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Christianizing Transnistria: Romanian Orthodox Clergy As Beneficiaries, Perpetrators, AndRescuers During The Holocaust

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Abstract: *Human rights violations and discrimination based on gender identity continue to be common, posing a major challenge for Pakistan. (Saleem: 2013) Transgender people in particular, transgender people have faced harassment, abuse and rejection from society. They faced a variety of abuse, ranging from social acceptance to brutal murder. In Pakistan, transgender people are treated with contempt and completely shunned by their family and friends. Many transgender women engage in sex work in an extremely dangerous environment due to widespread injustice (Ahmad: 2016). Their clients or partners think it is okay to sexually abuse transgender women. These injustices lead to serious emotional and mental struggles for transgender women.*

Keywords: *professional groups, closure, ecology, French colonial empire.*

Introduction

Overall, this festschrift gives readers an update of the current topics captivating German scholars and institutions. Almost all the authors are indeed German and/or based in Germany. The Indonesian authors all come from the same university, the UIN Sunan Kalijaga, where Schulze continues to collaborate. Naturally, the cover of this book—depicting this institute—also represents this commitment.

"The edited volume Mosques and Imams: Everyday Islam in Eastern Indonesia emerges from a multi-year collaborative project that, bringing together excellent scholars based in Indonesia and Australia, had the stated aim 'of understanding Islamic traditions and the many ways of "being Muslim" in diverse communities' (p. 20). The result is refreshing in many ways. First of all, placing Eastern Indonesia at center stage, the volume is an important contribution in countering the trend that for over a century has connected the study of Muslims in the archipelago to the islands of Java and Sumatra. Second, the framework of 'everyday religion' allows for a constructive approach to the lived experiences of Muslims without putting any unduly excessive attention on either 'syncretism' or 'purification.' The Introduction, authored byKathryn Robinson, offers a concise but satisfying historicaloverview of the various historical trajectories of Islamization across Eastern Indonesia. It also reflects in depth on the importance of thinking about Islamization as an ongoing process, and of 'interaction and change' as constitutiveelements of religious practices (p. 4). Under this lens, mosques and imams are identified as places and agents (respectively) of mediation between, and preservation of both, ʿadat and Islam since the seventeenth century, despite various disruptivewaves—including the Darul Islam rebellion in the 1950s andthe recent implementation of regional Islamic laws (Perda

shariʾa). All the subsequent 9 chapters interweave the historical narrative with an anthropological line of inquiry deeply rooted in the study of religion as a lived experience.

In Chapter 1 ('Lebe and Sultan: Serving the Mosque and Sustaining Royal Authority'), Muhammad Adlin Sila explores the contemporary legacy of the seventeenth century connection between the Sultan (as representative of political authority) and the lebe in Bima (Sumbawa). Still today the lebe 'create[s] the identity of local Muslims through ritual performance and … sustain[s] the legacy of the royal authority' of the Raja bicara (p. 25). Pursuing an analysis of ritual prayer, and its different performance between 'traditional' and 'modernist' congregants, and taking the mosque as field of study but also looking beyond it, Sila shows how religious leaders prefer accommodation and tolerance, 'solv[ing] conflict over ritual practice' (p. 40). Imams as mediators, and the legacy of early Islamization, are also core concerns of Faried Saenong's Chapter 2 ('Mediating Religious and Cultural Disputes: Imam Desa and Conflict Resolution in Rural Indonesia'). Saenong investigates how still today imams—even when they have credentials as being trained in Arabic language and Islamic legal scriptures—are considered the go-to persons for eloping couples seeking both physical safety from, and resolution of the conflict with, angered family members. In this circumstance, imams uphold traditional ʿadat over concepts of (and punishment for) zina. Moh Yasir Alimi's chapter (3, 'Shariaisation, Wedding Rituals, and the Role of Imams in South Sulawesi') takes imams' sustained performance of traditional wedding ceremonies (which include pre-Islamic practices as well as dancing, music and alcohol consumption, alongside canonical Islamic rituals) as an example of the 'seamless' integration of Islam and ʿadat (p. 66), and of how 'ordinary Muslims challenged the formalization initiative' of Islamic law (p. 65)." "For the past century, historians of

