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Jean-Paul Bled Portrait d'historien

Ana-Maria Stan
Université Babeş-Bolyai



« Un historien [d'une] personnalité très riche, sous des dehors de discrétion personnelle..... ».

Nous avons choisi ces mots de l'académicien Emmanuel Leroy Ladurie comme point de départ dans notre effort de présenter au public roumain le professeur Jean-Paul Bled, de l'Université Paris IV-Sorbonne. Car ce n'est point facile de dresser un portrait approfondi et nuancé de cet universitaire français, qui s'est passionné pour l'Europe Centrale et Orientale et qui a fait de cette région son domaine de recherche favori.

Descendant d'une famille très impliquée dans la défense de la langue, de la littérature et des valeurs culturelles de la France¹, Jean-Paul Bled a continué cette tradition prestigieuse, en portant au niveau international le rayonnement du modèle socioculturel et scientifique français.

Son métier d'historien lui a permis d'étudier en profondeur la diversité des sociétés et des paysages physiques ou imaginaires qui couvrent la moitié du continent européen située entre l'Allemagne et la Russie et où l'influence française a toujours joué un rôle notable. Le professeur Bled s'est penché avec intérêt et chaleur, mais surtout avec des outils méthodologiques minutieux, sur les événements du long XIX^e siècle, ainsi que sur ceux de la première moitié du XX^e, contribuant à une meilleure compréhension des pays de l'Europe Centrale et Orientale par les Français, mais aussi bien par les habitants mêmes de cet espace.

Une licence d'allemand (en 1964), suivie de près par une licence d'histoire (1965), ont tout naturellement orienté sa carrière vers l'investigation des mondes germaniques. Son premier grand chantier

¹ Ses parents, Édouard et Odette Bled sont les auteurs des guides orthographiques et grammaticaux qui sont devenus des « incontournables » pour apprendre la langue française. Édouard Bled a également écrit un très bel ouvrage autobiographique, qui parle de la France du début du XX^e siècle : *J'avais un an en 1900*, Paris, Fayard, 1987.

d'études s'est focalisé sur la figure de l'économiste et sociologue allemand Albert Schäffle, auquel Jean-Paul Bled consacra sa thèse de doctorat de troisième cycle - *Albert Schäffle et le fédéralisme*, thèse soutenue en 1970, sous la direction du professeur Jacques Droz. Une dizaine d'années plus tard, le professeur Bled élabora également une thèse de doctorat d'état, intitulée *Les fondements du conservatisme autrichien, 1859-1879*.²

Après avoir enseigné comme assistant, puis comme maître-assistant à l'Université de Nantes (1969-1972), Jean-Paul Bled arriva à Strasbourg, où il passa des longues années, d'abord à l'Institut d'Études Politiques (1972-1996) et ensuite comme professeur à l'Université Robert Schumann/Strasbourg III (1988-1996). La période strasbourgeoise fut extrêmement prolifique, car c'est ici que le professeur mit en place les axes fondamentaux de ses recherches. Il élargit ses préoccupations scientifiques vers l'Est de l'Europe, en accordant dorénavant une attention particulière à la dynastie et à la monarchie des Habsbourg. À partir de 1984 Jean-Paul Bled créa et dirigea un groupe d'études spécialement dédié à ce vaste et complexe sujet. Celui-ci devint très vite le lieu de rassemblement des historiens venant de l'Ouest, aussi bien que de l'Est de notre continent (français, allemands, autrichiens, hongrois, serbes, tchèques, roumains, slovaques, italiens, polonais) et surtout un lieu de dialogue scientifique international sur les différents aspects politiques, sociaux, économiques et culturels de la monarchie des Habsbourg. Depuis 1986 le Groupe d'études sur la monarchie des Habsbourg publie la revue *Études Danubiennes*, qui devint rapidement un forum respecté des idées et des connaissances sur l'Europe centrale et orientale et aussi sur les Balkans.

L'espace germanique resta un autre grand domaine d'analyse historique du professeur Bled, qui coordonna entre 1988 et 2000 le Centre d'études germaniques de Strasbourg, un laboratoire associé au CNRS. À l'aide de nombreux colloques, ainsi que de la revue de ce centre - *Revue d'Allemagne et des pays de langue allemande* - les spécialistes et le grand public ont pu enrichir leur compréhension pluridisciplinaire de cette région. Le travail éditorial de Jean-Paul Bled ne s'arrêta pas ici, car entre 1993 et 1999 il dirigea également la *Revue d'Europe Centrale*, consacrée en priorité à l'étude de cette région au XIX^e siècle.

En parallèle à cette activité de recherche, le professeur Bled se remarqua par la création des programmes universitaires du troisième cycle, tel le DESS *Études Germaniques*, destiné à former des professionnels

² Cet ouvrage fut publié en 1988 par les Presses de la Sorbonne.

pour la coopération franco-allemande, ou le diplôme d'université *Connaissance de l'Europe centrale contemporaine*.

En reconnaissance de ses mérites d'enseignant-chercheur Jean-Paul Bled fut élu en 1995 comme professeur titulaire de la chaire *Histoire de l'Allemagne contemporaine et des pays germaniques* à l'Université Paris IV-Sorbonne, où il enseigna jusqu'en 2012. Son entrée dans les milieux universitaires parisiens a accentué le caractère international de ses démarches scientifiques. Le professeur Bled continua de tisser de forts réseaux de coopération avec ses collègues étrangers (de l'Europe et des États-Unis), grâce à des conférences internationales, mais aussi grâce à des stages d'enseignement qu'il a effectué en Europe Centrale ou à des diplômes de maîtrise, de DEA ou de doctorat, qu'il dirigea pour des étudiants venus des pays de l'Est et des Balkans.

Parmi les historiens français intéressés de l'espace central européen, Jean-Paul Bled se détache par le nombre impressionnant de biographies qu'il a consacré aux personnalités qui gouvernèrent ou influencèrent la vie sociopolitique et culturelle. Parmi ses plus fameux et traduits ouvrages on doit mentionner celui dressant le portrait de François-Joseph.³ Le longévif empereur de l'Autriche-Hongrie marqua profondément son époque, ainsi que le mental collectif des peuples de la double monarchie. Les figures de Bismarck, François-Ferdinand, Frédéric le Grand ou bien Marie Thérèse et Louise de Prusse font partie de la galerie à laquelle le professeur Bled consacra son attention. Les monographies dédiées à des villes emblématiques de l'espace germanique, telles que Vienne ou Munich représentent un autre volet important de ses publications. A cela s'ajoutent de dizaines d'articles et d'études, traitant des sujets variés de l'histoire contemporaine française et de l'histoire du continent européen.

L'envergure de ses préoccupations confirme que Jean-Paul Bled représente une des grandes personnalités de l'historiographie actuelle, un spécialiste qui a contribué de manière décisive à la compréhension de la vie de l'Europe, au dialogue des idées et des cultures.

On ne peut conclure ce portrait de Jean-Paul Bled sans faire une mention spéciale sur les liens qu'il a tissé avec la Roumanie au fil des ans. Pendant longtemps, il a présidé, à côté de l'académicien Dan Berindei, un groupe d'historiens franco-roumains et il a régulièrement organisé des colloques dédiés à notre pays et à ses relations avec la France. En sa qualité de professeur, Jean-Paul Bled a reçu dans ses cours

³ Cette biographie, publiée à Paris pour la première fois en 1987, connut des versions en allemand, anglais, roumain, slovène et serbe.

de licence, de maîtrise, de DEA ou de DESS, soit à Strasbourg, soit à Paris, beaucoup d'étudiants roumains. Il a également dirigé les thèses de doctorat de quatre étudiants roumains, dont deux venus de l'Université Babeş-Bolyai de Cluj-Napoca.

Au final, dans la vaste bibliographie du professeur Jean-Paul Bled⁴, nous avons sélectionné ci-dessous les titres qu'il a consacrés directement à la Roumanie, ainsi que les articles qui sont parus dans des revues scientifiques roumaines. Ces ouvrages sont des repères pour tous les spécialistes intéressés par l'histoire des Roumains.

1. Livres :

Géopolitique de la Roumanie. Regards croisés (en collaboration avec Jacques Barrat, Dan Berindei et Claudia Moisei), Paris, Éditions Alvik, 2003.

2. Numéros de revues :

« Les élites franco-roumaines (XVIII^e-XX^e siècles) », *Études danubiennes*, t. XI/1, 1995.

« Personnalités médiatrices entre la France et la Roumanie (XVIII^e-XX^e siècles) », *Études danubiennes*, t. XIII/2, 1997.

« La révolution de 1848 et ses suites dans les relations franco-roumaines », *Études danubiennes*, t. XV/2, 1999.

3. Articles et études :

« Les Lorrains dans le Banat », dans Jean-Paul Bled, Eugène Faucher et René Taveneaux (dir.), *Les Habsbourg et la Lorraine*, Nancy, Presses universitaires de Nancy, 1988, p. 161-167.

« La France, la Roumanie et le traité d'octobre 1883 », *Études danubiennes*, t. IX/2, 1993, p. 143-150.

« Deux Roumaines à Paris : Anna de Noailles et Marthe Bibesco », *Études danubiennes*, t. XI/2, 1995, p. 107-114.

« Czernowitz avant 1914 : une société multiculturelle », *Revue roumaine d'histoire*, t. 35, n. 1-2, janvier-juin 1996, p. 21-26.

⁴ Voir dans ce sens : *Bibliographie de Jean-Paul Bled* dans Mathieu Dubois et Renaud Meltz (éditeurs) - « De part et d'autre du Danube. L'Allemagne, l'Autriche et les Balkans, de 1815 à nos jours. Mélanges en l'honneur du professeur Jean-Paul Bled », Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, Paris, 2015, p. 339-348.

« Elvire Popesco, une comédienne roumaine à Paris », *Études danubiennes*, t. XIII/2, 1997, p. 97-103.

« La Transylvanie dans la *Revue des deux mondes* pendant la Première Guerre Mondiale », *Revue roumaine d'histoire*, t. 36, n. 3-4, juillet-décembre 1997, p. 215-221.

« Paul Morand et la Roumanie », *Revue roumaine d'histoire*, t. 38, 1999, p. 107-111.

« Edgar Quinet, les Roumains et la Roumanie », *Études gailliennes*, t. XV/2, 1999, p. 73-79.

« Thouvenel et la Question d'Orient », *Revue roumaine d'histoire*, t. 45, 2006, p. 175-178.

« La France et les origines de la Petite Entente », *Études danubiennes*, t. XXIII/1-2, 2007, p. 13-19.

« François-Ferdinand et la Roumanie », *Revue roumaine d'histoire*, t. 50, n. 1-2, janvier-juin 2011, p. 49-54.

Entretien avec le professeur Jean-Paul Bled

« Décrire ne suffit pas, il faut aussi expliquer. Une tâche indispensable, mais souvent ardue, car la vérité est rarement mono-causale. »

*Monsieur le professeur Jean-Paul Bled, vous êtes le premier historien français à figurer avec une interview dans la revue *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, Historia*, publiée par la Faculté d'Histoire et de Philosophie de l'Université Babeş-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca, Roumanie et nous sommes très honorés que vous avez accepté notre invitation.*

1) Vous venez d'une famille d'éminente tradition dans l'enseignement et l'éducation française, donc ma première question s'adresse tout naturellement à l'influence de votre milieu familial dans le choix de votre métier. Comment avez-vous tourné vers l'histoire, parmi le grand nombre d'autres disciplines socio-humaines à votre portée?

Il est exact que je dois beaucoup à mes parents. Ils m'ont élevé dans l'esprit des hussards noirs de la République, tels que Charles Péguy les avait célébrés, dans les valeurs du patriotisme républicain. Ils m'ont également enseigné l'amour de la langue française. Ils étaient les auteurs d'une collection de manuels d'orthographe qui a formé, depuis 1945, des générations de jeunes Français et continuent aujourd'hui de former les nouvelles générations. J'ai gardé de leur enseignement le goût d'une belle langue, d'une langue classique.

Mes parents étaient instituteurs. Leur souhait, dans la tradition de l'ascenseur républicain, était que je devienne professeur de lycée, après avoir passé l'agrégation. Les circonstances ont fait que j'ai engagé une carrière universitaire. Je sais que mon père – ma mère était déjà décédée – a ressenti une grande joie et une grande fierté quand j'ai été élu sur une chaire à la Sorbonne.

2) Quels sont les professeurs, ainsi que les maîtres de l'historiographie française et/ou européenne qui ont le plus marqué votre formation universitaire et postuniversitaire?

La liste est longue. Je n'en retiendrai ici que trois : deux Français et un Autrichien. Le premier est le doyen Jacques Droz qui a suivi mes

travaux de recherches jusqu'à la thèse de doctorat d'État. Grand spécialiste de l'Allemagne du XIX^e siècle, il avait élargi ses centres d'intérêt à l'Europe Centrale. Il est d'ailleurs l'auteur d'une très précieuse *Histoire de l'idée de Mitteleuropa*. C'est lui qui a orienté mes recherches vers l'Autriche. Sa direction avait quelque chose de paternel que j'appréciais beaucoup.

Victor-Lucien Tapié n'a pas dirigé mes travaux, mais il m'a introduit dans la vieille Autriche dont il avait une connaissance très fine. Il était un familier de plusieurs des familles, comme les Schwarzenberg, qui, au long des siècles, ont fait sa grandeur. Lui-même était un grand seigneur. Spécialiste de la vieille Autriche, il était aussi un grand connaisseur du baroque. Il a laissé plusieurs livres qui sont des monuments, comme *Monarchie et Peuples du Danube* et *L'Europe de Marie-Thérèse*.

Le dernier est le professeur Friedrich Engel-Janosi. Juif converti, il était un exemple de la capacité d'intégration de la vieille Monarchie. Je trouvais dans son foyer le raffinement du « monde d'hier ». Lorsque je lui rendais visite, ce que je faisais à chaque fois que je me trouvais à Vienne, il poussait la politesse jusqu'à parler devant moi français avec son épouse. La dernière fois que je l'ai vu, alors qu'il me raccompagnait, il m'a glissé – ce sont ses dernières paroles : « Faites-nous un beau François-Joseph ». C'est à lui que j'ai dédié en pensée ma biographie du « dernier monarque de la vieille école », le premier de mes livres.

3) De Michelet aux Seignobos et Monod, de l'école des Annales à Bourdieu, la France s'est toujours intéressée à la meilleure méthode et manière d'écrire l'histoire. Je vous prie de bien vouloir nous dévoiler un peu la méthodologie et le style d'historien que vous vous êtes forgé à travers votre carrière. Est-ce que vous vous sentez plus proche d'une certaine école ?

Je n'appartiens à aucune école ni à aucun clan, ce qui serait contraire à ma conception de la liberté de l'historien et de l'écrivain. Reste que j'ai été très marqué par la réflexion du grand historien allemand Léopold von Ranke pour qui la mission de l'historien est de décrire *waseigentlicheschehenist*. Ce qui s'est réellement passé, conduit donc à pousser l'investigation, donc à ne pas rester à la surface des choses. Mais décrire ne suffit pas, il faut aussi expliquer. Une tâche indispensable, mais souvent ardue, car la vérité est rarement mono-causale.

La compréhension d'une situation historique suppose également qu'elle soit replacée dans la longue durée de l'histoire. Ce souci de replacer l'événement historique dans la longue durée distingue l'historien du journaliste et du politique qui trop souvent ont l'œil rivé sur l'instant et succombe à des réactions émotionnelles.

Tout ce travail visant à démêler les causes et les effets apprend le sens de la nuance qui doit être pour l'historien comme une seconde nature.

4) Vous travaillez depuis longtemps sur l'histoire contemporaine du monde germanique. En 1988, vous avez affirmé que la monographie d'Albert Schäffle vous a « orienté de manière décisive vers l'Autriche ». Est-ce que vous pouvez nous détailler le cheminement de votre intérêt pour certains sujets de la monarchie habsbourgeoise, ainsi que pour certaines nations/nationalités qui la formaient ?

Rien ne me prédisposait à m'intéresser à l'Autriche qui n'occupait et n'occupe toujours qu'une place infime dans l'enseignement de l'histoire au lycée. Alors que je voulais travailler sur l'Allemagne, c'est par étapes que je suis arrivé à l'Autriche au gré des sujets que le doyen Droz m'a proposés.

Pour un Français élevé dans la tradition du centralisme et de l'unité, héritage tout ensemble de la Monarchie, de l'Empire et de la République, la vieille Autriche est nécessairement un objet singulier, déroutant et, pour tout dire, fascinant. Il y découvre un monde pluraliste, un pluralisme bâti autour d'une somme d'entités historiques et d'une diversité de peuples, de langues et de confessions. La vieille Autriche est pour partie allemande, mais elle n'est pas que cela. Elle offre l'exemple d'une culture formée du croisement d'une diversité d'héritages et d'influences. Les grands écrivains de la Vienne fin de siècle (Hofmannstahl, Kraus, Schnitzler, Zweig) sont certes des écrivains de langue allemande. Ils ne peuvent pour autant être rangés sans abus dans la catégorie des écrivains allemands, un abus pourtant régulièrement commis dans les universités allemandes.

Mon intérêt s'est naturellement porté sur plusieurs des peuples de l'ancienne monarchie. Les Tchèques d'abord. Pour ma thèse sur le conservatisme autrichien, j'ai travaillé sur plusieurs grandes familles de la noblesse de Bohême qui entretenaient des liens étroits avec les milieux tchèques. Plus tard, à travers les liens que j'ai tissés avec la Roumanie, j'ai été amené à m'intéresser aux Roumains de Transylvanie.

5) Quels ont été et comment se sont passés vos premiers contacts avec les historiens, les historiographies et les sources historiques de l'Europe Centrale et Orientale ?

A cette époque, je veux dire les années 70, l'internet n'existait pas. On ne pouvait aller sur la toile pour des recherches bibliographiques. Cela veut dire que pour le jeune chercheur, qui découvrait au surplus sa matière, les contacts avec les historiens autrichiens étaient d'une importance primordiale. C'était l'époque où je préparais ma thèse de doctorat d'Etat sur les fondements du conservatisme autrichien. J'ai déjà mentionné Friedrich Engel-Janosi. D'autres noms me viennent à l'esprit. Ainsi le moine bénédictin de Melk, Hugo Hantsch qui occupait alors une chaire d'histoire contemporaine à l'Université de Vienne et était l'auteur d'une histoire de l'Autriche qui reste aujourd'hui un ouvrage de référence. Mais il est mort assez rapidement. J'ai souvent rencontré Johann Christoph Allmayer-Beck, alors le directeur du *Heeresgeschichtliche Museum* qui a ouvert mon horizon à la bibliographie sur l'armée autrichienne. A ces noms j'ajouterai celui de Gerald Stourzh, grand spécialiste du droit des nationalités de la Vieille Autriche, que j'ai longtemps rencontré lors de chacun de mes séjours à Vienne.

Aujourd'hui de nouveaux partenaires les ont remplacés : Peter Broucek, ancien directeur du *Kriegsarchiv* qui, pour tout sujet, me trouve un livre ou un article oublié, et, bien sûr, mon excellent ami Lothar Höbelt, professeur à l'Université de Vienne, avec lequel je dîne, à chaque séjour dans le restaurant du Palais Kinsky.

6) Comment l'écroulement du communisme a-t-il influencé vos recherches et vos liens scientifiques et personnels avec l'Europe Centrale et Orientale ?

Les contacts avec les historiens des pays dits alors de l'Est n'ont pas manqué avant la chute du Mur, notamment à travers l'Association européenne d'histoire contemporaine créée par Fernand L'Huillier, puis continuée par Jacques Bariéty. Je me souviens d'avoir ainsi participé à plusieurs colloques, dans l'ordre à Poznan, Varna, Mayence, Genève et Strasbourg où intervenaient ensemble des historiens de l'Ouest et de l'Est. Il est cependant évident qu'après 1989/90, ces échanges se sont multipliés. C'est ainsi par exemple que nous avons pu mettre sur pied avec le professeur Dan Berindei un colloque franco-roumain annuel. Il faut également accorder une mention spéciale à la mise en place du

système des thèses en cotutelle, pour ce qui me concerne entre Paris IV et Cluj.

7) *Permettez-moi de paraphraser un peu le fameux questionnaire de Marcel Proust et de vous demander quels sont vos héros ou bien héroïnes historiques favori(te)s ou qui vous ont le plus impressionné?*

La lise en est longue. D'abord les Français. Je placerais en tête le trio formé par Charles de Gaulle, Georges Clemenceau et Napoléon. Le général de Gaulle est pour moi l'homme qui a su dire non au moment où la France connaissait la plus terrible épreuve de son histoire, celui dont l'action, habitée d'une certaine idée de la France, était soutenue par la conviction que la France ne peut être la France sans la grandeur et qu'il est un pacte séculaire entre la grandeur de la France et la liberté du monde. Il est aussi celui qui a fondé un régime de monarchie républicaine unissant les traditions des deux Frances. Clemenceau est aussi l'homme du refus de la défaite dont l'énergie a porté la France à la victoire en 1918 et qui fut un architecte du traité de Versailles. Certains voudraient que nous nous en repentions. Je ne m'en repens pas. Napoléon n'est pas seulement l'homme de l'épopée, mais on sait qu'elle se termina mal, il est aussi celui qui a rebâti l'Etat après la tourmente révolutionnaire. La France continue largement à vivre sur cet acquis.

En Autriche, je suis attiré par les figures de Marie-Thérèse et de François-Joseph. Marie-Thérèse incarne aussi l'esprit de résistance alors qu'au début de son règne, tout paraissait s'écrouler autour d'elle. Encore aujourd'hui elle est une figure tutélaire de l'Europe danubienne. Je ne méconnais certes pas les limites de François-Joseph. Ce qui m'impressionne chez lui, c'est comment l'homme s'efface derrière la fonction. Il fut aussi, selon ses propres mots, « le dernier monarque de la vieille école » et, avec lui, est mort en quelque sorte, « le monde d'hier » décrit par Stefan Zweig.

8) *Je reviens aux personnalités de l'histoire, car d'Albert Schäffle à François Ferdinand d'Autriche, de la reine Louise de Prusse à Marie Thérèse d'Autriche, vous avez écrit beaucoup de biographies historiques. Je vous invite donc à discuter sur l'importance et la signification de ce type de travail par rapport aux autres genres ou bien approches historiographiques.*

La biographie est un genre historique à part entière, à la condition de respecter certaines règles. Son intérêt est de placer un destin

individuel dans un destin collectif. Si elle ne s'impose pas cet effort, son apport ne peut être que réduit. C'est en tout cas l'objectif que je me suis fixé depuis ma première biographie consacrée à François-Joseph qui se lit aussi, du moins je l'espère, comme une histoire de l'Autriche, puis de l'Autriche-Hongrie durant son très long règne.

L'autre difficulté de la biographie est de combiner proximité et distance. Proximité par rapport à son personnage. Un effort d'empathie est nécessaire pour comprendre ses ressorts de l'intérieur. Mais sans pour autant épouser ses querelles, ce qui oblige à un devoir de distance. C'est là un exercice délicat, mais passionnant.

