THE ANTHEM, A COMPONENT OF NATIONALISM AS "A RELIGION OF SUFFERING"

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Abstract: As a cultural heritage, official anthems are expressions of national identities and also 'places of memory'. Most of them acquired the status of patriotic songs in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and after that they would become official hymns. Their status was determined by the affirmation of national identity and by the change of the political regimes. As a literary and religious inspiration solemn song (in some cases this quality was preserved), the official anthem praises historic personalities, it invokes the deity or national spirit and assists in the representation of the country, in the creation and strengthening of national solidarity. The reimagining of national identity after 1989 implied that Eastern Europe – who recently joined the European Union – would know the process of 'reasseambling' identitary mythologies and projects. An example is the exclusive perception that Hungarian and Romanian ultra-nationalists have on „their own" Transylvania. Thus, especially during commemorative events, they reactivate patriotic songs originating in folklore, extremist interwar songs or some rock and hip-hop oldies, that kind of 'alternate' ultra-nationalist songs with the meaning of revange or pointing to an anti-European attitude. On the other hand, European Union Anthem is sung at important political and cultural celebrations, and has not a real effect on collective sensibility yet. That probably happens because the identity that the project of the European Union involves is still in the first stage of its public assumption.

Keywords. Anthem, Identity, Modernity, Mythologies, Ultra-Nationalism

National anthems[1], patrimonial cultural assets[2] consecrated by tradition and/or legislative documents, including constitutional, are the representation of legitimacy, an identity symbol. Most of these patriotic songs occurred during the nineteenth and also twentieth centuries[3], being strongly related to the process of affirmation of national identities or/and political regime changes[4].

[1] In all modern languages, the word "anthem" is derived from ὕμνος Anthemos, meaning "song of praise".

[2] The oldest pre-modern and modern European anthems are: Het Wilhelmus (written between1568 and 1572), the anthem of Royal Spain (*Marcha Real*, 1770), The British anthem *God Save the Queen* or *God Save the King* (after 1775), *La Marseillaise* (written in 1792, adopted as national anthem in 1795).

[3] Almost every official and unofficial anthem from central and south-eastern Europe was written in the 19th century, in a strong relation to the modern identity affirmation project. Within the Romanian Principalities, the idea of composing a national anthem is prior to the forty-eight revolution, however it was done only after the establishment of the Romanian modern national state. The anthem, initially called The Triumphal March and the Flag Reception of His Highness The Prince Ruler, was sung without the lyrics during official ceremonies. In 1884, the song (written by Eduard Hübsch, the father of Romanian military music) used the verses of Vasile Alecsandri (see the poem *Trăiască regale* / *Long Live The King*). It is a certain fact that *Trăiască* regale (*Long Live The King*) became Romania's national anthem starting from 1884. The Royal Anthem remained the state's anthem until 1948, thus for 64 years, making it Romania's most long lasting anthem.

[4] See the successive modifications of the national anthems of Italy and Germany in the 20th century, in the countries which had experienced totalitarian regimes. One of the victims of the political regime changes was the German anthem, *Das Lied der Deutschen/ The Song of the Germans.* The lyrics were written in 1841, by August Heinrich Hoffman von Fallersleben, on notes by Franz Joseph Haydn (a fragment from a chords quartet) and

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A solemn song of literary and religious inspiration (in some cases, this dimension was preserved)[5], the anthem praises heroes, historical figures, claims divinity or the national spirit. The anthem is to contribute to the representation of a country, to the creation and strengthening of national solidarity. Singing the anthem has a major psychological effect upon masses, due to promoting the national mythologies, during the above mentioned period. Therefore, it is part of the political ritualistic; it represents the axis of the festive culture, reinforcing the statute of "political mass" of some state events. From a mythic point of view, anthems are produced by ideological and cultural synthesis.

Suffering and Religiosity in Some of the Anthems. Causes and Effects

In this tradition, the Hungarian anthem *Himnusz/Anthem* is a strongly religious anthem due to the fact that it has the shape and tone of a prayer asking Providence to bless and protect Hungarians[6]. The repeating leit-motif / refrain *Isten, áldd meg a magyart*/*God, bless the Hungarians* produces emotions and confidence. The anthem was written in 1823, but began to be used as such in ceremonies in 1844 (originally, this was the poem *A magyar nép zivataros*

functioned as the imperial anthem. The text expressed the desire for unification and affirmation within the borders of a common homeland, in the context of Germans living in several states; it became the national anthem after 1922. Because it was used by the Nazi for their own purposes, it was forbidden after World War II; it became the national anthem again de-facto for the German Federal Republic starting from 1952. After Germany's reunification (1990), the song was adopted as the anthem of the reunited Germany. The Romanian anthem had also been subject to changes and replacements. Thus the anthem of the Popular Romanian Republic during the Stalinist period was *Zdrobite cătuşe* (Crushed Handcuffs) (lyrics by Aurel Baranga; music by Matei Socor); in 1953 it was replaced by *Te slavim, Românie* (We Praise You, Romania) (lyrics by Eugen Frunză, Dan Deşliu; music by: Matei Socor). *Trei culori cunosc pe lume* (I Know Three Colours in This World), an adaptation of *Trei culori (Three Colours)* by Ciprian Porumbescu, was the anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Such replacements and adaptations are the expressions off the evolution of a political regime. The first anthem, that of the popular republic was rather the expression of the class struggle, of the social-political affirmation; the second anthem, a kind of compromise specific to post-Stalinist transitions and to the apparent liberation of the communist regimes, it worshiped the country and the working people, solidarity, and also Marxism as the "guiding light". It was a optimist and positive song. The last anthem of the socialist period is the manifestation of the national-communism, of ethno-centrism, because it represents the apology of the ethnic-cultural identity, it exalts the identity pride and ego and the so-called national unity created around the communist party. *Trei culori (Three Colours)* was the expression of fulfilment in the vision of its creators.

[5] See the national anthems of Hungary, Serbia and the old Royal Anthem of Romania.

