BUCURA DUMBRAVĂ’S OUTLAW/ HAJDUK NOVEL

Born in today’s Bratislava, called Pressburg at that time, on 28th December 1868, Ştefania Seculici (or Fanny/ Stefanie Szekulicz, a.k.a Františka Jozefíny Szekuliszovej according to her birth certificate), Bucura Dumbravă moved to Bucharest in 1873, to join her father who was the executive of the „Dacia Română” Insurance Company and one of King Carol I’s advisors. The chance of being in the entourage of the royal family provided the newcomer a quick social prestige and a nuanced intellectual and spiritual elevation as she became Queen Elisabeth’s lady in waiting. The queen was a writer herself, publishing under the pen name Carmen Sylva; under her guidance, Bucura Dumbravă deepened her interest in literature and in the various aspects of the Romanian folklore and spirituality, also becoming one of the first female mountaineers of the country. Her passion for high altitudes resulted in a mountaineering guidebook, Cartea munţilor [The Mountains Book] published in 1920, and in the foundation of the first mountaineering society of Romania. A high-altitude lake and a peak in the Romanian Carpathians, both called Bucura, still celebrate her achievements.

Bucura Dumbravă was also the founder of the Romanian chapter of Helena Blavatsky’s Theosophical Society. She learned to use spiritual keys to interpret the world, wrote books and texts dedicated to the necessity of spiritual transfiguration and translated a selection of Jiddu Krishnamurti’s teachings, published in 1924 under the title La picioarele învățătorului [At the Teacher’s Feet]. She died of an epidemic fever in January 1926 in Port Said, Egypt, while returning from a theosophical congress held in Adyar, India, a month earlier.

The intellectual drive directed Bucura Dumbravă towards the spiritual aspects of the Romanian history and ethnology, and she became a member of the so-called Chindia Society, which reunited several ladies from Queen Elisabeth’s entourage, dedicated to promoting the rural domestic folklore and the dances of the peasantry. Folklore knowledge also helped Bucura Dumbravă to deepen her research enough to write two historical novels, Der Haiduck/ Haiducul/ The Hajduk (1908) and Der Pandur/ Pandurul/ The Pandur (1912), which were parts of an unfinished trilogy.

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entitled *Spărgătorii de valuri* [The Wave Breakers], written initially in German and then translated into Romanian by Teodor Nica and Elisa I. Brătianu, two of the author’s closest friends. A few years later, Bucura Dumbravă produced an improved Romanian version of the *The Pandur*, while in 1912, a second German edition of *Der Haiduck* was printed with a foreword signed by Carmen Sylva.

The two novels (and explicitly the *Haiducul/ The Hajduk*) are novels with hajduks (“romane haiducesți” in Romanian), meaning regional versions of the more general typology of the historical novel, that is the Robin Hood type novel with outlaws. In her seminal *The True Story of the Novel*, Margaret Anne Doody³ notices that although a lot of great novels of the 19th century were historical, towards the turn of the century one can see a degrading shift in the direction of sensationalism, making these novels more adventurous and boisterous rather than truly historical. Margaret Anne Doody also asserts that any historical novel – including those offered to the consumer culture – is, in any case, an interpretation of the objective historical truth, which often challenges the “sacred” stereotypes of the official historical discourse.

The typical protagonist of these novels is the hero-outlaw, or the so-called “noble criminal” to whom Eric J. Hobsbawm dedicated a whole book in 1969 entitled *Bandits*, preceded by *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, published by the same author in 1959⁴. In an entry written for *The Dictionary of Literary Themes and Motifs*, Paul F. Algiolillo⁵ says that the imaginary prototype of this type of narratives was the Robin Hood story, also shared by the Romanian *haiduks*, who were the typical guerilla fighters of the 16th – 19th centuries in Central and South-Eastern Europe. Especially popular in the Balkans, the *hajduks* were rapidly converted into the epitomes of heroism, aggressiveness and masculinity, called by Lucien J. Frary⁶ *andrismos*. The strict etymology of the word refers to the military, the Hungarian *hajdú* (pl. *hajdük*) meaning a mercenary soldier⁷. The Turkish word is *haïdud*, designating a mercenary of Hungarian origin. Related terms are *gaïdúk* in Russian, *hajduk* in Bulgarian, Polish, Serbian and Czech, or *haïdút* in Albanian.

