MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, RESEARCH, YOUTH AND SPORT "1 DECEMBRIE 1918" UNIVERSITY OF ALBA IULIA FACULTY OF HISTORY AND PHILOLOGY PHILOLGY DEPARTMENT

F. Brunea-Fox - The Multiple-Eyed Reporter

(summary)

Scientific Coordinator: Prof. univ. dr. Constantin CUBLEŞAN

> Ph. D. Candidate: Alexandru GRUIAN

Alba Iulia, 2012

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Keywords: Brunea-Fox, interwar, reportage, reporter, avantgarde, press

Argument

In Romania of 1898, in Iaşi, was born Brauner Filip, later Filip Brunea-Fox, the man who would succeed in the synchronization of Romanian and European journalistic reportage in terms of themes and stylistics. It's always made reference to F. Brunea-Fox whenever the identification of guild – or journalists – needs references. Rated best, in terms of his professionalism, often quoted, Brunea-Fox is (still) less studied, although many of its reports, originally published in the press, have been republished posthumously in volume under the care of his wife. Lisette Daniel-Brunea.

We intend to emphasize that the multiplicity and quality of references indicate that F. Brunea-Fox cannot be considered a precursor of modern Romanian journalistic reportage, but the first reporter to have all the professional qualities of his contemporary fellowships in the West European countries - that we consider reference in this paper, when resort to comparative analysis, due to objective reasons: the invention of printing, press early development, evolution of mentalities and increasingly greater freedom of expression.

His journalistic performance, definitely higher than literary vanguard, was, in our opinion, enhanced exactly by belonging to the various avant-garde movements. We will try to establish a causal chain between the activity as writer and journalist of Brunea-Fox, to see to what extent the first influenced the second, given that in Romania there were no journalism schools in those years. Professional peak was reached by the reportage, but we plan to review a wider range of articles signed by Brunea-Fox in the newspapers or periodicals of that time.

Status of current research emerges also from the fact that the wide reference to his forefront of literary work and

journalism is a preface signed by critic Dan C. Mihăilescu in the second volume of F. Brunea-Fox, *Memory of reportage*¹. A doctoral thesis of Maria Spătariu, Reportage and literature, Dissociation and interference in Romanian literature², devotes a chapter to F. Brunea-Fox, without making reference to the volumes published after the journalist returned to work, in 1944 (after that, as we shall see, the rise of the far-right will lead to ban the newspapers where Brunea-Fox knew fame and reached the top of his career). Also, we cannot go forward without notice the volume of Professor Radu Ciobotea, PhD³, interesting by thematic grouping of reports signed in the interwar Romanian press. Although references to Brunea-Fox are numerous, they are equally short, his name being mentioned more like an "irrefutable professional court" but without an argued demonstration relating the reason. Few literary dictionaries place him in their contents, while the avant-garde texts volumes cite him; though, he is considered a marginal representative. In this context, we believe it is desirable to incorporate in a single work the overview and critical references to the work of avant-garde author, continued with detailed analysis of journalistic texts, in a first step to provide an overall and integrated view on professional development and performance achieved by F. Brunea-Fox.

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¹ F. Brunea-FOX, *Memory of Reportage*, Eminescu Publishing House, Bucharest, 1985.

² Maria Spătariu, summary of doctoral thesis entitled *Reportage and literature*. *Dissociation and interference in Romanian literature*, coordinator: Professor Mircea Braga PhD, supported at University ,,1 Decembrie 1918" of Alba Iulia on October 20, 2010, on site http://www.uab.ro/upload/1538_rez%20ro%20spatariu.pdf

³ Radu Ciobotea, *Romanian Interwar Reportage*, Polirom Publishing House, Iași - Bucharest, 2005.

F. Brunea-Fox, member of the literary avant-garde

Filip Brunea-Fox leaves Iasi at the age of 20, says his wife, Lisette Daniel-Brunea, "for an unknown Bucharest". Here's the departure, as described many years later, in the text Dulce târgul Iesilor (Sweet Fair of Iasi – translator's note). published in 1973 in the "Tribune of Romania" magazine: "Just at the end of World War One, in 1918, the so-called train of «armistice», the first train bringing back to their homes the refugees from Wallachia and Oltenia banished from their home provinces by the smashing German Army in 1916 and wandering in the «sweet and welcoming fair of Iasi» and taking, I say, in the crowded and frozen wagons duet o the cold winter, several young men from the land of Bahlui; namely. Benjamin Fundojanu. Iosif Ross. Alexandru Philippide and me. too. Friends since elementary school. tempted since we were teens by the lure of Bucharest."4

Probably also under the influence of the circle of friends, he adheres without reservation, but with the enthusiasm of his 20 years of age, the literary avant-garde, together with many of those who will subsequently devote.

