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**ALEXANDRU ANDRIȚOIU AND THE FIFTH
SERIES OF THE „FAMILIA” JOURNAL: A STUDY IN
THE AESTHETIC-POLITICAL INTERACTIONISM**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF Ph.D. IN PHILOLOGY**

ABSTRACT

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Keywords: Alexandru Andrițoiu, the "Familia" Journal, aesthetics, poetics, politics, interrelationship, cultural narratives, legitimating narratives, historical context, genotype, phenotype, interwar modernism, socialist realism, literary generation, postmodernism, ideological thaw, multiculturalism, political regime.

As one can infer from the title, *Alexandru Andrițoiu and the fifth series of the journal "Family": a study of the aesthetic-political interrelation*, the present thesis has an interdisciplinary character, the approach straddling several humanistic disciplines, such as literature, history, aesthetics, political philosophy, cultural anthropology and sociology. We had to investigate, among other aspects, moments and events in the political history of Romania in the later half of the last century, covering the two phases of Romanian communism whose timeline includes Alexandru Andrițoiu's emergence as a poet, and, his appointment as Director of the „Familia” Editorial Board. The complexity of the undertaking was a challenge, not only in dealing with the contradictory aspects of the culture and literature of the period, but also in the effort to channel our the investigation into related fields, such as history, geography, philosophy , aesthetics, political science, sociology, etc.

The finality of our research is not only to re-assess tradition according to new approaches, but also to look at it from the perspective of new methods and terminology, launched by recent schools of literary theory.

The working hypothesis is that the „Familia” Journal was a very special case in the history of Romanian culture and among all our literary journals along all the five stages of its existence, obviously with variations determined used by the specificity of the historical moment or of the social-political context. Thus, for example, under the straining conditions of the Austro-Hungarian dualism, between June 6, 1865 and December 31, 1906, the first series of „Familia”, under Iosif Vulcan, had to defend national identity, representing a bastion in the western area of Romanianism.

If sociologists say that culture is a subsystem of social life, then literature could be said to be a social microsystem. The chosen topic gives us the opportunity to demonstrate that the influence of the social-political context on culture does exist - to a greater or lesser extent - in all historical eras, but especially in the time of dictatorial, totalitarian regimes. At times like these the influence of the political factor bears not only upon writers - forced to comply

with rigid rules imposed by censorship -, but also on cultural institutions, such as publishing houses, theatres, cultural periodicals, etc.

The main objective of the present thesis is to investigate the ways in which the aesthetic-political interrelation worked in the particular case of the „Familia” journal in the 1965-1989 interval. Setting out to examine the impact of the political factor on literature, we did not focus on an individual author, but on a form of institutionalized culture, such as a periodical publication, because the pressure of the power structure manifests itself here more actively out of the desire to control a public discourse with wide addressability and influence among the reading public. The influence of the political factor on culture is evident in any literary periodical, but „Familia” is of special interest, as it is here that we can identify a more revelatory intersection of the heterogeneous directions in the period considered to be one of ideological thaw, which would have been due to the government of Nicolae Ceaușescu. The truth is that the end of the Stalinist dictatorship in the Soviet Union, as well as the new European political climate after 1960, had made it impossible for politicians to perpetuate the reign of terror throughout the 1950s. Unfortunately, however, the change was never profound, the year 1971 marking the return to indoctrination and control exercised, on the one hand, by the state over the individual, and on the other hand by the party and the forces of political repression over cultural institutions and, implicitly, on the creators of spiritual goods, writers in particular. It is in this sense that the Andrițoiu case becomes a symptomatic one; he became Editor-in-Chief of the fifth series of the „Familia” journal in September 1965, resigning in December 1989 – an act considered to have the symbolic value of the collapse of the communist regime. Alexandru Andrițoiu stands out among his fellow editors-in-chief of the other literary journals of the time, becoming himself a case in point, being the only one who ran a literary magazine exactly within the chronological limits of the Ceaușescu government, i.e. in the second stage of Romanian communism. His writing personality, as well as the role he had in the existence of the „Familia” and in the management of the editorial team require careful analysis, with much discernment, *sine ira et studio*, yet from a revisionist perspective: "The role of the literary historian - considers, in this context, Maria-Ana Tupan - is to reevaluate the tradition according to new ways of reception, that is, from the perspective and with the new methods provided by recent advancements in literary theory, which set in a new light the relevance of the classics for the present time. Political sensationalism is more

suitable for other types of discourse (...). In literary life, however, the processes of intent, unmasking, demonization create a terrorist and degrading climate"¹.