The *hajduks* were a cherished topic of the Romanian consumer culture, especially in the legends disseminated by the popular ballads. The *Hajduks* or the

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⁷ With an uncertain etymology, the word originally designates the cattle driver responsible for the safe movement of herds from one place to another.
Jiens [Jienii]⁸ are the constant figures of the popular, secular theatre within the second half of the 19th century. The representations encapsulated popular songs and a wide range of colorful outfits, and they were directed to the subliminal, rebellious drives of the onlookers by providing them vivid fantasies of how to punish evildoers or how to compensate for the overwhelming social injustice by restoring a state of well-being.

The enthusiastic popular demand generates a new literary subgenre whose central protagonist is Iancu Jianu, captain of thieves, presented for instance in a very popular play written by Matei Millo and Ion Anestin by the mid-19th century. Similar to Robin Hood⁹, who functions as the prototype of this type of outlaw hero-bandit, the widespread popularity enjoyed by Iancu Jianu is first of all emphasized by his noble pedigree, as he was the offspring of a wealthy boyar living in Wallachia in Prince Ioan Caragea’s time (1812–1818). Setting aside his privileges, Iancu is later converted into a defendant of the poor by his profound sense of social justice.

We cannot go further without asserting the tremendous popularity of this type of literary scenario, since no fewer than around eighty different hajduk novels were published in between 1855 and 2000 in Romania, according to Dicționarul cronologic al romanului românesc [The Chronological Dictionary of the Romanian Novel]. The time peaks were 1892–1916 and 1970–1978, both being characterized by a boost of national patriotism and pride, since – according to Margaret Anne Doody¹⁰ again – the universal patterns of the narrative are diluted by a localizing process called “domestication”, which designates the replacement of the universal narratives with elements provided by the domestic, national historical pool. Let’s also reflect upon the two time periods mentioned above: their context is similar (increasing patriotism, national pride), but the peculiar social and historical agendas are nevertheless different, as the interval ending in 1916 targeted the pre-war ideal of the Greater Romania, while the second wave was a purely ideological one, triggered by the nationalist manipulations of the Communist dictatorship. Focusing on the first of these periods, Roxana Patraş considers that the readers’ appetite for this type of literature was actually increased by three determining factors: “the massive publication of epic poetry – called ‘hajduk ballads’ or ‘hajduk rhapsodies’ […], the emergence of original fiction and ‘genre-authors’ who expand ballad ‘floating episodes’ or simply embed large quotations

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¹⁰ Margaret Anne Doody, The True Story of the Novel, p. 292.
from hajduk ballads into their ‘original’ prose […], the circulation of Romanian translations from hajduk novels belonging to neighbouring cultures”.

As a precise historical figure living between 1787 and 1842, Iancu Jianu provides Bucura Dumbravă with an ideal pretext to fictionalize the period of the Phanariot rulers and to embed it into more or less utopian patriotic scenarios. There is also a subliminal spiritual program in the way the three novels were planned to belong to a progression. The title of the German version of the second novel, Der Pandur. Geschichte des Rumänischen Volksaufstandes im Jahre 1821, explicitly suggest the historical timing and evokes Tudor Vladimirescu, the military leader of the 1821 revolution, while the protagonist of the first novel (Der Haiduck/ Haiducul/ The Hajduk) is an outlaw, a hajduk, Iancu Jianu, that is a rebellious fighter living outside the social norm. The third, unwritten part was planned to center around Gheorghe Lazăr, a teacher responsible for founding the first Romanian schooling system in Wallachia, and so the progressive, theosophical program of the construction becomes more than obvious, the transformation of the hajduk into a commander and later into a sage being underpinned by the idea that history evolves from that which is material to that which is spiritual.

Therefore, the protagonist of the first novel embodies the elementary force of revolt, the second one the organized, disciplined form of it, while the beacon of the whole edifice would be the spiritual metamorphosis, that is the transformation of the raw forms of rebellion into spiritual self-fulfillment, equaled with patriotism and with the Romantic will to promote national culture as a means of collective refinement and improvement. It goes without saying that the patriotic echo of the cycle was tremendous: the Romanian version of The Hajduk is reprinted in ten huge popular editions between 1908 and 1947, equaled in popularity only by the The Pandur. Theosophy is, of course, gradually forgotten.