"They were, in their majority, self-taught or students by last class of high school and, a little while, have become familiar names: Armand Pascal, Luca Gridu, Ilarie Voronca, Mihail Cosma (the future Claude Sernet), Stephan Roll (by his real name Gheorghe Dinu), Henri Gad, F. Brunea, Ross..."⁵

Brunea-Fox was not only an admirer from distance of the avant-garde, but one of its active members. Dadaism, constructivism, integralism are essential connections across the Romanian avant-garde trends, unequal in terms of depth and belonging to this space, poorly prepared to receive them.

⁵ Saşa Pană, *Born in '02*, Minerva Publishing House, Bucharest 1973, p. 116.

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⁴ F. Brunea-Fox, *Memory of Reportage*, Eminescu Publishing House, Bucharest 1985, pp. 232-233.

Very short, the prose of Constructivist period of Brunea-Fox makes use of the same double feature language, similar to texts which apparently inspired him, those of Urmuz. This language can be decoded by accepting direct association (partly logical, but without explicit intermediation) of characters and certain symbolistic gestures and language. Absurdity, becoming an end in itself, is moderately cultivated, leaving the writing an epic sense which often progresses to end abruptly, unexpectedly. The ludic plays an important role, even turned into black humor, as in Vengeance of Papufili⁶. Critic Dan C. Mihăilescu identifies in the sketch Vengeance of Papufili a possible story, a matter of fact that can be summed up with a title like Suicidal of an absent-minded person. "The story has everything needed: sensational stylistic economy, humor, clever conspiracy with the reader, unusual dose doubled by the apparent indeterminacy of the end, etc." This approach of Brunea-Fox dry stories, journalism, will be more obvious, as we shall see, during the second largest Romanian avant-garde stage, the integralism.

In 1925 appeared the journal "Integral", self defined "body of the modern movement in the country and abroad". F. Brunea-Fox will publish a lot in the "Integral", magazine that marks the end of its avant-garde period. He is one of the main editors of the magazine, along with Ion Călugăru, M. H. Maxy and Ilarie Voronca giving editorial consistency in Bucharest. Benjamin Fondane and Mattis Teutsch were actively working in the editorial office in Paris. Critic Dan C. Mihăilescu appreciates that the prose from "Integral" prefigures the option looming ever more clearly delineated for journalism.

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⁶ Filip Brunea-Fox, *Revenge of Papufili*, in "75H.P.", 1 oct. 1924, p. 6. *Revenge of Papufili* is the only prose in the magazine (at its turn with a unique number) "75 H.P."

Dan C. Mihăilescu in *Preface* at F. Brunea-FOX, *Memory of reportage*, Eminescu Publishing House, Bucharest, 1985, p. 15.

In the prose of Brunea-Fox there's a phrase, sometimes just a sentence which, taken out of the context, gives a vital and premonitory contribution to defining his mission. In the part III of Super American ("Miss Dolly and partner"), suddenly, almost hidden in the text, "Puk Taylor jumped on the go into reality". The leap of Brunea-Fox into reality was not so brutal as we could see since the incisive reporter coexisted long enough, absolutely peacefully, with the avant-garde challenging but pedantic protester, if we consider that already in 1921 he wrote "The Truth" and the collaboration with "Integral" ended with the last issue, published in 1928. This leap of Brunea-Fox from avant-garde towards journalism seems to be and really is schemer, inviting to assumptions because Brunea himself does not consider necessary to explicitly justify his reorientation. Avant-garde manifestos make explicit the link between journalism and the imperatives of the new century, with reference, as we have seen, to speed, modernity, out of clichés. Critic Alexander Mirodan also identifies reasons of social mentality and not least, of pragmatism: "... at first sight between his formation and the thirst to undo the superintendent of the Prefecture. there would be no relationship (we would have expected that the young with Apollinaire learned by heart to seek a job in the cultural page, that ves). In another view, however, things are cleared. As we know, Avant-garde was not limited to "rough and rushed" poetry and anyway abstract «pour épater les bourgeois» (to impress the bourgeois – translator's note) but engaged in violent campaigns against bourgeois mentality, viewed with repulsion. Lyrics that "you-understand-nothingfrom" or "I-also-can-compose", absurd sketches, were getting along with a critical, perfectly logical, analysis from the society ... We can say therefore that for Brunea (as, later, for Bogza) the journalism was a way of expression, otherwise of course than poetry, but not from another family of spirits. A genre that, in addition, allows the author to be read by a

definitely greater number of individuals than the sparkling-terrible presentation magazines, bond paper made, issued in 750 copies."8