The relevant theoretical field in respect to our subject allows us to combine several methods: sociological, psycho-social research, New Historicism, cultural studies, anthropology, communication studies, social criticism and others. Hippolyte Taine, who is considered one of the founding fathers of sociology, summed up the plots of Charles Dickens' novels as the individual's conflict with society. He admired, in the Victorian novelist, the language of ordinary conversation, the details of everyday life, "of a political dinner, a religious service or a sermon in church".²

In *Critical Studies*, a volume published in 1890, Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea expresses his admiration for H. Taine, this "European celebrity", who saw in Balzac the naturalist likened to a "store of documents ... on human nature" Gherea focused on mental structures created by certain social conditions, such as Eminescu's pessimism or the deception of the entire generation, categorically rejecting "Titu Maiorescu's preference for impersonality (Mallarmé's poetics) and aestheticism, evasionism".

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¹

Maria-Ana Tupan, „Interogația perenă”, în *Contemporanul. Ideea Europeană*, XXX, nr. 5, mai 2019, p. 15.

² Hippolyte Taine, *History of English Literature*, vol. 4, translated from the French by H. Van Laun, London, Chatto & Windus, 1883, p. 436.

³ Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea, *Studii critice*, vol. 1, București, Tipografia Românul, pp. 13-14.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 14

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 12

Completely different are the points of interest in the social criticism in the post-war period. Sociology gives way to a communicational model with positions and roles in the generation of the art object: patron-author-editor-critic-public, as they appear, for example, in the essay, "The Sociological Model" by George A. Huaco.⁶ Robert Escarpit himself evolves from the *Sociology of Literature*, the title of his 1958 book, to an interactional model in which "the literary fact becomes the object of study of a sociology of the writer, the work and the audience."⁷

Cultural Studies at Birmingham University, with John Stuart Hall (*Sociology of Literature*, 1979) and Raymond Williams (*Sociology of Culture*, 1981) in the foreground, contributed decisively to the study of literature in the context of the entire social semiotics.

The literature of the communist period in the history of Romania is the most conclusive example of the theory of the collective rather than individual nature of art production. The writer was positioned and conditioned by a totalitarian system, alienated by ideological pressures and the apparatus of censorship, his communication with the public depending on a rigid control apparatus exercised by institutions created to this purpose, which not only decided on the inclusion of a book in an editorial catalogue for the next year but also approved or disapproved its content controlling its public reception (or, even worse, "melting" it, i.e. destroying the print run).

However, the evaluation of literary life in the decades after the end of the war cannot be limited to a sum of negative stereotypes, especially since the writers were divided, creating a schizophrenic culture, expressing themselves in idioms that ranged from slogans and invocations eulogies of power to evasion or even ingeniously disguised ironies.

However, clearly defined profiles and unambiguous affiliations do not serve an understanding of the pathological psychology generated by totalitarianism. We were intrigued, for example, to spot, in the general picture, the case of the poet Alexandru Andrițoiu, because of his contradictory behaviour telling of a conflicted and troubled society. Writing both odes to power, especially to the supreme leader, and genuine poetry, Andrițoiu upset his audience and colleagues through some sudden changes; he played an important role, for example, in the return to literary life of some writers who had known communist prisons. I felt the need to research and understand a symptomatic figure of a period characterized by confusion, contradictions and instability.

