

MAGICAL REALISM IN ROMANIA'S CULTURAL DIPLOMACY AND BRANDING

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Abstract. Magical realism in today's external cultural representation starts primarily from the literary legacy of the Colombian writer Gabriel García Márquez, and is used in cultural diplomacy and branding actions to build the image of places where what in the eyes of Westerners seems extraordinary, exotic and sometimes absurd, for locals is part of everyday life. Magical realism is useful for developing countries because it mirrors their complex realities, achieving a unity of opposites: archaism and modernity, colonial past and post-industrial present, rational and supernatural perspective. Magical realism is also necessary for addressing the post-national and post-modern in the sphere of cultural representations in IR. Romania is no longer cheap, losing a major comparative advantage that must be compensated by competitive cultural diplomacy and branding in which various formulas of Magical Realism are an essential ingredient.

Keywords: *International Relations; Branding; Cultural Diplomacy; Magical Realism; Ethnic Culturalism*

The term *Magical Realism* first appeared in the German art critic Franz Roh in 1925 to address post-expressionist manifestations in art (especially painting) which in his vision move away from the abstract, returning to the realism of representation but with a nuance of magic and mystery behind visible reality.¹ The term migrated from the German visual arts to literature to gain recognition in South American literature (Gabriel García Márquez, Luis Borges, Mario Vargas Llosa, Isabel Allende, Julio Cortázar etc.). In 1955, the Puerto Rican Ángel Flores played an important role in adapting the term "Magical Realism" to literature, starting with the article, "Magical Realism in Spanish American Fiction" where he describes it as a "transformation of the banal everyday into something strange, miraculous while maintaining its basis in reality".² We also encounter *Magical*

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¹ Franz Roh, "Magic Realism: Post-Expressionism (1925)", *Magical Realism: Theory, History, Community*, edited by Lois Parkinson Zamora and Wendy B. Faris, New York, USA: Duke University Press, 1995, pp. 15-32. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780822397212-003>.

² Ángel Flores, "Magical Realism in Spanish American Fiction", *Hispania*, vol. 38, no. 2 (May, 1955), American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese, pp. 187-192.

Realism at Hemingway, the British John Fowels as far as we are concerned, the Romanians Mircea Eliade, Fănuș Nagu and more recently Cărtărescu.³ *Magical realism* in today's external cultural representation starts primarily from the literary legacy of the Colombian writer Gabriel García Márquez, and is used in cultural diplomacy and branding actions to build the image of places where what in the eyes of Westerners seems extraordinary, exotic and sometimes absurd, for the locals is part of the everyday life.⁴ *Magical realism* is useful for developing countries because it mirrors their complex realities by achieving a unity of opposites: archaism and modernity, colonial past and post-industrial present, rational perspective and the supernatural.⁵

Magical realism nuances and offers a counterbalance to *Realism* in IR that sees the world through the binomial of power relations or the zero-sum game, the realities in IR as a reflection of the human condition being more complex and subtler. The reality itself on which *Political Realism* would be based may be a constructed illusion, a narrative of the absurd founded on the historical memory of communities that is subjective and the result of collective traumas. It is a perspective by virtue of which reality is not something objective but subjective depending on the *lenses* with which we view it, the *lenses* being a metaphor for cultural perspectives, collective mentalities that can be induced or modified both by historical experience itself and by subjective factors (education, cultural heritage, representation of history, propaganda, religion, etc.). Behavior that apparently defies rationality thus becomes explicable. Under these conditions, quantitative research tools are complemented by dimensions that are more difficult to capture: mentalities, myths and collective psychoses, political language in the press and, more recently, in social media platforms.

Already established doctrines such as Professor Nye's *Soft Power* imply an infusion of *Magical Realism* in the analysis of IR.⁶ The cultural dimension is subjective, complex and difficult to approach without the appeal to the irrational, subtle, utopian. *Magical Realism* is also necessary for approaching the post-national and post-modern in the sphere of cultural representations in IR.⁷ The contradictory mixture between tradition and modernity, archaism and modernism, archaic traditions and Western elements, rural and urban encountered in many developing societies requires a cultural representation tool that accepts the confusion and the inexplicable with a dose of irony and humor that is

³ Charles W. Scheel, *Réalisme magique et réalisme merveilleux. Des théories aux poétiques*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2005.

