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## Uncovering Romania by Geography. A Study on How Geography in Romania Cultivated Lands and Romanians

**Abstract:** This paper contributes to the understanding of how the institutionalization of geography as science and discipline empowered the Romanian elites' nationalist discourse before World War Two. Far from being an objective, neutral and value-free science, geography invented new worlds and served to the expansion of imperialist powers. By the same token, with the same colonial instruments, it served to legitimize the Romanian nationalist elite in its state building endeavor. Older than time, geography overcame history and, closely following the German model, proved that borders are primarily ethnic. More permanent than historicity, geography proves that the Romanian state was authentic, natural and organic and justified the pursuit of the only Romanian colonial project, Dobrogea, as pursued, as it deplored irredentist processes in Transylvania, Bukovina and Bessarabia. Dismissed as descriptive and non-intellectual since 19<sup>th</sup> century, geography ended up playing a significant role in supporting the successful story of Romanian nation building.

“To take the country out from the unknown” were the words of Carol I, would be the king of Romania addressed to various Romanian scientists of the time, highly educated in West. By these words, the king from Prussia founded in his new *heimat*, Romania, in 1875, the National Geographic Society, following the model of royal societies of the time. Putting geography into light was to take people and land out of the darkness, to discover them, to describe them, to re-present them by all means. In a nutshell, it was about embodying a nation. The United Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were recognized in 1859 by the western powers, and in the years that followed, Romania colonized incorporated Dobrogea (1878), Transylvania, Bukovina and Bessarabia (1918). Great Romania materialized within its *natural* borders and so nationalism had to be pursued to consolidate these borders. Great Romania started to be represented as a natural body, and, consequently, its hygiene and redemption were looked for.

The present paper focuses on how the institutionalization of geography as an academic discipline been a strong impetus in the construction of the Romanian modern nation. It first discusses how mapping land and people substantially helped in the legitimization of colonial expansion and how, by the same token, such techniques empowered nationalism: it was with these same colonial tools that Romania constructed the nation, envisioned a “homeland”, and further carried out its colonial and irredentist projects in the aftermaths of 1878 and 1918. The second part of this paper discusses how geography entered academia at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, how it was politically instrumentalized to result in evolutionary theories, and how it has since been contested as an object of study<sup>1</sup>. The paper then explores Romanian

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<sup>1</sup> Alan Dingsdale, *Mapping Modernities. Geographies of Central and Eastern Europe, 1920-2000*, Routledge, 2002; “Geography: the World is our stage” in John A Mathweys and David T. Herbert, *Geography, A very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, 2008

geographical textbooks as well as geographers' works in order to understand how they both construct the imaginary homeland and establish the discourse on the Romanian ethnic ontology, going beyond history while proving the Romanian ancestral nature and uniqueness. The last part focuses on the biographies of the Romanian geographers in order to emphasize their intellectual genealogy into the German school of Geography.

The most prominent scholars investigating the idea of nation and national identity (e.g. Elie Kedourie, Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm and Anthony D. Smith) bifurcate the debate along the question of whether the idea of the nation is a natural manifestation or a cultural construction. Whatever the case may be, instrumentalism overcame the debate by emphasizing nationalism's relation to modernization such as the new national states of the 19<sup>th</sup> century who lacked the nation but not the elites to construct it prove. The Romanian university establishment, inspired by the Western model is part of the process of building national elite, and by the turn of the twentieth century the marriage of politics and intellectuals in constructing the nation was cemented. It goes without saying that nationalism stood also intimately connected to religion<sup>2</sup> for the case of Romania and here again, the role of intellectuals, was to become more poignant. How geography contributed to the study of the relation between nationalism, religion and modernity, received far less attention than its more prestigious bedfellow, history. If one century ago, geography was seen as adjacent to the study of history and relegated to the status of a gymnasial discipline (indeed to never fully prove its academic status ever since) by the same token, the study of nationalism did not pay close attention to geography. However blunt and contested the process of institutionalizing geography was, it brought on the table of power people and lands and, in a nutshell, it contributed to how modernity started.