late medieval and early modern continental Europe and its colonies have made increasing and creative use of notarial deeds. However, we still lack rigorous and effective tools to employ records as ubiquitous as notarial deeds are for the purpose of drawing comparisons across time and space. Moreover, while an older generation of social historians was aware that types of notarial records differed considerably by location (e.g., Daumard Reference Daumard1962; Garden Reference Garden1967: 173; Vovelle Reference Vovelle1973: 25–27), this common knowledge generated only sporadic systematic comparisons and dissipated as research became more local or biographical in focus.Footnote1 As a result, todayeven leading specialists take for granted that notarial collectionscontain roughly the same kind of information everywhere, principally real estate transactions, certain types of loans, marriage contracts, last wills, and appointments of legal proxies.

The vast number of notarial documents that survives and the frequent use that many people (including illiterate persons) made of them sustain a mistaken, if largely implicit, notion that anything that someone wanted to certify appears in notarial records and that, conversely, everything that was not notarized belonged to the realm of the "informal."Footnote2 A widespread assumption regards the existence of a uniform European "notarial culture," thanks to which in all regions of ius commune (though not those of common law), "the legal andadministrative structure involving notaries and their written acts
… shaped and facilitated the documentation of the transactions of daily life" (Wray Reference Wray2009: 752).Footnote3 Does this truism hold up to empirical scrutiny? Was notarial culture local, regional, or European?

Part of the reason why these questions have not been

broached before in any systematic way is because of the habits and goals with which various subfields have utilized notarial deeds. Social historians tend to follow the traces left by one or a few individuals in local notarial archives (Levi Reference Levi1988). Most scholars interested in the emergence of the notarial profession as part of the study of state building pay little attention to the content of the records and focus on one city, region, or state (Descimon Reference Descimon and Cassan2004; Salvi Reference Salvi2012). And economic historians who resort to notarial collections to study credit markets only consider a small range of these deeds, irrespective of what else notaries drafted and of other certifying institutions (Corazzol Reference Corazzol1986; Hoffman et al. Reference Hoffman, Postel-Vinay and Rosenthal2000, Reference Hoffman, Postel-Vinay and Rosenthal2019).

In this article, we follow an altogether different logic. Rather than selecting certain names or types of contracts, we ask which documents were prepared and preserved by notaries in different cities, and which ones were not. To this end, we analyze the distribution of all notarial deeds in six European cities of different sizes (Paris, Toulouse, and Mende in France, and Turin, Florence, and Livorno in the Italian peninsula) in theyear 1751. We supplement this evidence with smaller datasets from other localities and other dates to explore further spatial and temporal differences in notarial activities.

This descriptive approach, we show, generates valuable results. First, it alerts historians to the fact that the deeds which notaries recorded varied, sometimes considerably, from place to place. We call these local variations, for want of a better word, “styles.”Footnote4 Even when we are unable to identify definitive explanations for what accounts for each local pattern, we discuss specific hypotheses. Second, our efforts nourish the

renewal of comparative history, showing that quantitative methods can advance a perspective in which the heterogeneity of primary sources is incorporated into the analysis rather than expunged from it (Cerutti and Grangaud Reference Cerutti and Grangaud2017).

Our findings are striking. While formulas and terminologies used by notaries were fairly congruous and thus facilitate comparisons, both the propensity of urban dwellers to resort to notaries and the deeds they obtained from them varied greatly. Rather than a pan-European notarial culture, we identify a plurality of local notarial styles—some that traversed state borders, others that coexisted within the same sovereign polity.