The plots of the first two novels written by Bucura Dumbravă are deeply permeated by her historical research. Iancu was a young boyar from Romanați, a region of South-Eastern Wallachia, who became one of the most feared hajduk leaders that ever existed. Putting together an army of 1000-2000 rebels proved to be a real menace in the versatile social and political realities of the Phanariot era. Iancu turned his back on his ancestry and became the protector of the poor, being acclaimed by legends and songs. When captured, he escaped by relying on an unwritten law of those times, which said that even a thief could be redeemed by marrying a maiden who wants him. Iancu’s choice was a beautiful girl, Sultana Gălăşescu, who belonged to Princess Ralu Caragea’s princely escort. After a short period of marital tranquility, Iancu took up his sword again in order to join Tudor Vladimirescu’s heroic revolution (1821). He was jailed and then liberated, but after Vladimirescu’s defeat he retreated home again, dying of natural causes and far

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away from the calling sirens of history. Bucura Dumbravă’s *Haiducul / The Hajduk* depicts Jianu’s deeds up to his salvation story by marrying Sultana Gălășescu, while in *The Pandur* he becomes a hidden protagonist, the author’s interest being that of presenting the revolution as an exemplary fulfillment of the national destiny.

A secondary hero of *The Hajduk*, the wise boyar Vasile Moangă, provides the best psychological definition of the hajduk during his conversation with Tudor Vladimirescu: he has a deep sense of justice, is an instinctive warrior, is symbolically married to the woods and is appreciated and protected by the peasants, but the boyar also warns Vladimirescu concerning the erratic military virtues of the hajduks.

Boyar Moangă’s canonic definition insists on the essential element of the hajduk’s way of life, namely the attachment to the forest. Similar to the English model represented by the Robin Hood legends, the Romanian folklore depicts the hajduks as outlaws who prefer to live deep inside the forest by forging a harmonious, pure and organic group philosophy ostentatiously opposed to the nasty challenges of the outer world’s “civilization”. Life in the woods nurtures no dubious or unfair laws, but is a world entirely governed by fraternity, friendship and mutual dedication, values reserved only to those are excluded from society.

Far from being depicted as a bloody wrongdoer, Iancu Jianu derives his essence from his certain spiritual superiority, being recognized as a Captain, similar to Vladimirescu, who is *The Lord*, both of them living in accordance with the exemplary existence expected from a savior able to harmonize perfectly the ups and downs of the energies of life, and a heroic kind of self-control mastered by means of a high sense of justice. Iancu Jianu internalizes the urge to combine redemption and historical necessity while listening to Friar Damaschin’s stories about Horia, one of the leaders of the 1784 Transylvanian peasant uprising. Therefore, in a purely Orthodox understanding of his spiritual call, the martyr Horia (who was publicly tortured and executed) functions as Iancu Jianu’s inner “brother” or “icon”.

The divine investiture has to be, obviously, a valued part of the savior image. By reaching the highest level of power among his fellow warriors and the peasants – Bucura Dumbravă asserts – Iancu Jianu takes over from the Lord the privileges of supreme punisher and supreme giver, and does all these from an *avant-la-lettre* theosophical perspective, which sweeps aside the doctrine of reincarnation but presents Jianu as the pure, uncontaminated and naïve embodiment of social justice, who shares the belief that there is no such thing as an effect without a cause, punishment without guilt, or a fair deed without a subsequent reward.

Iancu Jianu and his outlaw fellows’ milieu is the unjust social and political environment governed by the Phanariot rulers. During Prince Ioan Caragea’s heavy dictatorship (1812 – 1818), many Romanians managed to share the ideals of the Greek War of Independence, heralded by a secret society called Hetairia (“The
Society of Friends”), whose historical consequences will animate the basic ideology of Bucura Dumbravă’s second novel, Pandurul/ The Pandur. In their European background we can find Napoleon Bonaparte’s crusades and the Congress of Vienna, which puts an end not only to the Hetairia, but to any national liberation struggle in the Balkans. Haiducul/ The Hajduk features a pro-Greek group of boyars, members of the Hetairia, led by boyar Samurcaș, whose idol is the famous Greek bard Rigas Fereios Velentines, the so-called “founder of the Hetairia”, whose hymn (“Fili mu simpatriote,/ Dulinametha, os pote,/ Ton achrion Musulmanon/ Tis Elados ton tyranon?”) is sung by Iancu while he is imprisoned in the salt mines of Telega. The effect is electrifying on the Greek patriots, who hasten to liberate him. The hymn is quoted in both of the language versions of the novel, but the German edition has an explanatory annotation, while the translation is omitted from the second German edition of The Pandur. Tudor Vladimirescu’s alleged Hetairia membership is stipulated in Haiducul/ The Hajduk and taken for granted in Pandurul, where the hero is executed – this is the strict historical truth – by the same secret society whose membership he allegedly shared.