C'est en quelque sorte par hasard que je me suis orienté vers ce genre. Après ma thèse de doctorat d'État, la Maison Fayard m'a proposé d'écrire une biographie de François-Joseph. Elle a été suivie de beaucoup d'autres. J'ai trouvé dans ce genre un plaisir qui ne s'est jamais démenti. C'est un sentiment singulier que de vivre deux ou trois ans d'une vie avec un personnage qui, au départ, vous est étranger, mais auquel vous redonnez progressivement vie et qui, à la fin des fins, vous est devenu familier.

9) *Est-ce que vous avez un personnage du monde germanique ou bien de l'Europe centrale duquel vous n'avez pas encore osé à vous rapprocher à travers une biographie? Pour quelles raisons?*

J'ai refusé d'écrire une biographie d'Adolf Hitler. Je ne me voyais pas et ne me vois toujours pas passer trois années de ma vie avec ce personnage. Je ne veux pas dire par là que l'historien ne doit prendre pour objet d'une biographie qu'une figure avec laquelle il se sent en sympathie. Mais il y a des limites.

10) *Quels sont vos prochains projets dans ce domaine des biographies historiques?*

Je prépare une biographie de la mère de François-Joseph, l'archiduchesse Sophie, dont le rôle ne s'est pas réduit à être la belle-mère de Sisi. J'ai également en chantier une biographie de Marlène Dietrich, un vieux rêve qui va enfin se réaliser grâce à Benoît Yvert, mon éditeur.

11) *Monsieur le professeur, j'aimerais qu'on discute un peu sur les divers concepts historiques, géopolitiques et historiographiques qui désignent les territoires se trouvant, si on peut dire, « au-delà de Vienne ». Dans un*

de vos derniers livres, « L'agonie d'une monarchie. Autriche-Hongrie 1914-1920 » vous mentionnez le rôle de l'idée de Mitteleuropa dans l'effondrement de l'empire. Mais il n'y a pas que le Mitteleuropa, car les historiens utilisent aussi souvent les expressions pays de l'Europe Centrale et Orientale, ou bien l'Europe de l'Est. Expliquez-nous, selon vous, les différences et les points d'entrecroisement entre ces notions.

Il existe effectivement plusieurs terminologies souvent liées à des situations historiques différentes. Dans la période de l'entre-deux guerres, on parlait volontiers en France de « l'Europe centrale et orientale », en référence notamment à nos alliances dans cet espace. Après la Seconde Guerre mondiale et l'entrée de la plupart de ces pays dans l'orbite soviétique, l'habitude s'est prise d'utiliser le concept d' « Europe de l'Est ». Après la chute du Mur, l'Europe centrale a refait surface.

Pour ce qui est de l'idée de *Mitteleuropa*, elle n'est pas monolithique. Il y a, pour faire simple, deux conceptions de la *Mitteleuropa*, l'une allemande, l'autre habsbourgeoise, la première centrée sur l'Allemagne, la seconde sur le Danube. La seconde a resurgi dans les années 80 du siècle dernier. Elle a réuni des intellectuels (historiens, philosophes, romanciers) des anciens pays habsbourgeois. Ce courant d'idées en faveur d'une nouvelle solidarité centre-européenne a préparé le terrain à la chute du communisme. Il est intéressant de noter que ces personnalités n'ont jamais fait référence à la *Mitteleuropa*, mais ont parlé en revanche de *Zentraleuropa*.

12) Quels sont les ouvrages essentiels que vous conseillerez à un(e) jeune historien(ne) qui veut se spécialiser aujourd'hui dans l'étude de l'Europe centrale?

Pour les historiens français, je conseillerais les travaux des grands austriacisants que sont Jean Bérenger et Bernard Michel. En Autriche, je pense au livre de synthèse dû à Helmut Rumpler paru sous le titre « *Österreichische Geschichte 1804-1914. Eine Chance für Mitteleuropa 1809-1918* ». Il faut également citer la superbe collection *Die Habsburger monarchie*, véritable monument en 9 volumes, publié depuis 1973 par l'Académie autrichienne des Sciences.

13) Vous avez également fondé et dirigé pendant de longues années des publications destinées à l'étude de l'Europe Centrale, telles qu'« Études

danubiennes » ou bien « *La revue d'Allemagne et des pays de langue allemande* ». *Parlez-nous un peu de votre expérience de rédacteur en chef.*

La direction d'une revue (*a fortiori* de trois) est un travail très prenant, mais aussi passionnant. Plutôt que des *Varia*, j'ai privilégié des numéros à thème qui aident à donner à la revue une plus grande visibilité.

J'ai eu ensuite un souci constant d'équilibre : équilibre entre les thèmes des numéros, équilibre à l'intérieur de chaque numéro entre les sujets des différents articles, équilibre enfin entre les langues.

Pour la *Revue d'Allemagne et des Pays de langue allemande*, j'ai tenu à ce que des numéros spécifiques fussent régulièrement consacrés à l'Autriche et à la Suisse, en moyenne un tous les deux ans. En ce qui concerne *Études Danubiennes*, j'ai voulu leur donner une dimension plurielle en accord avec la nature de la monarchie autrichienne. En d'autres termes, j'ai cherché à y associer des historiens de tous les peuples rassemblés jadis sous le sceptre des Habsbourg.

14) *Quelles ont été les percées de ces revues dans l'approfondissement des connaissances sur l'Europe Centrale du XIX^e et du XX^e siècle?*

Il serait présomptueux de ma part de parler de percées. Je pense, en revanche, que plusieurs de ces numéros à thème sont devenus dans leur domaine des références obligées.

15) *L'Europe de 2014 est bien différente de l'Europe de 1914, néanmoins, on rencontre parfois des opinions qui essaient de tracer de parallèles entre l'Autriche-Hongrie (un empire à plusieurs langues, régions et cultures) et l'Union Européenne. En tant que spécialiste du sujet, qu'en pensez-vous de cette comparaison?*

Cette comparaison est quelque peu risquée. Surtout que la monarchie austro-hongroise a fini par s'effondrer. Je ne voudrais pas être un oiseau de mauvais augure !

16) *L'Autriche-Hongrie représenta également un modèle de gouvernement. Quels sont les points forts, l'héritage qu'elle laissa pour l'Europe de XXI^e siècle et quelles furent ses plus grandes faiblesses?*

« Si l'Autriche n'existait pas, il faudrait l'intérêt de l'Europe », déclarait Frantisek Palacky en 1848. La mission de la monarchie

habsbourgeoise était claire : fédérer les peuples que l'histoire a placés au cœur de l'Europe. Ces peuples ont effectivement connu un réel développement politique et culturel dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle. Le tableau dans la partie hongroise était très différent. Les Magyars, s'arc-boutant sur la défense de leurs privilèges, n'ont pas réussi à jouer ce rôle de fédérateurs. Ils ont au contraire suscité des phénomènes de rejet parmi les peuples soumis à la Couronne de Saint-Etienne.

L'Union sacrée du début de la Grande Guerre a provisoirement recouvert ces oppositions. Mais la longueur inattendue du conflit les a ramenés à la surface et a fini par les exacerber. A bout de souffle, La monarchie s'est alors trouvée dans l'incapacité de résister à la radicalisation des nationalismes.

17) Est-ce qu'il y a encore des sujets à découvrir, des taches blanches dans la recherche de l'histoire de l'Autriche-Hongrie?

L'entrée des anciens pays communiste dans l'Europe démocratique a permis aux chercheurs d'avoir accès librement aux archives de ces pays. Celles-ci n'étaient certes pas complètement fermées, mais le processus pour les consulter ressemblait très souvent au parcours du combattant. Cette liberté d'accès commence à produire ses effets.

18) L'année 2014 a marqué le centenaire du début de la Grande Guerre, ce qui a donné lieu, partout en Europe, à une réévaluation historiographique de ce conflit, ainsi que de ses protagonistes. Comme je l'ai déjà mentionné auparavant, vous venez de publier vous-même un ouvrage, intitulé « L'agonie d'une monarchie. Autriche-Hongrie 1914-1920 ». Dans ce contexte, je vous prie de nous détailler les nouvelles approches et les débats récents sur le conflit de 1914-1918 en France.

La recherche française sur la Première Guerre mondiale a été renouvelée par le livre de Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau et Annette Becker *14-18. Retrouver la Guerre* paru en 2000. Celui-ci a lancé le concept de « culture de guerre » qui, ne dressant plus de mur entre l'arrière et le front, embrasse dans un même regard civils et combattants. Les deux auteurs soutiennent d'autre part la thèse de « l'effort de guerre consenti », au nom des valeurs d'un patriotisme partagé. Les mutineries de 1917 n'ont touché que 40.000 soldats sur 2 millions, soit tout juste 2% de l'armée française. Cette thèse a été contestée par Rémi Cazals et Frédéric Rousseau qui lui ont opposé la vision d'un effort de guerre

imposé par la contrainte. A ce renouvellement de la recherche est associée la création de l'*Historial* de la Grande Guerre à Péronne, un lieu où Français et Allemands s'affrontèrent en 1918.

19) Parmi les initiatives destinées à commémorer la Première Guerre Mondiale on a vu naître de grands projets, surtout sur internet, par exemple le fameux site www.europeana1914-1918.eu, qui rassemble des témoignages de plusieurs pays. Quelle est votre opinion sur ce type de démarche ?

Même si je n'en suis pas accroc, je reconnais volontiers les mérites du numérique. J'en fais régulièrement l'usage pour la consultation à distance de catalogues de bibliothèques étrangères, de fonds d'archives et la lecture d'articles mis en ligne. Il y a là un outil certainement précieux pour l'historien.

20) Il existe en France une véritable tradition de l'intellectuel engagé, d'un intellectuel qui se manifeste dans l'espace public. Vous êtes une voix qui s'est fait depuis longtemps entendre à la radio ou dans la presse, qui a éduqué l'opinion sur des sujets historiques et politiques et a popularisé l'histoire. Est-ce que vous considérez que cela fait partie des devoirs d'un historien, surtout d'un historien qui peut comparer, comme vous, l'Ouest et l'Est, ou c'était bien un choix personnel?

Il n'y aucune obligation pour un historien et, de manière plus générale, pour un intellectuel de s'engager. Il s'agit là d'un choix personnel. J'ai eu et continue d'avoir des engagements citoyens. Mais, en dehors d'articles, je n'ai pas écrit de livre sur le général de Gaulle et ne compte pas en écrire. Je craindrais de ne pas avoir la distance nécessaire.

(Une interview avec le professeur Jean-Paul Bled, réalisée en 2014-2015 par Ana-Maria Stan)

Civil Society and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Transylvania

Sorin Mitu

Babeş-Bolyai University

Abstract: *Civil Society and National Identity in Nineteenth-Century Transylvania.* In this paper, we will attempt to provide an overview of the phenomenon of association in modern Transylvania, to emphasize its origins, and to analyze the functions it fulfilled in relation to the national identity. The association phenomenon is based on communication and the creation of a public space in which individuals share their ideas. The nationalities of Austria-Hungary chose to build their public space separately by creating parallel civil societies that were most often in competition. This tradition is still producing effects in Transylvania.

Keywords: civil society, political and cultural associations, national identity, Transylvania, Modern Epoch

Rezumat: *Societate civilă și identitate națională în Transilvania secolului al XIX-lea.* În acest studiu vom încerca să schițăm o imagine de ansamblu asupra fenomenului asociaționist din Transilvania modernă, să îi evidențiem originile și să analizăm funcțiile pe care le-a îndeplinit, în relație cu identitatea națională. Fenomenul asociaționist se bazează pe comunicare, pe crearea unui spațiu public în care indivizii își împărtășesc ideile. Naționalitățile din Austro-Ungaria au preferat să își construiască acest spațiu public în mod separat, prin crearea unor societăți civile paralele, de cele mai multe ori aflate în competiție. Este o tradiție care mai produce încă efecte în Transilvania.

Cuvinte-cheie: societate civilă, asociații politice și culturale, identitate națională, Transilvania, epoca modernă

The phenomenon of association was particularly widespread in Transylvania throughout the modern era, and research devoted to it has generated a rich specialty literature.¹ In the following pages, we will attempt to provide an overview of this highly diverse universe, to emphasize its origins, and to analyze the functions it fulfilled in relation

¹ For further details on the most important associations in Transylvania, see Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas Năgler, Magyari András (eds.), *Istoria Transilvaniei*, vol. III (*De la 1711 până la 1918*), Cluj-Napoca, Academia Română. Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2008, pp. 128-129, 165, 174-175, 182-183, 188, 553-559, 573-574, 587, 593-594.

to the most important and unavoidable ideological coordinate of the century: national identity.

If we try to make some order in this “thick jungle,” we can stratify it according to several criteria. Firstly, one can speak of societies established within the various ethnic and national communities such as the Saxons, Hungarians, Romanians, Serbs, Swabians, Slovaks, Jews and Armenians. Secondly, they are classified according to the content of their activity, from scientific societies, cultural and religious societies to economic associations and even sports or tourist ones. Thirdly, we distinguish between associations characteristic of certain social groups, that is gender or age groups, such as young students², women³, school teachers and workers. Fourthly, they are different from the perspective of the functions they fulfill and that of their structural typology: from elitist scholarly societies, national cultural organizations, school foundations to support education, and bourgeois meeting places (*casine*) devoted to the socialization of the economic and cultural elite, to professional associations in various fields of activity, trade unions, local mutual aid societies (funeral aid, firefighting, social services), choirs as well as local reading and theater societies.

Although the type of association such as the aforementioned one is essentially a modern phenomenon, its origins can be found in the pre-modern era. If we only refer to the case of Transylvania, we can think of the economic role of guilds or the educational role of religious orders, such as the Jesuits and later the Piarists. At the level of counties, the noble congregations where people socialized, argued, made politics, voted letters of loyalty to the emperor, and mainly vehemently protested against any initiative from above – were bodies that firstly belonged to the civil society rather than the state.⁴ There was a steady, almost imperceptible, transition from the Middle Ages to the modern era, namely from these eighteenth-century assemblies of medieval tradition to the mid nineteenth-century meeting places (*casine*) and the late nineteenth-century clubs.

While the forms of these medieval or modern organizations have common characteristics, their content, however, varies radically. The

² Eugenia Glodariu, *Asociațiile culturale ale tineretului studios român din Monarhia Habsburgică (1860-1918)*, Cluj-Napoca, Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, 1998.

³ Simona Stiger, *Asociaționism și emancipare în Transilvania până la Primul Război Mondial*, Arad, Ed. Fundației „Moise Nicoară”, 2001.

⁴ For details regarding local assemblies in the Szekler seats, see Hermann Gusztáv Mihály, *Secuiei. Istorie. Cultură. Identitate*, Miercurea Ciuc, Pro-Print, 2009, pp. 171-203.

core change that the nineteenth-century association phenomenon brings is that the associating subjects were now the modern, free, equal and autonomous individuals whose interaction would give raise to the *public space* that Habermas theorized.⁵ These aspects are highlighted in an article from the *Familia* (The Family) magazine which talks about “the significance of our associations,” taking Rousseau as a theoretical reference point:

“The life and development of loners demands the association of the populace in order to promote both. The isolated individual obliterates himself bodily and spiritually, and where a crowd congregates in an undisciplined manner of association, dissolution quickly sets in and loners obliterate themselves. The main factors of a rational association, argues Rousseau in his “Social Contract,” are: freedom, equality and the self-awareness of each individual.”⁶

Modern association projects emerged in Transylvanian at the end of the eighteenth century in the ambiance of freemasonry and the cosmopolitan universalism of the Enlightenment, the first more important associations being the Masonic lodges. As Catherine Roth writes, Freemasons were more interested in the “fatherland” than in the nations sharing it, given that the structure of the lodges was multi-ethnic and multi-confessional.⁷ However, shortly afterwards, the character of association projects will become increasingly “national.” Thus, Saxons, Hungarians and Romanians will only create societies divided along ethnic lines.

In Sibiu, in 1790, the members of a lodge which had been dismantled by the authorities initially founded a reading society called *Zwanzig Liebhaber der Literatur* (Twenty Lovers of Literature) which was ethnically diverse. However, later they would later change its name into *Siebenbürgische Sächsische Societät der Wissenschaften* (The Transylvanian Saxon Scientific Society).⁸ Meanwhile, the Hungarian writer György Aranka and the Romanian doctor Ioan Molnar Piuaru initiated two other similar projects, obviously having a national character.

⁵ See Jürgen Habermas, *Sfera publică și transformarea ei structurală. Studiu asupra unei categorii a societății burgheze*, Bucharest, Comunicare.ro, 2005.

⁶ Ion Becineaga, *Însemnătatea asociațiunilor noastre*, in *Familia*, XI, 1875, No. 42, p. 489, col. I.

⁷ Catherine Roth, *La Nation entre les lignes. Médias invisibles, discours implicites et invention de tradition chez les Saxons de Transylvanie*, Thèse de doctorat, Paris, Université Panthéon-Assas, 2013, p. 369.

⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 369-370.

As the nineteenth century progressed, each nationality in Transylvania created its own representative cultural association. Thus, Saxons founded the *Verein für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* (Association for Transylvanian Studies) in 1840, Hungarians the *Erdélyi Múzeum* (Transylvanian Museum Society) in 1859, and Romanians the *Asociațiunea Transilvoană pentru Literatura și Cultura Poporului Român* (Transylvanian Association for the Literature and Culture of the Romanian People) in 1861. As the aforementioned article from the *Familia* (The Family) argues:

“Among us, Romanians, the only permitted cultural association is the national one. This is what all civilized nations that went through these phases of public life tell us and prove to us. Even the famous English economist John Stuart Mill declared this when he took over the office of rector at the University of London; this is what the French Academy of Sciences, whose main purpose was to cleanse the French language of foreign words, tells us; this is also what the Prussians told us earlier with an iron fist and a fire tongue; ultimately, this is the banner under which also Hungarians protect themselves today by following the doctrines of Wesselényi and Széchenyi.”⁹

In the Romanian historiography, Liviu Maior and Ion Bolovan are two authors who used the term “civil society” in relation to the Romanian association phenomenon in Transylvania.¹⁰ Their thesis is that Transylvanian Romanians, given the precariousness of their representation in the political life, used the hundreds of professional and cultural institutions they had created at regional and local levels to strengthen their community life that was under threat during the Dualist regime. From another standpoint, primarily anchored in the processes of economic and social development, Abraham Barna analyzed the “embourgeoisement” process of Romanian society in Transylvania, pointing out the transformations in this sense at all levels, from everyday life and family life to the Church, education and companies of all kinds.¹¹

Paradoxically, the first to pay attention to this phenomenon were a few Hungarian writers and ideologists from the beginning of the

⁹ Ion Becineaga, *op. cit.*, p. 489, col. II.

¹⁰ Liviu Maior, *Habsburgi și români. De la loialitatea dinastică la identitate națională*, București, Ed. Enciclopedică, 2006, p. 8; Ioan Bolovan, *Asociația națională arădeană pentru cultura poporului român. 1863-1918. Contribuții monografice*, Cluj-Napoca, Dacia XXI, 2011, pp. 138-147.

¹¹ Ábrahám Barna, *Az erdélyi románság polgárosodása a 19. század második felében*, Csík-szereda, Pro-Print, 2004.

twentieth century, alarmed by the social and economic upheaval of Transylvanian Romanians considered a danger to the Hungarian state.¹² Over the last few decades, the aforementioned process was historiographically assessed, this time mainly positively, in the works of Romanian historians of the economy, such as Vasile Dobrescu, Michael Drecin, and Lucian Dronca)¹³, who noted with satisfaction the progress of Romanians in the financial, banking or cooperative sectors. In connection to this aspect, historians from the communist era, but also the respected Western scholar Keith Hitchins, focused on the milieu of Romanian workers and social democracy in Hungary in the Dualist period.¹⁴

One can legitimately ask the question whether the social-democratic political movement or the banks with Romanian capital have anything in common with the association phenomenon or with what we now call civil society. According to current definitions – according to which civil society excludes the state, the sphere of politics and the economy (as well as family life) – the answer would be no. However, in the specific case of the Romanian society in Transylvania, these fields of activity, together with the Romanian Churches, religious education, press and national political movement, strongly interfere with what we now call “civil society.” Broad sectors of the Romanian society tried to place their national community outside the state through all institutions that could be used for this purpose, which resulted in the formation of a parallel public sphere with a national character – of a “Romanian civil society.”¹⁵

Things were not very different in the case of Saxons either. Catherine Roth is one author who, in her brilliant work on the construction of Saxon identity, impeccably highlights the way the

¹² Tokaji László, *Eladó ország. Az erdélyrészi földbirtok-forgalom utóbbi 10 évi adatai*, Kolozsvár, Gombos F. Lyceum-Könyvnyomda, 1913.

¹³ Mihai Drecin, *Banca „Albina” din Sibiu. Instituție națională a românilor transilvăneni. 1871-1918*, Cluj-Napoca, Dacia, 1982; Vasile Dobrescu, *Elita românească în lumea satului transilvan. 1867-1918*, Târgu-Mureș, Ed. Universității „Petru Maior”, 1996; idem, *Sistemul de credit românesc din Transilvania. 1872-1918*, Târgu-Mureș, Ed. Universității „Petru Maior”, 1999; Lucian Dronca, *Băncile românești din Transilvania în perioada dualismului austro-ungar (1867-1918)*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003.

¹⁴ Ion Cicală, *Mișcarea muncitorească și socialistă din Transilvania. 1901-1921*, Bucharest, Ed. Politică, 1976; Keith Hitchins, *Conștiință națională și acțiune politică la românii din Transilvania*, vol. II (1868-1918), Cluj-Napoca, Dacia, 1992, chap. *Socialiștii români și problema națională din Ungaria. 1903-1918*.

¹⁵ Ioan Bolovan, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

association phenomenon among Saxons served this goal. She uses the case study of the SKV, a mountain association that would become a major symbol of their communal life.¹⁶

Unlike Romanians, who began to dream of a community life only in the eighteenth century (when they initially demanded to be accepted as the fourth political nation of Transylvania),¹⁷ Saxons were already such an autonomous, well individualized, body since the Middle Ages and the Reformation, that is the date when they acquired the structure as a distinct social category, framed by its own Church and representing one ethnic community. At the end of the eighteenth century and then again throughout the Dualist period, when their communal autonomy (structured around medieval, obsolete forms, incompatible with the requirements of modern life) was first challenged by Joseph's reforms and then by the *Ausgleich*, Saxons reacted by constructing a modern identity consciousness¹⁸ doubled by a new institutional network meant to replace the old medieval "nation," such as the Saxon University (*Universitas Saxorum*). Similarly as in the case of Romanians, their own Lutheran Church, together with its subordinated education network, were the main pillars of their community life.¹⁹ Closely connected to the aforementioned institutions was a flourishing civil society that structured the "parallel public sphere" of Saxon expression. In addition, it was more developed than the Romanian one and sometimes served as a model for the latter.

In the Saxon case, the medieval origins of their modern association played an important role. Thus, the "Neighborhood" (*Nachbarschaft*) represented an infra-communal solidarity framework found in Saxon towns as well as in villages. This system would also expand among Romanians living on the *Fundus Regius* (Königsboden). The organization of the seat, the guilds and municipal statutes –

¹⁶ Catherine Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-579.