⁴ Christopher Warnes, Kim Anderson Sasser, *Magical Realism and Literature. Cambridge Critical Concepts*, Cambridge University Press, 2020, pp. 1-10.

⁵ Iulian Cătălui, "Realismul magic latinoamerican și universal: perspective literare și filosofice" (II), *Tribuna Magazine*, <https://tribuna-magazine.com/realismul-magic-latinoamerican-si-universal-perspective-literare-si-filosofice-ii/#:~:text=unitate%20a%20contrariilor:%20via%C8%9B%C4%83%20%C5%9F%20moarte%20%C4%83%C8%9B%20%C5%9F%20acceptarea%20supranaturalului%20ca%20realitate%20prozaic%C4%835>, accessed 10.03.2026.

⁶ Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, Harvard University Press, 2004.

⁷ Karla Resende da Costa, Luisa Davi Oliveira de Mesquita, "Beyond Science Fiction: Magical Realism as an Approach to Literature in International Relations", *Contexto Internacional*, vol. 46(3) Sep./Dec. 2024, pp. 1-21, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0102-8529.20244603e20220054>.

expressed in more or less inspired formulas.⁸ The conventional tools used in the analysis of IR do not work here because they were not designed to navigate with dexterity between the real and the imaginary.

For the Romanian brand in IR, the creation, adaptation and exploitation of the *Dracula* myth would be an exercise in applying *Magical Realism*, a blend of truth and fiction, all garnished with the wild and primordial (compared to Western Europe) context of the Carpathians. However, there is nothing new in this endeavor, and the number of tourists that Romania manages to attract is low compared to the number of tourists attracted from tens of thousands of km away by New Zealand, for example, by exploiting the fiction blockbuster *The Lord of the Rings* filmed in this country, a mega dose of *Magical Realism* from which the brand and tourism infrastructure of this country have been feeding for over two decades. For Romania, the most successful brand campaign, the documentary series *Wild Carpathia*, made by British journalist Charlie Ottley and broadcast internationally on the *Travel Channel* (associated with *National Geographic*-style promotion), exploits precisely the mysterious, primordial, magical character of the Carpathians, emphasizes biodiversity, untouched landscapes in the “last true wilderness of Europe”.⁹ It began as an independent project supported by *The European Nature Trust*, and benefited in subsequent stages from support from the Romanian authorities, being a successful alternative to official brand campaigns.¹⁰ *Wild Carpathia* managed to create a country brand based on eco-tourism and nature, more internationally appreciated than any of the previous campaigns. It also benefited from continuity through the *Wild Romania* series, the largest nature documentary project in Romania, a successful documentary that completes the initial branding approach.¹¹ The transition of brand representation towards the aesthetics of the nature documentary (as a form of visual postmodernism) can be noted. *The Untamed Romania Campaign*, with the involvement of King Charles III, also follows the same line, presenting Romania not through monuments, but through wild biodiversity, the country’s identity being attached to its ecosystems.¹²

The rites of passage, the success and large number of *active witches* as well as the ancestral traditions of the Roma (also associated as a community itself with the idea of magic and the supernatural) also contribute to the country’s *Magical Realism* portfolio. Like many other things in cultural diplomacy and branding, the infusion of *Magical Realism* can be done more or less properly and can easily degenerate into kitsch. The *Dracula myth* has been exploited inclusively through unfortunate formulas. Bran Castle is presented as Dracula’s Castle although it had no connection to it, and Dracula’s Castle in Bistrița was built in the 70s out of concrete (today in ruins) only with the idea of offering what various

⁸ Christopher Warnes, Kim Anderson Sasser, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-10.

⁹ www.carpathia.org, accessed on 5 March 2026.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ www.wildventure.ro, accessed on 5 March 2026.

¹² *Ibidem*.

tour operators believed that the Western tourist wanted to see.¹³ In general, the dose of kitsch is hard to avoid in the so-called *Dark Tourism* or the various formulas that connect history with various forms of Pop culture. However, it is not Dracula and his myth that endanger Romania's authentic cultural identity. The inspired integration of legends (including in *Dark tourism* and *Pop culture* versions) as a problem is marginal in relation to the urgency of preserving historical cultural heritage through the inspired valorization of this heritage in contemporary infrastructure and development (new constructions that start from a professional interpretation of the elements of authenticity, natural material, avoidance of plasticization, *polyesterization*, strident colors and materials such as glossy sheet metal, sheet metal fences, etc).