[6] O, my God, the Magyar bless/With Thy plenty and good cheer!/With Thine aid his just cause press,/Where his foes to fight appear./Fate, who for so long did'st frown,/Bring him happy times and ways;/Atoning sorrow hath weighed down/Sins of past and future days./2/By Thy help our fathers gained/ Kárpát's proud and sacred height;/Here by Thee a home obtained/Heirs of Bendegúz, the knight./3/Where'er Danube's waters flow/And the streams of Tisza swell/ Árpád's children, Thou dost know,/Flourished and did prosper well./For us let the golden grain/Grow upon the fields of Kún,/And let nectar's silver rain/Ripen grapes of Tokay soon./Thou our flags hast planted o'er/Forts where once wild Turks held sway; Proud Vieanna suffered sore/From King Mátyás' dark array/4/But, alas! for our misdeed,/Anger rose within Thy breast,/And Thy lightning Thou did'st speed/From Thy thundering sky with zest. Now the Mongol arrow flew/Over our devoted heads;/Or the Turkish yoke we knew,/Which a free-born nation dreads./O, how often has the voice/Sounded of wild Osman's hordes,/When in songs they did rejoice/O'er our heroes' captured swords!/Yea, how often rose Thy sons,/My fair land, upon Thy sod,/And Thou gavest to these sons,/Tombs within the breast they trod!/Though in caves pursued he lie,/Even then he fears attacks./Coming forth the land to spy,/Even a home he finds he lacks./Mountain, vale – go where he would,/Grief and sorrow all the same /Underneath a sea of blood,/While above a sea of flame./5/'Neath the fort, a ruin now,/Joy and pleasure erst were found,/Only groans and sighs, I trow,/In its limits now abound./But no freedom's flowers return/From the spilt blood of the dead,/And the tears of slavery burn,/Which the eyes of orphans shed./6/Pity, God, the Magyar, then,/Long by waves of danger tossed;/Help him by Thy strong hand when/He on grief's sea may be lost./Fate, who for so long did'st frown,/Bring him happy times and ways;/Atoning sorrow hath weighed down/All the sins of all his days."(Written by Ferenc Kölcsey in 1823; Translated by William N. Loew in 1881).

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századaiból/From the Stormy Centuries of the Hungarian People). The romantic effusion of the lyrics about "the holy peak of the Carpathians" is impressive, the delimitation of the matrix area by rivers Tisza and Danube, the wilderness, "the nectar from the vineyards from Tokaj", eponymous heroes Árpád and Matthias Corvin. The poem lists the historical catastrophes (the Turk and Mongol invasions are seen as effects/manifestations of the divine punishment), speaks about the bitterness and doubt of the Magyar soul. The anthem ends with a prayer for the divine mercy and protection (and blessing). The music is also solemn like a prayer, lacking the usual pathos of the Hungarian folklore music, or that of the Hungarian Dances by Johannes Brahms (a collection of 21 short songs, mostly inspired by Hungarian folklore; only the 11th, 14th and 16th tracks are entirely his own compositions, maintaining the same style), lacking the grim tragedy elements from the Hungarian Rhapsody No. 2 by Franz Liszt), lacking the often invoked arrogance of Hungarians (obviously, an ethno-cultural stereotype regarding Magyars). The repeated successions of the political and social system did not affect the integrity of the anthem.

Although it resembles a war song that glorifies the monarch as the guarantor of the integrity and stability of the state, the country as the heavenly place("Long live the Motherland / earthly heaven merry / With a great, glorious name / Be it forever guarded / from needs, / Be it always full of / heroes"), *Romania's Royal anthem*, a song similar to a heavy and short storm, constantly asks for divine protection; this request is made at the beginning and at the end of the anthem "O! Good Lord, / Heavenly Father, / Hold in Thy hand / the Romanian Crown! [...] O! Good Lord, / Heavenly Father / Lay Thy hand / Over the Romanian land"[7]. Unfortunately, its public career ended in 1947, after the abdication of King Michael and the proclamation of the People's Republic.

Even the more recent anthems, such as that of New Zealand: *God Defend New Zealand* (lyrics and music by Thomas Bracken in English and by John Joseph Woods in Maori, has been co-national anthem along with *God Save the Queen* since 1977), a sign of New Zealand's autonomy, expresses the exaltation of the country gifted with such an exceptional geographical location; the anthem invokes divine grace, the "God of all nations"[8], with the certainty that He defends the multicultural nation coalesced around civic values from all evil.

Starting with 1990, Romania's anthem has been *Awake, Romanian!*, "a fighting patriotic song" composed during the forty-eight revolution, a kind of Romanian Marseillaise. It was played during the most powerful protest movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (see the Romanian revolution from 1848, the workers strike in 1987 from Brasov),

[7] See: Long live the King/In peace and honour/Loving his country/And defending it/May he be a glorious Lord/May he be over us/May he forever be lucky/In war/O! Holy Lord/Our father in the sky/Hold with your hand,/The Romanian Crown!/Long live the Fatherland,/As long as the Sun in the sky,/Happy heaven on Earth/With a great and famous name./May it forever be spared/Of necessities,/May it forever be inhabited/By heroes./O! Holy Lord!/Our father in the sky,/Hold your hand/Over the Romanian Land! http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XSMUScVUhKk&feature=related (visited on 12 May 2013).

[8] New Zealand National Anthem: „God of nations! at Thy feet/In the bonds of love we meet,/Hear our voices, we entreat,/God defend our Free Land./Guard Pacific's triple star,/From the shafts of strife and war,/Make her praises heard afar,/God defend New Zealand/Men of ev'ry creed and race/Gather here before Thy face,/Asking Thee to bless this place,/God defend our Free Land.[...] Guide her in the nations' van,/Preaching love and truth to man,/Working out Thy Glorious plan,/God defend New Zealand". See: http:// www.metrolyrics.com/god-defend-new-zealand...(visited on 12 iunie 2013).