¹⁷ See David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum. Din istoria formării națiunii române*, București, Ed. Enciclopedică, 2013; Keith Hitchins, *Romanian Nation-formation in Transylvania: the Stages, Seventeenth Century to 1914*, in Sorin Mitu (ed.), *Re-Searching the Nation: The Romanian File. Studies and Selected Bibliography on Romanian Nationalism*, Cluj-Napoca, International Book Access, 2008, pp. 57-80.

¹⁸ Sorin Mitu, Anca Gogâltan, *Transylvanian Saxons' Identity and the Idea of German Affiliation (18th-19th Century)*, in Sorin Mitu (ed.), *Building Identities in Transylvania. A Comparative Approach*, Cluj-Gatineau, Argonaut & Symphologic Publishing, 2014, pp. 55-70.

¹⁹ See Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan, *Ortodoxie și Luteranism în Transilvania între Revoluția pașoptistă și Marea Unire. Evoluție istorică și relații confesionale*, Sibiu-Cluj-Napoca, Ed. Andreiana & Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2015.

superimposed by the Universitas Saxorum²⁰ and further coagulated by the Lutheran Church – complete the picture of well-rounded communal structures that served as forerunners to the nineteenth-century professional, economic or educational associations.

Swabians, even though they formed well-organized communities (especially rural ones), were lacking the historical roots capable of shaping a national civil society, so their situation was quite different from that of the Saxons. In their case, we encounter primal association forms that resulted from certain local “grassroots” initiatives, which highlights ordinary people's remarkable ability to mobilize and organize themselves in order to achieve common goals. So were citizens' groups created to prevent and fight fires²¹ or local choirs spread in all market towns and villages in the Banat.²² Local Serbs and Romanians followed the Swabian model and set up their own music clubs, choirs or marching bands.

From a national perspective, however, as Rudolf Graf pointed out, most Swabian scientific, professional or even religious music associations performed their activities in Hungarian,²³ which highlights, in both senses, not only their wish to integrate within the existing social and political framework, but also the pressures exerted by the Hungarian state.

In reality, in the case of Hungarians and Szeklers (although – if you regard the situation in a formal way – they started from the positions of a social status similar to that of the Saxons, each representing only one part of a plural and segmented historical Transylvania), things were different and evolved in different ways. Until 1918, in general, Hungarians were the politically and socially dominant element in Transylvania. As a result, throughout most of this period, they were not forced to take refuge in a parallel communal and autonomous life within which to save their threatened identity as was the case of Romanians and Saxons.

²⁰ Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas Nägler, Magyari András, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 181; Vintilă Mihăilescu, “Vecinătatea și fraternitatea economică”, www.icca.ro/pdf/Vintila_Mihailescu.pdf, (last accessed: 28.02.2013).

²¹ See the statues of St. Florian, patron saint of firefighters, constructed by Swabians in Aradul Nou and Jimbolia (Horia Truță, Dan Demșea, *Monumente de for public, însemne memoriale, construcții decorative și parcuri din județul Arad. Catalog selectiv*, Arad, Nigredo, 2008, p. 7).

²² Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas Nägler, Magyari András, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 593.

²³ *Ibidem*, pp. 593-595.

To a lesser extent, however, a similar phenomenon occurred also among Transylvanian Hungarians especially during the Viennese Court's centralizing drives, although the province always preserved its autonomous structure (from 1691 until 1867) and the Hungarian elite its leading position. Whenever Hungarians were advocating for the assertion of their nationality in Transylvania – for example linguistically, against the supremacy of Latin or German in public life –, they would set up associations for the preservation of their language (“threatened” or thus far insufficiently “cultivated”), such as the *Erdélyi Magyar Nyelvemvelő Társaság* (Society for the Cultivation of Hungarian in Transylvania), founded in Târgu Mureș in 1793.²⁴ It was the time when Romanians were also pondering their own *Philosophical Society* (Societate Filosofoască) and began to write the first grammars and lexicons.²⁵

A similarly “competitive” association initiative was the *Transylvanian Museum Society* (Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület) whose beginnings can be traced back to early nineteenth century when a magazine with the same name was published (1814-1818).²⁶ The project finally materialized in 1859, still in an era of Hapsburg “absolutism” by the creation of a cultural and scientific society with this name. This society urged Hungarians to defend and to cultivate their own “muses” in Transylvania, not necessarily in competition with the Saxons or Romanians, but especially in relation to the centralizing Viennese policy which separated Transylvania from the motherland, namely Hungary. Austrian authorities showed naiveté when they approved the establishment of the society, arguing that it was apolitical, had scientific goals, and was founded by aristocrats with moderate views, among them several prominent Romanian and Saxons scholars.²⁷ In fact, as Catherine Roth writes by following in the footsteps of Pierre Bourdieu, “culture is always political.”²⁸ As a result, neither the undeclared objectives in the statutes of this Hungarian society could ignore the national finality of such an endeavor.

But when the “union” was finally achieved and Transylvania was administratively incorporated into Hungary in 1867, the objectives

²⁴ See Jancsó Elemér, *Az Erdélyi Magyar Nyelvemvelő Társaság írtai*, București, Akadémiai Könyvkiadó, 1955.

²⁵ Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas Năgler, Magyari András, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 128-129.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 165-166.

²⁷ Anna Mária Ardos, Maria Mirel, *Considerații privind înființarea societăților culturale transilvănene Astra și Asociația Muzeului Ardelean*, in „Acta Musei Napocensis”, XVIII, 1981, pp. 531-536.

²⁸ Catherine Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 440.

of Hungarian societies would also change. No matter whether they were local initiatives started from below (for mutual aid, for professional categories, meeting places or theater societies), or organizations with a wider scope, they now had by their side a state that was no longer perceived as hostile. On the contrary, the Hungarian state was now a partner – a very strong one – called to protect national culture and interests. For such reasons, the Hungarian society *Erdélyi Közművelődési Egyesület* (EMKE) (Hungarian Cultural Society of Transylvania), created in 1885 with the stated aim of counteracting the activity of the Romanian ASTRA society, was seen more as an instrument of the state and its Magyarization policy than as an initiative of the civil society.²⁹

It is true that a number of Transylvanian associations have tried to cultivate a certain regional and trans-ethnic specificity. For example, among the founders of the Transylvanian Museum Society, who supported its establishment through donations, were Andrei Șaguna, Alexandru Sterca Țuluțiu and Timotei Cipariu. Similarly, two years later the Hungarian Count Mikó Imre, who acted as president of the society, financially contributed to the establishment of the ASTRA society.³⁰

However, such gestures were rather verbal. For instance, the statutes of *The Saxon Mountain Society* (Siebenbürgischer Karpatenverein, SKV) stipulated that anyone could join its ranks, regardless of nationality, but at the same time ruled that it was a “German association.”³¹ In any case, among its members no more than 3% were Romanians and Hungarians!³² Therefore, one can note that in nineteenth-century Transylvania people preferred to congregate along ethnic lines even when they were organizing a trip. Hungarians had their own mountain association, the *Erdélyi Kárpát-Egyesület* (EKE), founded in 1891³³, while Romanians, in the absence of something more consistent, took pride in Badea Cârțan! Even social democracy in Hungary was organized along national lines. For example, in 1905, a distinct Romanian section of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party was set up,³⁴ which says everything about the relationship between the association phenomenon and national affiliation in Transylvania throughout the Dualist period.

²⁹ See Aradi Viktor, „Emke” și „Astra”, in „Transilvania”, LIII, 1922, No. 4, pp. 275-282.

³⁰ Anna Mária Ardos, Maria Mirel, *op. cit.*, pp. 531-536.

³¹ Catherine Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 439.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 442.

³³ Ioan-Aurel Pop, Thomas Nägler, Magyari András, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 574.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 443.

The association phenomenon is based on communication and the creation of a public space in which individuals share their ideas. The nationalities of Austria-Hungary chose to build their public space separately by creating parallel civil societies that were most often in competition. This tradition is still producing effects in Transylvania. The ASTRA and the Transylvanian Museum Society were reestablished after 1990, and the Saxons perpetuated the tradition of their scholarly societies within the framework of the *Arbeitskreis für siebenbürgische Landeskunde e. V. Heidelberg*.

Aspects Concerning the Perception of the English Liberalism by the Transylvanian Romanians during the XIXth Century

Andrei Faur

Babeş-Bolyai University

Abstract: *Constructing Gender in Romanian Proverbs.* In Romanian proverbs, the woman is evil, lazy, shrewed, weak, talkative, but she can also be beautiful, diligent, good, honest and still she is not like a man. Anyway she does, the woman stays in a man's shadow, even if she reaches the superior limits of her abilities, this will only mean the inferior limits of men's abilities, all these proverbs seem to be transmitting to us through time. They undoubtedly come from a past reality – most of them were gathered and published in collections at the end of 19th century – though it is impossible to find a period of origin. More important is the fact that they prove some valability today and this denotes a too little or no change at all regarding the attitude towards woman and her perception in society.

Keywords: gender identity, male discourse, proverbs, Modern Epoch, Romanian folklore

Rezumat: *Construirea genului în proverbele românești.* În proverbele românești, femeia este rea, leneșă, vicleană, slabă, guralivă, dar poate să fie și frumoasă, muncitoare, cuminte, cinstită. Totuși, ea nu este ca un bărbat. Orice ar face, femeia este mereu în umbra bărbatului. Chiar dacă atinge limita superioară a posibilităților sale, aceasta înseamnă de-abia atingerea limitei inferioare a capacităților masculine – ne spun toate aceste proverbe. Chiar dacă vin dintr-o realitate trecută, majoritatea fiind culese și publicate în colecții de folclor din secolul al XIX-lea, este imposibil să le datăm cu exactitate. Mai important este însă faptul că ele își dovedesc valabilitatea și astăzi, ceea ce denotă o schimbare foarte redusă în ceea ce privește atitudinea față de femeie și percepția ei în societate.

Cuvinte-cheie: identitate de gen, discurs masculin, proverbe, epoca modernă, folclor românesc

The contribution of this study implies a better understanding of the formation of the Romanian modern culture by analyzing the perception of the English liberalism by the Transylvanian Romanians during the XIXth century. The influence of the English political model on the Romanians from the Habsburg Empire, and especially on George Barițiu

(1812-1893), was analyzed by several Romanian historians¹ but today, with the discovery of new sources and thanks to the new studies dedicated to the image of England², we can more profoundly study this influence. In our research we want to analyze the perception regarding the ideology of the English liberalism and also of several liberal reforms implemented in England during the XIXth century.

The Romanians from the Habsburg Empire took a first contact with the English culture in 1685, when a religious book written by an English author was translated from Hungarian to Romanian. In the next centuries contacts between the Romanians and the English culture were settled with the help of the Habsburg authorities, which modified several philosophical and theological concepts in order to fit with the catholic faith and the enlightened absolutism³. Many important political figures of Transylvania during the XVIIIth century were interested in the English culture, like Samuel von Brukenthal (1721-1803) and Teleki Sámuel (1739-1822), who had in their great libraries 366 respectively 372 books written by English authors. The same interest can be also identified at Timotei Cipariu (1805-1887), an important scholar from Blaj, who possessed in his library 151 books written by English authors and also knew English⁴.

With the beginning of the third decade of the XIXth century, the Hungarian nobility gained a special interest in the countries of Western Europe and England, with its institutions and liberties, became the most important model for Hungarian reformers⁵ like Szechényi István (1791-

¹ We refer to the works of George Em. Marica (ed.), *Ideologia generației române de la 1848 din Transilvania*, București, Editura Politică, 1968, pp. 251-252 and Vasile Netea, *George Barițiu: viața și activitatea sa*, București, Editura Științifică, 1966, pp. 167-170.

² The main book dedicated to this subject, Dana Pantea, *Imaginea Angliei și a englezului în cultura românească din secolul al XIX-lea*, Oradea, Editura Universității din Oradea, 2011, doesn't have many information concerning the Transylvanian Romanians. A more relevant study on the image that the Transylvanian Romanians had on the English, the Scotsmen and the Irish can be consulted in Elena Andreea Trif-Boia, *Imaginea Celuilalt în cultura românească din Transilvania. Secolul al XIX-lea*, Cluj-Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2012, pp. 138-143.

³ Carmen Maria Andraș, „Receptarea literaturii iluministe engleze de către scriitorii români (1780-1830)”, in Ioan Chiorean (ed.), *De la Umanism la Luminism*, Târgu-Mureș, Editura „Mica Doris”, 1994, pp. 143-145.

⁴ Carmen Maria Andraș, „Coridoare culturale create de cărțile engleze intrate în bibliotecile iluministe din Transilvania (sec. XVIII - prima jumătate a secolului XIX)” in *Marisia - Studii și materiale. Arheologie - Istorie*, no. XXV (1996), pp. 80-84.

⁵ Vermes Gabor, *István Tisza: The Liberal Vision and Conservative Statecraft of a Magyar Nationalist*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1985, p. 4.

1860) and Wesselényi Miklós (1796-1850). The writings of these reformers⁶ were intensely debated in that time and we have clear evidence that the teachers and pupils of Blaj read them more or less clandestine⁷. One of these readers was, according to the testimony of a former colleague, the future journalist and political leader George Barițiu⁸. We consider that the first contacts of the Romanian elites with the English liberalism came through the Hungarian elites and the Hungarian and German press, which popularized the English political model.

The Hungarian noblemen who wanted reforms, as well as their followers, admired the English liberalism with its two main political directions: the development of a parliamentary regime opposed to absolutism and individual liberties⁹. These political ideas originated in the Christian theism and in John Locke's (1632-1704) political philosophy, which brought an important contribution to the English liberalism by establishing a connection between the private property and the personal liberty, but also through his optimistic vision regarding the possibility of a free society¹⁰.

The English liberals were mentioned for the first time in 1838, in the pages of *Gazeta de Transilvania* (*The Transylvanian Gazette*), where George Barițiu named the Whigs *liberaliști* (*liberals*) opposing the conservatives (Tories)¹¹. The first Romanian political journalist of Transylvania, George Barițiu, admired England and in his writings he referred many times to the political regime of this country. *Gazeta de Transilvania*, the first political journal of the Transylvanian Romanians, had a column dedicated to the political and social events that occurred in England, where news and even speeches of the statesmen were

⁶ For several considerations regarding the works of Szechényi and Wesselényi see Ervin Pamlény (ed.), *Histoire de la Hongrie des origines à nos jours*, Budapest, Corvina, 1974, pp. 250-255 and Paul Lendvai, *Ungurii: timp de un mileniu învingători în înfrângeri*, București, Humanitas, 2013, pp. 203-218.

⁷ George Barițiu, *Părți alese din istoria Transilvaniei pe două sute de ani în urmă*, vol. I, Brașov, Inspectoratul pentru cultură al județului Brașov, 1993, p. 578.

⁸ Ștefan Pascu (ed.), *George Bariț și contemporanii săi*, vol. VI, București, Minerva, 1983, p. 308.

⁹ John Gray, *Liberalismul*, București, Du Style, 1998, p. 38.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 39. See also Basil Williams, *The Whig Supremacy (1714-1760)*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1949, pp. 3-9 and Pierre Manent, *Istoria intelectuală a liberalismului: zece lecții*, București, Humanitas, 1992, pp. 66-86.

¹¹ *Gazeta de Transilvania*, nr. 14, 11 iunie 1838. A fragment of this article was published in George Bariț, *Scrieri social-politice*, ed. Victor Chereșteșiu, Camil Mureșan, George Em. Marica, București, Editura Politică, 1962, p. 50.

published. In 1839 Barițiu published in *Foaia pentru minte, inimă și literatură* (*The Paper for the Mind, Heart and Literature*) a very important study named *The Statistics of England*, which contained many information regarding the political regime of this country.

From the beginning of his study the author stated that England is the most important country in the world, with the best economy¹² and it should be a model for the other countries, a landmark from which *the faith of the world should take its future direction*¹³. The Englishmen are different from other people because they possess in a high degree *the spirit and the sense of freedom*¹⁴. Barițiu considers that the Englishmen are a conservative people because they kept their ancient institutions and liberties against the absolutist kings that wanted to repeal them. In his opinion, the liberty granted to the individuals and to communities in England is one of the factors that helped the country to prosper: *Two [factors] are more preeminent in determining England to be always victorious with an immense power and energy: the blessed condition of the English nobility and the large liberty given to every patriot and peasant, both individual and also to larger communities*¹⁵. The English society is not only free, but it also allows a large degree of social mobility because meritocracy is a fundamental principle and every man can rise through his talents and his efforts¹⁶.

In his analysis of the English political regime, Barițiu referred to Montesquieu (written as *Monteschiu*) and also defined the main contribution of this author to the political philosophy, the separation of powers in the state: *many people, inspired by Monteschiu, argued that the energy of the English constitution lies in a strict separation of the three powers, which are the executive, the judiciary and the legislative, still we can't consider this theory totally true*¹⁷. The objections to the full separation of powers in England refer to the connections between the Parliament, the judges and the executive, and to the fact that the king has both juridical and legislative prerogatives.

In his description of England, Barițiu defined the prerogatives of the key political actors, like the king (he always referred to a king

¹² For England's economy in the first half of the XIXth century see Frank McDonough, *Imperiul Britanic (1815-1914)*, București, All Educational, 1998, pp. 21-24.

¹³ *Foaia pentru minte, inimă și literatură*, no. 24, 11 June 1839, p. 191.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 190.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 192.

¹⁶ *Idem*, no. 25, 18 June 1839, p. 196.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 197.

although in that time England was ruled by Queen Victoria) and the Parliament. He showed that the king's prerogatives are limited by several treaties concluded with the nation during the ages¹⁸. The king of England is *above all responsibility*, which represents *one of the main pillars of the English Constitution*¹⁹. This situation was explained further because it was an unknown situation for the subjects of the Habsburg Crown: the king was by definition a defender of the law and for each illegal action that he might have committed, his advisers would be charged.

Regarding the prerogatives of the Parliament, *these are limited only by the normal helplessness, and it can do nothing against the public opinion*²⁰. The power of the public opinion is illustrated by the right of the people to assemble wherever they want²¹ and by the freedom of the press, which Barițiu considers to be *the key of the English constitution and the true shield of the rule of law*²². The individual liberty is defended by Habeas Corpus, an act which was described as a protection against the abuses from the authorities²³, and no Englishmen can be denied to do something that is not forbidden by the law. Although he doesn't give many details about this situation, the author said that in England the state is not very concerned about controlling the people's life so that *the people can solve by themselves many problems connected to the administration*²⁴.

This study also presents the main texts on which the English "constitution" is based: *Charta libertatum, Magna Charta, Petition of Rights, Habeas Corpus, Declaration of Rights* (he probably refers to the Bill of Rights of 1688), *the succession acts of 1701 și 1705, the acts of the union with Scotland (1707), the acts of the union with Ireland, the Roman Catholic Relief Act 1829, the Reform Bill of 1832 for all the three countries*²⁵.

George Barițiu didn't give many explanations about these acts in 1839 but it's clear he knew well all the elements which compose the English political regime. He expressed several times his admiration on England and its institutions and even used these knowledge in the political debates in which he was involved. On the 28th of July 1878, almost four decades after the publication of this study, an electoral

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 198.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 199.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 198.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² *Idem*, no. 26, 25 June 1839, p. 204.

²³ *Idem*, no. 25, 18 June 1839, p. 199.

²⁴ *Idem*, no. 26, 25 June 1839, p. 204.

²⁵ *Idem*, no. 25, 18 June 1839, p. 198.

conference started in Sibiu, presided by the vicar Nicolae Popea (1826-1908). The sixty five delegates presented at this conference debated about abandoning the passive tactic concerning the elections, but in the end they decided to continue in this way²⁶.

The delegates that supported the passive tactic were led by George Barițiu, who tried to contradict one of the arguments which had been used by the supporters of the active tactic, the success of Daniel O'Connell in the British Parliament²⁷ that proved, in their opinion, that an active parliamentary opposition is always a solution for obtaining the political rights²⁸. The famous Romanian journalist, who in 1861 was acclaimed as "a Romanian O'Connell"²⁹, answered by comparing the political regimes of Austria-Hungary and England: *before searching an O'Connell between the Transylvanian Romanians, the minority should have shown us where is the Magna Charta, where is the Habeas Corpus, those earthly cherubs of the civil and political liberty of England? Where is the unlimited right of assembly, where is the absolute freedom of the press? Where is the right to form committees and gather money from all communities of the country? Without these priceless freedoms, the fate of O'Connell in our country would be only captivity*³⁰. This speech shows us not only Barițiu's desire for a functional liberal regime in Austria-Hungary but it also proves that the author and his listeners (the sixty four delegates) were familiar with the British political life. Four decades after the detailed presentation of the political regime of England, the renowned journalist reaffirmed his admiration for the liberty of the Englishmen, which allowed a real opposition against the political authorities. The bases of that liberal regime were the Magna Charta, the act that gave birth to England's Parliament in 1215³¹, Habeas Corpus, the freedom of assembly and the freedom of the press.

In the first half of the XIXth century another important source for the Transylvanian Romanians concerning England was the well-known

²⁶ Keith Hitchins, *A Nation Affirmed: the Romanian National Movement in Transylvania (1860-1914)*, Bucharest, The Encyclopaedic Publishing House, 1999, p. 121.

²⁷ For the perception of the Irish national emancipation by the Transylvanian Romanians see Sorin Mitu, „Modelul irlandez și românii ardeleni” in Idem, *Transilvania mea: istorii, mentalități, identități*, Iași, Polirom, 2006, pp. 387-413.

²⁸ This argument can be found at one of the leaders of the activists, Ioan cavaler de Pușcariu, *Notițe despre întâmplările contemporane*, partea a II-a: *Despre pasivitatea politică a românilor și urmările ei*, edited by Nicolae Josan, București, Editura Scriptorium, 2004, p. 30 and pp. 90-91.

²⁹ Sorin Mitu, *op.cit.*, p. 410.

³⁰ *Observatoriul*, no. 58, 19/31 July 1878.

³¹ Hagen Schulze, *Stat și națiune în istoria europeană*, Iași, Polirom, 2003, p. 31.

geography book of Ioan Rus (1811-1843)³², *Icoana Pământului (The Earth's Icon)*, which was published in Blaj between 1841 and 1843. This work contained both geographical and political information because the political regime of the countries was presented and the countries themselves were classified according to their regime. Through this book, the Romanian readers would find information that helped them to place in a wider context the news which they read in the press. In the first volume, Ioan Rus classified all the countries and defined two types of monarchies: the *limited* and the *unlimited or absolute monarchies*. The *limited* monarchies are those *in which the sovereign hold the entire executive power, but shares the legislative power with the people or with a part of it*³³, and the *unlimited* ones are those *in which the sovereign has not only the right to administrate the state, but he can also legislate according to his own pleasure, without requiring the permission of the people; yet he has no right to dispose over the life, the freedoms or the people's fortune*³⁴. Great Britain³⁵, Hungary and Transylvania³⁶ were considered limited monarchies while Austria was considered an absolute one³⁷.