Associated with *Magic Realism* may be the so called *Geocultural Bovarism*¹⁴, through which Romanian elites indulged in imagining themselves as neighbors of France and not of Bulgaria or Serbia.¹⁵ Nicolae Iorga in 1940 explained that a country does not belong to the geographical space where it is located as much as to the geocultural space to which it aspires.¹⁶ It is a sample of *Magic Realism* in its entirety. *Geocultural Bovarism* defined by Sorin Antohi is especially useful for those nations for which self-definition is more complicated given the complexity of identity. *Geocultural Bovarism* is practiced by many others more or less inspired, covering more or less a cultural reality (of Hungarians, Croats, Finish etc.)¹⁷.

The ambiguous geopolitical character of the Romanian space as a *space between worlds*, a *hinge zone* between East and West, Orient and Occident, has contributed to the complexity of identity, the ambivalent, *chameleon-like* character which accentuates the mystery of this space and its culture. For Romanians, the trinomial *Latinity*, *Orthodoxy*, *Ruralism* seems contradictory at first glance. The Byzantine heritage and Orthodoxy associated in the Western mentality to the East, corroborated with Latinity and the desire to be seen as part of Western Europe arouses bewilderment in the Western public.¹⁸ The Romanian brand used

¹³ Anna Huebner, "Who came first – Dracula or the Tourist? New Perspectives on Dracula Tourism at Bran Castle", *European Journal of Tourism Research*, vol. 4, No. 1, 2011, <https://doi.org/10.54055/ejtr.v4i1.62>.

¹⁴ Sorin Antohi, "Romania and the Balkans. From geocultural bovarism to ethnic ontology", in *Tr@nsit online*, no. 21/2002, <https://www.iwm.at/transit-online/romania-and-the-balkans>.

¹⁵ Laurențiu Vlad, *Imagini ale identității naționale: România la expozițiile universale și internaționale de la Paris, 1867-1937*, Editura Meridiane Publishing House, Bucharest, 2001, pp. 64-79.

¹⁶ Nicolae, Iorga, *Ce este sud-estul european. Conferință ținută pentru Institutul Sud-Est European*, Bucharest, 1940, p. 14.

¹⁷ Hungarians also use *Magical Realism* in their brand identity and imagological discourse, especially when the Turanian heritage, the physical and mental attributes of the steppe rider, are discussed (Nagy, 2018). In Hungary, the revitalization of Turanism is strategically capitalized on in the so-called Hungarian "multilateralism" and the orientation towards the "New Asia" (Gabor, 2019). In the case of Finland, *Magical Realism* is also used in branding and identity discourse. Elements of folklore and nature that resonated with an archaic rural culture and a perennial Nordic identity that precedes the East/West binomial were emphasized (Antonsich, 2005). Folklore such as Kelevala, the Finnish folk epic, by Elias Lönnrot in 1835, which recalls a mythical period, was collected, assembled and processed (*Ibidem*). Magical realism as an orientation towards the mythical past and nature was meant to compensate for the absence of a political past comparable to that of the Germans, Swedes or Danes (*Ibidem*).

¹⁸ Lucian Jora, "Considerații despre Construirea prestigiului extern prin branding și diplomatie culturală", *Revista de Științe Politice și Relații Internaționale*, Vol. XXI, No. 2/2024, pp. 27-36.

in external cultural representation was more difficult to build given that the country brand works with simple formulas, (in this case West-Latinity-Catholicism, East-Orthodoxy-Slavism).¹⁹ However, the geo-cultural reality does not fit into predefined schemes. For example, the Poles, as the second Catholic nation in Europe, are nevertheless a Slavic nation.