Critic Radu Ciobotea believes that the generation of Brunea-Fox makes the transition to professional journalism practiced widely. The reporter's evolution from literary avantgarde towards press confirms his view: "Until 1919, Romania could not have but a little corps of professional journalists. More specifically, the journalism elite overlap the literary and sometimes the political elite."

As we shall see in later chapters, after the First World War and the unification of Romania, local journalism will also become synchronous with continental style and trends, by the approached topics, style of writing and promotion of reports in the time newspapers.

Activity in the press

So the reality is that gives a reporter the size of his talent - says the theory. If we are allowed to play with words – flair is a subjective and ... speculative concept –, then we make a reference to Henri Bergson, who inspired the forefront, defining among others the conscience ability to intuitively discover a solution. Brunea-Fox, vanguardist, like his hero Puk, has so the flair (prosaic equivalent of intuition) to jump on the fly in reality, feeling that his place is in the street. It's actually one of its solutions to implement their vanguard manifestos. Street-reality, street that shapes, hardens, provides experience even for a refined artist of artistic experiments. Artistic experiment involves a risk, but not physically. Street is

⁸ Alexandru Mirodan, *Non-Conventional Dictionary of Hebrew Writers of Romanian Language*, vol. I, Minimum Publishing House, Tel Aviv, 1986, p. 253

⁹ Radu Ciobotea, *Romanian Interwar Reportage*, Polirom Publishing House, Iași - Bucharest, 2005, p. 43.

something else, and playful Brunea-Fox has obviously had more flair when he wrote: "Do not step into the street! Bite!" Dan C. Mihăilescu compares, in a plastic and inspired way, the street screaming, expression of perpetual show, with the *Screaming* of Norwegian painter Edvard Munch. Character depiction in the painting, not at all refreshing, keeps the senses alert, irritates, incites, scares or annoys, but does not leave you indifferent

Filip Brunea-Fox will know the glory of his life. "Influenced by avant-garde principles about revelation of reality and modern life, roughly explored, without a literary approach, [Brunea-Fox] will develop towards the condition of "super-reporter" claimed by the movement manifestos... Once the vocation discovered, he is committed to a prodigious journalistic career. He gains professional brilliance as an editor to «Dimineata» (The Morning – translator's note) (1925-1937) and «Adevărul» (The Truth – translator's note) (1932-1937)." His signature will quickly become famous. Fox, Mac. Pan, Potomac, F.Br., F.Br.Fx., fx are the pseudonyms under which he published his avant-garde or journalistic texts, but F. Brunea-Fox it will remain the dedicated appellative, Fox being a particle added to mark the desired association (perhaps in terms of professionalism) with the U.S. newspapers manufacturer of Fox Movietone News. From 1928 to 1963. Fox Movietone News (with the subsidiary British Movietone News) broadcasted news and reportages filmed in the United States of America and Britain (one of the first producers who left aside the illustration background music and introduced comment).

Malta as a destination for traffickers, the disreputable neighborhoods of Bucharest, swarming by the underworld, extreme misery in improvised huts within landfills, bridges

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¹⁰ F. Brunea, *Screaming of the Street* (signed Potomac), in "Stînga", year I, no. 5, December 11, 1932, page 4.