In his presentation of England's political regime, Ioan Rus mentioned the main acts on which this *form of administration* is based on: the Magna Charta (he dated it wrong in 1100, with several additions in 1215 and 1272), the acts of 1688, 1707 (the union with Scotland), 1800 (the union with Ireland) and 1832. According to these acts, the legislative power is in the hands of the sovereign, the aristocracy and the people, while the sovereign holds the executive power. The author also mentioned the structure of the Parliament and the composition of the two Houses: the House of the Lords and the House of Commons³⁸.

The monarch is considered the most important magistrate of the country, with prerogatives related to the external affairs (starting wars or concluding treaties) or with the granting of ecclesiastical or civil offices (Rus mentioned that not all the civil offices are granted by the king). The author also explained the limits of the royal power: *The king can do a lot of*

³² Ștefan Pascu, Iosif Pervain (ed.), *George Bariț și contemporanii săi*, vol. III, București, Minerva, 1976, pp. 349-357.

³³ Ioan Rus, *Icoana Pământului sau carte de geografie*, vol. I, edited by Florica-Elisabeta Nuțiu, Doina Elena Horhoi, Adrian Vasile Podar, Târgu Lăpuș, Galaxia Gutenberg, 2011, p. 107.

³⁴ *Ibidem*.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 130.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, vol. II, p. 24.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, vol. I, p. 130.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, vol. II, p. 132.

good but he cannot harm anybody. He cannot control the public revenues yet has an annual payment, like other members of the Royal House; he doesn't take part in trials and he must administrate the country through ministers, which must answer for their deeds³⁹. This paragraph explained very accurately the limits of the king's power and one of the most important features of the English political regime: the sovereign had no legal responsibility for his actions.

Another important author who commented the English political regime was Ion Codru Drăgușanu (1818-1884), an educator and clerk, who is also the author of *Peregrinul transilvan (The Transylvanian Pilgrim)*⁴⁰. In these fake travel memoirs⁴¹ the English and the French are considered the only important European nations. The author was very fond of France and the French⁴², but he also made a detailed presentation of the English. Regarding their political regime, the narrator wrote about a discussion he had with an English helmsman, who told him that *England is the mother of political liberty* and will use all its military capacity to defend it⁴³. Unfortunately, Ion Codru Drăgușanu didn't write a detailed description of England's political institutions, which are barely mentioned. In another of his "letters", dated in 1843, the Transylvanian pilgrim wrote that in England there is no censorship, and every important public figure could be criticized, even the queen herself. He also mentioned the two main English parties, the Tories and the Whigs, indicating that the first is an aristocratic party and the second a democratic one⁴⁴. Drăgușanu considered the English a selfish people⁴⁵ and he even accused them that, because of that selfishness, they were not capable to share with other peoples the talent of liberty⁴⁶.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 133.

⁴⁰ Ion Codru Drăgușanu, *Peregrinul transilvan*, edited by Corneliu Albu, București, Sport-Turism, 1980. For an analysis of the pilgrim's travels to England see also Dana Pantea, „The Image of England and the English in Ion Codru Drăgușanu's *Transylvanian Pilgrim*”, in *Transylvanian Review*, vol. XX, Supplement No. 3, 2011, pp. 88-94.

⁴¹ Florin Faifer, *Memorialistica de călătorie (până la 1900) între real și imaginar*, Iași, Timpul, 2006, p. 109.

⁴² Gheorge Lascu, *Imaginea Franței la românii din Transilvania până în anul 1918*, Cluj-Napoca, Casa Cărții de Știință, 2000, pp. 181-182.

⁴³ Ion Codru Drăgușanu, *op.cit.*, pp. 120-121.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 222-223.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 119.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 226.

During the XIXth century, the Transylvanian Romanians formed a very positive image about England and especially about its institutions. This image was popularized in the Romanian press, which was read by the elites, but we can find it also in the schoolbooks. The geography manual written by professor Zaharia Boiu (1834-1903)⁴⁷, the orthodox parish priest of Sibiu, for the pupils of the orthodox schools didn't describe the English political regime but affirmed that England's institutions serve as a model to other peoples⁴⁸. As George Barițiu said in his 1839 study, England was a landmark in the field of political institutions and administration. In a letter sent in 1838, Florian Aron (1805-1887), who taught history in Wallachia, said that the situation of this principality would improve only with the creation of a small nobility, *like the Whigs in England*⁴⁹.

The Transylvanian Romanians associated the English political regime with the civil liberties. We can very clearly see this fact in *Dicționarul limbii române* (*The Dictionary of the Romanian Language*) published by the Romanian Academic Society between 1871 and 1876, under the direction of August Treboniu Laurian and Ioan C. Massim. George Barițiu wrote, in the second volume of this dictionary, the definitions for the words that began with the letters L and M⁵⁰, which included the word liberty, with a secondary meaning of *civil liberty*. The last concept was defined as *those political rights that are given and guaranteed to every citizen by the country's constitution*. Two sentences illustrated that concept: *the Great Chart obtained by the English from King John is the foundation of their liberties; the Golden Bull given to the Hungarian aristocracy by King Andrew was the foundation of the liberty and of its debauchery*⁵¹. In our opinion, the vicinity of these examples is not random and its role is to reflect a contrast between Hungary and England, a country with which served as a model for the Hungarian political elites. Barițiu has an interesting point of view when he states that the Golden Bull of 1222 brought also debauchery in the Hungarian nobility, but we

⁴⁷ Mircea Păcurariu, *Dicționarul teologilor români*, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2002, *sub voce*.

⁴⁸ Zaharia Boiu, *Elemente de geografie pentru scoalele populare române greco-orientale*, Sibiu, Editura și tiparul tipografiei arhidiecezane, 1869, p. 211.

⁴⁹ Ștefan Pascu, Iosif Pervain (ed.), *George Bariț și contemporanii săi*, vol. I, București, Minerva, 1973, p. 13.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 199.

⁵¹ August Treboniu Laurianu, Ioan C. Massim, *Dictionariulu limbii romane dupo insarcinarea data de Societatea Academica Romana*, colaboratori Josefu Hodosiu si G. Baritiu, vol. II, I-Z, Bucuresti, Noua typographia a laboratorilor romani, 1876, p. 159.

think he criticized the autonomy of the nobility, granted by this important privilege⁵².

Despite their admiration for England, the Romanian intelligentsia was aware that this society was not perfect and, on the contrary, had numerous social and political problems, like the hard living conditions of the working class and the Irish Question. Several other problems discovered, some even related to aspects which the Romanians admired. Barițiu, for example, admired greatly the freedom of the press, but he also warned Dimitrie Moldovan (1811-1889)⁵³ that the British press often manipulates the public opinion⁵⁴.

We consider that, in order to understand the Transylvanian Romanians' perception of the English liberalism, we should see how they perceived a few liberal policies implemented in England during the XIXth century. We have selected several important liberal policies that had an important role in the modernization of this country: the Great Reform Act (1832), the repeal of the Corn Law (1846), the Second and the Third Reform Act (1867 and 1884). The perception of these reforms will be presented in their chronological order.

The Great Reform Act of Great Britain led to the growth of the people that had the right to vote and new cities won the right to send deputies in the Parliament. The struggle for this important reform was initiated by the Whigs in 1831 and was voted, after a heated debate, in 7 of June 1832. The number of voters increased by 50% reaching 814000 for the British islands⁵⁵. When this reform was voted, there was no Romanian Press in the Habsburg Empire. Despite this fact, the Great Reform Act was later analyzed by the Romanians in their journals and, as we earlier showed, George Barițiu and Ioan Rus mentioned it between the acts that regulate the English administration. In his 1839 study, Barițiu wrote several considerations regarding the reform of 1832. He considered that *the greatest objective of this reform was to bring the elections back into the hands of the middle class, so that the taxes and other laws would be settled by those that had the heaviest burden*⁵⁶, and also presented its main

⁵² Pál Engel, *Regatul Sfântului Ștefan: istoria Ungariei medievale (895-1526)*, second edition, Cluj-Napoca, Mega, 2011, pp. 122-123.

⁵³ Ștefan Pascu (ed.), *George Bariț și contemporanii săi*, vol. V, București, Minerva, 1981, pp. 105-112.

⁵⁴ Simion Retegan (ed.), *George Bariț și contemporanii săi*, vol. X, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2003, p. 218.

⁵⁵ Walter L. Arnstein, *Britain Yesterday and Today: 1830 to Present*, fifth edition, Lexington, D.C. Heath and Company, 1988, pp. 11-17.

⁵⁶ *Foaia pentru minte, inimă și literatură*, nr. 26, 25 iunie 1839, p. 202.

consequences. Ioan Rus didn't insist very much on that date and only specified that the Parliament was reformed⁵⁷.

The debates about the repeal of the Corn Laws were very heated and lasted several years. The Corn Laws were several laws voted in 1815 which banned the cereal import if there was no famine danger because of the high prices⁵⁸. These laws were criticized by free trade economists, which were influenced by Adam Smith, David Ricardo and James Mill, and also by influential business circles of London⁵⁹. An important step for the repeal of the Corn Laws was the foundation of the Anti-Corn Law League, in 1839. This league tried to convince the public opinion that these laws only favored the rich owners and were an obstacle against the cheapening of food. An important consequence of this campaign was the emergence of the Manchester School, which played an important role in the history of English liberalism⁶⁰.

Lasting for seven years, these debates were reproduced in many European journals. *Gazeta de Transilvania* mentioned in March 1839 the English debate against the *food custom laws*⁶¹ and favored the repeal of the Corn Laws. George Barițiu, the editor-in-chief of this journal, expressed his admiration for Lord Henry Brougham (1778-1868)⁶², one of the political figures that pleaded for the repeal. Even though the liberals the campaign, the repeal of the Corn Laws was implemented by the conservatives (Tories), in 1846, while Robert Peel was Prime Minister. Peel became convinced of the importance of the free trade especially during the Irish famine (1845-1846), that caused the death of over a million people⁶³.

In February 1846 an article was published in *Gazeta de Transilvania*, which informed the Romanian public about Robert Peel's plan of repealing the Corn Laws. The article supported this measure and stated that the Corn Laws only favor the rich landowners at the expense of the common people⁶⁴.

⁵⁷ Ioan Rus, *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 132.

⁵⁸ Walter L. Arnstein, *op.cit.*, p. 37.

⁵⁹ Frank McDonough, *op.cit.*, p. 25.

⁶⁰ Guido de Ruggiero, *The History of European Liberalism*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1959, pp. 124-129.

⁶¹ *Gazeta de Transilvania*, nr. 10, 5 martie 1839, p. 37.

⁶² <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Henry-Peter-Brougham-1st-Baron-Brougham-and-Vaux> (consulted in 24.10.2016).

⁶³ Walter L. Arnstein, *op.cit.*, pp. 40-44.

⁶⁴ *Gazeta de Transilvania*, nr. 11, 4 februarie 1846, p. 43.

In May, when they announced that the repeal of the Corn Laws was voted by the House of Commons, the Romanian journalists wrote an interesting comment about this event and the British political life: *we won't hesitate to mention an event that echoes from England to all the other constitutional countries of Europe. It is a rare example to see people which, even if in their heart know that others have a wiser and more useful opinion, decide to renounce their own opinion and adopt that of the others: especially intelligence and selfishness prevent people to adopt a good idea that somebody else had. But today we can see that between the deputies of Great Britain were 106 conservatives that accepted the liberal measure proposed by the conservative minister Peel [...] This is a good example for what patriotism truly means*⁶⁵. Beyond the admiration for the conservatives that renounced at their vanities for the sake of the common good, this article also reveals us that the Romanian journalists were aware of the liberal feature of this measure, despite the fact that the conservatives initiated it. This ideological compromise for the common good was seen by *Gazeta de Transilvania* as a proof of patriotism, which they appreciated.

A few months later, the same journal reproduced a small fragment of a speech held by the bishop of Oxford, Samuel Wilberforce (1805-1873)⁶⁶, about the repeal of the Corn Laws. The fragment contained a pleading for economic competition because *only combat and training the powers can make a man happy, regardless of his social class, peasant or manufacturer*⁶⁷. Several days later, *Gazeta de Transilvania* wrote about the joy of the English when the Corn Laws were repealed⁶⁸.

During the debates on the repeal of the Corn Laws, the Romanian journalists from Transylvania supported only the repeal of these laws, because they were convinced of the benefits which that measure will bring for the poorer classes. The many news related to this debate and the appreciative portrait of Robert Peel, published in *Foaia pentru minte, inimă și literatură*⁶⁹ prove that the Transylvanian Romanians considered this debate to be very important. Another mention of these debates and especially of the Anti-Corn Law League's activity can be found in the third volume of *Enciclopedia română* (*The Romanian*

⁶⁵ Idem, nr. 42, 23 mai 1846, p. 168.

⁶⁶ <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Samuel-Wilberforce> (consulted in 24.10.2016).

⁶⁷ *Gazeta de Transilvania*, no 53, 1 July 1846, p. 212.

⁶⁸ Idem, no. 54, 4 July 1846.

⁶⁹ *Foaia pentru minte, inimă și literatură*, no. 41, 7 october 1846, pp. 323-326.

Encyclopaedia), in the article dedicated to the free trade, written by Constantin A. Ionescu (Caion)⁷⁰.

The Second Reform Act of 1867 led to the growth of the electorate from 1,359,000 men to 2,455,000⁷¹. The Romanian press of the Habsburg Empire didn't analyze this reform when it was adopted, but only wrote several news about the desire to extend the suffrage⁷². These omissions could be explained in those days by the important changes that were taking place in the Habsburg Empire, which culminated with the installation of the dualist regime, so the Romanian journalists mainly focused on these internal events. On the other hand, we can see that the Romanian press doesn't publish as many news related to foreign countries as it did in the first half of the XIXth century. Usually, the country to which they often refer is Romania. This might be another reason why important political events, like the Education Act of 1870⁷³, were not mentioned at all in the Romanian press, with the exception of a small note in *Federațiunea*⁷⁴. In 1882 *Observatoriul*, a journal from Sibiu, discussed the English election law and presented a project of Prime Minister William Gladstone against the electoral frauds, which contained severe penalties not only for the corrupt candidates, but also for the constituencies, because they would temporarily lose the right to send deputies⁷⁵. This article mentioned again the conditions due to which liberalism flourished in England: *the personal freedom (Habeas Corpus), the freedom of meeting and assembling, the freedom of the press and the security of each home*⁷⁶ and compared this to the situation of Austria-Hungary, where these freedoms are not respected although the Hungarian political elites often declare their admiration for the English political regime.

After the Third Reform Act of 1884 the number of voters increased from 3,150,000 to 5,700,000, so that the majority of adult men

⁷⁰ Corneliu Diaconovich (ed.), *Enciclopedia română*, vol. III (Kemet-Zygmotic), Sibiu, Editura și tipăriul lui W. Krafft, 1904, p. 97. About Constantin A. Ionescu see Lucian Nastasă, „Cazul Ionescu-Caion: câteva precizări aparent nesemnificative” <http://www.baabel.ro/disputandum/283-lucian-nastasa-cazul-ionescu-caion-cateva-precizari-aparent-nesemnificative> (consulted in 24.10.2016).

⁷¹ Walter L. Arnstein, *op.cit.*, p. 118.

⁷² *Gazeta de Transilvania*, no. 16, 26 February/10 March 1867 and no. 55, 16/28 July 1867. Other important Romanian journals of the Habsburg Empire, like *Albina* or *Telegraful român*, didn't write anything about this reform.

⁷³ For information about this law see Walter L. Arnstein, *op.cit.*, p. 122.

⁷⁴ *Federațiunea*, no. 13, 8/ 20 February 1870, p. 47.

⁷⁵ *Observatoriul*, no. 38, 15/27 May 1882, p. 149.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*.

could vote, except those who didn't have any permanent address⁷⁷. This reform was slightly discussed in the Romanian press of the Habsburg Empire, major journals like *Gazeta Transilvaniei* and *Telegraful român* (The Romanian Telegraph) didn't mention this event at all, only *Tribuna* (The tribune) wrote a short presentation of this event and spoke of the joy of the English liberals⁷⁸.

In order to better understand the perception of the English liberalism, we will now analyze the way in which the Transylvanian Romanians perceived the most important English liberal of that time, William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898), who was the Prime Minister of Great Britain between 1868-1874, 1880-1885, 1886, 1892-1894⁷⁹. We will now present the opinions of the Transylvanian Romanians on Gladstone's personality and on his political activity.

The Romanians appreciated Gladstone's personality and political activity, considering him *the greatest English statesman of the XIXth century*⁸⁰. The Romanian press published touching articles shortly after his death, in 1898. The journal *Biserica și Școala* (Church and school) spoke about the importance of religion in his life and considered that his religiosity made him such an important statesman⁸¹. Another journal, *Tribuna poporului* (The People's Tribune) presented him as a *great and universal man*⁸², with a noble heart, one of the most honest statesmen, who always fought against oppression⁸³. William Gladstone was also evoked in *Telegraful român*, who's editors named him *the generous defendant of the oppressed*⁸⁴ and in *Foaia poporului* (The People's Paper), where he was praised for his love for truth, justice and freedom⁸⁵. A detailed biography was published in *Tribuna poporului* several days after

⁷⁷ Walter L. Arnstein, *op.cit.*, p. 147.

⁷⁸ *Tribuna*, no. 185, 1/13 December 1884, p. 737. Unfortunately we didn't have any access to the journal *Observatoriul* for the year 1884 to check if this reform was discussed there..

⁷⁹ <https://www.britannica.com/biography/William-Ewart-Gladstone> (consulted in 26. 10. 2016).

⁸⁰ Corneliu Diaconovich, *op.cit.*, vol. II (Copepode-Keman), 1900, p. 562. The article was written by I. I. Nacian, who taught political economy in Bucharest.

⁸¹ *Biserica și Școala*, no. 19, 10/22 May 1898, p. 250.

⁸² *Tribuna poporului*, no. 89, 12/24 May 1898, p. 433.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 434.

⁸⁴ *Telegraful român*, nr. 51, 9/21 mai 1898, p. 203.

⁸⁵ *Foaia poporului*, nr. 21, 17/29 mai 1888, p. 244.

his death⁸⁶. In that text, but also in the preceding article from *Foiaa poporului*, we can find references to the sympathy which Gladstone had for the Romanians, from both Romania and the Habsburg Empire⁸⁷.

The Transylvanian Romanians associated William Gladstone with one of the most important political issues of Great Britain in the XIXth century, the Irish Question. In the second half of this century the Romanian press resembled many times the situation of the Romanians in the Habsburg Empire with the situation of the Irish in the British Empire⁸⁸. Gladstone was very concerned about the improvement of this situation and proposed a series of reforms. His most important actions regarding the Irish Question were the two attempts of Home Rule in 1886 and 1893, which were not voted by the Parliament⁸⁹. An important article about the English and the Irish, compared to the Hungarians and Romanians was published in 1893 in *Unirea (The Union)*. Related to Aurel C. Popovici's conviction of 1893 because of a manifesto⁹⁰, the article was a warning for the Hungarians to pay attention to the damaged relationship between the English and the Irish and to imitate the first in trying to improve the lives of their national minorities. The author was optimistic that the Romanians' situation will improve because of a historical law which he saw applied in England: *a few years ago the English were persecuting the Irish stronger. Their relationship began to be pretty tensed. And now, a few days ago, the English Parliament received Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule project, which gives autonomy to Ireland. Things must happen in the same way for us. History has its laws that always apply. The paroxysm of the Hungarian chauvinism proves that the end is getting closer. And the greater are the persecutions, the closer is the end*⁹¹.

During the XIXth century, from a political point of view, England was a model for the Transylvanian Romanians. As we showed before, the Romanian elites understood the ideological basis of the English political regime (the importance of civil liberties and decentralization)

⁸⁶ *Tribuna poporului*, no. 93, 17/29 May 1898, pp. 454-455. A small biography was published in 1909 in *Tribuna*, to mark a century since his birth (*Tribuna*, nr. 275, 17/30 decembrie 1909, p. 6)

⁸⁷ About Gladstone's relationship with the Romanians see George Moroianu, *Legăturile noastre cu Anglia*, Cluj, Tipografia Națională S.A., 1923, pp. 17-20.

⁸⁸ *Federațiunea*, no. 13, 8/ 20 February 1870, p. 47, *Observatoriul*, no. 34, 1/13 May 1882, p. 133.

⁸⁹ Walter L. Arnstein, *op.cit.*, pp. 154-163.

⁹⁰ Magyari András, Thomas Nögler, Ioan-Aurel Pop (eds.), *Istoria Transilvaniei*, vol. III, Cluj-Napoca, Academia Română. Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2008, p. 439.

⁹¹ *Unirea*, no. 36, 9 September 1893, p. 290.

and knew the main legal acts on which the regime was relying. We can say that the English political life was, at least for the first part of the XIXth century, a real political school for the Romanians that lived under an absolutist regime, in the Habsburg Empire. The Romanian elites read and popularized information about England because they knew, as Barițiu said in 1839, that it is the most important country in the world and they must be informed about it. Over the century, this country remained a landmark in the political culture of the Transylvanian Romanians, who never ceased to compare their country and their situation with the most representative place for a liberal regime.

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From the Grand Tour to the European Voyages of Ion Codru Drăgușanu

Cornel-Dănuț Mărcuș

Babeș-Bolyai University

Abstract: *From the Grand Tour to the European Voyages of Ion Codru Drăgușanu realities.* The study analyzes the five European journeys made by Ion Codru Drăgușanu in the first half of the 19th century. The travel routes are analyzed from the perspective of the information provided by the author, but also from other relevant sources which help to identify the participants of the journeys, the names of whom are not rendered by the author, and who until now had been mistakenly identified. We note the trend of coordinating the timeframe of the trip with the event calendar of a certain place, events that become prime attractions for our traveler. The imagology analysis identifies the scenes rendered by the author, presented from a comparative standpoint, aiming at showing similar images depicted by other travelers, European and Romanian, which in itself become the evidence of their transmission. We note the evolving nature of these images, from the volume that had been published in 1865, to the letters published subsequently, in 1869 and 1879 - dates which represent the time the letters were in fact published, and not the timeframe of the travels themselves. The study demonstrates that, in formal terms, certain journeys may be assigned to „Grand Tour” type travels, but most of the images portrayed during the trips fall under the umbrella of the Romantic journey, laced with accents borrowed from the realist movement.

Keywords: Ion Codru Drăgușanu, journey, Grand Tour, tourism, imagology, romanticism

Rezumat: *De la „Grand Tour” la călătoriile europene ale lui Ion Codru Drăgușanu.* Studiul analizează cele cinci călătorii europene realizate de Ion Codru Drăgușanu, în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea. Itinerariile călătoriilor sunt urmărite din perspectiva informațiilor oferite de autor, dar și din cea a altor surse, care ajută la identificarea participanților la călătorie, al căror nume autorul nu îl redă, dar pe care am reușit să îi identificăm pentru prima oară. Este surprinsă practica de coordonare temporală a călătoriilor cu participarea la anumite evenimente, care devin atracții de prim rang pentru călătorul nostru. Analiza imagologică identifică imaginile transmise de autor, urmărite într-o manieră comparativă, urmărindu-se existența unor imagini similare la alți călători, europeni sau români, ceea ce devine o dovadă de transmitere a acestora. Se remarcă caracterul evolutiv al acestor imagini, de la volumul apărut în 1865, până la scrisorile publicate ulterior, în 1869 și 1879, astfel că acestea aparțin perioadei publicării, nu realizării călătoriilor. Studiul demonstrează faptul că, din punct de vedere formal, unele călătorii pot fi atribuite celei de tip „Grand Tour”, dar cele mai multe imagini ale călătoriei se raportează călătoriei romantice, în care găsim accente ale curentului realist.