In the Romanian collective memory the Phanariots are labeled as extremely corrupt and inhuman, the main accusations listing a large variety of political and moral indictments like generalized corruption, public robbery and fiscal fraud. Further wrongdoings include the orientalized mimicry of everyday life (habits, morals, clothing or food), as well as the savage exploitation of the peasants by a group of alien, non-Romanian oppressors. The list ends with the terrible pest cutting hundreds of thousands of innocent lives during Prince Ioan Caragea’s reign.

A structural negative mirror image provides a psychological explanation for Iancu Jianu’s transformation into a hajduk, the hero’s “dark ghost” being a Phanariot aristocrat called Pervanoglu, who is constantly presented as maleficent and grotesque in the plot of the novel. Pervanoglu abducts a young girl, Ileana Golfineanu, and tries to assassinate Iancu Jianu before capturing him. This long list of atrocities is sufficient to determine Iancu Jianu to abandon his class allegiance and take over the tasks of a famous former local hajduk called Mereanu. But being wise and systematic, he decides to undermine the system from within, so he accepts boyar Moangă’s advice to become temporarily the chief tax collector (zapciu) of his region, a position which allows him to get a deep insight into the hidden mechanisms of the Phanariot administrative and punitive system.

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13 Bucura Dumbrava, Der Haiduck, Regensburg, W. Wundeling’s Hofbuchhandlung, 1908, p. 228: “Geliebte Landesleute, bis wann werden wie die Sklaven der graufamen Osmanen, der Tyranen von Helas, bleiben?/ “Beloved countrymen, until when will we remain the slaves of the cruel Ottomans, the tyrants of Helas?”.
Folklore elements are massively inserted in the text. Iancu is always accompanied by his mythical projection, as it happens in the Telega prison, where his arrival is preceded by rumors of his legendary deeds. For instance, there’s a common belief that he possesses a magical herb, the so-called “grass of the beasts” (iarba fiarelor), able to undo any lock. It is also in Telega where Iancu hears a heroic song about himself. The plot of the song is actually soteriological, speaking about someone who is resurrected after a short stay among the dead.

The German edition of the book provides the translation of the song in which Iancu Jianu is compared to Christ, as a man who “comes back” to life from the “death” of the prison cell. Further spiritualistic interpretations are provided by Bucura Dumbravă’s theosophical insights. Theosophy interprets enlightenment as a powerful, individualistic rise from the handcuffs of the bleak material world. In order to symbolize this, Jianu is initially presented as being one among an amorphous social mass, which he transcends because of his deep sense of responsibility and justice, both spiritual values. Furthermore, his rise is presented as a shift from darkness to light, the two delineated by the green forest. The thesis of the forest’s mediating role is emphasized by an open eulogy to the Bucegi Mountains, the crib of Bucura Dumbravă’s passion for mountaineering.

The Hajduk also hides a secret autobiographical code regarding its author. One of the most notable figures of the already mentioned Phanariot era was Princess Ralu Caragea, Prince Ioan Caragea’s art loving daughter, who laid the foundations of the very first theatre in Wallachia, the so-called “Red Fountain Theatre” (Cișmeaua Roșie) and who introduced modern, Western cultural values into the country. She was so enthralled by the modern conquests of civilization that she imported the very first hot air balloon of the region, launched in Bucharest to the vivid amazement of the locals. In Bucura Dumbravă’s fiction, Ralu is surrounded and protected by her access to art (for instance, she summons Western musicians to play Beethoven), while the novel mentions the otherwise true detail that Princess Ralu owned the only pianoforte existing in Wallachia at that time. In other words, Princess Ralu is a foreigner who uses art as a subtle expression of her local dedication. By formulating the image in this way, it is obvious that the author projected onto the princess her own subliminal ideals of patriotism and dedication.

Written in German and published initially in the Western world, in a period of full swing literary emergence, based on a romantic sense of aesthetic associated to the powerful ideology of the national revival, Bucura Dumbravă’s novels manage to illustrate the dynamic and refined imagery of a powerful, locally colored protagonist, the haiduk, who is by all means recognizable when one thinks of the Robin Hood cycle, but also bears the strong peculiar imprints of the Romanian national identity. Found everywhere in the popular 19th century East European and Balkan literatures, the self-image type projection of the haiduk is an important item of the emerging national ideology of these regions, which also explains its enhanced literary career and success. As Joep Leersse notices in the inaugural
section of the seminal study entitled “The Rural Outlaws of East-Central Europe”, far from being a mere exotic fictional trope, the topic of the haiduk “draws on figures, facts, or materials from living historical memory, folklore, and oral balladry, using this not as a thrilling form of escapism for middleclass readers but as a glorification of heroic resistance and a means of anchoring a nascent high literary tradition”15.