Thongchai Winichakul<sup>3</sup> revitalized the studies on nationalism showing that mapping Siam meant the first step in constructing a Thai identity. The geo-body was constructed closely to the advance of geography at the time and, progressively, replaced traditional ways of envisioning belonging and difference. A reflexive reading of colonialism in Western Europe had shown the importance of geography in the project of colonial expansion and Benedict Anderson, who coined the concept of nation as an "imagined community", recognized the importance of mapping these processes in the nationalist imagination. Liulevicius's recent work on the transition from geography as imagining "land and people" to geography as imagining "space and race" shows the permeability of geography to political projects and equally how geography may bring out political projects. More specifically he referred to the expansion of Germany towards East, and argued that the process of evolution from German nationalism to Eastern colonialism is what brought the Second World War<sup>4</sup>. Nonetheless, one should not forget that Germany in the last three decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century became an imperial power and that it was also the time when most of the European colonies land was appropriated. Therefore, mapping was used both for colonizing and for nationalizing projects and so, they are different parts of the same coin.

Yet, another insufficiency in studying Central, Eastern and South European nationalism is born out of the projected cleavage between colonialism and nationalism although both

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<sup>2</sup> *Nations and Nationalism*, Rogers Brubaker, "Religion and nationalism: four approaches", 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*, University of Hawai'i Press, 1994

<sup>4</sup> Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius, *War Land on the Eastern Front. Culture National Identity and German Occupation in World War I*, Cambridge University Press, 2004;

processes center upon empowering an elite over a land. In the case of Romania it was a nationalist elite educated in the West who carried out the nationalist project and gradually inflicted the national sentiment over Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman millet - now the subjects of the Romanian state. I argue that the Romanian elite at that time was using also colonial instruments in order to construct the Romanian nation and to look to its people, while the map became one of the most powerful tools in defining the people and inspiring patriotic education. Mapping borders and people came to be seen as a first tool in empowering land expansion and legitimizing power over the land. The only Romanian colonial land, Dobrogea, has been undertaken afterwards<sup>5</sup> and Romania went out of World War One with its land redrawn and, consequently, almost doubled. That was nothing to hope for more than keeping what it was achieved. During all these periods of dramatic changes, geography was remained constant in representing the homeland of the Romanians. The geography textbook at the turn of the century was entitled “Romania and the land inhabited by Romanians” therefore bearing from its very inception the irredentist dream.

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, geography was seen as a mistress of history in the process of university institutionalization in Europe and its colonies. The same was the case of Romania, who closely followed Western models, and so, reluctance and distrust towards geography might be read even in the relegation of delegating textbook writing to a woman although later on, when geography entered university, men took over. Its institutionalization remains a contested process from its inception, to be further discredited when Ivy League members, faithfully following Harvard University’s 1948 decision, closed their Departments of Geography in the immediate postwar period to reopen later (Harvard was never to reconsider its initial decision)<sup>6</sup>.

Answering to the question How old geography is? was thought to be the legitimization of a discipline. There was an always-presumed continuity in studying geography since Antiquity but at that time it was just to help localization of historical events. New land discoveries and travelers contributed to the advance of geographical knowledge but they were not the very reason of the academic geography foundation as they just wrote stories and descriptions without claiming to lay the foundation for a discipline. There were stories and descriptions to be told at Geographical Royal Societies meeting or carried out by the Societies’ members themselves, in order to advance knowledge of cultures, flora and fauna, but not geography as a work of synthesis over land and people, as it was defined later. Nor it was the tradition of cosmography since 17<sup>th</sup> century, which was taught in universities and concerns the study of earth placed in universe but not of the earth in itself, the very reason of geography foundation. Actually, geography constitutes itself as an academic discipline following the advance of evolutionary theories in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which brought along the comparative perspective and the work of synthesis. The linkages between land and people were following all other universal laws, which found in nature and ge-nature and in universe. The first work seen as geographical was Humboldt’s “Cosmos” that

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<sup>5</sup> Constantin Iordachi, ““The California of the Romanians”: the Integration of Northern Dobrogea into Romania: 1878-1913” in *Nation Building and Contested Identities. Romanian and Hungarian Case Studies*, ed. Balazs Trencsealnyi, Drago Petrescu, Cristina Petrescu, Constantin Iordachi and Zoltan Kalntor, Regio Books, Budapest, Polirom, Iasi, 2001; pp. 121-153;