Cuvinte-cheie: Ion Codru Drăgușanu, călătorii, Grand Tour, imagologie, turism, romantism

The aim of the present study is to highlight the elements of the “Grand Tour” and the Romantic type trips that are present in the travels of Ion Codru Drăgușanu in the first half of the 19th century. After revealing the specific motivations of such trips, we will identify the travel routes taken and the participants, analyze the images of the voyage, from the way certain states, institutions, cities were portrayed, the economic aspects, but also the depiction of nature and that of people, focusing on their comparative and evolutionary aspects.

The Motives behind the Travels

The primary motivations behind the travels lie in the need to acquire new experiences. On his way to start his first European trip, Codru Drăgușanu stated: “I believe I will satisfy my longing for experiences.”¹ The subsequent trips are similarly motivated: “I could not resist the thirst for new experiences,” or “my wish is to wander the world and gather experience.”² In 1835, Mihail Kogălniceanu expresses himself in a nearly identical manner: “a year spent abroad gave me more experience than seventeen spent in Moldova”.³

Travelling in order to acquire knowledge, an important motivation behind Grand Tours, is highlighted by Codru Drăgușanu, who travels “for widening [his] knowledge”.⁴

Along with the aforementioned motivation, a Romantic motivation is also present.⁵ After concluding his first European voyage, Drăgușanu confesses that “I suffer from Wanderlust” and following the Parisian experience, “my Wanderlust became increasingly stronger” and is amplified by his readings: “I came upon travel descriptions, which I turned into my reading predilection”.⁶

When referring to our traveler, Mircea Zăciu states that he brings forth the “taste of adventure, the breathtaking restlessness, fickleness

¹ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *Peregrinul transilvan (1835-1848)*, Sport-Turism, Bucharest, 1980, p. 60.

² *Ibidem*, pp. 101, 148.

³ M. Kogălniceanu, *Scrisori, 1834-1849*, Minerva, Bucharest, 1913, p. 147.

⁴ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

⁵ The term “Romantic” was used by Golescu in 1826, for whom a nocturnal walk is “very beautiful and romantic” in *Însemnare a călătoriei mele*, in *Scrieri*, Minerva, Bucharest, 1990, p. 104.

⁶ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 156.

and mobility of the Romantic traveler",⁷ while Sorin Mitu concludes that this modern "tourist" spirit that is born at the same time as the romantic travels first occurred at Ion Codru Drăgușanu.⁸

Travels and Routes. The Journey from Bucharest to Rome

In October 1838, Drăgușanu travels in the suite of Wallachia's ruler, Alexandru Dimitrie Ghica⁹, who "travels incognito under the name of Colonel Sanders", passes New Orșova (Ada-Kaleh), where he is greeted by the pasha,¹⁰ entering the Austrian Empire by way of the quarantine set up at Șupanec, where he stays for ten days.¹¹

On November 1, 1838, the French Consul in Bucharest, Chateaugiron, noted that the Prince went on a journey, travelling under the name of Alexander Sanders.¹² Another source informs us that Alexander Ghica left on November 2, 1838 on a trip to Orșova - Vienna - Trieste, under the pretext of going to the baths, while in reality he went to meet his lover, the Countess Elisabeth von Suchtelen. The opposition spoke of the fleeing prince and the danger of a Russian occupation, as stated Stanislas Bellanger.¹³ Alexandrina Ghica recounts that the prince fell in love at the beginning of his reign with this married Russian countess, and while her divorce was approved by Tsar Nicholas, her mother urged the tsar to change his decision. The Countess settled in Naples and continued her romantic love story with the Romanian Prince.¹⁴

⁷ M. Zăciu, *Ordinea și Aventura*, Dacia, Cluj, p. 145.

⁸ S. Mitu, *Imagini europene și mentalități românești din Transilvania la începutul epocii moderne*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj, 2000, p. 61; idem, *Transilvania mea. Istorii, mentalități, identități*, Polirom, Iași, p. 515.

⁹ We are not referring to Prince Grigore Alexandru Ghica, as Mircea Anghelescu stated in *Lâna de aur. Călătorii și călătoriile în literatura română*, Cartea Românească, Bucharest, 2015, p. 149.

¹⁰ They know the name of the Pasha, Mahmud Bessin, from the recounting of Baron Monson, who visited him on October 2, 1839, see C. Ardeleanu, *Călătoria în Banat a baronului Frederick John Monson (1839)*, in I. Gavrilă (ed.) „Celălalt autentic”. *Lumea românească în literatura de călătorie (1800-1850)*, Oscar Print, Bucharest, 2010, p. 196-197.

¹¹ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-62.

¹² Hurmuzaki, *Documente (Documents)*, XVII, p. 716, cited A. Iordache, *Principii Ghica - o familie domnitoare din istoria României (The Ghica Princes - A Family of Rulers within Romania's History)*, Albatros, Bucharest, 1991, p. 162.

¹³ Stanislas Bellanger, *Le Kéroutza*, Paris, 1846, I, p. 99, cited I. C. Filitti, *Domniile române sub Regulamentul organic*, Sococ și Sfetea, Bucharest, 1915, p. 104.

¹⁴ A. Ghica, *Din istoria Palatului regal*, in *Convorbiri literare*, Year XLVII, No. 4, April 1913, p. 351, note 1.

The travelers arrive to Vienna on the Danube, using a steamboat, which had initially been organized in 1829, when the first navigation company was formed in Vienna, on the Danube, the "Erste Donau Privilegierte Oesterreichische Dampfschiffahrts Gesellschaft".¹⁵ They spend the winter in Carinthia; hence arrive in 1839 to Milan and Rome for the duration of the carnival,¹⁶ for the events had their own importance in scheduling the trip.¹⁷

After the carnival ends, they return on the same road "in six days and as many nights from Rome to Vienna", where they take the stagecoach to Gönyö, a steamboat to Pesta, and then to Giurgiu.¹⁸

The habit according to which travelers commissioned portraits of themselves became widespread in the 18th century, the most celebrated portrait artist of the era being Pompeo Battoni, whose workshop was in Rome.¹⁹ This trend continues also in the 19th century. The Albertina Museum in Vienna houses a lithograph of Prince Dimitrie Alexandru Ghica, made on the first day of 1839 by the famous Austrian portrait artist Josef Kriehuber. It has been reported that a portrait of Ion Codru Drăgușanu also exists, a painting that had been made in Rome during the same year.²⁰

Also taking part in the voyage is Drăgușanu's employer, referred to with the initials "C.C.", who, in Rome, uses a patronizing tone to offer a comparison between the Seven Hills of Rome and the seven provinces of Dacia. Corneliu Albu identifies him with Constantin Câmpineanu,²¹ however, according to Ion Ghica, Constantin Câmpineanu - who was the older brother of Ion Câmpineanu - had already been dead in 1833.²² We believe that this character can only be Costache Cornescu, the cousin of the Prince. Having the high function of Great Logothete, he has been involved in organizing the ball of October 14, 1839, which celebrated the

¹⁵ Gh. Bărbăntan, *Aspecte privind dezvoltarea navigației dunărene în spațiul românesc (1829-1878)*, in *Banatica*, 19, 2009, p. 197.

¹⁶ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

¹⁷ R. Mazzei, *Per Terra e per aqua. Viaggi e viaggiatori nell'Europa moderna*, Carocci editore Roma, 2013, p. 251.

¹⁸ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-87.

¹⁹ R. Mazzei, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

²⁰ *Transilvania*, Vol. 73, 1942 no. 4, p. 333.

²¹ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, p. 12 and p. 60, note 2.

²² Ion Ghica *Scrisori către V. Alecsandri (Letters to V. Alecsandri)*, Humanitas, Bucharest, 2004, p. 374.

enthronement of the Prince.²³ When the Prince was removed from his throne, on October 14, 1842, Cornescu had accompanied him to Brasov.²⁴

In his *Venice and the Grand Tour*, Bruce Redford established that a “Grand Tour” type journey includes the following characteristics: a young British aristocrat, a guardian to accompany him on the journey, a fixed itinerary that had Rome as its main destination, a long period of absence of around two or three years.²⁵ Formal elements, such as the presence of political figures, the route itself, the final destination, the timeframe, and the existence those who coordinated the trip, such as Codru Drăgușanu, make this journey out to be a “Grand Tour” type one.

The Journey from Bucharest to Paris and London

In 1840, Drăgușanu leaves Bucharest with “young Prince G. G.”. The author describes the route in detail: after the stay in the Șupanec quarantine, “we went on the new road, built under the auspices of Count Széchenyi along the Danube” to Drencova, where “we boarded the boat as to go up to Vienna on the Danube”, went ashore in Pressburg, “in order to come to Vienna on land”.²⁶ The start of this road’s construction went slowly, as reported by M. Saint-Marc Girardin, who traveled on the Danube in 1836.²⁷ In 1840, A. Slade noted in his diary that ships travelling on the Danube could not descend below Drencova.²⁸

From Vienna, Codru Drăgușanu travels to Linz, Regensburg, Ingolstadt, Ulm, Stuttgart, Karlsruhe, Baden-Baden. He crosses the Rhine over a pontoon bridge at Kehl and enters France “without much chicanery on the part of the French customs, who are otherwise ill-famed abroad”.²⁹ This statement echoes a recurring theme in the travel literature that was born after the age of restoration in France, namely the confrontations that occurred with suspicious customs officers who verified people’s identity and nervously inspected their luggage.³⁰ He

²³ I. C. Filitti, *op. cit.*, p. 252, note 3.

²⁴ Gr. Lăcusteanu, *Amintirile colonelului Lăcusteanu*, Polirom, Iași, 2015, p. 134.

²⁵ C. Chard, *Pleasure and guilt on the Grand Tour. Travel writing and imaginative geography, 1600-1830*, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 1999, pp. 11-12.

²⁶ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

²⁷ M. Saint-Marc Girardin, *Souvenirs of voyages et d'études*, Amyot, Paris, 1852, pp. 206-207.

²⁸ A. Slade, *Travels in Germany and Russia, Including a steam voyage by the Danube and the Euxine from Vienna to Constantinople, in 1838-1839*, London, 1840, pp. 159-160.

²⁹ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-114.

³⁰ R. Mazzei, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

reaches Strasbourg, Nancy, Epernay, Paris, before July 27, in order to participate in the “national celebrations to commemorate the Revolution of 1830”.³¹

From Paris he goes on “a trip to London”; uses the royal stagecoach to the Port of Le Havre, crosses the English Channel on the pyroscaphe and reaches London.³² From there, he returns to Dover on the mail coach in order to see “the Anglican Country”, crosses the English Channel to Boulogne-sur-Mer on the pyroscaphe, from where he reaches Paris with the “Lafitte Diligence”.³³ This means of transportation was introduced by the Parisian Jacques Lafitte, in 1819, the omnibus was upgraded by Englishman George Shillibeer, who introduced it in London in 1829.³⁴

The year before, Ion Câmpineanu and Felix Colson had arrived in Paris, and have gotten in touch with the Romanian students here. Colson wrote *De l'état présent et de l'avenir des Principautés*, in which he expressed his support for Câmpineanu's reformativ ideas. From Paris, Câmpineanu reaches London, but the Ottoman Porte authorizes the Prince to send him into exile.³⁵ Not incidentally, the French consul Adolphe Billecoq noted in his book, *De la situation de la Valachie sous l'administration d'Alexandre Ghica*, that the Prince “no longer cared for the young men who were studying in the West.”³⁶ In 1840, another brochure against the Prince was printed in Paris. It was written by George Bibescu and entitled *Le général Kissilef et son administration*; and it was the reason why the author “has become favored by the Russian consulate to replace Alexandru Ghica”, recorded Ion Ghica.³⁷ We note the context in which the journey takes place, as it was marked by the actions of the political groups opposing the Prince.

We believe that “Prince G.G.”, who hires Codru Drăgușanu, is in fact Grigore Ghica, the son of the former Prince of Vallachia, Grigore Dimitrie Ghica, and the nephew of Prince Alexandru Dimitrie Ghica. George Filitti depicted in his letter from August 10, 1840, the Parisian presence of princes Grigore and Dimitrie, the sons of former earthly ruler, Grigore Dimitrie Ghica. Filitti writes that they “have had already

³¹ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115.

³² *Ibidem*, pp. 118-120.

³³ *Ibidem*, pp. 128-130.

³⁴ J. Speake, *op.cit.*, I, p. 152.

³⁵ I. C. Filitti *op. cit.*, p. 108-111.

³⁶ N. Iorga, *Histoire des Relations entre la France et les Roumains*, Imprimeria Progresul, Iași, 1917, pp. 119-120.

³⁷ I. Ghica, *Scrisori către Vasile Alecsandri*, Humanitas, Bucharest, 2004, p. 409.

been in Paris for few days" where they pay 500 francs per month for their apartments and spend 100 francs a day, but no one had noticed them.³⁸ In 1841, in Paris, Grigore Ghica had paid his mother's - Maria Ghica's - debts, who lived in this city for many years.³⁹

After returning to Paris, Drăgușanu parts ways with "Prince G." and remains in Paris, where he works as a librarian until 1842.⁴⁰ Before leaving France, he takes a trip by train to Versailles on May 8, from where he returns using the train lines that were on the right bank of the Seine, while at the same time, on the left bank, the first railway disaster in France was taking place.⁴¹

The Journey from Paris to Naples

Codru Drăgușanu leaves Paris in June 1842, travels with the Lafitte Diligence to Chalon-sur-Saône, by boat on the River Saône to Lyon, then on the Rhône to Avignon and then by the diligence to Marseille and Nice. Stendhal traveled on the same navigable route in 1837.⁴²

From Nice, he travels by sea on a sailing boat to the Island of Elba and to Salerno. He witnesses the "total solar eclipse" that occurs on July 8, 1842, while they were at sea. He then travels by land on an "omnibus" to Naples. From Naples, he uses a "corricolo" to Torre Annunziata, from where he walks to Pompeii and then climbs Mount Vesuvius.⁴³ This is the only European journey conducted by our traveler on his own.

The Journey from Naples to St. Petersburg

In Naples, in 1842, Drăgușanu is hired as a messenger by a Russian noble family, which was returning home while crossing several European countries, thus Drăgușanu was engaging in a new "Grand Tour" type journey. He travels by sea on a pyroscaphe from Naples to Civitavecchia, Livorno, Genoa, and Marseille and by land to Grenoble, Chambéry, Geneva, Zürich, Schaffhausen, Baden-Baden, and Stuttgart. In 1843 he arrives to Frankfurt, then to Dresden, Berlin, from where departs by

³⁸ G.D. Florescu *Un român necunoscut la Paris acum un veac și reflecțiile sale asupra compatrioților săi. Patru scrisori ale lui Georges Philitès către Ludovic Steege (1840-1841)*, Ed. Fundației Culturale Mihail Kogălniceanu, Bucharest, 1941, p. 48.

³⁹ C. Gane, *Trecute vieți de doamne și domnițe*, Humanitas, Bucharest, 2014, p. 436-437.

⁴⁰ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, p. 139-148.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 150.

⁴² Stendhal, *Mémoires d'un touriste*, Ambroise Dupont, Paris, 1838, I, p. 129-288.

⁴³ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-171.

royal mail coach to Königsberg, and from here, with the Russian mail coach to Petersburg.⁴⁴

The Journey from St. Petersburg to Paris and London

In Russia, Codru Drăgușanu is again hired, as a secretary this time, who was to accompany a Russian Prince ("Prince B... y") on his three year journey throughout Europe, thus getting involved again in a "Grand Tour" type journey. From the passport issued by the Turkish Embassy in Livorno on October 19, 1843, the name of the character for whom Drăgușanu worked at that time is also revealed, namely Prince Bariatinsky.⁴⁵

In 1843, Codru Drăgușanu leaves Petersburg to go to Berlin, from where he travels by rail to Halle, and then takes the mail coach to Frankfurt, a train to Mainz, from where he arrives to Paris.⁴⁶ From here, he visits Switzerland and "remaining faithful to his role as a mentor", establishes "an outline of journeys through the countries and places known to me" for the young prince, all made in the spirit of "Grand Tour" practices.⁴⁷ He travels by diligence to Strasbourg, from there he arrives to Basel on the longest French railway of that time, which was inaugurated in 1841,⁴⁸ he then travels to Bern by mail coach, from where he takes a trip to Brienz. He returns to Paris from Bern, where he then goes to London drawn there by an event, "to see the Lord Mayor of London take office" via Le Havre, crossing the English Channel with a pyroscaphe to Southampton, from where he then travels by rail to London.⁴⁹ He preferred this route, due to the opening of the railway from Southampton to London, in 1840.⁵⁰ From here, he accompanies Prince Bariatinsky to Abbey, for a six-month long visit to the castle of the Count of Sherburn County, whose relative he was, and upon his return to London he visits Windsor Castle. He returns to Paris in 1844, to later travel to Switzerland and Italy again, however, his account of his travels end here.⁵¹

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 178-189.

⁴⁵ I. Breazu, *Contribuții la biografia lui Ion Codru-Drăgușanu*, in *Studii literare*, II, 1943, Sibiu, p. 218.

⁴⁶ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-200.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 206.

⁴⁸ M. P.-D. Bazaine, *Chemin de fer de Strasbourg a Bâle*, p. 114.

⁴⁹ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-217.

⁵⁰ John Francis, *A History of the English Railway; its social relations and revelations*, I, London, 1851, p. 232.

⁵¹ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, p. 219-223.

The visas in Codru Drăgușanu's passport, issued by the Turkish Embassy in London on October 19, 1843, allow for us to infer the itinerary of the trip. His last Parisian visa was issued in June 1844, while in October he received visas for Karlsruhe, Naples, Milan, in November he was issued a visa for Genoa, while in December he received ones for Florence, Pisa, Genoa, Livorno, Pisa, Rome, from where he departs in March 1845 to Naples, and in April to Livorno, Genoa, Turin, Geneva, Berlin, where he receives a visa from the Ottoman Legation to return to Turkey via Russia. He reaches Petersburg, from where he departs in July to Transylvania, by way of Chernivtsi and Dorna.⁵²

The Portrayal of Habsburg Empire, the Austrians and the Hungarians

The tradition of the comparative approach between realities visited abroad and those at home was initiated in our culture by Dinicu Golescu, in a tone pertaining to the Enlightenment, while in Drăgușanu's writing the Romantic approach to comparisons prevail, an approach found also in Nicolae Filimon's writings, who published, in 1860, *Excursiuni în Germania meridională. Memorii artistice, istorice și critice* [*Travels to Southern Germany. Artistic, historical and critical memoirs*].⁵³

Codru Drăgușanu observes many similarities between Hungary and Vallachia: the same bad roads, the same plain lowlands, the same small huts, the same habits of the elite ("the Hungarian magnates, similarly to the Romanian boyars, go and squander their wealth in foreign countries"). In Buda, which is situated on a hill, the traveler is impressed by "the view of the Palatine Palace, overlooking Pest". He mentions the establishment of "a Hungarian national scientific academy", initiated by "Count István Széchenyi, a magnate who made trips in the most educated countries". The traveler records "the overflow of the Danube river... a great calamity", which demolished several houses in Buda and Pest.⁵⁴ Nicolae Filimon, arriving to Pesta 20 years after the event, mentions the flood of March 14, 1838, which "made 2500 houses crumble to the ground".⁵⁵

Hungarian hospitality is attributed to their Asian origin: "Hungarians, being an Asian people, possess the virtue of hospitality in large measure", but the most powerful image is that of their aristocratic

⁵² I. Breazu, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

⁵³ *Dicționarul literaturii române de la origini până la 1900*, Editura Academiei, Bucharest, 1979, p. 352.

⁵⁴ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁵⁵ N. Filimon, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

spirit: "the Hungarian highly proud, haughty on his nobility".⁵⁶ In turn, Mihail Kogălniceanu observed in Vienna "the most terrific [aristocracy] in Europe, caused mainly by the Hungarians from Hungary".⁵⁷

In his guide, M. Reichard said that Hungarians love their country greatly, as evidenced by the following quote: "Extra Hungaria non est vita. Si est vita, non est ita".⁵⁸ This motto is noted at the beginning of Codru Drăgușanu's Letter VII from his memoirs, and was reproduced by a Hungarian from Pest, a person he meets in Avignon.⁵⁹ Hence, this bookish image is reinforced by personal experience.

In a letter written in 1879, Codru Drăgușanu calls the Hungarians "previous Turks... who take pride also today in the one thousand years that have passed since the foundation of their state, even though they were trampled on for a thousand years and they have enjoyed the rule of a pashalic for a century, - still, they consider to have enjoyed the continuity of law",⁶⁰ is an ethnic image captured in the domestic cultural context of the time.

In Vienna, the traveler is interested in the characteristics of the place and that of the people: "the characteristic venue in Vienna is the tower of Saint Stephen's basilica"; "what is characteristic for the Viennese is silence." People are described by their physical features, but also their spiritual ones; they are "as thin as a rake... and as agile as mosquitoes ... helpful and kind."⁶¹

On returning to Vienna in 1840, he attends the Corpus Domini celebration (on Thursday, June 18), "the grandest procession of the Roman Catholic rite... that we improperly called Green Thursday". He describes the procession which starts from St. Stephen's Cathedral, he dislikes the pomp of the Catholic rite, but evokes, in a comparative manner, "the extreme misery of our churches, of the icons of the saints with crooked mouths... the pettiness with which the pious ceremonies of our rite are carried out", and praises the Orthodox religion, which "holds the median way between the extremes and sins not by affectation".⁶² We observe in this instance as well a manner of analyzing the differences

⁵⁶ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 86.

⁵⁷ N. Iorga, *Scrisori vechi de studenți (1822-1889)*, Datina Românească, Vălenii de Munte, 1934, pp. 27-30.

⁵⁸ M. Reichard, *Guide des voyageurs en Europe*, I, Langlois, Paris, 1817, p. LXXIV.

⁵⁹ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 153.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 230-232.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 66-67.

⁶² *Ibidem*, pp. 104-105.

between the two elements and of emphasizing the qualities of his own civilization.

The traveler is interested in technical progress encountered starting with his journey on the Danube, occasion with which he describes the boat in a very detailed manner, in fact, this description is his most detailed one of all.⁶³

The Portrayal of Italy and the Italians

The motto from the beginning of Letter VIII assigned by Codru Drăgușanu to Dante, conveys almost identically Petrarch's motto from the cover of the book written by Madame de Staël, *Corinne ou l'Italie*, published in Paris in 1807,⁶⁴ which reveals him reading this famous travel book which was translated into Romanian in 1846.