By interrogating the reasons accounting for these local notarial styles, this article also contributes to the growing interest in the material history of legal formalization (Briggs Reference Briggs2014; Lydon Reference Lydon2009) and the "cultures of record-keeping" (Walsham Reference Walsham2016). We argue that quantitative methods can provide important tools for investigating the profiles of such "cultures" (or "styles," in our terminology) and drawing comparisons.

" The crediting of these three inventions to the Chinese came belatedly. After Bacon, the trio of "mechanical discoveries" continued to surface as artifacts of great importance in the writings of other Europeans. One memorable take came from the pen of Karl Marx: "Gunpowder blew the world of knighthood to pieces; the compass discovered theworld market and established the colonies; and printing furnished Protestantism with the tools it required and paved the way for the regeneration of science in general" (cited in Elster 1985: 287). In his account, these three things served as catalysts

for the passing of the old world and the coming together of a new one. Although Marx, too, did not link these inventions to the Chinese, a number of his contemporaries in the nineteenth century would. British diplomat John Francis Davis (1795–1890), the first president of the Hong Kong branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the second governor of Hong Kong, commented in 1836 that one might justifiably believe the claim that "what are justly considered in Europe as three of the most important inventions or discoveries of modern times, the art of printing, the composition of gunpowder, and the magnetic compass, had their first origin in China" (Davis 1836: 211).

The subsequent addition of paper to this trio appears almost accidental in light of how unannounced that inclusion was. This development can be traced to American sinologist Thomas Francis Carter (1882–1925) and his 1925 The Invention of Printing in China and Its Spread Westward. Carter was a scholar of Chinese history and culture who had spent years working in China as a local school superintendent. Sometime in 1921, when he was still based in China, he read W. J. Clennell's The Historical Development of Religion in China, in which he apparently first encountered the idea of "four epoch-making Chinese inventions" (D. C. M. 1931: vii– ix). He was deeply intrigued. The opening paragraph of his ownbook several years later appears to attest to the influence that this idea had on him:

"The identity of the bird denoted in Old Javanese kalaṅkyaṅ/kālaṅkyaṅ is not entirely clear, beyond the consensus that it represents a bird of prey. The uncertainty about theidentity of the kalaṅkyaṅ bird is caused mainly by the fact thatit lacks its reflex in modern Javanese, and reflexes of this word seem to be unattested in other Indonesian languages, too.1 Yet, literary references to this bird are common, though not abundant, in Old and Middle Javanese literature. Based mostly on the context in which this ethno-species2 occurs in Old

Javanese court poetry (kakawin), several identifications have been offered so far.3 Most commonly, kalaṅkyaṅ is considered to be a kind of hawk. Juynboll (1923:119) interprets kalaṅkyaṅ in the Old Javanese Ādiparwa (late tenth century CE) as 'a kind of harrier' (in original Dutch: soort van kiekendief). Santoso (1986:170) renders kālaṅkyaṅ in the Kṛṣṇāyana (thirteenth century CE) as 'kalangkyang bird' but elsewhere interprets it as 'eagle' (Santoso 1986:92). Hunter (2007:292, 295) translates kālaṅkyaṅ in the same text as 'kalaṅkyaṅ hawk'. Robson (2008:147) renders kalaṅkyaṅ in the Arjunawiwāha (eleventh century CE) as 'kalangkyang bird', and notes in his commentary to the text that 'kalangkyang is a kind of hawk' (Robson 2008:191). Dwi Woro Mastuti and Hastho Bramantyo (2009:275) interpret kalaṅkyaṅ in the Sutasoma (second half of the fourteenth century CE) as 'hawk' (in original Indonesian: elang). Worsley and colleagues (2013:147, 303) translate kālaṅkyaṅ in the Sumanasāntaka (ca. 1200 CE) as 'kālangkyang hawk', and elsewhere in the same text as 'hawk' (Worsley et al. 2013:167, 175). At yet another place we encounter'kālangkyang bird' (Worsley et al. 2013:433). Robson (2015:664) leaves the word untranslated in the Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa (ca. 900 CE), probably the earliest Old Javanese text in which the bird-name kalaṅkyaṅ is attested.