⁶ George A. Huaco, *The Sociological Model*, in „The Sociology of Art and Literature”, edited by M. C. Albrecht, J. H. Barnett, and M. Griff, London, Duckworth, 1970, pp. 549-552.

⁷ [Robert Escarpit](#), [Charles Bouazis](#), *Le littéraire et le social: éléments pour une sociologie de la littérature*, Paris, Flammarion, 1970, p. 39.

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu may be the source of an adequate interpretive grid, his theory considering a society divided between a dominant class and one that assigns itself a marginal social position. The social structure creates, in his opinion, a certain mental structure, an assumption of an identity which also determines tastes, behaviour and affiliations. *Habitus* is his basic concept, which designates this transfer from the social to the mental. Those belonging to the lower classes, for example, will go to concerts of pop music, not classical music, will avoid the hallmarks of elegance and aesthetic behaviour, visits to art museums, etc. (*La distinction : Critique sociale du jugement*, 1979), Tastes thus appear as a consequence of being born to a certain social position and exposed to a certain education. The favouring of the two decreed ruling classes – workers and peasants - including the allocation of places in the entrance exams, and the strongly ideologized and culturally impoverished educational program were intended in post-war Romania for a biopolitics of conformity in all walks of life.

Artists saw themselves humiliated, censored and commented in factories, declared inferior in social value to the ruling proletarian classes. An adversity, perhaps unconscious, was thus born towards power, generating surprising alliances, such as that between Andritoiu and those unfavourably eyed by the power system including those who had been politically convicted.

Although the title of our study suggests three concentric circles of an interdisciplinary study - an author, a journal and their socio-political environment - the research method stays the same, that is, sociological criticism whose object was defined by its first theorist, Kenneth Burke in his essay, *Literature as Equipment for Living* (1971): the study of the influence of society on literature and the influence of literature on society. The self is located in the world, interacts with it through what Burke calls “symbols of authority.” The study of these symbols naturally directs the researcher to psychological categories because of “their relation to ethics, law, social relations, etc.”⁸.

In 1922 Walter Lippmann was already talking about the difference between the outside world and its image in our mind in *Public Opinion*. Here he capitalizes on his experience as an employee of the CREEL Committee, reputed for maneuvers to manipulate public opinion in the sense of censuring those who expressed themselves against the participation of the United States in the First World War, which it joined after all in 1917.

⁸ Kenneth Burke, “Literature as Equipment for Living”, din volumul *The Philosophy of Literary Form, Studies in Symbolic Action*, Austin, University of Texas, 2017, p. 293.

That experience had helped him to identify in the multitude of pro-war brochures, magazines and films the existence of a „representation of the unseen facts,”⁹ the „pictures inside people's heads [that] do not automatically correspond with the world outside.”¹⁰ These second-order worlds - mental images induced by propaganda and assimilated by the individual with confidence as being an authentic message - are not representations acquired through one's own experience. Lippmann notes that between humans and the environment a pseudo-environment is insinuated, where our beliefs come from, but on the basis of which we act in the real environment. The world outside can be very different from the one inside our minds. Reality becomes the effect of phantasmagoria.

If a schizoid consciousness characterizes the collective psychology of the authors of the period, it is their language that provides an answer to Pierre Bourdieu's question: But who are the authors of the "authors"?¹¹

Our study will therefore address the portrait of a writer who, if not a canonical writer of the period, is instead of great importance for understanding the relationship between literature and society/politics/ideology, a destiny that bears the distinctive marks of chameleonism, servitude, betrayal of one's own conscience but also of the ways of survival, as man and artist, in a totalitarian regime.

The Dissertation is divided into five chapters, the first of which has a theoretical, preponative character, being dedicated to general considerations regarding the current state of knowledge in the dissertation's field of reference. For example, in the first subchapter I have specified the relations that may exist between culture and literature on the one hand and society as a whole on the other. The elucidation of these aspects has required the investigation of literature's relation to the broader field of culture, or, in other words, to the subsystem of culture, which is an integral part of the global social system, of society as a whole. Literature partakes of this greater sphere, which is culture, and which in turn belongs to a concrete human community, namely society.