In northern Italy, Codru Drăgușanu emphasizes the state of material progress encountered, "the road is not only good to the superlative degree, but is also aesthetic and luxurious", "water runs in the canals" next to the plots, vineyards, rice, corn are planted, silkworms are raised, there are "villages are like fortresses... well-built and solid." Arriving in Milan, he visits the church dedicated to St. Ambrose and the Dome, which "has no parallel in the world".⁶⁵ Stendhal, an admirer of Gothic art, expressed similarly about the Dome: "nothing in the world is more beautiful".⁶⁶

Codru Drăgușanu highlights Italy's image as a country of art: after visiting a number of churches, he concludes that they are true art museums, and after visiting the Brera Museum, he notes that "unwise peoples esteem only gold, while illuminated ones art. Italy, from this standpoint, is the first country in the world".

Arriving in the "eternal city", he is attracted by "ancient Rome, above all" and wants to write "about Rome, our mother, and about Trajan, our father",⁶⁷ thus emphasizing Italy's image as the original homeland. In turn, Gheorghe Asachi has a burning desire to see first, in Rome, Trajan's Column, the birth certificate of the Romanian nation.⁶⁸ The desire to visit

⁶³ O. Boitoș, *Éloge de l'Occident fait, il y a cent ans, par un roumain de Transylvanie*, in *Revue de Transylvanie*, X, 3-4, juillet-décembre 1944, Sibiu, pp. 125-139, p. 13.

⁶⁴ "...Udrallo il bel paese, Ch'Apennin parte, e'l mar circonda et l'Alpe." The quote is from *Sonnet CXLV* of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, Einaudi, Torino, 1992.

⁶⁵ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

⁶⁶ Stendhal, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

⁶⁷ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁶⁸ C. Isopescu, *Il viaggiatore transilvano Ion Codru Dragusanu e l'Italia*, Anonima Romana Editoriale, Rome, 1930, pp. 11, 13.

Trajan's Column is emphasized in the 19th century, with the Romantic spirit, by was which traveling “a strategy of revealing national being”.⁶⁹

Barbara Milizia characterizes the travelers of the Romantic period as having an intense Romantic imaginative capacity and manifesting a particular propensity for recording individual emotions, which were fueled by the fascination exerted by a city such as Rome.⁷⁰ Arriving at Trajan's Forum, Codru Drăgușanu climbed the 185 interior steps of the Column to the top, and the ascent becomes an excuse for a Romantic standpoint: “We are transported, in our mind, on top on Mount Buceci, from where the provinces of our Dacia appeared, as visions.” The seven hills of Rome are seen as “the icon of our Dacia, with the seven provinces: Transylvania, Marmatia, Moldavia, Bessarabia, Istriana, Temișana and Crișana”.⁷¹

Codru Drăgușanu puts forth a comparison between the Romanians and the Dacians represented on the Column, “whose faces and clothing seem to belong to the Transylvanian shepherds of today”.⁷² This image is also present in the writings of certain foreign travelers, such as Saint-Marc Girardin, who stated that during his journey to Wallachia and Moldova he saw the same faces and vestments like the ones he had seen carved on Trajan's Column.⁷³

Codru Drăgușanu recommends a route for visiting the city, starting from Piazza del Popolo, continuing on the “Via del Corso” called “the most beautiful street of the new Rome”, arriving to the Capitol, the Roman Forum, the Arch of Titus, Via Sacra, “the Flavian Amphitheater, the grandest ruin worldwide”, ending with Trajan's Forum. For twenty days, “from morning to night, we were visiting the monuments - both in ruins and standing, ancient and modern, amphitheatres, circuses, galleries, museums, temples and churches”.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ F. Faifer, *Semnele lui Hermes: memorialistica de călătorie (până la 1900) între real și imaginar*, Timpul, Iași, 2006, pp. 25, 87.

⁷⁰ B. Milizia, *Le guide dei viaggiatori romantici*, Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, Rome, 2001, p. 34

⁷¹ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *Peregrinul transilvan (1835-1844)*, Ed. Cugetarea - Georgescu Delafraș, Bucharest, 1942, pp. 44-45. The quote is missing in the 1956 edition, p. 79, and is incomplete in the 1980 edition, p. 76, since they were avoiding mentioning Bessarabia.

⁷² I. Codru Drăgușanu, *Peregrinul transilvan (1835-1848)*, Sport-Turism, Bucharest, 1980, pp. 75-78.

⁷³ M. Saint-Marc Girardin, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

⁷⁴ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

For Stendhal also, the Colosseum is the most beautiful building that had fallen into ruins.⁷⁵

The image of Italy as a country of art is emphasized after his arrival in Rome, which is characterized as „the richest city in point of plastic arts”, which houses masterpieces of ancient Greek sculptors, masterpieces by Raphael and Michelangelo, as well as the “famous church of Saint Peter in the Vatican, which undoubtedly has no parallel in the world... a more wonderful monument had never been erected by human hands on earth”.⁷⁶ Stendhal had the same appreciation for the cathedral, “the most beautiful monument there ever was”.⁷⁷ This image can be explained by the fact that the Romantics return to the Renaissance in order to resume what the Renaissance has created from an artistic standpoint, for they emphasize the individual’s ability to be creative and let their imagination soar.⁷⁸

Even if Rome enjoyed few social events, offering instead several entertaining events, such as the Carnival, which lasted for 12 days.⁷⁹ Drăgușanu describes the four important moments of the carnival: “I confetti, La Mossa de Barberi, I Mocoletti, La girandola”, their manifestations on Via del Corso, the fireworks from Sant’Angelo Castle and the ball held on the last day, called the “Fat Tuesday”.⁸⁰

Drăgușanu perceives Italy as an “earthly paradise”, writing about Naples that it “deserves to be called the garden of Italy, and I would have been sorry not to come to see this earthly heaven”,⁸¹ an image also found in Dinicu Golescu’s writing, in which he calls Italy “the earthly heaven”.⁸²

The traveler likes to observe the people “wherever they are in a group, so as to find out their mores”.⁸³ He describes sympathetically the “lazaroni”, the city poor, who “nourish themselves from carrying goods” and live in the public square. He notes the similarity between the

⁷⁵ Stendhal, *Promenades dans Rome*, I, Libraire Delaunay, Paris, 1829, p. 23.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 71-80.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 162-163.

⁷⁸ Al. Dușu, *Eseu în istoria modelelor umane*, Editura Științifică, Bucharest, 1972, pp. 253-254.

⁷⁹ J. Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2003, p. 50.

⁸⁰ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 68, 162.

⁸² D. Golescu, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁸³ M. Angheliescu, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

clothing worn by Neapolitan women and Transylvanian women, as well as the similarity of language.⁸⁴

In Pompeii, he visits “mortuary monuments with inscriptions, houses, palaces, forums, the theater and temples, almost all undamaged”, and traces of the priapic cult seem to justify the catastrophe that hit the city. He climbs Mount Vesuvius, accompanied by a guide, from where he admires the scenery: “I could not get enough of the brilliant nature’s beauty.”⁸⁵

The Enlightenment presents an image of Italian decadence, as does Montesquieu in *Lettres persanes* or in his article *Italia* from *Encyclopedie*⁸⁶, and this image is elaborated in a Romantic context. In Stendhal’s writing, the image of decadence is powerful: “Everything here is decadence, everything is memory, everything is dead. Active life resides in London and Paris”.⁸⁷ In Théobald Walsh’s travel journal, published in Paris in 1823, we encounter the image of Italy as a country of art, which, however, was dishonored by the race that lives in it, because Italians do not appreciate the beauty of the nature in which they live, their appearance is shabby, ferocity, out of which it’s easy to form a brigand.⁸⁸ The image of decay appears also in Codru Drăgușanu’s writing, showing that the “famous Roman Forum, once the soul of Rome, is called today the Field of Cows”, and “this desert is the tomb of Rome, it is her decaying body, and the today’s inhabitants are the worms that gnaw at it”, they discover the ancient relics “out of vile interest”, because these attract “many foreigners”, and the Romagnoli “are the fiercest thieves and brigands in the world”.⁸⁹ Stendhal noted that the Forum came to bear the name of Campo Vacino.⁹⁰

Visiting the Roman monuments in Nîmes, Vasile Alecsandri argues in favor of the decadent image of Roman descendants: “How strong were the parents! How fallen are their descendants!”⁹¹

The portrayal of Northern Italians, who were under Habsburg dominion, is different: “From their nature or political circumstances, I do

⁸⁴ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-167.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 172-173.

⁸⁶ J. Speake, *Literature of Travel and Exploration*, Fitzroy Dearborn, New York, London, 2003, II, p. 628.

⁸⁷ Stendhal, *Rome, Naples et Florence, en 1817*, Paris, 1817, p. 42.

⁸⁸ G. Scaramellini, *La Geografia dei viaggiatori. Raffigurazioni individuali e immagini collettive nei resoconti di viaggio*, Edizione Unicopli, Milano, 1993, p. 35.

⁸⁹ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁹⁰ Stendhal, *Promenades dans Rome*, I, Libraire Delaunay, Paris, 1829, p. 255.

⁹¹ V. Alecsandri, *Călătorie în Africa*, în *Opere*, IV, Minerva, București, 1974, p. 207.

not know, those who are under Austrian rule are more serious compared with other Italians, they seem to me to be manlier and wealthier".⁹² Drăgușanu observes the Italian revolutionary spirit, noticing the tensions between Italians and Austrians in Lombardy. From here, he outlines similarity of fate between Italians and Romanians, subjected to the same rule, exclaiming: "Lord, for how long will You leave the Roman vine to suffer in the West and the East?"⁹³

Alecsandri links the divine punishment's image of the Romans and their successors ("very wrong were the Romans in the eyes of divinity if, after so many centuries, their great grandsons are still punished in this manner") with that of a great future for Romanians ("divinity prepares a great future for this people").⁹⁴

The Portrayal of German States and the Germans

He observes the material progress, as he did in Northern Italy: "the roads in Germany are wonderfully good and neat, agriculture developed to the highest degree". In Regensburg, Codru Drăgușanu visits "the art gallery of the Prince of Thurn and Taxis... the antique dome or cathedral ogival style, the most beautiful bridge on the Danube... then Walhalla". In Stuttgart he visits the palace of the King of Württemberg, and while in Karlsruhe, he visits the palace of the Duke of Baden.⁹⁵

In Frankfurt he observes the German diet, in 1843, which is "the first curiosity of this free city". The city makes a special impression on him: "Nowhere in the world can one live better than in this part of Germany, rich in select wines, game of all kinds, berries and products, and a city society without a Court and aristocracy and indeed tolerant in terms of religion." He criticizes the Germans, who are not hospitable, are disunited, "they support forty kings and forty courts... and are looking for their new homeland in the world", he praises them because "they are frightfully educated", but he disagrees with a German scholar who wrote that Romanians are not originally Indo-European, calling into question the image of conflict between the Latin and German races.⁹⁶

The Portrayal of France and the French

In 1840, while on the road to Paris, Codru Drăgușanu stops in Strasbourg, where he visits "the local cannon foundry, the magnificent

⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 83.

⁹³ S. Mitu, *Transilvania mea...*, p. 515 și *Imagini europene...*, pp. 85-86.

⁹⁴ V. Alecsandri, *Prietenii românilor*, în *Opere*, IV, Minerva, București, 1974, p. 396.

⁹⁵ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-108.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 184-185.

gothic cathedral with the tallest tower in the world and an astronomical clock." Here, he eats "the renowned foie gras with truffles", one of the city's attractions, while at Epernay he drinks "Champagne wine, famous worldwide." His arrival to Paris makes way for a characterization rendered in a Romantic tone: "the city of cities, of which I fantasized - not Paris, but Paradise".⁹⁷ This image is loved by another Transylvanian traveler, John A. Lepădatu, who studied in Paris between 1868 and 1870, who characterizes Paris as a "worldly paradise", and paradise as a "heavenly Paris".⁹⁸

Here also, Drăgușanu recommends visiting the city using a certain route, which reveals that he was influenced by the travel guides he consulted. The route begins at Napoleon's Arc de Triomphe, continues "along the Champs Elysee" to the Place Concorde, "one of the most chic [places] in the world, however, it is also the most impressive [venue]", then to "Tuileries Palace, the most beautiful royal residence in Europe", "the *Louvre* Palace-Museum" and "the Saint-Germain Gothic church in Auxerre".⁹⁹

The traveler is disappointed by the city at first, but he gradually discovers its beauty: "Only after spending a while in the new Babylon, when you start to judge and appreciate what's really great... then the Parisian grandeur suddenly reveals itself." The same greatness is admired by fellow Romanian travelers in the 1860s, who were impressed by the monumental Paris. Iosif Vulcan, who arrived in Paris in 1867, is fascinated by the sight of palaces, domes, boulevards, which exert a "divine pleasure".¹⁰⁰

Codru Drăgușanu participates in commemorating the revolution of 1830, attending „popular productions of Moor wars and regattas on the Champs Elysee, or nautical games on the Seine... the general parade of troops, of the National Guard and the authorities" and "fireworks on the shores of the Seine".¹⁰¹

The second event our traveler attends in Paris is the transferring of Napoleon's remains from the island of Saint Helena to the Dôme des Invalides in Paris, on December 15, 1840; what impresses him is the enthusiasm of the people who follow the funeral chariot to the Dôme des

⁹⁷ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁹⁸ I. A. Lapedatu, *Scrisori de la Paris*, in *Familia*, VI, 1870, no. 35, p. 416, cf. Gh. Lascu, *Imaginea Franței la românii din Transilvania până în anul 1918* (Ph.D. thesis), 1999, p. 92.

⁹⁹ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116.

¹⁰⁰ A. Radu, *Cultura franceză la românii din Transilvania pînă la unire*, Dacia, Cluj, 1982, pp. 89-93.

¹⁰¹ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

Invalides, where the body “embalmed and having a completely preserved face under the glass crystal” is exposed in the Dôme for eight days. The third event he attends is the carnival in Paris, and his presence at the Opera Ball earns his disapproval of the cancan dancers.¹⁰²

At Versailles he visits “that grandiose palace that is the most brilliant in Europe, perhaps worldwide, and the water fountains.” In Nice he describes the position of the city, surrounded by mountains, covered by “vineyards, fig trees, olive trees, then lemon trees, orange trees and pomegranate trees”, he is impressed by the Mediterranean climate, showing that it is an attraction for tourists in wintertime: “There are no guests now in Nice, for they only come in the winter, because there isn’t a more pleasant a place in all of Europe, that is more protected from the cold than this city”.¹⁰³

One can observe his admiration for Gothic monuments, explained by the fact that the Gothic grandeur resonates with the Romantic sensibilities of the traveler.¹⁰⁴ Arriving back to Paris in 1843, Codru Drăgușanu states the following about the Notre Dame Cathedral: “the French proud themselves with their cathedral, saying that is the most beautiful one in the entire world”.¹⁰⁵

Codru Drăgușanu, like other Romanian travelers, recollects the negative influences received by young people studying in Paris: “now the wealthy boyars have gotten accustomed to send their sons to the Academy in France, from where most are returning after two, three years, dressed in the latest fashion, with distorted habits and lewd morals, from the lewdest Parisian society”.¹⁰⁶

The traveler portrays the country as “beautiful, fertile and most highly cultured” and the French as “short, stout people, with dark faces, having expressive physiognomies, cheerful in demeanor, swift in mobility and speech, then no wonder they are engorged in their national pride.” “The French are wonderful, especially the proletarians of the city”, and the women working in shops and restaurants are “beautiful, graceful and talkative... they charm you with their urban courtesy” and thus their businesses prosper.¹⁰⁷

After returning from England, he describes what he sees, from a comparative standpoint; “the uncleanness of the streets, courtyards and

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, pp. 131, 137.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, pp. 148, 154.

¹⁰⁴ S. Mitu, *Transilvania mea...*, p. 520.

¹⁰⁵ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 91.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 117-118.

houses” jump out and “the Frenchman as compared to the Englishman has a lighter character” and, as in Germany, “nobody keeps his word.” He concludes that “the Frenchman is aware that he is of the same blood as us: he is kind and cheerful... much like us, or rather we like them, both strengths and weaknesses, ones as the others, endeared the French to me”.¹⁰⁸ This image is recurring in fellow Romanian travelers from Transylvania. Iosif Vulcan's heart pounded when he sees the first the land of “our brothers of the same blood”.¹⁰⁹ Ioan A. Lapedatu, who was studying in Paris between 1868 and 1870, sees the French “as brothers from the same vine and language as us”.¹¹⁰

In 1869, Codru Drăgușanu depicts the image of the theatrical art that reached “the highest peak” in France, and could be found in the discourses of preachers, teachers, politicians, in the 38 theater halls of Paris. This image was the contemporary of the letter's publishing. Iosif Vulcan, arriving in Paris in 1867, wrote that after the adoption of the decree concerning theatrical liberty of 1864, the number of theaters had increased, reaching more than 30 theaters, five of which were most important.¹¹¹

Gheorghe Lascu believes Drăgușanu's enthusiasm for France was catalyzed by Iosif Vulcan's *Suvenirele de călătorie* (*Travel souvenirs*). If in the first letters his tone is more restrained, approaching the ideas of Barițiu, in his letters published in 1869 and the one in 1879 he excels through unreserved admiration: “France and Paris remain the core of the world and the bloom of humanity”.¹¹² If in the letters published in the volume “there is a unity of attitude and style that does not allow the revealing of an evolutionary trend”,¹¹³ this trend, however, can be easily observed in the letters published later on.

We observe that the letter XXXIV, published in 1869, provides an opportunity for reflection on democracy, with ideas inspired by the reality in which the author lived at the time of the letter's creation, and not that of the journey: “One can speak of a true nation only where the people are well represented by their government... Democracy is a

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 130, 151.

¹⁰⁹ I. Vulcan, *Însemnări de călătorie (I)*, Minerva, Bucharest, 1994, p. 22.

¹¹⁰ I. A. Lapedatu, *Conversare cu cetitoarele*, in *Familia*, V, 1869, no. 33, p. 392 ; A. Radu, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

¹¹¹ I. Vulcan, *op. cit.*, p. 53-54.

¹¹² Gh. Lascu, *Imagina Franței la românii din Transilvania până la 1918*, Casa Cărții de Știință, Cluj-Napoca, 2000, pp. 75-76.

¹¹³ D. Popovici, *Ion Codru Drăgușanu*, in *Limbă și literatură*, XXIV, Bucharest, 1970, p. 107.

dreadful thought for those who are currently content, for it implies, even requires, pure morals, civil, political and social equality for all." He talks about the role of the French nation defending democracy, a nation that can be a model for other nations: "the French nation is the one that is most able to preserve and develop the treasure of freedom, is the most generous nation that could communicate it to other peoples, as well as being the bravest one in order to be their strongest support". The author argues convincingly for the option of a democratic system, different from the state reality in which he lived, as a member of a nation devoid of political representation. The French Revolution of 1789 is seen as "the second salvation of the world",¹¹⁴ an image used by Edgar Quinet in a lecture at the College de France, a lecture attended also by Romanian students, where he speaks about the birth of a new religion, "that of Freedom and Fraternity... which will bring about the world's second salvation".¹¹⁵

In Letter XXXV, published in 1879, Paris is seen as a "focal point of the globe, or, rather, of the civilized world". We encounter in his writing an image of France which we relate to the political context of the period after 1871: "There is only one gens in the world that demands and deserves our gratitude. This is the French nation, which has shed its blood for a half a century and emptied their purse solely for humanity, and which, if there comes a time, will not spare either for us and our own salvation".¹¹⁶

The Portrayal of England and the Englishmen

London is seen as being the largest city of Europe, and "a metropolis of universal commerce". Here he is surprised again "by the large number of people and the great silence... the exemplary cleanliness of the streets, the simplicity of buildings" which he attributes as hallmarks of civilization, he observes the markets and gardens "where there is only green meadow, tall, bushy trees and streams or crystal clear lakes". He praises the fact that during divine services all the houses and shops are closed, no one can exit the church until the end of the service, unlike "our traditions and especially those of Catholics". He visits the "British Museum", "Saint Paul's Cathedral church", the "Zoological-Garden", the "Royal-Polytechnic-Institution", the "Box hall", the "Centrifugal-

¹¹⁴ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-229.

¹¹⁵ Mihai Dim. Sturdza, *Anii de ucenicie ai fraților Brătieni*, in *Familiile boierești din Moldova și Țara Românească*, II, p. 392.

¹¹⁶ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

railway”, the “tunnel under the Thames, one of the wonders of the world”, the “Covent-Garden Theater”. After these experiences, he concludes that “Great Britain is most civilized state in the world”.¹¹⁷

In 1843, he attends the solemn ceremony of the Lord Mayor of London’s taking of office, on November 9, St. Michael’s day, which makes a great impression on him (“to describe all this pomp is simply impossible”). He visits Windsor Castle, the residence of the kings of England, where he sees the Queen and is quite impressed by the park: “nothing surpasses the great park that is next to this castle, which is the largest in the world”. He is impressed by the technical progress of the country, claiming that “the electric telegraph, just as the steam locomotion, are the marvels of our age”,¹¹⁸ expressing himself similarly to Petrache Poenaru, who traveled from Manchester to Liverpool, in order to admire “a new means of transportation, which is one of the wonders of the century”.¹¹⁹

His portrayal of the English captures their physical traits (“the English are tall and beautiful people”) and their character (“they are serious and taciturn”, the Englishman is “a man of his word and solid as metal; they kill you with their accuracy”). The English cuisine is seen as a simple and hearty, and the British as “the most gluttonous nation on the face of the earth”.¹²⁰

In almost all of the traveler’s journeys we encounter the portrayal of the English as tourists, of whom he states: “the English provide the largest contingent of travelers in Europe”.¹²¹

The Portrayal of Switzerland and the Swiss

In the latter part of the 18th century, the discovery of Magna Graecia and the promotion of the mountain caused major changes in expectations, which will transform the Grand Tour into a Romantic voyage.¹²² The Alps, as well as other mysterious places, met the new Romantic

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 119-126.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 219-222.

¹¹⁹ N. Iorga, *Contribuții la istoria literaturii române în veacul al XVIII-lea și al XIX-lea*, in *Analele Academiei Române*, Seria II, Tom XXVIII-XXIX, Memoriile Secțiunii literare, p. 18.

¹²⁰ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-127.

¹²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 207.

¹²² G. Bertrand, *Le grand Tour revisité. Pour une archéologie du tourisme: le voyage des français en Italie (milieu XVIII^e siècle – début XIX^e siècle)*, École Française de Rome, Rome, 2008, p. 26.

requirements. The variability in its morphology, climate, and landscape produces strong emotions in the travelers.¹²³

Switzerland is characterized by our traveler from the perspective of its natural beauties. In this context, he speaks of “Mont Blanc, the giant of Europe, four times taller as Mount Vesuvius, crowned by the eternal ice of crystal.” In Schaffhausen,¹²⁴ he admires “the famous cataract of the Rhine” and concludes: “the highest, and therefore the most beautiful country in Europe in its own way, is Switzerland”.¹²⁵

In Brienz he admires “the picturesque waterfall from Giessbach and the Romantic positions in Interlaken and Unterseen”, while on the shore of Lake Thun, from where he admires the peaks of the Alps, he has a new Romantic vision: “Suddenly the ice giants began to light up by the flame of the setting sun, burning with purple flares and flames, to rapture you in an extraordinary awe”, a show that “made us ecstatic”.¹²⁶

In Geneva, he recalls the presence of Calvin, Rousseau, Voltaire, Gibbon, Byron. He leaves the city along Lake Lemman “through a romantic forest” to Fribourg, where “we visited the great cathedral and enjoyed the musical production of the most famous organ in all of Europe”, he then reaches Bern, “the residence of the supreme council of the republic”, in Lucerne he visits the “monument erected in the honor of those Swiss who have fallen while defending the Tuileries Palace in Paris”. Upon his return to Bern in 1843, he recalls the existence of bears “in one of the castle’s fortifications” and the tower that had two clocks.¹²⁷

Codru Drăgușanu draws a parallel between Switzerland and Transylvania regarding ethnic and geographical aspects, but in terms of the political regime, the difference between the two countries is colossal.¹²⁸ The similarity is that in Switzerland there are three nations and “the small population of Rhaeto-Romans” and the difference that “here all nations are free to enjoy political rights equal and no one is a pariah, like us, Romanians, in our homeland”. Speaking about the Swiss

¹²³ G. Scaramellini, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹²⁴ This is where Dinicu Golescu arrived, *op. cit.*, p. 112, as well as Nicolae Șuțu in *Memoriile principelui Nicolae Șuțu, mare logofăt al Moldovei (1798-1871)*, translated by G. Filitti, Humanitas, Bucharest, p. 161.