<sup>6</sup> Richard Wright and Nathalie Koch, “Geography in the Ivy League”, 2009  
[www.dartmouth.edu/~geog/IvyGeog.pdf](http://www.dartmouth.edu/~geog/IvyGeog.pdf), last accessed April 12, 2012

shows similar laws between universal and terrestrial worlds and Carl Ritter's work on the connections between geography and human history. They are switching the focus, revealing how land and its history might help understand human history. The Romanian National Geographic Society emulates the tradition of traveling and expeditors are encouraged to travel for stories since its foundation in 1875<sup>7</sup>. Nevertheless, it was only later, in 1892, when Simion Mehedinti was sent westward to study geography, and he ended up in Leipzig, under Fr. Ratzel's supervision, the author of anthropogeographie and political geography.

The short interlude between the process of naming and defining geography and its academic establishment showed that the discovering of the new worlds and colonial expansion of Germany in the last three decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century played an important role, but I argue that the final stroke was the theory of evolutions developed at the time. In just one world, different worlds evolved and land, nature, and people seemed to follow the same rules. Starting from that, geography reclaimed the right to synthesis and universality, which enables any science to exist and be recognized as such. Its object of study was still debated at the time, when Simion Mehedinti, Fr. Ratzel's doctoral student, came back to Romania, and became chair of geography in 1900 and he played a fundamental part in defining the discipline's object. His work was not translated and he patronized the discipline until 1942 when he retired, and his work remains crucial for geography institutionalization.

Simion Mehedinti pleaded for universalist understandings of a science of geography with different branches but emphasized that a synthesis of geography knowledge is possible. He was also the advocate of anthropogeography in Romania, a term and a discipline coined by Fr. Ratzel, and a vision born out of the presumed connection between land and people, with perilous similarities in the laws of biological and zoological species. Geography adapted the instruments of colonialism to nationalism, by the objectification of the land and people, In the case of Romania, anthropology and ethnography were much embedded in the geographical research. It was not Darwinism as much as Lamarckianism (explaining adaptation in nature) which became the chosen theory of S. Mehedinti in his efforts to argue for the continuity and authenticity of the Romanian people, but not for their influences or incorporation by others. Anthropogeography was so ambitious that it encompassed ethnography, Christian religion and history on the one hand, and also the mapping, naming and locating, on the other hand. Dobrogea, the only Romanian colony, became one of the first projects<sup>8</sup>. Crucial importance was seen in bringing geographical knowledge towards Transylvania, Bukovina, Dobrogea and Maramures, as another way of possessing land. Ethnogeography and ethnopedagogy were employed in order to discover people and represent them through means of colonial knowledge production. Therefore, how Romanian geography became a science with which to cultivate both lands and people until the end of the World War Two was a forgotten history.

The metaphor of the body expresses a collective identity, being it race, specie, or ethnicity. "The body was of one blood, one race and one will; it could allow no foreign

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<sup>7</sup> The first explorers sponsored by S.R.S. were Iuliu Popper in Patagonia, G. Assan in northern Canada, D. Ghica in Somalia, Em. Racovita in Antartida. Vintila Mihailescu, *Simion Mehedinti. Opere alese*, Ed. Stiintifica, Bucuresti, 1967; p.31

<sup>8</sup> See the correspondence between Simion Mehedinti and Constantin Bratescu, one of his disciples, strongly encouraged to map and write about Dobrogea. Simion Mehedinti, *Scrisori catre Bratescu*, Convorbiri Literare, Iasi, 2001;

contamination, no impurities or mixes”<sup>9</sup>. Therefore I take on the metaphor of the body as it appears in the intellectual construction of the Romanian national identity in order to emphasize on the ethnic unity and to show the multiple ways in which the metaphor was used. Here, the debate can be reconceptualized when we come to see the nation through the lens of the Christian idea of body. This concept illuminates mutability when we follow its occurrences through incarnation, Eucharist and resurrection. That was the way of becoming or re-becoming truly Romanian for all people who lived in the Romanian territories, except for the Jews and the Gypsies. The first are refused the belonging as not being Christian as the article 7 from 1866’s Constitution stated, and both are excluded for their blood. I also inquire about the unmovable assumptions of static ethnicity that the Romanians have always shared, closer to the German discourse of race given by the ‘rational’ discourse of modernity. The Christian identity Romanian elites, in the discursive construction of collective identity, represent nation through Christianity and ethnicity - as an exclusive way of being Romanian, an exclusive way of belonging. In consequence, much of the state elite and popular discourse in Romania pivoted on corporeal assertions about being national. As everyone was suffering, Romania had a heart; as interests were the same, Romania had a mind; as everyone was Christian, Romania had to be redeemed. And as everyone was part of a whole, Romania had a body (‘trup’).