In another, subchapter entitled - *Resistance through literature. Conformity and opposition. Socialist realism versus the autonomy of aesthetics* - I continued the prolegomenic approach by elaborating on the relations between art and reality in general, and especially between literature and the social-political environment within which it has been produced. Taking into account the specific theoretical priority of this first chapter, I have here presented

⁹ Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1922, p. 21.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ Pierre Bourdieu, "But Who Created the Creators?", in *The Sociology of Art. A Reader*, edited by Jeremy Tanner, London & New York, Routledge, 2003, pp. 96-104.

some aspects of the *state-writer* relationship in general and, of course, especially in the time of totalitarian regimes, when one can no longer talk about the *autonomy of the aesthetic*. This was the case in our country, starting with 1948, the year of the onset of *socialist realism* in Romania, when the criteria for evaluation and formation of literature were dramatically modified.

Another subchapter looks at the place and role of culture magazines in the literature system, the personality of culture journals, and creative localism. One could even speak of a subsystem of culture journals, as they are, in fact, cultural institutions. The shaping of the personality of a publication depends on the ability of the editor of the journal to select and stimulate collaborations according to needs and programmatic principles. Taking into account the fact that a magazine's action takes place in a given cultural environment, it follows that the program of a cultural magazine must be considered not only in relation to the other periodicals, but also in relation to the place where it comes out. Depending on these coordinates, each magazine acquires an identity, because the profile of a culture magazine is also shaped by the degree to which it manages to bring to fruition the local cultural forces, dynamizing the entire spiritual life of the area and even of the entire province where it is published. This was, among other things, the case of the „Familia” Journal from 1965-1989, when the poet Alexandru Andrițoiu was its Editor-in-Chief

In the second chapter, we undertook a diachronic investigation of the first four series of this Oradea Journal, which is a special chapter in the history of national culture, not only through its impressive vitality, but also through the many crucial moments it has reflected. In the case of the first series, the remarkable fact is that the journal lasted throughout the active life of its Director. Founded by Joseph Vulcan in June 1865, when he was just 24 years old, the journal continued to come out for an uninterrupted 42 years until December 1906, just a few months before the death of its founder, which occurred on September 8, 1907. It can be said, therefore, that the writer and publicist Joseph Vulcan devoted his entire life to the editing of „Familia” the magazine „Family”, to which he dedicated not only his writing talent and vocation as a manager, but also his energy and even part of his wealth. Without mentioning details regarding its politics, we must say that, under the editorship of Joseph Vulcan, „Familia” was a Romanian publication in a Hungarian or dualist Austro-Hungarian state, characterized by a severe attitude toward minorities in general and especially toward Romanians, who were the majority ethnic group in Transylvania, Crisana, Banat and Maramureș. No wonder, then, that censorship did not allow the editor of the magazine to

devise its policy directly and openly. Joseph Vulcan was though fully aware of the fact that the social and cultural action he had initiated through the publication of the journal would have strong political echoes, as it had happened with the „Dacia literară”, „Propășirea de la Iași”, or with „Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură” issued in Brașov which the editor of „Familia” had taken as a model. It is correct to appreciate, therefore, that Iosif Vulcan was a scholar who brought light not only to villages, but to the entire Romanian nation, and that his journal mirrored, in a remarkable way, the memorable struggle of the Transylvanian Romanians in the political and cultural realm for the realization of national ideals.