¹²⁵ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-187.

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 212-213. The quote contradicts Romul Munteanu’s assertion, according to which at Drăgușanu “the lyrical thrill of admiring nature ... is absent”, in I. Codru Drăgușanu, *Peregrinul transilvan*, Editura de stat pentru literatură și artă, Bucharest, 1956, *Preface* by Romul Munteanu, p. 27.

¹²⁷ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 183, 207.

¹²⁸ O. Boitoș, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

Christian denominations, he states that "the state does not help one more, another less and others not at all, like back home, in Transylvania".¹²⁹

Codru Drăgușanu criticizes the Swiss, who, while Republicans, they defend despotism in other countries: "the republicans are not ashamed to sell blood to serve as a tool to retain other peoples in slavery".¹³⁰ He claims that are great differences between the Swiss and the Italians, but they are similar in that "both live off quackery"; the Italians "traffic archeology, while the Swiss use the natural beauties of their country", which they hyperbolize in itineraries, newspapers, textbooks. This touristic promotion makes him wonder if "can we not compete with any country in the world? Californian gold mines, precious mineral waters, products, archeology, diversity of peoples, mountains and hills, rivers and ponds, woods and bushes, just as those you admired in Switzerland - for large sums of money!"¹³¹ Petru Bănățianu had the same conviction writing on the beauty of Hațeg County one year after Drăgușanu's book was published: "we look over a delightful panorama that could emulate any part of Switzerland".¹³²

Switzerland's superiority is related to the idea of freedom: "it has the merit of placing the throne of freedom on its mountains in a time when no one dared to even pronounce its name".¹³³ This image is also present in the writings of other Romanian travelers, like Dinicu Golescu, who noted that "throughout all of Switzerland, not a noble or fool exists, for all are compatriot brothers",¹³⁴ Al. C. Golescu-Albul wrote that Switzerland is the country where "man is respected, people are equal", while Radu C. Golescu evokes the beauty of Switzerland, whose mountains are "giant protectors of Helvetic independence".¹³⁵

The Portrayal of Russia and the Russians

Russia is characterized as a "country of uniformity and straight lines", and the capital, St. Petersburg, as "one of the newer but the brightest one in all of Europe, for the excellent European taste is accompanied by the

¹²⁹ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-209.

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 183.

¹³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 211.

¹³² P. Bănățianu, *Notițe de călătorie*, in *Familia*, II, 1866, no. 25, p. 296.

¹³³ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

¹³⁴ D. Golescu, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

¹³⁵ G. Fotino, *Din vremea renașterii naționale a Țării Românești. Boierii Golești*, II, Impri-meria națională, Bucharest, 1939, pp. 31, 103.

luxuriant Asian one".¹³⁶ We encounter the European image of Russia form after the Napoleonic wars, according to which Russia was no longer considered just a part of Europe, but was linked to the Orient as well. Astolphe of Custine's book of 1839, *La Russie*, presents the image of Russia, placed on two continents, receiving influences from both sides.¹³⁷

The city "had an extraordinary effect through its fine architecture, by the regularity of buildings and the grandiosity of monuments, then, it appears stronger due to its canals";¹³⁸ he was impressed by "Saint Isaac Square... one of the most wonderful in all of Europe... the superb church of Saint Isaac... the imposing Winter Palace of the Tsars, then the Admiralty... the Senate Palace and that of the ruling Saint Synod... the modern temple of Mercury, namely the Stock Exchange... Peter the Great's monument..." The church descriptions are accompanied by the flattering image of the Orthodox faith, compared to the Catholic one: "at least, in Russia, it is not only more pompous than in Rome, but even more enjoyable through the superbly cultivated vocal music and the rare dignity with which the sacred ceremonies are carried out."

He arrives here as well during the period of the carnival, occasion by which he observes "all the petropoletan people" and describes the white week's events, the "so called Russian mountains". He admires the country's religious tolerance, but criticizes the fact that Russia "has adopted the strongest absolutism and aristocratism from Germany, under which a nation gentle and kind natured people are groaning, and which is kept closed, away from all the paths that would lead them to culture". Russians are "a good hearted people, greatly hospitable toward foreigners", both the elite and the people, "love the exterior luster exceedingly". Russians venerate the Tsar "because this poor people are under pressure from thousands of tyrants, who only tremble because of this potentate".¹³⁹

Conclusions

The journeys are made by combining traditional means of transportation (diligence, sailing boats) with the newly emerging ones (trains and steamboats), which influence the routes and facilitate travel.

¹³⁶ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-189.

¹³⁷ J. Speake, *op. cit.*, p. 1037.

¹³⁸ I. Codru Drăgușanu, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

¹³⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 178-198.

We note the trend of coordinating the timeframe of the trip with the event calendar of a certain place, which represent a main objective for the "Grand Tour" traveler, as well as the Romantic one. The descriptions combine images characteristic to the Enlightenment with those characteristic to Romanticism, in the realm of economic and cultural progress, forms of political organization, and the descriptions of nature and of various peoples.

The admiration expressed for the Swiss democratic system is intertwined with the admiration conveyed for France and the French people. The political realities are analyzed in a comparative manner, opposing the Swiss democracy to the Transylvanian political system. The comparison between past and present is favorable to France and England, as generators of progress and democracy, while in the case of Italy, the decadent image of the present is magnified, to which even elements of Classical Antiquity are also associated.

We note the concern for the novel aspects, for economic, cultural and especially political progress, represented by the ideas of freedom and democracy, which reveals the influence of the Romantic and revolutionary ideas of which our traveler becomes an exponent. We can capture the evolution of these ideas in the mind of the author, who wrote his travel memoirs at several different periods of his life.

The carrying out the ethnic portraits, the author combines the physical and the spiritual traits of those analyzed, seeking to capture the dominant features: "the Muscovite has strong faith in his all-powerful autocrat, as does the Frenchman in his great and glorious nation; the Englishman believes in money and is superb with the supreme dexterity of his diplomats". These traits are correlated with Romanian realities: "the Englishman loves us merely in order to buy his products, the Russian [loves us] in order to make way for him to Tsarigrad, the German [loves us] so as to be given land for new colonies".¹⁴⁰

We observe the author's passion for emphasizing contrasts. In Paris, "the social classes represent the misery and degradation of our species, as do refined luxury and superb pomp to the highest degree"; from the Neapolitan summer, "where's the hottest climate in Europe", he travels in the winter to Petersburg, "to perhaps freeze in the glacial region".¹⁴¹

The sympathetic images of the poor in Naples, of the proletarians in Paris, of the oppressed Russian people, reveals the influence of the

¹⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 111, 225.

¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 115, 170.

realist movement upon the work of Codru Drăgușanu, explained by the period his writings had been published, which bring forth a special touch to the Romantic tone of these travel memoirs.

Die österreichische Münzreform von 1857-1858 und die siebenbürgischen "Gelegenheitschriften anlässlich der neuen Währung". Mit besonderer Betrachtung der *Gespräche der Bauern Hans und Georg über das neue Geld* (1858)¹

Philippe Henri Blasen

Babeş-Bolyai University

Abstract: It is proposed in the present article to describe the various stages of the 1857-1858 monetary reform in the Austrian Empire and to analyse Transylvanian booklets explaining the provisions of the coinage treaty in layman's terms. The monetary reform was a major endeavour, which annulled the many currencies recognized as legal tender within the Austrian Empire, including the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, and introduced the decimal system, wherein 100 Kreuzer/1 Gulden replaced the previous 60/1 ratio. The new, so-called 'Austrian', currency was nevertheless complicated by the exchange rates of the old currencies, which created calculation problems. This is the reason why booklets were printed throughout the Empire to explain conversion and rounding rules to the general public. At least seven such booklets were printed in Transylvania, the foremost being a text by Prussian pedagogue Carl Unverricht. The explanations are laid out as a dialogue, following the catechetical method, or as a school drama script. Two peasants are portrayed, one as the teacher and the other as a pupil. The text includes details about the daily life of a peasant, as well as information on the currency circulation and the price level for the year. The booklet was translated into Romanian, using a mix of the Transylvanian speech variety, words crudely adapted from German, as well as a series of neologisms preferred by the Romanian intellectual elite of the time, showing the desire of the same elite to build a specialist vocabulary.

Keywords: Austrian Empire; Transylvania; modern numismatics; everyday life; prices; language history

Rezumat: În articolul de față se descriu etapele reformei monetare din 1857-1858 în Imperiul austriac și se analizează broșurile ardelenesti în care a fost explicată reforma pe înțelesul poporului. Reforma monetară a fost una de mare amploare, care a desființat numeroasele valute ce existau în Imperiul austriac, inclusiv în Regatul lombardo-venețian, și a introdus sistemul decimal, florinul de 100 de creițari înlocuindu-l pe cel de 60 de creițari. Noua valută, zisă "austriacă", se afla însă într-un raport complicat cu cele vechi, ceea ce crea probleme pentru calculul

¹ Mit herzlichem Dank an Prof. Radu Ardevan, Nora Chelaru, Stéphanie Danneberg, Andrei Faur, Bernhard Heigl, Răzvan Roșu und Radu Teuceanu.

schimbului. De aceea, s-au publicat în întreg Imperiul broșuri cu scopul de a explica poporului regulile de conversiune. În Ardeal au apărut cel puțin șapte astfel de texte, dintre care cel mai complex este cel al pedagogului prusac Carl Unverricht. Explicațiile sunt redactate sub formă de dialog, după metoda catehetică, sau precum într-o piesă de teatru școlară. Sunt înfățișați doi țărani, unul preluând rolul de învățător, iar celălalt fiind elevul. Textul conține unele detalii despre viața cotidiană a țăranilor, precum și informații despre circulația monedelor și prețurile din epocă. Cărticica a fost tradusă în română, folosindu-se un amestec între româna ardelenescă, germanisme grosolane și neologisme proprii elitei intelectuale românești de atunci, ceea ce arată dorința elitei intelectuale de a crea un vocabular românesc de specialitate.

Cuvinte-cheie: Imperiul austriac; Transilvania; numismatica modernă; viața cotidiană; prețuri; istoria limbii

Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts hatte sich in Europa das Verhältnis zwischen Silber- und Goldwert grundlegend verändert. Silber wurde massenweise als Zahlungsmittel nach Fernost ausgeführt und somit seltener, während Gold aus Kalifornien den Markt überflutete. Zusätzlich hatte die Märzrevolution das Münzwesen in Mitteleuropa zerrüttet. Deshalb traten im Jahre 1856 die Vertreter des Kaisertums Österreichs, des Fürstentums Liechtenstein und der deutschen Zollvereinsstaaten in Wien zusammen, um eine neue, gemeinsame Währung zu schaffen.²

Der Münzvertrag, der am 24. Januar 1857 unterzeichnet wurde, führte ein einheitliches Münzgewicht ein, das Pfund zu 500 g (Art. 1), eine gemeinsame Silberwährung, den Vereinsthaler zu 1/30 Pfund feinen Silbers (Art. 8), und eine gemeinsame Goldwährung, die Krone zu 1/50 Pfund feinen Goldes (Art. 18). Letztere wurde als Handelswährung geschaffen. Sie durfte an die Silberwährung nicht länger als sechs Monate gebunden werden (Art. 21). In Österreich und Liechtenstein wurde der Münzfuß zu 45 Gulden (oder Florinen) aus einem Pfund feinen Silbers eingeführt (Art. 3). 1 Vereinsthaler war somit 1 1/2 Gulden wert. Österreich behielt sich das Recht vor, weiterhin Levantiner Thaler

² Hermann Grote: Die Geldlehre. Insbesondere der Wiener Münzvertrag von 1857. Die Goldkronen und die deutschen Handelsvereine. Leipzig 1865, 201-202; vgl. Die Geld- und Finanzverhältnisse Österreichs. In: Friedrich Steger: Ergänzungs-Conversationslexikon. Leipzig / Meißen 1851 (Bd. 6, Heft, Nr. 286), 401-413.

(auch Maria-Theresien-Thaler) aus Silber und, bis zum Ende des Jahres 1865, Dukaten aus Gold zu prägen (Art. 5, 18).³

Das Münzwesen des Kaisertums Österreich vor 1857-1858

Das komplexe Münzwesen des Kaisertums Österreich zu diesem Zeitpunkt kann hier nur ansatzweise dargestellt werden. An Währungen zu erwähnen sind die Conventionsmünze, die Wiener Währung, die ungarischen Münzscheine, die Lira austriaca und der polnische Złoty (Gulden).

Die **Conventionsmünze** beruhte seit 1750 auf dem Zwanzigguldenfuß, der bestimmte, dass aus 1 Kölner Mark feinen Silbers 20 Gulden (zu je 60 Kreuzern) geprägt wurden. Der Zwanzigguldenfuß wurde auch Conventionsfuß, die Gulden Conventionsgulden und das Metallgeld allgemein Conventionsmünze genannt, nach einer Konvention, durch die Baiern am 21. September 1753 dem österreichischen Zwanzigguldenfuß beigetreten war.⁴

Die **Wiener Währung** entstand als Papierwährung, als Österreich infolge der französischen Friedensbedingungen, die es am 14. Oktober 1809 akzeptierte, bankrott ging. Am 20. Februar 1811 wurde verordnet, die sich im Umlauf befindenden Wiener-Stadt-Bancozettel zu über 1 Milliarde Gulden durch Einlösungsscheine im Verhältnis 5 zu 1 zu ersetzen (Art. 2-3). Ab dem 15. März 1811 galten "die Einlösungsscheine nach ihrem vollen Nennwerthe, und bis letzten Januar 1812 die Bancozettel nach dem fünften Theile ihres Nennwerthes als Wiener Währung und die einzige Valuta für das Inland" (Art. 8).⁵ Am 4. Januar 1812 wurde aber veranlasst, auch Kupfermünzen zu 1/4, 1/2, 1 und 3 Kreuzer Wiener Währung zu prägen (Art. 4). Gleichzeitig wurde der Wert der älteren 1 und 3 Kreuzer-Stücke auf genau 1, respektive 2 Kreuzer Wiener Währung (Art. 2) und der "ehemaligen (*Wiener-Stadt-*)

³ Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1857 (N. 23), 373-384 (N.101); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1857 (N. 7), 349-362 (N. 99); Siehe auch: Albert (?) Schäffle: Die deutsche Münzkonvention vom 24. Januar 1857 volkswirtschaftlich und politisch betrachtet. In: Zeitschrift für die gesammte Staatswissenschaft 1857 (1 und 2/3), 92-141 und 264-327; Hermann Grote: Die Geldlehre. Insbesondere der Wiener Münzvertrag von 1857. Die Goldkronen und die deutschen Handelsvereine. Leipzig 1865, 201-238.

⁴ Johann Georg von Lori: Sammlung des bayerischen Münzrechts. Von 1665 bis 1765. München 1768 (Band 3), 351-359 (N. 22) (fälschlicherweise steht im Titel der Münzconvention "Nov." anstelle von "Sept.").

⁵ Seiner Majestät des Kaisers Franz Gesetze und Verfassungen im Justiz-Fache für die Deutschen Staaten der Österreichischen Monarchie. Von dem Jahre 1804 bis 1811. Wien 1816, 254-263 (N. 929).

Banco-Zettel-Theilungsmünzen“ zu 15 und 30 Kreuzern auf 3, beziehungsweise 6 Kreuzer Wiener Währung festgesetzt (Art. 3).⁶

Nach den napoleonischen Kriegen wurde am 1. Juni 1816 die *privilegierte Österreichische Nationalbank* gegründet. Diese gab Banknoten in Conventionsgulden heraus (Art. 16-18; 35), die zwar im Privatverkehr nicht angenommen werden mussten, jedoch “in mehreren Abgaben und Zahlungen an den Staat ausdrücklich gefordert, und bey allen öffentlichen Cassen nach ihrem Nennbetrage für feine Silbermünze angenommen“ wurden (Art. 19). Gleichzeitig sollte die *privilegierte Österreichische Nationalbank* die Einlösung des Papiergelds durch Banknoten vornehmen und den Wechsel der Banknoten in Metallmünze einleiten (Art. 16).⁷ Laut den Angaben der heutigen Österreichischen Nationalbank wurde “auf Grund des vorhandenen Misstrauens in der Bevölkerung gegenüber dem Papiergeld ... die bei der Einlösung erhaltenen neuen Banknoten überwiegend sofort in Silbergeld umgetauscht“, so dass es zu einem Mangel an Metallgeld kam, weshalb die Einlösung des Papiergelds der Wiener Währung erst ab dem 20. März 1820 fortgesetzt wurde.⁸

Die Märzrevolution brach die Parität der Banknoten zum Silbergeld Conventionsmünze. Die Wertverluste der Banknoten betragen bis zu 54% im Jahr 1850 und noch durchschnittlich 3% im Jahr 1856. Da die Wiener Währung im festen Wechselkurs 5 zu 2 zu den Banknoten stand, schwankte auch ihr Wert.⁹

Nach der Märzrevolution wurden große Mengen Silber-Scheidemünzen¹⁰ geprägt, doch bei steigendem Silberwert war ihr Metallwert zu hoch, dass sie sich im Inland im Verkehr halten konnten; Sie verschwanden ins Ausland. Deshalb wurde am 24. Juni 1849 verordnet, **Münzscheine** zu 6 und 10 Kreuzer Conventionsmünze

⁶ Sr. k. k. Majestät Franz des Ersten politische Gesetze und Verordnungen für die Österreichischen, Böhmisches und Galizischen Erbländer. Wien 1813 (N. 38), 9-13 (N. 6).

⁷ Sr. k. k. Majestät Franz des Ersten politische Gesetze und Verordnungen für die Österreichischen, Böhmisches und Galizischen Erbländer. Wien 1818 (N. 44), 199-214 (N. 71); vgl. 233-236 (N. 82).

⁸ <https://www.oenb.at/Ueber-Uns/Bankhistorisches-Archiv/Archivbestaende/II-4-Wiener-Waehrung--WW-.html> (aufgerufen am 30.11.2016).

⁹ Christian Noback / Friedrich Noback: Münz-, Maass- und Gewichtsbuch. Das Geld-, Maass- und Wechselwesen, die Kurse, Staatspapiere, Banken, Handelanstalten und Usanzen aller Staaten und wichtigeren Orte. Leipzig 1858, 750-751.

¹⁰ Scheidemünzen sind Münzen von niedrigem Wert, deren Metallwert unter dem Nennwert liegen kann.

herauszugeben.¹¹ Auf diese "deutschen" Münzscheine folgten am 1. August 1849¹² "ungarische" vom gleichen Nennwert, mit Aufschriften auf Deutsch, Ungarisch, Kroatisch, Tschechisch, Ruthenisch (Ukrainisch) und Rumänisch.¹³ Am 26. März 1856 wurden alle "seit dem Jahre 1848 vom Staate ausgegebenen Geldzeichen" einberufen, außer den "ungarischen Münzscheinen zu zehn Kreuzern".¹⁴

Die Wiener Währung blieb bis in die 1850er Jahre die Währung, in der wenigstens in Böhmen, Ungarn und Siebenbürgen vorwiegend gerechnet wurde, da zumindest das Metallgeld der Wiener Währung noch im Umlauf war. Die "ungarischen" Münzscheine zu 10 Kreuzern hingegen waren in Siebenbürgen unpopulär und erlitten deshalb Wertverluste von 5-10%, respektive wurden mancherorts nicht angenommen.¹⁵ Im Jahr 1857 scheinen sie aber noch in Siebenbürgen im Umlauf gewesen sein.¹⁶

Das lombardisch-venezianische Königreich erhielt am 1. November 1823 eine eigene Währung, die **Lira (austriaca)**. Diese beruhte wie die österreichische Metallwährung auf dem Conventionsfuß (Art. 1),

¹¹ Allgemeines Reichs- Gesetz- und Regierungsblatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich (Dez. 1848-Okt. 1849) 1850, 359-360 (N. 287); Die Geld- und Finanzverhältnisse Österreichs. In: Friedrich Steger: Ergänzungs-Conversationslexikon. Leipzig / Meißen 1851 (Bd. 6, Heft, Nr. 286), 402; Günther Probszt: Österreichische Münz- und Geldgeschichte. Von den Anfängen bis 1918. Wien / Köln / Weimar 1994 (Teil 2), 533.

¹² Das Datum erscheint mehrerenorts ohne Erwähnung der Quelle, z. Bsp.: Carl von Czoernig: Österreichs Neugestaltung 1848-1858. Stuttgart / Augsburg 1858, 163. Es entspricht dem Ausgabedatum, das auf die Münzscheine aufgedruckt ist, ein vom 1. August 1849 datierter Gesetzestext, der diese Scheine geschaffen hätte, ist jedoch unauffindbar.

¹³ Die gemeinsame Aufschrift der ungarischen Münzscheine zu 10 Kreuzern lautete: "Tiz ezüst kraiczár. Deset kraicari." | "Wird für" | "10 Zehn 10 Kreuzer 10" | "Silberscheidemünze bei allen Zahlungen an öffentlichen Cassen in Ungarn" | "statt Barem angenommen." | "Ofen 1. August 1849" *Staatswappen, Unterschrift: "G(ra)f Almásy"* | "Deset krajcarů. - Десет крајцара. - Зéче Креицáри."

¹⁴ Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1856 (N. 12), 169-170 (N. 39).

¹⁵ Christian Noback / Friedrich Noback: Münz-, Maass- und Gewichtsbuch. Das Geld-, Maass- und Wechselwesen, die Kurse, Staatspapiere, Banken, Handelsanstalten und Usanzen aller Staaten und wichtigeren Orte. Leipzig 1858, 579; 747-751; Austria. Wochenschrift für Volkswirtschaft und Statistik 1858 (Bd. 3), 23-24; C. Unverricht (Carl Unverricht): Gespräche der Bauern Hans und Georg über das neue Geld, was sie davon halten und wie sie damit beim Kaufen und Verkaufen zurecht kommen wollen. Hermannstadt 1858, 6.