The body means unity and so does the geo-body. Geography set national borders and they were meant to divide. If the imperial borders were passable, the national ones were not. Geographical borders are as much natural as they are ethnic and as much ethnic as they are natural. The Romanian maps drawn in the textbooks represented Romania not by its state borders but by its ethnic borders<sup>10</sup>. Here, Romanian irredentism might be read. The river Prut borders the Romanian state on the East but ethnic Romanians live up to the river Nistru, which marks its natural/ethnic border, and so are the margins of the imagined map. In the West there are the Carpathians Mountains, seen by the Hungarians as naturally dividing Romania and Hungary but it is the Romanian geographers who came to say that they are not a natural border but the very spine of the Romanian land. It was the river Tisa that marked the natural westward border of the Old Kingdom as the national poem goes: “From Tisa to the Nistru's tide/ All Romania's people cried/ That they could no longer stir/ For the rabbled foreigner.”<sup>11</sup> Therefore, the map became the most powerful tool in imagining the country and the nation, and so the authors of the geographical textbooks concluded: “we traveled in our minds the land inhabited by Romanians”<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> Erik Ringman, “Nationalism: The Idiocy of Intimacy” in *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 49, no. 4 (Dec. 1998); pp. 534-549;

<sup>10</sup> G. Murgoci and P. Burca, *Romania si tarile locuite de romani cu o introducere generala asupra Europei si notiuni de cosmografie. Manual pentru clasa a IV-a secundara*, Institutul de Arte Grafice Carol Gobl, Bucuresti, 1905,

<sup>11</sup> Mihai Eminescu, *Doina*, a well-known melancholy Romanian folk song.

<sup>12</sup> “Am strabatut cu mintea pamantul locuit de Romani, le-am vazut rostul lor prin alte tari, am cercetat trecutul lor si am cautat sa ne dam seama de traiul lor, mai dulce sau mai amar, dupa loc si dupa vecini,; sa stam in loc si sa privim in total neamul acesta roman aruncat de soarta in Orientul European. Constatam intre Dunare, Nistru si Tisa populatia romana compacta in deplina vigoare, aceasta intrece cifra de 10 milioane, de abia jumătate din ea constituie tara libera, regatul Romaniei.” Murgoci si Burca, *op. cit.* editia a III-a; p. 260.

But one should not overlook that a map representation is just one of many other possible representations and yet also a metaphor. The introduction of the textbook refers to the introduction to the belonging to Europe's superiority:

"Europe is entirely situated in the temperate area, meaning exactly there where the climate influences at its best on people, making them diligent and smarter. Situated above in the middle of the continental hemisphere, near the all other continents, made more easier the communication with the other continents and led to their subjugation by Europeans."<sup>13</sup>

Political, ethnical, national, demographical or religious maps are ways of representing the body of the nation and therefore they institutionalize belonging and loyalty. To help pupils in reading the map, the authors of textbook compared the country to a sun and the "oppressed people living under the rule of foreigners are like the radiuses of the sun".<sup>14</sup> Resembling Romania to sun became another everlasting image in the nationalist discourse. "I vow to God that I shall make Romania in the likeness of the holy sun in the sky", was the oath taken by extreme right legionnaires of the First World War generation. The natural borders also constructed natural enemies, the Russians and the Hungarians - those who cannot be trusted, cannot be befriended and who oppressed at that time the Romanian people and prevented national fraternity to be materialized.