The most complex discussion of the kalaṅkyaṅ/kālaṅkyaṅ has been offered by Zoetmulder (1974, 1982), who has refrained from translating its Old Javanese name into English and emphasized in his analyses the poetic aspects of the bird. Zoetmulder (1974:199) has drawn numerousparallels between literary representations of Old Javanese kalaṅkyaṅ and cātaka, a bird well-known from Sanskrit as well as Old Javanese literary discourse. Probably most importantly, the Old Javanese kalaṅkyaṅ and cātaka share their affinity for rain, drops of water, and mist, which they actively search out.

Zoetmulder (1974:199) has also noted that both birds represent ‘the image of the lovesick person, pining away in his desire to meet the beloved’.4 This shared metaphorical power has meant that in Old Javanese poetological texts, the terms kalaṅkyaṅ and cātaka are often used synonymously.5 Yet, Zoetmulder was aware that the kalaṅkyaṅ and the cātaka are not identical birds, as is clear from his gloss quoted below. Furthermore, Zoetmulder (1974) has in his discussion—in a rather infelicitous way—conflated, and confused, the imagespertaining to the kalaṅkyaṅ and the həlaṅ (a kind of hawk). Let me quote Zoetmulder (1974:199) in full:

" "Brexit, the commonly used abbreviation for the United Kingdom's (UK) withdrawal from its European Union (EU) membership, is probably the most important political,social, and economic phenomenon in British post-WWIIhistory. Brexit has been the predominant pivot in British public discourse ever since former Prime Minister David Cameronmade the promise that the British people would “have their say”(Cabinet Office 2013) on the question of Europeanmembership, if he was returned to power at the 2015 election, and following the 2016 referendum in which the “Leave” campaign1 won by a 52% to 48% margin. Brexit has not only created a deep division in British society but has also raised severe issues for the UK's constitutional integrity (Greer 2017; Hazell and Renwick 2016; Keating 2017), revealing “arguably the second major failure of statecraft by the British political class this century, following the UK's participation in the 2003 Iraq invasion” (Lees 2020:n.p.).

Despite the somewhat self-explanatory meaning of Brexit as a composition of “Britain” and “exit,” referring to the UK's renunciation of its EU membership, there were, and are, various technical, scholarly, and political interpretations of the meaning of the term, as well as its implementation, ranging from the

recognition of the complexities of leaving a political and economic project such as the EU (Park and Reilly 2018; Polak 2017; Richards, Heath, and Carl 2018) to simple slogans such as "Brexit means Brexit" (Allen 2018). Yet, even in the context of ambiguity and vagueness around the term's meaning and implementation, it appears that politicians, sometimes right from the start, and sometimes during the political processes surrounding Brexit, took a specific stance; one was either a leaver, supporting Brexit, although not necessarily the way the withdrawal was negotiated by the government, or one was a remainer, opposing Brexit. Very few public figures remained neutral and politicians across all parties committed themselves publicly to one or the other side of the political argument, declaring themselves in parliamentary debates and elsewhere.

The aim of this paper is to analyze the contribution of Members of Parliament (MPs) to parliamentary debates with a focus on those linguistic devices that allow modification toone's utterances with regards to confidence, truthfulness, and probability, in order to investigate their commitment to Brexit and how its meaning is produced through the interactions of these MPs. The specific focus here is on parliamentary debates from December 4–11, 2018, concerning the European Withdrawal Act, from here on referred to as "the corpus," which led Prime Minister Theresa May to cancel the vote on the Withdrawal Agreement and seek a further extension for negotiations with the EU. The interactionist framework here relies on Searle's (2008) deontologies to justify the focus on epistemic modality for understanding the institutional reality of Brexit via the importance that commitment poses for status functions and institutional facts.

