ion Heliade Rădulescu’s attitude – one of the most emergent figures regarding the disinterested creation in the purpose of extending the national culture⁴⁵ – in front of writers, as the economic negotiations were the main point in cultural transactions: “as it regards the printing, let Costache Negruzzi not deal with Eliad; rather let he who pays for his book to be printed with the master of the publishing house who receives the money.”⁴⁶ This fact reveals a self-funding system as an auxiliary support for publishing in book printing.

As an effect, the publishing infrastructure is defined in the last decades of the nineteenth Century by the external constraints and the difficulties that publishing faced having to do with the local exception of the publishing infrastructure, supposed to be profitable on its own. The fact that books had to serve the national stakes of articulating a cultural identity amplified the economic constraints, as cultural

39. see Pierre Bourdieu, “La Production de la croyance: contribution à une économie des biens symboliques,” *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 13 (1977): 3-43.

40. Popa, *Comerțul cu carte*, 47.

41. Ionnițoiu, *Istoria editurii românești*, 122-124.

42. see Pierre Bourdieu, “Le champ littéraire,” *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 89 (1991): 3-46.

43. “editorul este responsabil de coagularea unui grup de scriitori prin care să asigure succesul întreprinderii sale comerciale.” Popa, *Comerțul cu carte*, 52.

44. see Sapiro, Rabot.

45. Ibid., 32-33.

46. “În privința tiparului să nu vorbească Negruzzi cu Eliad, ci cel care plătește bani ca să-și tipărească cartea cu stăpânul tipografiei, care ia banii” (my translation). See Ion Heliade Rădulescu, *Scrisori și acte* (Bucharest: Minerva, 1972), 27.



poverty is equal to social and economic poverty and the major social discrepancies between classes.⁴⁷ Regarding the relative autonomy in the publishers' selection and editorial agenda – "that expresses both an ideological and a strategic program"⁴⁸ – worth noting that the need for assertion and competition among them concerning their position in the Romanian culture also exerted significant influences on the selection of translation. For instance, at the end of the nineteenth century, the dominant French influence started to be questioned. Against this background, as an effect of "compensation," all cultures, especially those deemed under the development constituted targeted sources-cultures for translation. The organization of publishers during the end of the nineteenth century can be seen in clusters as they homologated source-cultures after the interest in the popularity and prestige of their literature: publishers specialized in French literature turned towards Spanish literature "for it to carry on its prestigious legacy,"⁴⁹ Central European literature is mostly translated by publishers focused on English translations, etc. As such, a sort of "kin selection occurs in modern editorial markets."⁵⁰ From this standpoint, the development of publishing infrastructure, although a clear sign that Romanian literature and culture reached the level of Western cultural modernity; at the same time, is a victim of the national acceleration in terms of economic and social modernization, as the fragility of the publishing field is completely disregarded.

The difficulties tied to the crisis of paper represented another hindrance regarding the development of publishing infrastructure and amplified publishers' responsibility, as they were not only compelled to face the rules of the market and the national project's constraints, but they were also responsible for preparing the primary materials for printing. Thus, the majority of publishers also owned a platform for paper production and distribution. For instance, Ioan V. Socec founded one of Romania's most important paper factories in 1888; the Ioanid family's paper factory, founded in 1880, was the other important such establishment. The crisis of paper was a clear effect of the peripheral position of Romania in front of hegemonic states. According to the inter-war history of the economy, the crisis of wood, and implicitly of paper, is marked by the difficulties of import from the Austro-Hungarian Empire⁵¹.

Conclusions

The crisis of paper, the expense of printing and book production, the poor level of literacy in Romanian-speaking territories as well and the absence of a modern, active, cultural life (gatherings, literary circles, cenacles, literary salons, etc.)⁵² determine the first intermediaries to exercise their survival skills in a place where the publishing act is not stimulated by state aid even though the portfolio of publishers had been politically very engaged, as they also served the national causes. Moreover, the increased number of foreigners who contributed to the development of publishing infrastructure compensates for the hiatus of entrepreneurial and cultural management-specific competencies within a place where specialization of the higher education system and the cultural identity itself were still in their infancy. From this standpoint, as in many cultural forms, the professional identity of an editor is partially an imported cultural and professional posture in the Romanian cultural field. As I have already shown, many important forms of book dissemination and enlargement access to the book were implemented after the Western model (especially the German one). In the same vein, in the case of one of the most important publishing from the nineteenth Century (C.A. Rosetti and E. Winterhalder's publishing), it could be seen the cultural contribution of Winterhalder in comparison to C.A. Rosetti, who was mainly engaged in the entrepreneurial part of the editorial project. Also, the publishing field was meant to solve the social problem imposed by the issue of illiteracy by printing didactic books and responding to the extension of the educational system⁵³. In other words, the merit of the first publishers from the nineteenth Century is based not only on the establishment of the professional profile as gatekeepers but also on how they enabled books to circulate within a rather rough cultural environment, where

47. Popa, *Comerțul cu carte*, 16.

48. Ștefan Baghiu and Emanuel Modoc, "Compensation and Kin Selection in the Long Nineteenth Century Translationscapes," *Metacritic Journal for Comparative Studies and Theory* 8, no. 1 (2022): 216-229.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. Popa, *Comerțul cu carte*, 65.

52. The modern form of cultural life starts to articulate barely since the inter-war period, see Volovici, 23.

53. Ionnițoiu, *Legea*, 132.

they helped shape the foundations that made a publishing infrastructure functional and viable. Worth noting is that more than a competition for profit, all publishers' cohesion during the last decades of the nineteenth Century was reclaimed by the need to create the entire industry necessary for their profession: paper factories, promoting channels, and projects of book dissemination, as well as the new cultural and political ideas through their magazines. From this perspective, publishers are organized as a professional specialized *corp*⁵⁴ among the liberal intellectual class articulated after the Revolution of 1848. The Romanian publishing infrastructure had a particularly difficult history regarding its professionalization during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the economic or political constraints represent only a part of the difficulties that the local publishing industry had to face.

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54. cf. Elena Siupur, *Intelectuali, elite, clase politice în sud-estul european, Secolul XIX* (Bucharest: Editura Dominor, 2004).



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