The borders are ethnographic and anthropological units. Every branch of geography created regions, biological, geodesic, hydrographic units, and consequently, by using the same methodology, people became categorized. The categorization and stereotypification of people much advanced racism, chauvinism and the colonial expansion in the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; inasmuch as people are mapped, discovered and taught, people are objectified and the discourses on the "other" versus "us" are constructed on the immutable differences of blood and land. In the work of Simion Mehedinti, Eskimos, Australians, and Romanians are represented based on immutable differences born out of a land and of genetics, which also illuminates on the character of the people<sup>15</sup>. Difference was meant to explain one's unity as the nationalist discourse strongly relies on the image of the stranger inasmuch answer to the question "who are we?" They also bring the theme of the internal traitors, here the Gypsies and the Jews in the United Principalities and Greek-Catholics in Transylvania during the interwar period, which spoiled the authentic character of the Romanians and were feared of betrayal. Homeland is an imagery concept as powerful as the nation, since the country land may be grasped only in one's mind. The land was to bear the ontology and the unity of the people and their rural roots should not be betrayed by Western emulation, seen as "forms without roots".

As geography was born out of the nationalist discourse, it also draws heavily on religious vocabulary. The chosen people, the chosen book, the chosen land, and martyrdom are present in any nationalist endeavor. The national poet Mihai Eminescu was the mind that thinks for all Romanians and, and the heart that suffers for all Romanians. His poems "are the Scripture

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<sup>13</sup> "Europa e in intregime in zona temperata (s.a.) adica tocmai acolo unde clima inraureste mai mult in bine asupra oamenilor, facandu-I mai vrednici si mai destepti. Deasupra ea este asezata in mijlocul emisferului continental, in apropierea tuturor celorlalte continente, ceea ce a inlesnit comunicarea intre ele si a adus supunerea acestora sub stapanirea europenilor". *Idem*, p. 1;

<sup>14</sup> *Idem*, p.22.

<sup>15</sup> Simion Mehedinti, *Antropogeografia. Pentru clasa a VI-a secundara*, Terra, Focsani, 2007.

meant to heal the pains of his people.”<sup>16</sup> From this perspective, three theses are found in the memoirs and anthropogeography work of Simion Mehedinti: “We are Christians before Christianity”, “None can be a full human being if he is not Christian” and “Who does not appreciate Eminescu is not a truly Romanian.”<sup>17</sup> Both advancing knowledge and myth-making builds the national imagery. And so geography progressed.

As geography was older than history, it could add pre-historical settings by and through itself. The Romanian pre-historicity is an everlasting theme in the Romanian nationalist discourse and continued during the early post-Communist years. Geography issued a birth certificate to Romanians showing/proving the continuity of the Dacians, who survived Roman Empire colonization processes, but were not born out of colonization, as the historians had believed. Therefore, even though lacking documents and just imagining the land, the geographer could assert permanence of the Romanians from pre-historical times within their territory. And it is that which give the promises of eternity to the people. Since geography owns the ancestral, primordial and immemorial times with a force only granted to folklore, ethnographic work was pursued arduously. Simion Mehedinti, George Valsan, Ion Concea, Constantin S. Nicolaescu Plopsor, were geographers and ethnographers as well.

Moreover, anthropogeography goes further than history because it shows not just the past, but the living past. Permanence and unity, the authenticity of the Romanian people, are the same since forever and will stay the same forever. “We, the Romanians, want to be what we are: sons of our parents, followers of our forefathers.”<sup>18</sup> Changes in time were overcome and it was only geography that could go beyond them.

Another key shifting from history to geography was given by replacing the thesis of nomad people to the one of transhumant people and so establishing centrality of the relationship between man and nature helped transfer a mystical connection to the land. Equally nationalism portrayals of nomadic Hungarians, Tatars, Gypsies and Jews, became everlasting images of the stranger in the Romanian collective imagery, while Germans were merely guests. The state is seen as organic and the natural fulfillment/consequence of becoming Romanian. The Jews and the Gypsies are considered never to reach the momentum to become “people” nor a nation and therefore they were denied a state as well. Due to their inferiority, they live among people, nations and states, never to reach by themselves. “As the original vegetation and fauna are preserved in national reservations by a country, so should the ethnic varieties be preserved.”<sup>19</sup>

While the German discourse became radicalized so did Romanian nationalism and the preeminence of geographical discourse over people. It follows closely the eugenics project as the only way to redemption. The curve of ethnic values (infra-homines, sana mediocritas, super homines) is constructed by S. Mehedinti at the end of his work “Premises and conclusions to Terra”.