The formula *An enigma and a historical miracle* by the French historian Ferdinand Lot, through which the Romanians and their civilization are described, gives substance to *Magical Realism* as an approach by foreigners.²⁰ The Romanians are described as a civilization *fruit of the exceptional*, the survival of the *Latin island* and its disappearance from history for centuries being both more or less metaphorically “enigmas” and “miracles”. For Lot, the fact that a Romanized population survived the invasions of migrants without a visible state structure in documents is an *enigma* that surpasses historical logic. The placement at the intersection between East and West, between Orthodox and Catholic Christianity, between the nomadic and sedentary worlds also creates an aura of the supernatural to Romanian history.²¹ History and myth are confused in the Balkans and Central and Eastern Europe in general. It remained even today an area where each strives to demonstrate that it has deeper roots and a superior civilization, a sacred right either to continue ruling or to return to the reality of the old empire, a contradictory combination of historical law with natural law, invoked or *forgotten* depending on the particular situation or interests. This fluid geo-cultural ambiguity often pays substantial dividends as it allows literature to juggle with the mythology of overlapping civilizational spaces.²²

Magical Realism in the case of Romania is not exercised through explicit supernatural elements (as in South American literature), but by transforming reality into an exotic experience materialized by the contrasting mixture of civilization and barbarity.²³ In the *Balkan Trilogy*, Olivia Manning sees Bucharest as a space where European luxury in its most lavish and decadent forms coexists with shocking poverty, creating a surreal atmosphere.²⁴ The fatalistic indolence in the face of disaster of the Romanians (which we also encounter at Marguez) is emphasized several times by Manning (and it is hard to believe she was familiar with the epic folk poem *Miorița*).²⁵ What for Manning is bizarre and exotic anomalies, Romanian authors treat as a normality of the place (Eliade, Bănulescu,

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ “Une énigme et un miracle historique: Le peuple roumain” is the title of a chapter in the work that Ferdinand Lot dedicated to the barbarian invasions and the population of Europe, *Les Invasions barbares et la genèse de l'Europe* (vol. I) published in 1937.

²¹ Ferdinand Lot, *Les Invasions barbares et le peuplement de l'Europe*, “Une énigme et un miracle historique: le peuple roumain”, Volume I, Part 3 (Slaves du Sud), Chapter 2, Payot in Paris, 1937, pp. 277-285.

²² Ștefan Bănulescu does it (through the *Millionaire's Book*), Mateiu Caragiale, through the mystical atmosphere of *Craii de Curtea-Veche*, Ștefan Bănulescu or Fănuș Neagu. We also encounter all of this in our neighbors, the Serbs Danilo Kiš (*Encyclopedia of the Dead*) and Milorad Pavić (*Khazar Dictionary*).

²³ Alina Bako, “Realismul magic balcanic: o rețetă literară europeană”, *Incursiuni în imaginar 15. Magical Realism in Literature*, 15/2024, no. 2, pp. 45-69. <https://doi.org/10.29302/InImag.2024.15.2.2>.

²⁴ Codruța Goșa, “Through a Reader Looking Glass. Olivia Manning's the *Balkan Trilogy*”, *Romanian Journal of English Studies*, Volume 16 (2019): Issue 1 (November 2019), pp. 54-64.

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

Mateiu Caragiale). For Eliade, Bucharest is a city full of esoteric symbols (in *Mântuleasa Street*), the sacred being integrated into the everyday.²⁶ The impression of decadence and bohemianism, a relaxed atmosphere (real or apparent) is part of *Magic Realism* and is generally noticed by most foreigners, including inside the international exhibition pavilions (where the restaurant was especially appreciated where simple menus were sprinkled with plenty of wine accompanied by fiddlers). Mateiu Caragiale's Bucharest in *Craii de Curtea-Veche*, captures this state of mind, part of the Levant, with its aesthetics of decadence, fatalism and charm in which the visible has stronger forces behind it.²⁷ Romanian *Magic Realism* does not even need an excess of the supernatural, the unpredictable character of history, present and future being sufficient for it.²⁸

Magical realism has also penetrated political discourse through mystical appearances and solutions that transcend objective reality and appeal to the supernatural and transcendental with visible electoral success.²⁹ The belief that things work differently than they appear to the *naked eye* is not necessarily blameworthy or a sign of naivety, immaturity or, as some say, "political cretinism"³⁰, but a survival strategy that includes getting by, being duplicitous, appealing to something or someone who magically solves things.³¹