In the same chapter, subchapter 2 deals with the *series* II, III and IV of the journal. The end of the publication of the journal's first series was a heavy loss, not only for national culture and literature, but for Romanism in general. It seems that this was the feeling shared by many of the collaborators and readers of the missing journal, who had hardly accepted the cessation of the appearance of „Familia”, some of them expressing hope in the rebirth of the beloved cultural hebdomadar. But it took exactly two decades before this goal was fulfilled. As with the first series, there was need of a new providential personality, and that was Mihail G. Samarineanu. And since all three series of the journal we are dealing with in this subchapter are connected to his name, it is necessary to mention here who he was and where he had come from. He was born on April 1, 1893, in the town of Mețova/Aminciu in Macedonia. His father, Guli Papageorge Samarineanu, was an ardent fighter for the preservation of the ethnic identity of the Aromanians of Pind. He had taken his cognomen from the town of Samarina, where he had settled together with an elder brother. Mihail came to Romania in 1913, later participating in the First World War. In circumstances we will not specify here, Mihail G. Samarineanu arrived at Oradea, where, in 1925, he was appointed director of the apprentices inmates. Working in parallel, in the editorial offices of some publications in Oradea, Mihail G. Samarineanu was now initiating sustained efforts to reestablish the „Familia” journal. In 1925 it was exactly six decades since Iosif Vulcan had brought out, at Pest, the first number of the „Familia” and 45 years since its founder had brought it to Oradea. The historical, social-political and cultural context was, of course, quite different, if we consider only the essential aspect that Oradea was now part of greater Romania. Although he was not as prominent a personality as Iosif Vulcan, the Macedonian Samarineanu would manage in March 1926 to publish the first number from the second series of the Oradea „Familia”. From the beginning, he set up an editorial committee, which he strictly coordinated, directing his efforts toward the advancement of Romanian culture. In this

second series, the journal edited by Mihail G. Samarineanu appeared on a regular monthly basis, from March 1926 to February 1929, when due to the economic crisis in the country it ceased to appear. But the crisis, like any crisis, ended at some point, towards the end of 1933, so that Mihail G. Samarineanu decided in early 1934 to release a new series of the journal.

The political and, above all, the social-cultural context was different from that of a decade before, when the previous series of the journal was coming out, in the sense that now the climate was much more favorable. The stability of the greater, unified, Romania was also reflected, beneficially, in the space of culture and literature. It is known, moreover, that the fourth decade of the past century was a particularly favorable one for the Romanian culture and literature, which had come to see fulfilled its old desire of full synchronization with the West. Benefiting from some of the most select collaborations, of prime importance in the national culture, the issues of „Familia” in those years delighted the reader in a sober graphic outfit, in book format. The literary chronicler of the magazine was, between 1934 and 1940, Octav Șuluțiu, who, through the earnestness and sobriety of his critical exercise, contributed to a large extent to the consolidation of the prestige of the interwar „Familia” it is true that Michael G. Samarineanu managed, in those years, to transform the it from a magazine with professed traditionalist resistance into one connected to the modern trends of national literature. This atmosphere of tranquility, calm and stability of values, established in the fourth decade of the last century, was brutally shattered on August 30, 1940, when *The Vienna Dictate* handed Northern Transylvania over to Hungary. Under these conditions of occupation and war, „Familia” could no longer appear in Oradea.

Number 7-8 of 1940 - the last of the third series - was confiscated at the border on the way to Bucharest, where Mihail G. Samarineanu had now settled as also had other members of the editorial staff of the former „Familia” published in Oradea. Under these new social-cultural circumstances, Mihail G. Samarineanu, together with several collaborators, managed, in January 1941, to revive the journal initiating its fourth series. It was the first time in the last 60 years since 1880, when Vulcan had brought it to Oradea, that the journal changed its residence. New in the activity of „Familia” in those years was the fact that to it contributed a kind of sub-editors located in the main cities of Transylvania. The Bucharest stage of the magazine ends at the beginning of 1944. In the January issue, the Managing Editor Mihail G. Samarineanu complains about the vicissitudes he was going through, expressing his hope in a return to normality which, unfortunately, was to take a very long time.