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as well as in December, 1989[9]. Although, along with other patriotic songs, *Awake, Romanian!* is a good patrimonial "place of memory", it is not representative for post-communist Romanian identity; "the deathly sleep", equivalent of slavery, is no longer a reality, the current enemies are corruption and politicking, while heroic death as the ultimate sacrifice seems an obsolete goal[10]. Recently in Romania many voices have pointed the inadequacy of this "respectable song", its unrepresentative character, its functionality as the official anthem. The most recent, and most critical and acid, analysis of the Romanian national anthem was performed by intellectual Andrei Pleşu: "I believe that our anthem text is obsolete (outdated), neurotic, self-depreciative, funeral [...] a march of disaster [...] "*Awake, Romanian!*" presents a comatose nation ("sleeping the deathly sleep"), constantly oppressed, annihilated by barbarian tyrants and cruel enemies"[11]. The repetition of certain words like – "death", "fatal wound", "plot", "sly machinations", "the evil of envy", "a yoke of centuries"[12], cultivating a fear for a perpetual enemy, but also a revengeful and vindictive spirit, leads towards the perpetuation of self-victimisation and inferiority complexes. It is true that other states have preserved their national anthems although those were war songs, mobilizing for the historical contexts at the time when they were composed. "The Italian anthem also speaks about <awakening>, however the revival process is an already consumed fact, instead of desiring a pathetic wake for a cataleptic population [...] only Slovakia's anthem similarly asks for a providential lightning to awaken the sleeping people"[13]. *Nad Tatrou to blýska / Lightning over the Tatras*, Slovakia's national anthem is a "war" song composed before the forty-eight period (young Janko Matuska wrote the song in 1844), became the anthem of the released Slovaks and mobilized spirits in 1848. The anthem announces the awakening from the slavery "Far

[9] Verses from the poem *Un răsunet (An Echo*) by Andrei Mureşianu; music by: Anton Pann (supposedly).

[10] "Romanian, awaken your Spirit from the sleep of Death/Impressed upon you by Tyrannies of barbarians;/Now or never, fashion a new Fate,/Stronger than your foes', Fate for them to bow to./2/Now or never, our legacy prove to all,/That through our veins still flows the Blood of Ancient Rome/That in our chests we proudly hail a Name,/Triumphant in battle, the Name of Trajan./3/Raise your strong brow and gaze around you/As trees stand in a forest, brave youths, a hundred thousand/An order they await, ready to pounce, as wolves among the sheep/Old men, and young, from mountains high and open plains./4/Gaze mightily, glorious shadows, Michael, Stephen, Corvine/The Romanian nation, your descendants,/With weapons in their hands, with your Fire burning/"Life in Liberty or Death", all shout together./5/You were vanquished by the evils of envy/By the blind disunity at the Milcov and Carpathians/But we, our Spirit touched by saintly Liberty,/Swear allegiance, to be forever Brothers./6/A widowed mother from the time of Michael the Great/Asks of her sons a helping hand today/And curses, with tears in her eyes, whosoever/In times of such great danger, proves to be a traitor./7/May lightning bolts, thunder and brimstone kill/Whoever retreats from the glorious battle/When motherland or mother, with a tender heart,/Will ask us to pass through sword and flame./8/Is not enough the yatagan of the barbaric crescent/Whose fatal wounds we feel burning today;/Now, the knout intrudes on our ancestral lands,/But with God as witness, we will fight it to the Death/9/Is not enough the despotism and its unseeing eye/Which for centuries enslaved us, as cattle?/Now, attempt the cruel, in their blind haughtiness,/To steal our Language, but we will fight them to the Death/10/Romanians of the four corners, now or never,/Be United in your Thoughts, United in your Feelings/Shout out to the world that the Danube is stolen/Through intrigue and coercion, malicious plots./11/Priests, with the Cross before you, as the army is Christian,/The motto is Liberty and its goal eternal/Better dead in battle, in full glory/Than be enslaved again in our ancestral homeland. See Vasile Oltean, Imnul Naţional "Deşteaptă-te, române!" (The National Anthem "Awake, Romanian!"), Ed. Salco, Braşov, 2005.

[11] Andrei Pleşu, „Psihologia imnului naţional"("The Psychology of the National Anthem"), in Dilema veche, no. 397, week 22-28, September 2011. http://www.dilemaveche.ro/sectiune/situatiunea/articol/psihologia-imnului-national.html

[12] See a stereotype created by the Romantic historiography and perpetuated through various cultural products for a century and a half.

[13] Andrei Pleşu, op.cit.

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above the Tatras/Lightning bolts are pounding/These bolts we shall banish/Brothers, they will vanish/Slovaks are rebounding/Our Slovakia was/Until now, quiescent/But the lightning flashing/And the thunder crashing/Made it effervescent"[14].

Otherwise, we are mainly dealing with tonic, confident texts[15], which respect the original meaning of the anthem as a song of praise. Andrew Pleşu's conclusion is categorical: "Our anthem, by comparison, is one of the darkest and discouraging"[16]. We are amazed by the cult of the heroic death, but paradoxically also by that of the self-victimisation. Thus, the Romanian anthem seems essentially an expression of despair and has the effect of perpetuating fatalism and the defensive attitude. Such analyses as Andrei Pleşu's, are also determined by the cultural and geopolitical rebound of the identity affirmation.

The old Romanian patriotic songs, impregnated by identity ego, compositions which marked the achievements of the State, are considered nationalist relics and no longer enjoy popularity[17]. Instead, they are found on the websites of the far right, as if promoting patriotism became an attribute of ultra-nationalists in Romania. Or, in modernity, the anthem must function as a binder for collective solidarity, to be representative for the sensibility of the citizen and the community.

Lucian Boia made a comparative analyses of the French and German anthems as manifestations of the effort to coagulate the nation as solidarity, as self-image exercises; he was also interested in the effects of the political instrumentalisation of these national symbols / "places of memory" in the twentieth century; thus, by *La Marseillaise*, the French have maintained their country's image as "history's engine", although this anthem is originally a war song. Instead, *Das Lied der Deutschen*, exalting Pan-Germanism, to use a pre-forty-eight nationalist term, the homeland matrix (at the time, unifying Germans was a major national identity project, because they lived separately in several countries) is suspected of aggression, exacerbation of the identity ego; commonly known by the refrain *Deutschland über alles*, meaning "Germany above all" or "first of all", Germany's current anthem is partly censored[18].