over Dâmbovita river as a shelter for young girls forced to give birth away from opprobrium, deep sea exploration in diver armor, leper hospital from Lărgeanca, shocking to the reader today, for that very name is really medieval, temporal relative with plague and cholera, therefore impossible to associate them with the twentieth century, "the Court of Miracles" of Victor Hugo translated into Bucharest variant, night train, mandatory of class III, ghetto life of Maramures Jews contrasts with anti-Semitic stereotypes of the time, Ada-Kaleh, mysterious island in the middle of the Danube, paradise of institutionalized corruption are specific destinations, which Brunea-Fox has crossed not only as a reporter, but adapting to sometimes mimetic, his "multiple" eye playing the role of hidden camera of today's investigative journalist equipment. It's easily identifiable his preference for plagued world, partly explained by the long work in newspapers editorials "Dimineata" and "Adevărul", considered, due to editorial policy, of left wing, but without the ideological location affect the treatment of the subject, which involves morally and technically, fairness, balance, complete documentation and of good faith, properly balanced journalistic articles. Crai Sultana believes that by the talent, curiosity, common sense, style quality and moral fiber, Brunea-Fox is rightly considered the greatest reporter of the interwar period. "His reportages keep evidence of a deep and tragic Romania, with profound social problems, including all areas of the country. Sensationalism is not artificial, but born right from the realities of a corrupt, violent, sick and almost hopeless world. However, the reporter does not fall in the melodrama because he avoids the sentimentalism and moral emphasis is implicit. [...] As a journalist, first as a reporter, he is representative of the spirit of the '30s, which illustrates the consistent attitude of the Left. He

can be considered a "classic" of social reportage and investigation." 11

Journalistic rise of Brunea-Fox took place in parallel with his activism in the literary avant-garde. On the one hand, we have a young open to experiment, supported by an elitist group in which he introduced his friend Benjamin Fundoianu, and on the other hand, a journalist at his early career. The difference in style and content of his writing is sometimes striking. Vanguardist contesting aggression, accompanied by playful texts or critical notes, is no longer recognizable in the quietly texts signed at early stage with the pseudonym Pan, on the first page of the high circulation daily newspapers "Adevărul" ("Truth" – translator's note) and "Dimineaţa" ("Morning" – translator's note), and generically known by the collocation "the press from Sărindar" and considered by historian Lucian Boia as "giants" of the press at the time, next to "Universul" ("Universe" – translator's note): "Universul" with a circulation appreciated (in 1934) to 200,000 copies, Adevărul, respectively Dimineata with 50,000 plus 100,000. In addition to major newspapers, those groups were also editing other periodicals, as well as books, each with its own publishing house. In this respect, Adevărul overcame his competitor: it published, among others, Adevărul literar și artistic (Literary and Artistic Truth – translator's note) (while Universul literar ceased publication in 1931), Cuvântul liber (Free Word - translator's note) combative leftist magazine (between 1933 and 1936) and for the wider public, Realitatea ilustrată (Illustrated Reality – translator's note)." For readers in the interwar period was an absolutely natural gesture buying newspapers highly critical of the power

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Sultana Craia, *Dictionary of Romanian Journalists*, MERONIA Publishing House, Bucharest, 2009, p. 49.

¹² Lucian Boia, *Pitfalls of History, Romanian Intellectual Elite between 1930 and 1950*, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 2011, p. 65.

oriented in particular to right. For the press consumer of 1968, interwar media style became by far history. However, Gheorghe Dinu makes an objective and even courageous appreciation: Newspapers "Adevărul" and "Dimineața", "Cuvântul Liber", where Brunea-Fox published the most, were newspapers that brought a new and modern spirit to the media, which stimulated and made room in their columns of bold writers, educated professionals who gave a particular outfit to new genres and fields; these publications will then summarize a host of journalists, pamphleteer and polemicists that make up today's newspaper writing heritage. Among them, Brunea-Fox emerges especially in the style that was poor before his appearance - the reportage - as a journalist with a deep breath of humanity, of artistic and surprising revelation. ¹³

In the paper, we propose to review, exemplifying, some of the major themes chosen by Brunea-Fox. We will refer here only to one of them, widely considered the school report: Five Davs Amidst Lepers. In the story-serial Five Davs Amids Lepers, F. Brunea-Fox does not hesitate to throw into battle all literary and journalistic arsenals available. Reportage title is dry, devoid of pathos, we could say "according to the manual of journalism" - if that time there was a manual of journalism. The essence summarizes, inciting by hint about the location – the lepers. What actually happened in those five days? Brunea graduates the tension. He juggles with the text, uses intertextuality, places before the *Introduction* a release of the Ministry of Health manages exact the opposite of what should follow an official communiqué, which is the quietness of the population. The communiqué agitates, it's about people, but it could be as good about tigers escaped from the zoo: "From lazar house Lărgeanca of Delta island fled ten lepers. Health authorities and gendarmerie have managed to find