A new interruption of two decades followed, commented in chapter 3: "Post-war hiatus: 1945- 1965, Two more decades without „Familia”. This second hiatus, also lasting two decades, as the one between 1906 and 1926, was generated by the new historical and social-political circumstances due to the Soviet occupation and the onset of communism in Romania. However, this phase has two distinct periods. The first of them, running between August 23, 1944 (when Romania turned its arms against fascist Germany), and December 30, 1947 (when, following the abdication of the king, Romania became a Republic) represents a period of transition from capitalism to socialism, but also from democracy to totalitarianism. In the cultural/literary plan, the investigation of how the dissolution of the old institutions or their transformation into new ones, obedient to the political power, was done, step by step, is apt to facilitate the understanding of the causes that would determine, later, the re-establishment of the „Familia” journal. Addressing the complex issue of this short transition period is relevant to the topic of this paper and to the way some literary groups have continued to plead for freedom of expression and the autonomy of the aesthetic, trying to reject the increasingly aggressive attempts to establish socialist realism. Illustrative in this regard is especially the Sibiu Literary Circle and the “Literary Circle Magazine”, issued in 1945, which took over some of the collaborators of the late series of the defunct „Familia” perpetuating its cultural program and national spirit. It would amount to a genuine *exercise of spiritual survival* in the context of an increasingly visible Sovietization and an ever-increasing bolshevization, dangers which some members of the group had warned against in the interwar years. After going through the communist prisons, in 1965 they would become editors and collaborators of the newly established „Familia” from Oradea.

The second part of this period – between 1948-1964 – overlaps the first stage of Romanian communism, and it was at this point that the poet Alexandru Andrițoiu made his literary debut. In 1965 he became Editor-in-Chief of *Familia*’s fifth series.

Finally, it is worth noting that – although very close in time, since they belong to the same phase of the first two post-war decades –both the „transition” and the „obsessive decade” emerged and evolved in different social-political and cultural contexts, having specific causes and characteristics. The word „obsessive” was coined much later, in the 70s, when writers who were critical of Ceausescu’s regime but wanted to avoid persecution, set the action of their novels in the first postwar period which supposedly had ended with the dictator’s succession to the highest position in the state.

Among the graduates of the first series, lasting one year (1950-1951), of the „Mihai Eminescu” School of Literature in Bucharest was Alexandru Andrițoiu, „The poet from the West Mountains” – as his colleagues called him – or, as he would later be nicknamed, – „the most important poet from Bihor” was a writer cut out for the requirements of the era adapting himself on the go to the changes that occurred in the social-political and cultural context. Starting as a poet in the early years of the dogmatic era, Andrițoiu had to write in the spirit of the norms imposed by socialist realism. His first book published in 1953, entitled *In the Moți Peasants’ Land It Is Dawning*, is structured, in a manichean spirit, in two parts with telling titles: *Past Lives in the Land of the Moți Peasants*, and *In the Moți Peasants’ Land It Is Dawning*. In the proletkultist spirit of the time, the book about the past is a bitter dirge, not without echoes, from the older Transylvanian social poetry written by Octavian Goga, Aron Cotruș or Mihai Beniuc. A radical change of tone – but also of attitude toward the issue – occurs in Al Andrițoiu’s next book, the *Constellation of the Lyre* (1963), but especially in those that succeeded it. The style of the books published in the second phase in his writing career is significantly different, they betraying to the new orientation in the Romanian lyric after 1965. Generated, therefore, to a large extent, by a new social-political and cultural context, the above-mentioned volumes are, in the economy of this paper, the object of critical assessment (the chapter dedicated to the writer’s activity at the „Familia” magazine from 1965 to 1989).

This stage in the long-lived existence of „Familia” is covered, in our study, by chapter 4, entitled „The Familia journal returns”. A first subchapter is devoted here to the radiography of the social-political and cultural context of the so-called *years of ideological thaw: 1965-1971*. In this interval there is also the moment of September 1965, when, in Oradea, the „Familia” resumed its publication. Half a year before – in March, the same year – the death of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej had marked the beginning of a new stage in the history of Romanian communism, without, of course, a change in the political regime. In another subchapter – entitled „Familia” under the editorship of Alexandru Andrițoiu” – we tried to show, among other things, how the Editor-in-Chief of this journal, throughout its communist trajectory, managed to mitigate the brutal interference of the political factor in the journal’s content. Andrițoiu was the one who knew how to gather around him many talents of local and national value, first of all outstanding literary critics, including Ovidiu Cotruș, Nicolae Balotă, Radu Enescu – all of whom had just been released from the communist prisons. Together with these editors, some of the collaborators, had also experienced Stalinist prisons, such as Stefan

Augustin Doinas, Vladimir Streinu, Ion Negoitescu, Adrian Marino, Alexandru Ivasiuc, Al. Zubb and others.