[14] Marcel Cornis-Pope, John Neubauer (eds), History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe: Junctures and Disjunctures in the 19th and 20th Centuries (Subseries on Literary Cultures 1) vol. I., XX, 2004. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nad_Tatrou_sa_bl%C3%Bdska (visited on 16. 06. 2013).
[15] Andrei Pleşu, op. cit.
[16] Ibidem.
[17] See the songs written by composer and writer Ion Ştefan Paulian (1864-1936), patriotic and war songs inspired from folklore music: *Doina, Marşul dorobanţilor (The March of the Footmen)* also known as *Drum Bun (Farewell), Imnul Unirii (Ther Union Anthem), Nu disperaţi (Do Not Dispair), Horia, Cloşca and Crişan etc., and also Pui de Lei (Baby Lions)* (lyrics by Ioan Neniţescu; music by Ionel G. Brătianu). The same poet, philosopher and politician Ioan Neniţescu (1954-1901; veteran in the Independence War) wrote *Voinţa Neamului (The Will of the People*) (music by Ion Danielescu) and *Ţara mea* (*My Country*) (1854). Defining the Dacian-Roman origins of our people, the poem *Pui de Lei (Baby Lions)* is a warm homage to the heroes and national dignity of Romanians of all times.See Rodica Florea, *Pui de lei (Baby Lions)*, the anthology of the national independence literature, (Bucharest: Minerva, 1977); Corneliu Stoica, Restitutions – Ioan Neniţescu, a poet of the independence, arhivaluceafarulromanesc.wordpress.com/.../corneliu-stoica-„restituiri-io...(visited on 21.06.2013). "Trec batalioane române Carpaţii" (Romanian Battalions Pass through Carpathians) had a long lasting career during the national-communist regime; it seems it was written by Iosif Romulus Botto, one of the organizers of more than 30 choirs and fanfares in Banat and Transylvania during the interwar period. In our opinion, this Romanian march resembles almost completely to the Polish song Szara piechota (Maszerują strzelcy). See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IsI2x2CorOc.hmtl
[18] Lucian Boia, *Două secole de mitologie naţională (Two Centuries of National Mythology)*, (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2011), p. 133.

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In our opinion, an exemplary national anthem is Hatikvah (הַתִּקְוָה, Hebrew Pronunciation: *Ha/Teek/Vah*, in English: The Hope), a lyrical song about the hope for the return of the Jews to the Promised Land in the matrix area of salvation, after 2000 years of exile[19]; it is remarkable that retaliation and revenge are not mentioned as solutions; the heartbreaking longing after lost homeland is predominant, maintaining hope for its recovery: "As long as in the heart, Within, / A Jewish soul still yearns , / And onward, Towards the ends of the east, / An eye still gazes Toward Zion ;/ * / Our hope is not yet lost, / The Hope of Two Thousand Years, / To be a free people in our land, / The land of Zion and Jerusalem" [20].

Romanian and Hungarian Patriotic Songs at the Beginning of 21st Century. Hate as Of Historical Competition, Differences And Similarities

The difficult current context, caused by the lack of economic and social performance, provokes reflection and favours scepticism, confidence crises. Due to a "latent sensitivity of modernity"[21], nationalism becomes an introduction to postmodern ultra-nationalism. Who reads *Cemetery in Prague*[22], experiences a "déjà vu". Playful and cynical, mixing historical fact with fiction, among other surprises, writer Umberto Eco as in an insane saraband, throws over the reader's placid world the indigestible stereotypes of evil, the phantasmagorical prejudices and abject perceptions of the Other. Particularly the recent social movements supporting political demands aiming for the transformation and reform of societies and achieving opportunities equity, demonstrates the fact that "the masses era" is (still) a dynamic and unpredictable world, full of hope, but also of dramatic animosity, fuelled by a resentful fund and a xenophobic imagery.

The sometimes radical process of the re-imaging identity involves identity reactivation; both in Western Europe facing new demographic and cultural realities and in the eastern region, which recently joined the European Union. While in the West, a (somewhat constant) barometer is determined by the (updated) traditional ethnic-hostile imagery regarding immigrants, and the explosive development of film products which, as in the Cold War years, exalted the state's "golden age" (at least the British have recently seized the discourse regarding Elizabethan epoch, through a series of artistic films)[23], in East, fascist ideologies begin to seduce the generations born after the fall of communism. Teenagers and even preadolescents are seeking an identity to match the intensity of the cinematic mythology, claiming a heroic inheritance/"legacy". Thus, ultra-nationalists managed to attract new followers, especially after having "reassembled" the symbols and identity "traditional places

[19] The text was written by poet Naphtai Hertz Imber in 1878, the music was composed by Samuel Cohen in 1888; after slight modifications, the song became the anthem for the Zionist movement, and later, during the Holocaust, the song the anti-Nazi Resistance from the Ghetto of Warsaw; since 1948 it has been the national anthem (we can identify European Renaissance and Italian and Polish post-Renaissance musical influences, or elements from the Romanian and Ukrainian folklore).

[20] See Gilbert Shirli, *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 154.

[21] Simona Nicoară, „Identitatea naţională, o sensibilitate latentă a modernităţii (secolele XVIII-XX)" (The National Identity, A Modern Latent Sensibility), Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica, 7, (2003), p. 256.

[22] See Umberto Eco, Cimitirul din Praga (The Cemetery from Prague), (Iaşi: Polirom, 2010).

[23] See the latest productions: Elizabeth I, The Virgin Queen (Starring: Cate Blanchett; directed by Shekhar Kapur, 1998; a remake of the film from 1955, starring Bette Davis); Elizabeth I (miniserie, starring: Helen Miren; directed by Tom Hooper, 2006).

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of memory" (anthem, flags[24], uniforms, historic objects integrated into a sacrosanct cult[25], inter-war paramilitary gestures wars, patriotic poetry, emblems, badges, pantheon and mythology etc.), have stimulated the highly unpredictable and effective recent fundamentalisms, have readjusted the ultra-nationalist and xenophobic discourse about the others who share the same "vital/living space" with (see the exclusivist perception that Hungarian and Romanian nationalists share regarding "their" Transylvania).