In the next section I briefly explore the nature of political discourses, the context of the Brexit debates, and the literature

on epistemic modality and deontologies, before I move into the analysis of the corpus in the following third section, which outlines a short timeline of events and provides some methodological clarifications. In the fourth section I present a brief summary of the main theoretical and methodological implications and future contributions to other areas, referring to Searle's (2008) deontologies and institutional reality. In the final section I offer some conclusions following the findings, which suggest that members of the UK Parliament arecommitted to the notion of "the will of the people," and that they assert authority over their propositions, while hedging and mitigation of utterances are rather rare." The debate in question was from 1923 and concerned nothing less than the place of metaphysics in a positivist world. Framed in terms of "science and the philosophy of life" (科學與人生觀), it eruptedwhen journalist Zhang Junmai 張君勱 (1887–1969) claimed ina well-publicized lecture at Tsinghua College that science in all its ostensible objectivity could not fully address the subjective problems of human life. The war of words that then ensueddrew in many of China's leading intellectuals. Hu readily entered the fray. To little surprise, he, who in 1922 had proposed that "the greatest need of mankind today is to apply the scientific method to the problem of human life," came in strongly on the side of those defending science's applicability to all spheres of human activity. In a series of writings thereafter, he began to lay out several major claims that we can see come together in the essay of 1928: that science was unapologetically materialist and mechanistic, that the material and the spiritual were in effect inseparable, and that material well-being was necessary for spiritual flourishing and civilizational advancement (Grieder 1970: 150–153, quote on 151). The West, even if materially predisposed, was not devoid of spirit, and could not be quickly dismissed on account of

such.

I particularly enjoyed the chapter by Kamran Arjomand on the introduction of Western sciences in nineteenth-century Iran. According to the author, “modern scientific inventions such as the steam engine, photography, and telegraphy, when first introduced, could not be generally apprehended and often invoked the same sort of astonishment reserved for magic and miracles” (p. 29). Then, it discusses the Quranic perspectives on miracles and supernatural beings and the ways Shiʾite theologians in Iran responded to the modern sciences. Finally, Arjomand compares the reaction of Sunni Islam theologians on similar issues in his conclusion. As such, this chapter makes for fine reading for readers with a general understanding of Islam.

Nurhaidi Hassan’s work also discusses the integration between science and Islam. He mainly observes it in the contemporary Indonesian context, particularly in the Sunan Kalijaga State Islamic University (UIN Sunan Kalijaga). Emerged as a creative meeting ground of modern and classical elements of Islamic instruction, this institution transformed into a higher education institute that promoted integration and interconnection of Islam and science as their paradigm. He believes that this paradigm “enables scholars to build a dialogue between three different domains of knowledge, i.e., hadlarat al-nash (Islamic knowledge originating in religious texts), hadlarat al-ilm (natural and social sciences) and hadlarat al-falsafa (ethical and philosophical knowledge)” (pp. 8–9). As a result, the university has benefited greatly from the close engagement of its faculty members with global scholars, including FritzSchulze. This collaboration increased when Schulze developeda program that involved his home university, George August University Göttingen, and UIN Sunan Kalijaga.

Conclusions

The idea of invention as an engine for progress received what was likely its fullest explication among Chinese intellectuals in the May Fourth era. This was in spite (or perhaps because) of how the moral authority of science and technology was being called into question then. World War I, which came right before, had upended cherished notions about the unequivocal virtue of the technoscientific. While there had been some detractors in the past, ideas of how science and technology would make the world a better place went for the most part unchallenged in the period leading up to the war. Amid continuous innovations in the tools of warfare, for instance, "military pundits in the prewar years chose to stressthe ways in which the new weapons would shorten wars rather than make them more horrific" (Adas 1989: 345–380, quote on 366). The sheer devastation that the war wrought shook the confidence that many had in such assumptions. It was in this context that Hu Shih would pen his essay about invention and civilization.

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