If we take into account the fact that, in the editorial board of the magazine from Oradea after 1965, there were some personalities of the cultural life remaining faithful to the communist ideology and to the proletcultist dogmatism, and in the editorial board worked about as many prestigious intellectuals who had passed through camps and prisons, we realize that this schizoid cohabitation could not help but generate inevitable conflicts. A discussion of some of them is the subject matter of the subchapter in the paper entitled "Tensions within the editorial board between the political conservatives and the group open to the West and the autonomy of the aesthetics. The "Eliminate the Outsiders" policy." The appearance of the first three issues of the journal caused no particular problems. It seems, however, that, starting with the fourth edition, the former members of the *Sibiu Literary Circle* had tried to imprint a more Western orientation to the profile of the magazine. The differences of views generated incidents that created an atmosphere of suspicion in the editorial office, reaching the point where even the possibility of suspending the publication of the magazine was brought into question. It should be noted that some of the contributors did not please the political leadership of the Crișana region, which closely supervised the content of the texts published in the journal. A first unpleasant event, due to this interference of the political factor in culture, occurred at the beginning of 1970, when – under the pretext of a reduction of the editorial scheme – Nicolae Balotă (who had been in prison twice) was eliminated by the editorial board. A few years later, in 1974 – the corollary of the same interference of the political factor in culture – the communist leadership came down on the press, turning daily newspapers into weekly, weekly into monthly, monthly into quarterly and reducing the number of employees everywhere. Under this pretext, two other undesirable ones are now removed from the „Family” editorial office: Gheorghe Grigurcu and François Pamfil.

Regarding the tensions between the political power and the editors or collaborators open to the autonomy of the aesthetics, it should be noticed that, most of the time the confrontation took place somewhat indirectly, through the intermediaries, who were, as a rule, the directors of publishing houses or the heads of literary periodicals.

In the 1965-1989 interval there other editors and collaborators contributed to the journal besides those mentioned so far. The writers who signed in the pages of the magazine in Oradea in the first decade after 1965 – and even long after – belonged to the sixties generation, recognized for the merit of having renewed the interrupted thread of the evolution

of literature, through the revival of interwar modernism and the rehabilitation of aesthetics. Starting from 1975-1980 a new generation of collaborators showed up, many of them coming from the „Echinox” journal. It was a new generation, The Eighties Writers, who claimed to get inspiration from the postmodernism setting in the West several decades earlier. The topic is covered in the subchapter entitled ”Other editors and collaborators in the 1965-1989 timespan. The ”Sixtieth” and “the Eighties” generations. Resuming ties with interwar modernism. Signs of Postmodernism.”

Since the second decade of the fifth series the critical forces of „Familia” were joined by more Echinox-ists, a phenomenon whose significance is discussed in the subchapter ”The presence of Echinox-ists of the ’70s in the pages of the „Familia” Journal; multiculturalism in the context of the ideological thaw.” Our decision to allot them a distinct sequence in the economy of this thesis” is justified by their perception as symptomatic of the Ceausescu ideological thaw, manifested by the return to the autonomy of the aesthetic and especially to the freedom of expression and to ethnic and religious tolerance.