Thus, once more Romanians and Hungarians passionately hate each other in old patriotic songs or rock and hip-hop productions. While in Romania, the hip-hop band "The Parasites", famous for some of their social, political and cultural songs – see *Instigare la cultură (Instigation to Culture)* şi *Mari Români (Great Romanians)*, but also through the uncensored (often misogynistic and indecent) language – is representative for the euro-scepticism common for the first "post-accession generation", in response to some Western anti-Romanian events (see *Mesaj pentru Europa/Message for Europe*)[26], several Hungarian rock bands are involved in the propaganda system of "The Hungarian Guard"[27] and of "64 Counties Youth Movement". Bands such as „Titkolt Ellenállás", „Oi-Kor", „Kárpátia" give concerts in Transylvania (Târgu Secuiesc, Oradea, Baia Mare), concerts during which revisionist incitements are launched, singing about Great Hungary, obsessively repeating: "Give it back, give Transylvania back!"[28]. Recent anti-Romanian songs express a visceral hatred. In this sense, "Kárpátia" band is relevant with *Vesszen Trianon*. Thus, during the fourth edition of the "Székely Island" festival, an event organized by the members of nationalist organisation HVIM in Transylvania[29], on the 28th of June 2012 were presented the Magyars from the Carpathian Basin (Slovakia, Vojvodina, Croatia, Moravia and Sub-Carpathian Ukraine); one of the most popular Hungarian rock bands, "Kárpátia", was invited to play on stage, and revisionist lyrics from *Vesszen Trianon*[30] were sung repeatedly. Since 2008, in Oradea, "Kárpátia", as well as other bands, accompanied by hundreds of supporters and ultra-nationalist promoters, sang revisionist "anthems", vowing to avenge the death of the 13 generals executed in 1849 in Arad and asked for the annexation of Transylvania to "Greater Hungary". The concert ended triumphantly with the song *Erdély szabad*/*Transylvania is free*, stating that Transylvania: "Will not belong to anyone /

[24] The flag of the Székely Land is a recent creation, implies a manifestation of autonomy and cultural-historical specificity, being composed of four elements: a blue background, an eight-cornered star (the sun) and the half-moon. "The flag of the Székely Land" was adopted by the Székely National Council in 2004. The law project regarding the autonomy of the Székely land was launched during the same year.

[25] See the cult of the crown of King Stephen the First of Hungary. The members of the Magyar extremist political formations from Hungary and Transylvania took an loyalty oath towards the "Holly Crown", which thus became the source of historical-national legitimacy, the sign God's blessing over the Magyars.

[26] See Paraziţii (The Parasites), *Mesaj pentru Europa (Message for Europe)*. http: //www.versuri.ro/(visited on 20 January 2013).

[27] „Magyar Gárda" is a political paramilitary structure aiming at re-editing the imagery and political program of the fascist movements during the hortyst regime..

[28] See the concert held by these bands on the 20th of October in the Alcatraz club from Odorheiul Secuiesc.

[29] The far-revizionist movements "Hatvannégy Vármegye Ifjúsági Mozgalom" / "Mişcarea Tinerilor din cele 64 de Comitate" / "64 Counties Youth Movement" (HVIM) and „Erdélyi Magyar Ifjak"/ „Tinerii Maghiari din Ardeal" (The Magyar Youth from Transylvania) (EMI) – rented the scene of The Union Cultural Center.

[30] Iochom István, „Insula Secuiască la Cătruşa"("Thje Székely Island at Cătruşa"), Háromszék, 30 June 2012, http:// www.forumharghitacovasna.ro/traduceri/rpm122012.html (visited on 11 July 2012).

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Transylvania forever will remain Transylvania / In was invaded by armies of conquerors in vain / Transylvania is free and will always remain free"[31].

In contrast, many young Romanians enjoyed songs by "SDST", with emotional lyrics, we refer here to *Scrisoare de pe Front*/*Letter From the Front*, a realistic description of the anti-Soviet campaign, and especially to *Angels Over Romania*, an alternative to the Europeanist formal speech, a song, unlike the first mentioned, in addition to the frustrations of usual historical exercise (see the obsession of the geo-political, the nostalgia for the "lost homeland"), also promoting pride for an identity also legitimized by the blood of the war victims, the acceptance of the difficult identity status; the piece also highlights the pathetic accents as well as the contestation of the legitimacy of political parties. However, beyond what may seem reasonable and honest, xenophobic deviations specific to nationalism practiced as a religion of suffering are also present. Added to these "traditional ingredients" of Romanian nationalism are the "ideological" elements, that is – reducing fatalism derived from a history represented both as an oppressive force, and as a "test" with an eschatological finality (and precisely from this perspective, an accepted/assumed one!), another culture of memory, anti-Europeanism / anti-Americanism and anti-"post-adhesion" capitalism, Russian-phobia. Moreover, in all ultra-nationalist songs from any every ethnic area the incriminated Enemy is a collective character, a multiplied, undefined "They", yet identified with the conspiratorial evil[32].

Currently, the political ritualistic does not absorb "domestic" conflicts of the power anymore. More frequently than in the interwar democracy, any national holiday is confiscated by the permanent campaign system. Thus, on January 24, 2008, in Iasi, during the celebration of the Unification from 1859, the colours used were orange and yellow, not red, yellow and blue; public political sectarianism and "liberal" identifications predominated! Perhaps, it is precisely because of such unfortunate contexts in terms of identity reconstruction do other nationalist political groups begin to assert vehemently attitudes that oscillate between the values of European democracy and post-communist nationalism. The "New Punks", a group self-entitled as "non-political action group"[33] sustains the "Bess Arabia, Romanian Land" and

[31] Laura Gal, Ne-au luat Ardealul valahii cu opinci (The Peasant Sandaled Wallachians Took Transylvania from Us), 5 May 2008, http:// www. bihoreanul.gandul.info/.../ne-au-luat-ardealul-valahii-cu-opinci-2608.html.(visited on 12 February 2013).