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Gheorghe Dinu, La tinerețea unui septuagenar (During the youth of a septuagenarian), in "Presa noastră" (Our Press – n.t.), no.3/March 1968, page 10.

some of them and send them back to the house. Given the severity of disease, the public is advised to avoid contact with those still at large and to notify authorities."¹⁴

Reportage and photo – complementary activities

We considered appropriate to insert a separate chapter dedicated to the Photographer, who revolutionized the photographic images, «by snatching them up from their ankylosis and loading them with real life», as Geo Bogza used to say. The one without whom Brunea-Fox would not go anywhere, because it was impossible to imagine the reportages without the illustrations signed by I. Berman." ¹⁵ If we associate the name of Brunea with his own description as reporter, calling him with "multiple eyes", then it is time to say that Iosif Berman was called, by Geo Bogza, "the man with a thousand eyes". In the volume My Reportages, some groups of photos appear in addition to the texts signed by Lisette Daniel-Brunea, out of those accompanying the articles when they were published; the photographs belong to Iosif Berman. Upon the book reader, who is several decades away from the interwar period, a look at the photos have similar effects as regards to those given by the sound and image in modern television reportage, namely to confirm unequivocally the veracity of said subject. F. Brunea-Fox, "Prince of reporters" takes shape, he is a tall man with sporty structure. open face, in the most diverse situations, often literally

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¹⁴ F. Brunea-Fox, *Five Days Amidst Lepers*, in volume *My Reportages*. 1927-1938, Eminescu Publishing House, Bucharest, 1979, page 81.

¹⁵ Florentina Stoian, *Iosif Berman – Clouds Hunter*, on site http://www.foto-magazin.ro/despre-

fotografie_open.php?art=ftm20/archives/2007/06/iosif_berman_va.ht ml, [accesat: 28.11.2010]

"introduced" into the environment, as playful or real character inserted in the story.

Suddenly, the reporter acquires identity, and his stories, credibility - Brunea *is really marching* through the dust of Ada-Khaleh Island, *is smilingly talking* with Tudor Arghezi, *looking at him playfully under his eyebrows*, noting carefully what I.G. Duca is telling him, *or take walks* with the General Constantin Argetoianu.

Assuming the condition of the Jew - the legionary rebellion

After prohibition, in 1937, of the newspapers Dimineata and Adevărul, Brunea-Fox's work was reduced, even if he worked in periodicals. He will be back in the reader's attention by the volume Orașul măcelului (Slaughter City – translator's note). Jurnalul rebeliunii și al crimelor legionare (Journal of Rebellion and Legionary Crime translator's note) with a cyclical ongoing, the beginning and the end belonging to the author's personal considerations, by giving him occasions to comment on the condition of the Jew. as well as to make psychological insights arising from his affiliation to Judaism. It is not lament, but cynicism and rebellion in what Brunea-Fox writes, sometimes a kind of notdesperate cry, but bitter, for normality and acceptance of the human condition as primary compared to that of the Jew. Start and end points also the fact that Brunea-Fox is temporally positioned at a rather large distance than the described events. the range being more than three years. Diary dates from the Legionary rebellion of January 1941, but publication was only possible in 1944, after the fall of Antonescu, when the rhetoric about the need for ritual sacrifice of the Jews would gain a tragic depth by adding to the victims of Bucharest in 1941 the continental Holocaust itself, overwhelming in size, and, we could say, annihilating each component tragedy. For what is, strictly statistic, the couple hundreds of Jews killed in January 1941 compared to over six million Jews that died in camps? Statistics are cynical; in reality the personal drama may be more deeply acknowledged.

Drama of the Jews who knew the legionary rebellion of 1941, summarizes the tragedy of the Jews in Romania, which in its turn becomes part of the Holocaust. This way Brunea-Fox structures the logical scaffolding (the term is here not only with a stylistic scope, but one almost literally) of his journal. The rebellion, Iaşi massacre, deportations, trains ("satanic"), mass killings in Bessarabia, "the terrible carnage of Transnistria" are parts of destructive scenario reviewed, with the character of justification and proof of his statements – that the journalist does not deny!