But apart from other stories featuring historically attested haiduks, Bucura Dumbravă’s novels are based on a really minute scholarly documentation, by mixing verified oral traditions and strictly decanted historical records. They contain detailed ethnographic, architectural and geographic descriptions, aiming to provide the most exact, most objective reconstruction of the given epoch, although we mustn’t forget that they do not fail to occasionally romanticize. Nineteenth century archaisms and long forgotten figures of speech are intentionally inserted into the narration in order to provide a local flavour not only to the domestic reader, but also to those who read in German, as it is known that exoticism has always been a successful form of literary persuasion. Being explicitly patriotic and promoting an initiatory, spiritualistic program, the novels finally become the embodiment of a personal existential creed, in which an open aristocratic ideal, a refined pro-European cultural orientation and a disciplined theosophical belief are subtly interconnected in an equation based on the idea than even in a country of adoption self-fulfillment can be attained by those persons who capture the inner flow of what the given community believes is historicity.

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### BUCURA DUMBRAVĂ’S OUTLAW/ HAJDUK NOVEL

*(Abstract)*

The Robin Hood type of outlaw hero, as delineated by Eric J. Hobsbwam in his seminal *Social Bandits and Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* of 1959, has a counterpart in the Romanian folklore and fiction, namely the outlaw (hajduk) Iancu Jianu, who lived between 1787 and 1842. A folklore hero, he also became the protagonist of no fewer than sixteen novels, as well as a few movies. Iancu Jianu has been traditionally associated both to the social and to the national struggle for justice and independence, as his insurgence, highly praised by the common people through various heroic representations disseminated in ballads and sayings, coincided historically with the Greek War of Independence, when the Romanian principalities were ruled by the hated “phanariots”. The latter were offspring of privileged families living in the Greek district of Constantinople, who used to pay heavily for the throne, later deploying a bloody campaign to recover and increase their investment. This resulted in a cruel social and economic oppression, famine and even plague, which fuelled, among the poor and the dispossessed, the myth of an outlaw hero living in the woods, chased by the authorities, but robbing the rich to give to the needy. The paper analyzes Iancu Jianu’s literary representation in Bucura Dumbravă’s novels. She was, interestingly enough, both a lady in waiting for Queen Elizabeth (Carmen Sylva) and the acting president of the Romanian Theosophical Society. The paper scrutinizes both the patriotic imprints of the two novels and the spiritual symbols embodied in the plot, since Bucura Dumbravă’s noble intention was to illustrate the emergence of the Romanian identity as the gradual scenario of a heroic initiation whose final outcome is the emancipation of the spirit, of the intellect, and the victory of light against darkness.

*Keywords*: social bandits, Iancu Jianu, outlaw, Romanian folklore and literature, Bucura Dumbravă.
Eroul de tip Robin Hood, așa cum este definit de Eric J. Hobsbawm în cartea sa din 1959, *Social Bandits and Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, are un corespondent în spațiul românesc, haiducul Iancu Jianu, care a trăit între 1787 și 1842, eroul multor producții folclorice și protagonistul unui număr impresionant de romane (șaisprezece) și al câtorva filme artistice. Iancu Jianu a fost în mod tradițional asociat atât cu lupta socială pentru justiție, cât și cu cea națională pentru independentă, insurgența sa, elogiată de popor prin reprezentări eroice diseminate în balade și legende, manifestându-se în timpul Războiului Grec de Independență și a domniilor fanariote, epocă marcată de opresiuni economice și politice, traversată de foame și ciumă. Toate acestea au alimentat mitologia haiduclului, eroul popular care trăiește în pădure, este urmărit sistematic de autorități și îi prăda pe cei bogați pentru a-i ajuta pe săraci. Lucrarea analizează reprezentarea literară a lui Iancu Jianu în romanele Bucurei Dumbravă, care a fost atât doamna de onoare a reginei Elisabeta a României (Carmen Sylva), cât și președinta Societății Teosofice din România. Lucrarea abordează atât mărcile patriotice prezente în cele două romane, cât și simbolurile spirituale incorporate în țesătura narativă, Bucura Dumbravă intenționând să ilustreze atât identitatea națională emergentă, cât și scenariul unei inițieri eroice graduale, ce culminează cu victoria spiritului, a intelectului, cu triumful luminii împotriva întunericului.

*Cuvinte-cheie*: bandiți, Iancu Jianu, haiduc, literatura și folclorul românesc, Bucura Dumbravă.