[32] „The Lord's angels cry in Heaven/ And here on Earth, Romania torn for centuries / I can hear cries and agony messages from beyond / Of my own people / There are things that must not be told / Because they do not want to. / They have muted and oppressed the people / This body that is bleeding for centuries / Our territory has been stolen more than from the Roman Empire / We are governed by cowards / Their conscience is blind / Guided by a union like in the past by the Gate / This is my country, your country, nobody's / The place of the European impact / For such a long time you have been trying in vain / Forget it / Romania will never disappear from the map […] / We have a great force within us / Cultivated by Saint Andrew/ Our faith has repeatedly confronted evil and physically superior forces / And we have the power to dream and we know we can move mountains / Like those before us did / With their blood and sweat / We are rebirth from the rests scattered through history , / For we all desire the same thing / And we mobilize like the Romanian armies crushed at Stalingrad / In a few seconds we tear down empires and governments […] I raise the Romanian flag towards the sky, I stand proud and sad and pray to God: "Thank you for the fact that I live here/ Proud of my ancestors' deeds I walk on the immense monument alley / And remember them / And I will teach a lesson in verse for bad days which you will listen to / Every time you will feel that something is not working / And you pray and believe like a good Orthodox Christian / Remember that everything happens for a reason…" See SDST, *Scrisoare de pe front (Letter From the Front)*, http:// www.versuri.ro/(visited on 22 May 2012).

[33] See the blog http://www.noiigolani.ro

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claims the Revolution from 1989 as source of legitimacy and of the anti-communist programme[34] through public actions, marches, conferences and websites. The calls from their sites containing images, patriotic songs, documentaries promote national pride, and also attempt to rehabilitate general Antonescu and the legionaries. These patriotic corpuscles are close to "the New Right Forum", the legitimate continuator of the Legionary Movement. Established in 2000, the "New Right" is a far right party, a anti-democratic, racist and xenophobic formation, part of the "European Phalange", along with "England First" (England), "Bund Freier Jugend" (Austria), „Mouvement Nation" (Belgia), „Bloc Identitaire" (Franţa), „NPD" (Germania), „Obraz" (Serbia), „Slovenska Pospolitost" (Slovacia)[35].

While Romanian ultra-nationalists were stuck in projects, propaganda and rhetoric nostalgia[36], organised anti-Hungarian and anti-gay demonstrations, pro-patriotic fundamentalist orthodox actions, Hungarian extremists have posted on www.youtube.com a series of anti-Romanian films instigating to war, propaganda materials proposing cutting off Transylvania from Romania's territory in a provocative manner, debate the territorial division of Romania (*Bye Bye Romania* describes a Hungarian invasion resulted into the disappearance of Romanian statehood and its division between Hungary, Bulgaria and Russia)[37], have published images presenting the Hungarian eagle spitting fire over the Romanian flag (see *Anti-Romania*), and troops equipped according to the latest NATO standards seem to take over the Romanian "enemy"; everything "is moving" in the name of pride of being Hungarian and of the sacred duty to recover the "lost homeland", the stolen homeland (this formula was used by the political representatives of the Magyars from Romania during the election campaign for the European elections – see enlightening images on above mentioned web portal)[38].

However, "folklore songs" exalting the traditional Romanian patriotism are most notorious in post-communist Romania. Their genesis are problematical, the songs being the product of a mixed culture that cultivates popular folk music (usually Transylvanian)– the lyrics being more or less original, belonging to some renowned singers. The best known "popular anthem" is undoubtedly *Lord, Protect Them Romanians*[39]. The post-communist career of this song is typical in terms of the nationalist level / barometer, for the manner of "filling the gap" created by a difficult and confusing identity between dropouts and radicalism. Obviously, the best known version of the song *Lord, Protect Them Romanians* is sung with the lyrics of Sava Negreanu - Brudascu, a poem of the Transylvanian Romanians invoking pathetically the divine protection in the name of a suffering trans-temporal – "Lord, do not forget about us / We are poor, needy / Lord protect them Romanians / We are poor and

[34] See the materials from http:// www.eroiinumor.ro

[35] In Greece, the "Golden Dawns", a anti-immigration-ist political group is active, and in Romania, a neo-Nazi group called "The Autonomous Nationalists from Timisoara, Heil Hitler" (NAT 88) are starting to manifest.

[36] See the most notorious ultra-nationalist Romanian sites: http: //www. miscarea.net, http: //www. blog.nouadreapta.org, http: // www. brasovpress. ro, http: //www.craisorulmuntilor.ro (the editor of this biographical site is http://www. napocanews.ro), http://www.horiasima.ro, http:// www.radugyr.ro, http://www.pentrupatrie.ro, http://www.eurosceptic.ro, http://foaienationala.ro, http://www.eternulmaramures.ro, http://www.magazin-nationalist.net

[37] BYE BYE Romania - Sekler Hungarian resistance-Székely Magyar Ellenállás! http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FYfdF3JONbo (visited on 10 April 2010).

[38] Anti-România, http:// www.youtube.com/user/antiromania (visited on 21 December 2012).

[39] It is sang at weddings, parties.

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full of bitter-/ Our cry is in vain / Lord protects them in Romanian", intensely experienced in the native country, a Promised land subjected to historical competition: "My holy Transylvania / You were you a long coveted / Lord protects them, Romanians / That's why our ancestral Transylvania's holy / For how long is man on earth / God, protect them, Romanians"[40] (we note here that no explicit oppressor is identified). Unfortunately, it is recently that an insulting and derogatory version started circulating, being sung at weddings or railway stations by drunk students. Decency prevents us from rendering the text of the most recent version of *Lord protect them, Romanians,* a text inviting to genocide related to Pistea ("the pejorative identification of Hungarians")**[41]**. However, another longer anonymous version inventory the oppressive past, the "historical enemies", presenting to followers a kind of eschatological finality, the reunification of the Homeland deprived of its territory and resources[42].