Proletcult period

Reports by Filip Brunea-Fox after 1947 - the year of forced replacement of constitutional monarchy to popular republic, relatively few, merely demonstrate that real journalism can be practiced only in a society where press freedom is a guaranteed and respected principle and not a propaganda weapon. Some were written during the "obsessive decade", when Brunea-Fox, trying to return to the profession, had to resort to an attempt (unsuccessful and that is why abandoned) to adapt to socialist realism. We stop at a small volume, Hârca Piratului. Peisaje Dunărene (Pirate's Skull -Danube Landscapes – translator's note), published by Youth Publishing House in 1957, volume that in our opinion illustrates how journalist tried to adapt himself to the worst period of Romanian communism. It wouldn't be correct to present the volume of Brunea-Fox, Pirate's Skull. Danube Landscapes, as an incriminating document of an open collaborationism of the author with the regime. The rediscovery of this book, mentioned in specialized

dictionaries¹⁶, its unveiling to light, disclosure and exposure of Brunea's participation to the lying propaganda of the fresh installed communist regime seems unnecessary exaggeration and even a lack of respect for a man considered by the authoritative and honorable voices of the Romanian critics and literature as one of the most valuable interwar Romanian iournalists, if not the best, as far as we could risk an absolute ranking, based on criteria (still) subjective. The three so to tell literary stories, contained in the volume in question is far less compared to Geo Bogza's extensive writings, for instance, or other frantic reporters, willing to discover, with apparent naivety, the idyllic world of Romanian "twinned" workers and peasants, in order to give it to others for unnecessary and redundant example, involved in the same great work, with the same idyllic enthusiasm. In the end of the paper, we presented a wide array of opinions from both literary critics, academics in the field of journalism, writers or reporters, referring to the reportage affiliation. No doubt the story, by its theme and extension, allows arabesque styles that approach him to literature. If we include the travel and memoirs notes in the category of reportage, then the classification of reportage as a literary border species looks perfectly justified: stylistic methods such as psychological description or introspection uses a rich vocabulary and complex narrative development plans, even fictional.

We return to the fact that the report is considered as a media broadcasting channel, whether print or television (although we cannot exclude any new media, some blogs show posts that preserve reportage features). If we accept it as classification criterion, then we are clearly in the publishing area (especially as the preponderance of reports made for television - including documentary film here - is superior to

¹⁶ A.[Igeria] S.[imota], *Brunea-Fox, F.*, in *General Dictionary of Romanian Literature*, (gen. coord. Eugen Simion), A/B, Univers Enciclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2004, pages 671-673.

reports appearing in the press). We see no inconsistency if the reportage, classified as a species of journalism, uses literary making expressions - whether they're own to the print media (e.g. rich vocabulary, figures of speech) or audio-visual (picture, sound effects).

Conclusions

Extensive presentation of his cutting edge literary connections, of the existing determinism between the two positions – as vanguard author (even marginal) and journalist. the techniques of subjects choice, then the documentation and drafting, the polemics about the theoretical classifications the reportage, all placed in a double context, history and media as a social phenomenon –, set up a complex career, pioneering (if not singular, then the unmatched size up to him) in Romanian interwar journalistic reportage. So-called "press of Sărindar" – whose existence – had it not been brutally interrupted in 1937 - would be a long time yet received reports of Brunea-Fox. "Truth" and especially "Morning" had grown up Brunea-Fox, beginning with 1921, from the news picker, hidden under pseudonyms until 1937 (year when banned), when he had the status of all-star reporter. Such status is not an unfounded degree promotion, specific to that typical sensational that Brunea hated. On the contrary. We rally to the opinion of critic Radu Ciobotea, who places Filip Brunea-Fox in the immediate vicinity of interwar European reporters Blaise Cendrars, Egon Erwin Kisch or Albert Londres. "Reportage requires prestige and elegance", said Brunea-Fox in an interview given later to Carol Roman. If reportage needs prestige and elegance to merit not a literary "jump seat", but a publishing chair, that was offered by Filip Brunea-Fox in abundance.

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¹⁷ F. Brunea-FOX, *My Reportages, 1927-1938*, Eminescu Publishing House, Bucharest, 1979, page 37.

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reportaje, semnate cu numele propriu sau cu pseudonim. În urma unei selecții avizate chiar de autor, textele considerate semnificative au fost publicate postum în volumele "Memoria reportajului" și "Reportajele mele. 1927-1938". Din acest motiv, am identificat punctual textele consultate în presa vremii, altele decât cele reunite în volumele menționate anterior.

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