In the chapter entitled ”Familia at a historical turning point” – we briefly refer to the situation of the Oradea periodical after the events of December 1989. The Andrițoiu series of the magazine ended at the historical terminal of December 1989. In the editorial box of the January 1990 issue, the name of the founder of the fifth series of the magazine is missing, and beginning with the February issue of the same year the new Editor-in-Chief is a poet of the 80s, Ioan Moldovan. Alexandru Andrițoiu’s resignation from the leadership of the editorial team was a symbolic gesture. An era in Romania’s history ended then, but also a period in the existential route of the longest-lived cultural periodical in the history of the country. As for Ioan Moldovan – the one who succeeded Andrițoiu at the leadership of the journal – one can say that he is, as well as his predecessor, a factor of stability and balance. In the subchapter ”Between the melancholy of descent and the aspirations of a new beginning”, we argue that the new editor-in-chief has shown real managerial qualities since the turning days of the ’90, when he worked as a stimulating factor, attracting new valuable collaborations, such as those of the writers in exile. Another noteworthy aspect after 1989 is that the magazine has recovered the censored articles during the communist period of its existence.

Perhaps this has caused the 1990 issues to be edited in fabulous prints of over ten thousand copies. Gradually, however, both the general thirst for information of the public and the readers’ appetite for culture decreased. In these circumstances, the magazine’s circulation has steadily decreased, leading to the publication of the magazine in Oradea in several

hundred copies, considering itself – like all other cultural periodicals in the country – as being in a crisis of readership. However, the Oradea Familia is still riding high, both through articles and studies of literary history, inquiries, literary or dramatic reviews, and through the magazine's awards.

Trying to draw some *conclusions* here, we will first specify that the present doctoral research focused mainly on the three directions suggested by the title of the thesis itself, namely: the „Familia” journal, the poet Andrițoiu and, last but not least, the interference of the political factor in the activity of the periodical from Oradea during 1965-1989. Without repeating what I have already said about the founder of the journal, we could add that Iosif Vulcan was not only the godfather of the national poet, Eminescu, but also an extraordinary man, a true *homo aedificator*, who wrote and edited almost everything needed in the Transylvania and Banat of the time. Although he was only 24 years old when he founded „Familia”, Iosif Vulcan earned rapidly the reputation of a brave fighter of Transylvania and even of the whole nation, being one of those who enforced the message of the Transylvanian School, turning his authoritative cultural periodical into a bastion of Romanianism on the western border. „Familia” has been regarded as a national monument, one of the publications whose course has earned an unmistakeable identity in Central Europe.

We have thus come to the central focus of our thesis, which is that of the interrelation between aesthetics and politics or, in other words, of the interference of literary creation with elements of politics. Andrițoiu's personality was pulled into opposite directions, one to the left justified, in the light of Bourdieu's theory, by his positioning through social origin, and the other responsive to the call of the aesthetic elite of the moment. The main merit of this cultivated and selfless writer was undoubtedly that he was able to gather around him many talents of local and national value, recruited even from among the former political prisoners. There is indeed another Andrițoiu, a double of the proletkultist composer of communist odes, a generous man and a poet of talent, the creator who paid tribute to the proletarian rhetoric in the first phase of his creation, and then to the cult of the Ceausescu personality in the later phase, after 1965. Andrițoiu's destiny – like that of many of his congeners – is emblematic of his time.

As for the „Familia” orunal, running into print for almost 160 years – an impressive longevity for a literary periodical – it is an important chapter of national history, because the prestigious publication in Oradea acted as an excellent factor of culture and civilization, a

strong outpost of Romanianism on the Western border. Aged 157, the magazine is undoubtedly a substantial chapter of national and even European history. For, leaving aside the intrinsic quality of its literature and criticism, the journal breathes forth a democratic and tolerant spirit, that is, an essentially European spirit. Thanks to the teams that coordinated its activity, the „Family” has been, throughout its long and glorious existence, a true cultural landmark. This is also the case with the fifth series of the journal, which, thanks to its editorial team, was part of the European community long before Romania joined the Union. Thus, the present doctoral research, dedicated to the longest-lasting cultural periodical in our history, is also a vibrant tribute to the country’s leading intellectuals who have contributed, through their writing, to the artistry and renown of the „Familia” journal.

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