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<sup>16</sup> Simion Mehedinti, *Premise si concluzii la Terra. Amintiri si Marturisiri*, Monitorul Oficial si Imprimeriile Statului, Bucuresti, 1946 P. 237;

<sup>17</sup> Simion Mehedinti, *Crestinismul Romanesc: Adaos la caracterizarea etnografica a poporului roman*, Anastasia, Bucuresti, 1995; Simion Mehedinti, *Parabole si Invataturi pentru clasa a II-a secundara. Carte aprobata de Ministerul Culturii Nationale si al Cultelor si de Sf. Sinod*. Editia a VIII-a (cu o harta), Cugetarea – Georgescu Delafraș, Fd. Librăriei Socec, Bucuresti, 1929.

<sup>18</sup> “Noi romanii vrem sa fim ceea ce suntem: fii ai parintilor, urmasi ai stramosilor”, Simion Mehedinti, *Catre noua generatie*, editura Minerva, Bucuresti, 1912;

<sup>19</sup> “Dupa cum se pastreaza in parcuri nationale vegetatia si fauna originala a unei tari sa fie pastrate si varietatile entice, cate au mai ramas in fiinta.” *Idem*;

“We all know well today that if we watch “the pure lines”, the return to an inferior type, recessivity, is no longer possible. And the curve of the ethnic values shows us the way to select creatures [...] the deformed and infirm individuals are a kind of trash of the specie, rejected by the healthy crowd [...] here is the key to progress, to wipe out the trash, then to select out of the crowd the best developed sample in order to assure the inheritance of the traits worth to be praised.”<sup>20</sup>

Three filiations contributed to the formation of the geographers in Romania. They are all, in themselves, phenomena of estrangement and return; the leaving home and the coming back home, would have bear profound symbolical meanings. The first one is the journey of studying abroad, an intellectual endeavor having Paris, Berlin and Leipzig<sup>21</sup> as centers where geography was about to be institutionalized and professors were lecturing on geography. Lebensraum, organic state, geopolitics, anthropogeography and ethnography were invented and manipulated avant la letter. The latter conceptualization of their work will always draw from this genealogy. From Paris, Simion Mehedinti<sup>22</sup> reached Leipzig where Fr. Ratzel was teaching. George Valsan studied in Paris and Berlin. Constantin Bratescu also chose Leipzig. The first one chaired geography in Bucharest until the end of the World War Two, George Valsan came to Transylvania to chair the Department of Geography after the World War First Another key moment is the returning home which awaken conscience. Simion Mehedinti, before graduated from Leipzig, will have spent two years in Soveja, his birth village, and in his later memoires that will be seen as “the return of the lost son”. Vasile Merutiu immigrated to Romania in 1905 just to return in Transylvania in 1918 to contribute to the establishment of the geography in university. The last one will be the symbolical return to a symbolical home: the homeland.

Romanian geography, as a discipline and science, shares along its intellectual filiations an ambiguous genealogy: while serving to modernize culture, it simultaneously acted as an anti-modernizer in promoting formations of ethnicity and Christian spirituality; while serving to emancipate people it ended up in an eugenic ethno pedagogical endeavor. So far, no critical study of Romanian geography and its founders as a nationalist project per se has been conducted and no explicit links to Romanian colonialism (i.e. Dobrogea) and its irredentism have been revealed.

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<sup>20</sup> “Azi stim bine ca daca priveghem “liniile pure” intoarcerea spre un tip inferior, recesivitatea,, este cu neputinta iar curba valorilor ne arata calea de urmat pentru selectionarea tuturor vietatilor. [...] indivizii sluti ori infirmi sunt un fel de gunoiu al speciei, pe care gloata sanatoasa il resping [...] aici e cheia progresului, sa maturi gunoiul , apoi sa alegi din gloata normala exemplarele cele mai bine dezvoltate ca sa asiguri mostenirea insusirilor de lauda.” *Idem*, p. 244;

<sup>21</sup> Grigore P. Pop, *Geografia la Universitatea din Cluj in perioada 1919-1947*, ed. George Baritiu, Cluj Napoca, 1999; p. 31

<sup>22</sup> Victor Tufescu, *Simion Mehedinti: Viata si Opera*, ed. Enciclopedica, Bucuresti, 1994.

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