Magical realism can also be expressed in a certain detachment from the preoccupation with the image itself. We identify it in history with Eminescu and in contemporaneity with Cărtărescu. If for some of his contemporaries rusticism meant backwardness, for Eminescu it meant "the settlement, modesty and the good manners of a nation"³² with its own rhythm of evolution that does not necessarily have to be consonant or a term of comparison with that of the West, and Cărtărescu told us in 2005: "(...) If we did not win a Nobel Prize, we invented the pen. If our wall collapsed overnight, we set about, good manners, the next day to rebuild it, and that is still something (...)"³³ And the pre- and interwar *Ethnic Culturalism* itself can be considered a form of *Magical realism* that synthesizes archaic local formulas into cultural products of universal value, Porumbescu's *Ballad*, Enescu's *Rhapsody*, Eliade's works or Constantin Brâncuși's sculptures would be relevant examples. The *rusticism* of external cultural representation is easy to notice in the past as well as in the present (folk song, folk costume, folk traditions) with the specification that in the pre- and interwar period it represented the real Romania, and the daily life of the majority

²⁶ Andrea Răsuceanu, *Bucureștiul lui Mircea Eliade*, Humanitas, Bucharest, 2013, pp. 135-142.

²⁷ For this idea, see: Alexandru Paleologu, *Bunul simț ca paradox*, 3 Edition, Cartea Românească, 2005; Mircea Cărtărescu, *Postmodernismul românesc*, Bucharest, Humanitas 1999; Matei Călinescu, *Mateiu I. Caragiale: Recitiri*, Cluj-Napoca, Apostrof, 2007.

²⁸ Nicolae Manolescu, *Istoria critică a literaturii române*, Paralela 45, Bucharest, 2008, pp. 571-577.

²⁹ Marian Zulean, "Realismul magic al lui Călin Georgescu", *Contributors*, 01/12/2024, https://www.contributors.ro/realismul-magic-al-lui-calin-georgescu/#:~:text=%20Cultura.%20*%20Politica%20&%20Doctrine, accessed on 10.03.2026.

³⁰ Ovidiu Pecican, "Realism magic românesc", *Centrul Politic*, 29 July 2024, <https://centrulpolitic.ro/articole/realism-magic-romanesc/>, accessed on 10.03.2026.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

³² George Panu, *Amintiri de la Junimea din Iași*, Polirom, Iași, 2013, p. 104.

³³ Mircea Cărtărescu, "Sentimentul românesc al isteriei", *Jurnalul Național*, 7 June 2005.

of its citizens, or today it is a *showcase folklore* that, like any showcase object, is an artificial stuffed version of what was once alive, it is a representation formula in which kitsch is difficult to avoid.³⁴

Magical realism can be connected to postmodern representations in CD and branding.³⁵ In the conditions of DC fragmentation and decentralization, the monologue represented by the state cultural propaganda is attenuated by independent influencers, diaspora, or NGOs promoting a fluid identity discourse in which subcultures and experiments are used. This is practically a fertile ground for metaphor and *Magic realism* became an indispensable tool. This evolution also favors the self-criticism, bringing to light and putting into debate the dark episodes of one's own history. Achieving this level denote self-confidence, maturity and may boost international credibility. The blend between high culture and *Pop Culture*, the acceptance of formulas that accept national identity as a living organism in continuous change and adaptation are also indicators of post modernity. It is also worth noting that postmodern aesthetics and *Magical Realism* reject the grand narratives, the lavish commemorations about the "Glory of the past" which it replaces with a visual discourse about sustainability, "return to nature", etc.³⁶ There is also a general debate about a *post-modern aesthetic* in branding and DC which applies to Romania as well.³⁷

Romanian *New wave cinema* has become an export product and implicitly *non-institutionalized cultural diplomacy*. These films (cultural export products) reflect a certain imaginary of the society from which they come. *Magical realism* in the films of Mircea Danieluc, Cristi Puiu or Cristian Mungiu is omnipresent. The cinematic image participates in the social negotiation of what we call "real" and proposes a version of reality as an extension of the creator's and/or viewers' own inner worlds.³⁸

DC and branding through various formulas that can be framed within *Magical Realism* can also rely on an aesthetic of ugliness or various forms of negative publicity. Image disadvantages in the hands of some professionals can be transformed into assets for countries with image and credibility problems. The decay can be more attractive than the new and polished as it can be a gate into the *History*, to into the original into the archaic and mythic. Poverty and lack of investment can denote opportunities. Lack of infrastructure or autarky of some communities can denote exoticism. Marching on the exotic and mysterious can be lucrative because it starts from real foundations. Romania has the wildest

³⁴ Lucian Jora, *art. cit.*, pp. 27-36.