Regarding the love of your own country as the occasion for sublime suffering, all patriotic songs assess a state of crisis. Even the superficial comparisons may offer surprising conclusions. Thus, the much discussed *Székely Himnusz* (Székely anthem), as well ass the patriotic Hungarian songs, claim the eponymous hero figure, the "golden age", millennial suffering, historical "justice", the necessary eschatology caused only by exerting freedom, in fact, only by the so-called exclusivist manifestation of the divine, without which the Székely do not seem to be in their homeland, because the place where they live is not (exclusively) "Their Transylvania": "Who knows: where, where does fate lead us / On rough roads, in the darkness of the night? / Lead your people to victory once more / Prince Csaba[43], on the paths of stars. / A handful of Székely, grinded like a rock / By the sea of the battles between peoples ... / Its washes us hundreds of times, / Don't let Transylvania perish, O Lord! / As long as we live, Hungarian people, / Our soul will never be defeated. / We can be born anywhere, at any point of the globe, / Let our fate be good or bad. / Our past bitterness - a millennial cruel fate / With Tartars and Turk invasions, with soldiers who conquered us / Let us get in this country, on the ancient Székely land: To live happily in a free country"[44]. The same area, but from a different perspective is offered by *The Székely Romanians Anthem* (Horaţiu Comăniciu şi Ion Mânzatu): O, come to us, Captain / We toil and struggle in bitterness / We lost our language and law, / O, come, rebuild a shrine. / ... With you we will build a new country, / More proud than the sun in the sky...". The same land, but another ethnicised Transylvania, is mentioned in an old Romanian song referring to the drama of ceasing of Northern Transylvania in 1940: "If we left you Transylvania, / It's not our fault, we will return. / We have not been defeated and will not be tomorrow, / When the time of victory arrives. / ... We have a beloved and proud country, / We have it now and always will; / Our enemy who stands laughing today / will shake looking at it. / ...Our faith is in our country and always ahead/ to conquer what we have to conquer. / Transylvania our country is beloved / Salaj, Bihor and Cluj are dear to

[40] *Doamne, ocroteşte-i pe români (Lord, Protect Them Romanians)*, http://www. versuri.ro (visited on 21 December 2012).
[41] *Doamne, ocroteşte-i pe români (Lord, Protect Them Romanians)* http://www.trilulilu.ro/muzica.../doamne-ocroteste-i-pe-romani-necenzurat (visited on 23 May 2011).
[42] Doamne, ocroteşte-i pe români (Lord, Protect Them Romanians), http:// www.versuri.ro (visited on 20 August 2013).
[43] Prince Csaba, son of Atilla, considered the protector of Széklers..
[44] See Imnul secuiesc (The Székely Anthem), http://suferintamaghiarilor.xhost.ro/ (visited on 23 August 2012).

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us"[45]. This song was composed after the cease Northern Transylvania, and it expresses confidence in the possibility of recovery a territory mainly known as the "Romanian cradle of civilization"[46]. It is assumed that a choir, Men's Choir in Finteuşu Mare[47] spread this song in September-October 1940, a battle song as the expression of certainty on recovery of Transylvania abandoned by the Romanian authorities the Dictate from Vienna[48]. On legionary websites this song is associated with the figure of Ion Antonescu. In general, these sites approve euro-scepticism, seize anti-communist tradition and orthodox religiosity, and exalt traditionalism and mono-cultural-ism, the legionaries while promoting, in an apparently paradoxical manner, the image of Ion Antonescu as the expression of sacrifice for your own country; they, obviously, propagate xenophobia, the obsession with conspiracy, anti-Semitism.

However, Transylvania's multi-cultural anthem has been forgotten, an anthem for which ethnic identification is no longer functional. *Cântecul Transilvaniei (The Song of Transylvania)*, improperly called "the Saxon's song", describes Transylvania as "a proud country", millennial area, "a land of gold and vineyards", a land risen from water, "sweet homeland" for all its inhabitants": "... Transylvania, green cradle / for every offspring, / having all climates / nations, crowns worn / the altar of the home land. / 5. / Transylvania, realm of idioms / different in type and tone, / but united prayer / lifts all languages / towards the divine throne. / 6. / Transylvania, tolerant shelter for all beliefs, / for many days /defend in

[45]Horaţiu Comaniciu, Imnul Românilor secuizaţi (The Székely Romanians Anthem), http:// www.justsomelyrics.com/2439456/Imnul-Românilor-secuizati-Lyrics(visited on 21 decembrie 2012).

[46] Mihaela Grancea, "Ethnokulturelle Stereotype in der rümanischen Geschitsschreibung der Nachwendenzeit" in Zeitschrift fur Siebenburgische Landeskunde, Bollau Verlag Kőln-Weimar, 25 (96) Jahrgang, Heft 2, 2002, pp. 15-29.

[47] The choir was part of the Astra Association. The tradition confirms that the first concert was held at Somcuţa Mare, the centre of Chioar district, on the 1st of December 1918, where Romanians waited for information regarding the finalization of the Great National Gathering from Alba Iulia. When they heard that the unification was decided, the choir, led by Nistor Dragoş, sang Pe-al nostru steag e scris Unire (On Our Flag Is Written Union)(text by Andrei Bârsescu; music by Ciprian Porumbescu). The male choir from Finteuşu Mare (Maramureş county), a unique and long lasting cultural institution, promoted patriotic songs such as: Românul (Romanian) by Ciprian Porumbescu, Dorul Ardealului (Missing Transylvania) by Aurel Popovici, Resunetul Ardealului (Transylvania's Echo) by Ion Vidu, Marşul lui Tudor (Tudor's March) by Aurel Popovici, Pui de lei (Baby Lions) by Ionel Bratianu, Ceasul rău (The Evil Hour)Izidor Vorobchievici, etc.

[48] If we left you Transylvania, / It's not our fault, we will return. / We have not been defeated and will not be tomorrow, / When will the time of victory arrive? /... We had a beloved and proud country, / We had it then and will have it again; / Our enemy who stands laughing today / will shake looking at it./3/ We love you, you were ours / And we would have given our lives for you / But through the shameful dictate / The hortysts managed to steal you from us / We had a beloved and proud country, / We had it then and will have it again Our enemy who stands laughing today / will shake looking at it … 5/ From here, looking at you from far away / And bitter is your cry / When that our brothers who remained in you / are tortured by barbarians /6/ We had a beloved and proud country, / We had it then and will have it again; / Our enemy who stands laughing today / will shake looking at it./7/ We will take you as you are ours / Forever inherited from the Dacians and the Romans / We inherited you from our ancestors / And will not give you away / We had a beloved and proud country, / We had it then and will have it again; / Our enemy who stands laughing today / will shake looking at it. /8/ We will again pass the old borders / our armies will make their way / We had a beloved and proud country, / We had it then and will have it again; / Our enemy who stands laughing today / will shake looking at it. /9/ The faith in our country always ahead / To conquer what we have to conquer / Transylvania our country is beloved / Salaj, Bihor and Cluj are dear to us / We had a beloved and proud country, / We had it then and will have it again; / Our enemy who stands laughing today / will shake looking at it.". See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GojnxkVUM3Y (visited on 12 July 2013).