³⁵ Stephen Nevil, "Magical Realism: Locating its Contours in Postmodern Literature", *Indian Journal of Postcolonial Literature*, Vol. 15, No. 15.2 (Dec. 2015), 31 December 2015, pp. 109-115.

³⁶ In the case of Romania, it is worth noting that the most successful DC and non-institutionalized branding campaigns came from the private sector using irony and humor, a kind of natural click bait for campaigns conducted in social media and the online environment.

³⁷ A country like Estonia prefers the image of a "digital society" to folklore, which may be considered a postmodern representational formula.

³⁸ Ioan Mateiciuc, *Imaginarul peculiar și relațiile de putere, o filosofie a utopiei și distopiei cinematografice*, Doctoral Thesis, "Al. I. Cuza" University of Iași, 2025, p. 19, https://www.fssp.uaic.ro/images/sustineri_teze/TEZA_DE_DOCTORAT_MATEICIUC_REZUMAT.pdf.

mountains, unknown areas that are not part of the tourist portfolio, to which would be added those elements of authenticity and rusticity that have become rare in Europe. Negative publicity arouses curiosity.³⁹ The contemporary Romanian writer Mircea Cărtărescu plays with the “aesthetic of ugliness” when he describes the decrepit communist architecture of Bucharest (which may apply for many other big cities in the former Eastern Bloc) the subcultures hidden behind the grey facades, the imagination and the human factor transforming the apparent fade and uninteresting in exotic, magical and worth to be visited.⁴⁰

Conclusions

Magical realism can be considered a strategy of external cultural representation through the exotic, the mysterious and the supernatural in an approach that combines the rational with the irrational, in which the “aesthetic of ugliness”, the archaic and the underdeveloped become an advantage especially if they are doubled by political stability, relative safety and decent infrastructure. The manifestations of cultural diplomacy itself through high culture can be considered a form of *Magical Realism* given that in poorer and unknown countries high culture contrasts with the relatively shabby present creating an idealized image that transcends immediate reality.

Magical realism is especially useful where CD and the brand lack other advantages such as prestige creating cutting-edge technological products. The dose of *Magical Realism* (wild, mystery and legend) must also compensate for realities by virtue of which the Romanian Carpathians are beautiful but still not the Alps, the Romanian coastline is not the Côte d’Azur, the center of Romanian cities is not a term of comparison with that of Italian cities, the castles of Bran or Hunedoara are not like those on the Val De Loire.⁴¹ Without *Magical Realism* expressed in archaism, *rusticism* and wild nature (as much as it still exists), the Romanian brand is not competitive. Perhaps the representational algorithms of *Magical Realism* are also the only *spectrum* that can somehow value the phenomenon of palaces with shiny sheet metal spires (often with the Mercedes logo) or the grotesque eclecticism of new villas in the villages of Maramures where traditional wooden houses have been replaced by kitsch palaces in which steel and glass are desired combined with marble facades inspired by Italian baroque cathedrals. In recent years, Romania is no longer cheap, losing a major comparative advantage that must be compensated by competitive cultural diplomacy and branding in which various formulas of *Magical Realism* are an essential ingredient.

³⁹ Lucian Jora, “Politici și strategii de dezvoltare prin valorizarea patrimoniului istoric-Turism cultural, Industrii culturale, Diplomatie culturală”, *Revista de Științe Politice și Relații Internaționale*, no. 3/2012, pp. 42-53.

⁴⁰ Valeriu P. Stancu, “Mircea Cărtărescu – Orbitor oder die integrative Kraft der Memoria”, Michèle Mattusch, *Kulturelles Gedächtnis – Ästhetisches Erinnern. Literatur, Film und Kunst in Rumänien*, Frank & Timme, Berlin 2018, pp. 111-141.

⁴¹ Lucian Jora, “Considerații despre Construirea prestigiului extern prin branding și diplomatie culturală”, *Revista de Științe Politice și Relații Internaționale*, Vol. XXI, No. 2/2024, pp. 27-36.

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