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freedom the being of the words. / 7 /. Transylvania, sweet homeland of our parents, beauty, glory to you, be your sons united in harmony by the same desire"[49].

A conclusion

If today's residual Hungarian-ism is not only the effect of a recent identity crisis, but has been the "Magyar dream" during the last century, Romanian-ism, in addition obsolete demagogueries related to the nostalgia for the geopolitical dimensions of Greater Romania has recently adopted other, "more seductive", expressions; they come from the legionary, thus also anti-communist tradition; these re-modelling of the identity project are mainly addressed to the young generations and therefore remixes recent popular culture topics.

Generally speaking, inter-ethnic reports are part of the socio-cultural reformulation. In this context, treating the history of interethnic relations involves, firstly, the concentration of interest and explanation upon the past, the achievement of "historic" reconciliation. Most often, however, this requires the political instrumentalisation of discourse regarding this history, ethnic identifications becoming the factors to produce animosities. From a political perspective, the ethno-cultural clichés again become functional in the process imagining the past. Recovered from the obscure sphere of the collective imaginary, they are reproduced and further transmitted, especially, as we mentioned before, through the products of popular culture, offering and fixating prejudices, racial stereotypes with an apparent explanatory role (see, in particular, the musical genres in the current popular culture). Ethnic prejudice, erroneous judgment prior to the direct contact experience is the product of historical logic created by autarkic communities, in line with historical experience hoarded in the collective consciousness; its action seems natural for the closed and xenophobic community structures, postulating the group as the perfect entity; However, in the era of globalization, with certainty, the system of representation based on ethnic prejudice is anachronistic. Yet, especially in specific contexts of system, and implicitly identity crisis, this group narcissism (Erich Fromm)[50] becomes a source of group solidarity, but also of justification of aggression towards the other.

[49] Siebenbürgen, Land des Segens (Transilvanie, ţară binecuvântată / Transylvania, A Blessed Country) este also known under the name of Siebenburgenlied/ Cântecul Transilvaniei (The Song of Transylvania)(lyrics by Leopold Maximilian Moltke; music by Johann Lukas Hedwig, a Saxon composerborn at Hălchiu). The song was interpreted for the first time in 1845-1846, dar became notorious during the difficult years 1848-1849. We reproduce here the entire text: Redăm textul original: 1. Siebenbürgen, Land des Segens,/Land der Fülle und der Kraft,/Mit dem Gürtel der Karpaten/Um das grüne Kleid der Saaten,/Land voll Gold und Rebensaft./2. Siebenbürgen, Meeresboden/Einer längst verfloss'nen Flut!/Nun ein Meer von Ährenwogen,/Dessen Ufer waldumzogen/An der Brust des Himmels ruht!/3. Siebenbürgen, Land der Trümmer/Einer Vorzeit stark und groß,/Deren tausendjähr'ge Spuren/Ruhen noch in deinen Fluren/Ungeschwächtem Ackerschoß./4. Siebenbürgen, grüne Wiege/Einer bunten Völkerschar!/Mit dem Klima aller Zonen,/Mit dem Kranz der Nationen/Um des Vaterlands Altar!/5. Siebenbürgen, grüner Tempel/Mit der Berge hohem Chor,/Wo der Andacht Huldigungen/Steigen in so vielen Zungen/Zu dem einen Gott empor!/6. Siebenbürgen, Land der Duldung/Jedes Glaubens sich'rer Hort./Mögst du bis zu fernen Tagen/Als ein Hort der Freiheit ragen/Und als Wehr dem freien Wort!/7. Siebenbürgen, süße Heimat,/Unser teures Vaterland!/Sei gegrüßt in deiner Schöne,/Und um alle deine Söhne/Schlinge sich der Eintracht Band!" See Herman Brause, Siebenbürgen, Land des Segens: Reiseerinnerungen:mit einem Titelbild und 18 Abbildungen im Text, (s.l. : Sächsische Werlagsgesellchaft, 1928).

[50] Vincent Yzerbit, George Schandron, "Stereotipuri şi judecată socială" ("Stereotypes and Social Judgement"), in Stereotipuri, discriminare şi relaţii intergrupuri (Stereotypes, Discriminations and Inter-Groups Relations), coord. by Richard Bourhis, Jacques-Philippe Leyens, (Iaşi: Polirom, 1998), p. 99; Mihaela Grancea, Adrian Ciobanu, "Criza identitară românească. Discurs istoriografic şi stereotipuri etnoculturale", Identitate si alteritate

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Our scepticism is slightly cracked but a recent anthem creation trying to help rebuilding society strongly split due interracial and cultural differences, segregation-ism. Starting from 1997, the South African national anthem is a composite song that combines anthem *Sikelel' iAfrika* (*God Bless Africa)*[51] and former anthem *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika* (*Call From South Africa*)[52]. Thus, the current anthem of South Africa legitimizes the multicultural nation and is an expression of the attempt of conciliation: „God bless Africa/Let its (Africa's) horn be raised,/ Listen also to our prayers,/Lord bless us, we are the family of it (Africa)./ Lord bless our nation,/Stop wars and sufferings,/Save it, save our nation,/The nation of South Africa — South Africa./ From the blue of our heavens,/From the depths of our seas,/Over our everlasting mountains,/Where the cliffs give answer,/ Sounds the call to come together,/And united we shall stand,/Let us live and strive for freedom/In South Africa our land"[53].

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[51] In 1897, Methodist priest Enoc Sontongafesor wrote this religious anthem, which later became the symbol of the fight against the apartheid politics..

[52] Die Stem van Suid-Afrika (The Voice of South Africa) is a poem written by C. J. Langenhoven (1918), the music was composed by Marthinus Lourens de Villiers (1921). It became the expression of the Afrikaans' identity.

[53] Carlin, John (2008). Playing the Enemy. New York: Penguin. pp. 147-153.

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