¹⁶ Darauf deutet hin, dass die *Gazeta Transsilvaniei* ihre Leser spezifisch auf die Einberufung der ungarischen Münzscheine zu 10 Kreuzer aufmerksam machte: *Gazeta Transsilvaniei* 30.12.1857 (N.101-102), 2 (Viena).

gleichzeitig aber wurde der Conventionsfuß auf ein metrisches Gewicht angewendet (Art. 2-3) und die Lira in Hundertteile (Centesimi) unterteilt (Art. 4) um "die eigenthümlichen Verhältnisse dieses Reiches gehörig zu berücksichtigen" (Präambel). Die Kupfer- und Silbermünzen wurden so geprägt, dass 1 Centesimo $\frac{1}{5}$ Kreuzer, 3 Centesimi $\frac{3}{5}$ Kreuzer, 5 Centesimi 1 Kreuzer, $\frac{1}{4}$ Lira 5 Kreuzer, $\frac{1}{2}$ Lira 10 Kreuzer, 1 Lira 20 Kreuzer Conventionsmünze, $\frac{1}{2}$ Scudo gleich 3 Lira oder 1 Conventionsgulden und 1 Scudo gleich 6 Lira oder 2 Conventionsgulden entsprachen (Art. 5). Die Lira war dadurch *de facto* eher wie im alltäglichen karolingischen oder mailändischen Münzsystem in Zwanzigteile (Soldi) unterteilt als nach dem revolutionären metrischen in Hundertteile.¹⁷ Am 19. August 1848 wurde auch eine Kupfermünze zu 10 Centesimi im gleichen Wert wie 2 Kreuzer Conventionsmünze geschaffen.¹⁸ Nachdem am 7. April 1851 in Österreich leichtere Kupfermünzen zu $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, 1, 2 und 3 Kreuzer Conventionsmünze eingeführt wurden, wurde am 3. Februar 1852 verordnet, Kupfermünzen vom gleichen Gewicht, Gehalt und Münzbild wie die 1, 2 und 3 Kreuzer Conventionsmünze, doch mit italienischen Aufschriften und Nennwerten von 5, 10 und 15 Centesimi für das lombardisch-venezianische Königreich zu schlagen (Art. 2-5). Die bereits bestehenden Kupfermünzen wurden indessen vorläufig nicht aus dem Verkehr gezogen (Art. 7).¹⁹

Die österreichischen Banknoten und Papiergelder wurden im lombardisch-venezianischen Königreich nicht als Zahlungsmittel angenommen. Hier dominierte die Silbermünze, daneben waren aber ab 1849 auch Schatzscheine im Umlauf, die als Papiergeld benutzt wurden.²⁰

¹⁷ Sr. k. k. Majestät Franz des Ersten politische Gesetze und Verordnungen für die Österreichischen, Böhmisches und Galizischen Erbländer 1825 (N. 51), 222-276 (N. 119).

¹⁸ Allgemeines Reichs- Gesetz- und Regierungsblatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich (Dez. 1848-Okt. 1849) 1850, 113, (N. 110); vgl. (N. 55) 1851, 561-562 (N. 201, Art. 2).

¹⁹ Allgemeines Reichs- Gesetz- und Regierungsblatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich (N. 39) 1851, 409-410 (N. 125); (N. 50) 1852, 727 (N. 161).

²⁰ Christian Noback / Friedrich Noback: Münz-, Maass- und Gewichtsbuch. Das Geld-, Maass- und Wechselwesen, die Kurse, Staatspapiere, Banken, Handelsanstalten und Usanzen aller Staaten und wichtigeren Orte. Leipzig 1858, 449-453.

Das gesetzliche Zahlungsmittel der Freien Stadt Krakau, die Österreich am 11. November 1846 wieder annektierte,²¹ war der **polnische Złoty** (Gulden) Kongresspolens (zu 30 Groschen). Aus Widerstand gegen Russland hatte Krakau jedoch im Jahr 1835 1 Złoty-, sowie 5 und 10 Groschen-Münzen mit dem Krakauer Wappen und der Aufschrift "Wolne Miasto Kraków" [Freie Stadt Krakau] geprägt, anstelle des russischen Doppeladlers.²² Außer dem polnischen Złoty waren in Krakau auch russische, preußische, sächsische und niederländische Geldsorten im Umlauf. Am 21. Januar 1847 wurden die österreichischen Münzen, Banknoten und Papiergelder im Krakauer Gebiet einziges gesetzliches Zahlungsmittel.²³ Die österreichischen Münzen waren indessen von besserer Qualität als die polnischen, so dass sie aus dem Verkehr verschwanden und sogar das österreichische Papiergeld legte 7,5% an Wert zu. Deshalb wurde beschlossen, die ausländischen Währungen auch weiterhin als Zahlungsmittel anzunehmen. Während der Märzrevolution verloren die österreichischen Geldsorten wiederum an Wert zugunsten der polnischen. Deshalb wurde auch dann der Conventionsfuß im Krakauer Gebiet nicht eingeführt und die polnischen und ausländischen Geldsorten im Umlauf gelassen.²⁴

Die österreichische Münzreform von 1857-1858

Der Münzvertrag vom 24. Januar 1857 führte im Kaisertum Österreich zur Vereinheitlichung der Münzgewichte, Münzfüße und Währungen, sowie zur Umstellung des Münzgewichts und der Währung auf das metrische System.

Am 19. September 1857 wurde das Münzgewicht von 1 Pfund zu 500 g und der Münzfuß von 45 Gulden im gesamten Kaisertum Österreich eingeführt (Art. 2, 4) und die neue „österreichische Währung“ geschaffen (Art. 5), die in Hundertteile unterteilt war (Art. 9, 10). Damit

²¹ Sr. k. k. Majestät Ferdinand des Ersten politische Gesetze und Verordnungen für sämtliche Provinzen des Österreichischen Kaiserstaates, mit Ausnahme von Ungarn und Siebenbürgen (N. 74) 1848, 228 (N. 122).

²² Tadeusz Kalkowski: Tysiąc lat monety polskiej. Kraków 1974, 370-371.

²³ Österreichische Zeitschrift für Rechts- und Staatswissenschaft (Bd. 3) 1847, 34-37 (N. 40).

²⁴ Christian Noback / Friedrich Noback: Münz-, Maass- und Gewichtsbuch. Das Geld-, Maass- und Wechselwesen, die Kurse, Staatspapiere, Banken, Handelsanstalten und Usanzen aller Staaten und wichtigeren Orte. Leipzig 1858, 351.

ging Österreich gänzlich zum metrischen Münzgewicht und zur Dezimalwährung über.²⁵

Die Prägung der alten Währungen, ausgenommen des Levantiner Thalers (Art. 19) und der Dukaten (Art. 20) wurde am 1. November 1857 eingestellt (Art. 22).²⁶ Am 8. Oktober 1857 wurden die ungarischen Münzscheine zu 10 Kreuzer²⁷ und die Münzen zu 10 Centesimi des lombardisch-venezianischen Königreichs, Jahreszahl 1849, einberufen,²⁸ am 27. April 1858 folgte das Papiergeld der Wiener Währung²⁹ und am 30. April 1858 die Teilmünzen des Conventionsgulden und der Wiener Währung, sowie die Münzen des Krakauer Gebietes.³⁰ Am 1. Juni 1858 gestattete das Finanzministerium, dass "alle bis einschließlich des Jahres 1856 ausgeprägten inländischen Münzen ... eingelöst werden".³¹ Am 30. August 1858 schließlich wurden die Banknoten Conventionsmünze einberufen.³² Damit waren außer den

²⁵ Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1857 (N. 33), 484-490 (N. 169); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1858 (N. 11), 487-494 (N. 169); Gazeta Transsilvaniei 18.11.1857-25.11.1857 (N. 90-92), 1.

²⁶ Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1857 (N. 33), 484-490 (N. 169); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1857 (N. 11), 487-494 (N. 169).

²⁷ Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1857 (N. 35), 526 (N. 188); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1858 (N. 12), 536 (N. 189); Gazeta Transsilvaniei 30.12.1857 (N.101-102), 2 (Viena).

²⁸ Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1857 (N. 35), 527 (N. 189); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1858 (N. 12), 536-537 (N. 190).

²⁹ Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1858 (N. 16), 299 (N. 64); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1858 (N. 1), 8-9 (N. 2); Gazeta Transsilvaniei 03.05.1858 (N. 35), 1.

³⁰ Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1858 (N. 17), 301-302 (N. 67); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1858 (N. 1), 9-12 (N. 4); Gazeta Transsilvaniei 07.05.1858 (N. 36), 1. Es handelte sich ausschließlich um die Krakauer Gulden und Groschen, die aber angeblich schon 1840 aus dem Verkehr verschwunden waren: Paul Anton Fedor Konstantin Possart / Joseph Lukaszewicz / Adolph Mulkowski: Das Königreich Polen und der Freistaat Krakau. Stuttgart 1840, 169-170.

³¹ Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1858 (N. 23) 381-382 (N. 87); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1858 (N. 2), 35-37 (N. 7).

³² Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1858 (N. 34), 461-462 (N. 131); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1858 (N. 4), 67 (N. 16); Gazeta Transsilvaniei 06.09.1858 (N. 59), 1; vgl. Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1858 (N. 35), 463-465 (N. 133); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1858 (N. 4), 69 (N. 17); Gazeta Transsilvaniei 06.09.1858 (N. 59), 2 (Austria - Viena); 11.09.1858 (N. 60), 1-2.

erwähnten Levantiner Thaler und Dukaten alle alten Währungen und Geldsorten zugunsten der neuen, allgemeingültigen österreichischen Währung abgeschafft.

Am 9. April 1858 wurde die "Ausprägung von Kronen und Halben Kronen und deren Annahme bei den Staatskassen angeordnet"³³ und am 12. August 1858 das "Verzeichnis sämtlicher, vom 1. November 1858 an als gesetzliche Zahlungsmittel geltenden Münzgattungen veröffentlicht", das heisst der 5/10, 1, 3, 5 und 10 Neukreuzer, Viertel-, Ein- und Zwei-Gulden österreichischer Währung, der Ein- und Zwei-Vereinsthaler, sowie der halben und der ganzen Vereinskronen.³⁴ Am 30. August 1858 wurde beschlossen, Banknoten zu 10, 100 und 1000 Gulden österreichischer Währung herauszugeben und jene in Conventionsmünze einzuberufen.³⁵

Die genaue Umrechnung der alten Währungen in österreichische Währung war schwierig, erstens durch den Übergang vom 60 Kreuzer zum 100 Kreuzer-Gulden, und zweitens, weil der bisher geläufige Conventionsgulden 1/20 einer Kölner Mark feinen Silbers, also 233,87 g / 20 \approx 11,69 g Silber enthielt, 1 Gulden österreichischer Währung jedoch nur 500 g / 45 \approx 11,11 g.³⁶ Damit war 1 Gulden Conventionsmünze 105,2505 Neukreuzer, also etwa 1 Gulden 5 1/4 Neukreuzer österreichischer Währung wert.

³³ Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1858 (N. 14), 285 (N. 54); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1858 (N. 2), 13 (N. 5); Gazeta Transsilvaniei 12.04.1858 (N. 29), 1.

³⁴ Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1858 (N. 31), 442-447 (N. 119); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1858 (N. 3), 49-65 (N. 12); Gazeta Transsilvaniei 07.11.1858 (N. 68), 1 (in letzterer ohne die Abbildung der Münzen); Die Benennung "Neukreuzer", respektive "Soldi Austriaci" war durch eine Verordnung des Finanzministeriums erfolgt: Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1858 (N. 16), 300 (N. 65); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1858 (N. 1), 9 (N. 3); Gazeta Transsilvaniei 03.05.1858 (N. 35), 1.

³⁵ Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1858 (N. 34), 461-462 (N. 131); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1858 (N. 4), 67 (N. 16); Gazeta Transsilvaniei 06.09.1858 (N. 59), 1; vgl. Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1858 (N. 35), 463-465 (N. 133); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1858 (N. 4), 69 (N. 17); Gazeta Transsilvaniei 06.09.1858 (N. 59), 2 (Austria - Viena); 11.09.1858 (N. 60), 1-2. Aufgrund eines erneuten Anstiegs des Silberwerts wurden mit Kaiserlicher Verordnung vom 17. November 1860 Münzscheine zu 10 Neukreuzer geschaffen: Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1860 (N. 64), 435-436 (N. 256).

³⁶ Brockhaus' Konversations-Lexikon. Berlin / Wien 1894-1896: "Mark"; "Gulden".

Den ersten Umtauschkurs legte das Justizministerium am 14. Juni 1857 fest: 1 Vereinsthaler hatte als 1 Gulden 25 2/4 Kreuzer Conventionsmünze zu gelten.³⁷ Am 6. Oktober 1857 wurde dieser Kurs auf die österreichischen Erstprägungen ausgeweitet: Ab dato war 1 Gulden österreichischer Währung gesetzlich 57 Kreuzer Conventionsmünze, also 57/60 Conventionsgulden, wert.³⁸ Der implizite Kurs 1 Gulden Conventionsmünze \approx 1 Gulden 5 1/4 Kreuzer österreichischer Währung entsprach damit dem wirklichen Wertverhältnis. Mit dem kaiserlichen Patent vom 27. April 1858 wurde der Kurs des Conventionsguldens jedoch gesenkt. Das Patent bestimmte, dass "alle Verbindlichkeiten, welche auf einem, vor dem 1. November 1858 begründeten Privatrechtstitel beruhen und auf eine der nachbenannten Währungen (Valuten) lauten, aber erst nach diesem Zeitpunkte zur Erfüllung kommen ... in der neuen österreichischen Währung nach folgendem Maßstabe zu leisten" seien (Art. 5):

- 100 Gulden Conventionsmünze mit 105 Gulden österreichischer Währung;
- 100 Gulden Wiener Währung mit 42 Gulden österreichischer Währung;
- 100 Gulden Reichswährung mit 87 50/100 Gulden österreichischer Währung;³⁹
- 100 Lire Austriache mit 35 Gulden österreichischer Währung;
- 100 Gulden polnische Währung des Krakauer Gebietes mit 25 Gulden österreichischer Währung.

Zudem setzte das Patent den Wechselkurs für die Kreuzer, Gulden und Doppelgulden Conventionsmünze, die Centesimi, Lire und Scudi austriaci und die Kreuzer der Jahre 1848 und 1849 fest (Art. 12).⁴⁰

Am 21. Mai 1858 erlies das Finanzministerium schließlich die Wechselkurse für sämtliche Münzeinheiten der alten Währungen, wobei

³⁷ Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1857 (N. 26), 407-408 (N. 116); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1857 (N. 8), 403-405 (N. 116).

³⁸ Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1857 (N. 35), 525-526 (N. 186); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1858 (N. 12), 534-535 (N. 187).

³⁹ Infolge der bayrischen Besetzung wurde in Vorarlberg und Tirol im Privatverkehr in Reichswährung gerechnet: Johann Jakob Staffler: Tirol und Vorarlberg, statistisch, mit geschichtlichen Bemerkungen. Innsbruck 1848, 450-451. Dasselbe galt für Salzburg: Allgemeine Zeitung (Augsburg) 27.11.1858 (Nr. 331), 5341, (Salzburg).

⁴⁰ Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1858 (N. 16), 293-298 (N. 63).; Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1858 (N. 1), 1-7 (N. 1); Gazeta Transsilvaniei 30.04.1858 (N. 34), 1-2.

für die vollen Gulden und Lire die oben erwähnten Verhältnisse des Patents vom 27. April 1858 angewandt wurden, die Kreuzer und Centesimi jedoch genauer als im Patent umgerechnet wurden, wodurch eine Unzahl Brüche in den Tabellen auftauchte.⁴¹

Auf die amtlichen Gebühren wurden die Kurse weder des Patents noch seiner Durchführungsverordnung angewandt: Hier waren für jeden Kreuzer Conventionsmünze 2 Neukreuzer zu zahlen. Hingegen wurden die Gebühren von 1 und 4 Gulden Conventionsmünze auf 1 und 4 Gulden österreichischer Währung gesenkt.⁴²

Wie Franz Eduard Lurtz (1825-1907), Lehrer am evangelischen Gymnasium und an der Handelsschule zu Kronstadt⁴³ bemerkte, erwuchs aus den verschiedenen Wechselkursen "keiner Partei ein Nachtheil, da nach dem allerh. Patente vom 27. April 1858 «Niemand verpflichtet ist, die Zahlung eines Betrages, welcher den Werth von 1/4 Gulden erreicht oder übersteigt, in Scheidemünze anzunehmen»"⁴⁴ (Art. 18).

Die siebenbürgischen "Gelegenheitschriften anlässlich der neuen Währung"

In Siebenbürgen wurden die erwähnten Patente, Erlässe, Verordnungen und Wechseltafeln in der ersten Abteilung des dreisprachigen *Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen / Erdélyt illető országos kormánylap / Buletinulŭ gubernulŭ provinciale pentru Ardealŭ* publiziert.⁴⁵ Sie wurden zusätzlich in halbamtlichen Zeitungen wie der Kronstädter *Gazeta Transsilvaniei* abgedruckt.⁴⁶ Dem *Bibliographischen Central-Organ des österreichischen Kaiserstaates* (1859) und der *Magyar történeti bibliográfia [Ungarischen historischen Bibliographie]* (1950) gemäß

⁴¹ Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1858 (N. 22), 347-357 (N. 81); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1858 (N. 2), 14-34 (N. 6).

⁴² Reichs-Gesetz-Blatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich 1858 (N. 27), 405-407 (N. 102); Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen (I. Abtheilung) 1858 (N. 2), 37-41 (N. 8); *Gazeta Transsilvaniei* 24.07.1858 (N. 53), 2 (Austria - Viena).

⁴³ Zu Lurtz, der mehrere Rechenbücher verfasste, siehe: Josef Trausch: *Schriftsteller-Lexikon oder biographische-literarische Denk-Blätter der Siebenbürger Deutschen*. Kronstadt 1870 (Bd. 2), 371-373.

⁴⁴ Lurtz 1858, 11; vgl. *Gazeta Transsilvaniei* 03.05.1858 (N. 35), 137-138. Die Scheidemünzen der österreichischen Währung waren die 10, 5, 3, 1 und 5/10 Kreuzer-Stücke.

⁴⁵ Siehe die jeweilige Fußnote.

⁴⁶ Siehe die jeweilige Fußnote. Eine Erläuterung der Münzreform erschien in: *Gazeta Transsilvaniei* 03.05.1858 (N. 35), 137-138.

erschienen auch folgende "Gelegenheitschriften anlässlich der neuen Währung" in Siebenbürgen:

1. Az új és régi pénz egymáshoz viszonyarövid magyará - zattal és váltó - s okirati bélyegdíj - jegyzékkel ellátva. [Das Verhältnis des neuen und alten Geldes zueinander, mit kurzer Erklärung und Verzeichnis der Wechsel- und Urkunden-Stempelgebühr.] Koloszvár: Stein János (3 Bl. 8°) (Preis: 8 Kreuzer Conventionsmünze);
2. Franz Gärtner: Schlüssel zur Umwandlung der Währung der Conventions-Münze und der sogenannten Wiener Währung auf die neue österreichische Währung. Kronstadt: Johann Gött 1858;
3. Franz Eduard Lurtz: Die neuen Münzen. Für Real- und Handelsschulen, so wie für Jeden, der sich mit dem Werthe der neuen Münzen und mit den Rechenvortheilen der neuen Währung bekannt machen will, leichtfaßlich dargestellt. Kronstadt: Römer & Kamner 1858 (23 S.) (Preis: 10 Kreuzer);
4. D. T.: Desluşire despre baniş ceş noiş. [Belehrung über das neue Geld.] Braşovú: Römer & Kamner 1858 (23 S.) (Preis: 6 Kreuzer);⁴⁷
5. C. Unverricht (Carl Unverricht): Gespräche der Bauern Hans und Georg über das neue Geld, was sie davon halten und wie sie damit beim Kaufen und Verkaufen zurechtkommen wollen. Hermannstadt: Steinhaußen Tivadar 1858 (52 S.)
6. K. Unverricht (Carl Unverricht): Beszélgetések Jancsi és Gyuri földmivelők között az új pénz felett; mit tartsanak felőle, és hogy érjenek czélt vele á vevés-adásnál. [Ungarische Übersetzung von Nr. 5] Nagy-Szeben: Theodor Steinhaussen 1858 (47 S.);
7. C. Unferriht (Carl Unverricht): Convorbirş între şerantulş Ioanş şi Gheorghie despre Baniş ceş noiş; ce şinuş eş despre aceia şi cum voiescş să easă cu aceia la cale când cumpără aú când vând ceva.

⁴⁷ Der Autor dieser Schrift konnte nicht identifiziert werden. Die Redaktion der *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, die das Heft ihren Lesern empfahl, kannte dessen Identität nicht oder gab sie nicht preis und auch das *Dicşionar de pseudonime, alonime, anagrame, asteronime, criptonime ale scriitorilor şi publiciştilor români* [Lexikon der Pseudonyme, Allonyme, Anagramme, Asteronyme, Kryptonime der rumänischen Schriftsteller und Publizisten](1973) verzeichnet keinen Autoren dieser Epoche, der die Initialen "D. T." verwendete: *Gazeta Transilvaniei* 01.10.1858 (N. 63), 1; *Dicşionar de pseudonime, alonime, anagrame, asteronime, criptonime ale scriitorilor şi publiciştilor români*. Bucureşti 1973, 194.

[Rumänische Übersetzung von Nr. 5] Sibiu: Theodor Steinhausen 1858 (52 S.).⁴⁸

Sämtliche Schriften beinhalteten die Tabellen für den Wechsel von Conventionsmünze in österreichische Währung und invers, so wie sie in den Amtsblättern veröffentlicht wurden. Franz Gärtner und Carl Unverricht verzeichneten zusätzlich den Wechsel von Wiener Währung in österreichische Währung (Gärtner; Lurtz 9-10; Desluşire 10-23; Unverricht 44-50).⁴⁹

Während der k. k. Rechnungs-Revident Franz Gärtner nur Wechseltabellen publizierte, wollten der Gymnasiallehrer Franz Eduard Lurtz, der unbekannte Autor von *Desluşire...* und der preussische Pädagoge und Privatlehrer in Siebenbürgen Carl Unverricht (1809-1883)⁵⁰ ihren Lesern auch Regeln und Rechenmethoden beibringen. In Unverrichts Worten: "... wer sich nicht blos mit den Zusammenstellungen der verschiedenen Geldwerthe ... begnügen, sondern die Umrechnung stets selbst vornehmen will, der muß auch die Regeln dafür wissen und durchführen können." (Unverricht 40)

Dabei galt es zunächst, die Leser mit dem Dezimalsystem vertraut zu machen. Es genügte nun, den Gulden zwei Nullen anzuhängen, um sie in Kreuzer zu verwandeln, beziehungsweise, ab

⁴⁸ Bibliographisches Central-Organ des österreichischen Kaiserstaates. Wien 1859, 211-212 (N. 3'158); 246-247 (N. 3'693); 263-264 (N. 4'030); Tóth Zoltán: *Magyar történeti bibliográfia 1825-1867*. Budapest 1950 (III. Kötet), 195-197 (N. 13'274, 13'297; 13'331; 13'332); Die deutschen Übersetzungen und die Bezeichnung "Gelegenheitschriften anlässlich der neuen Währung" sind dem *Bibliographischen Central-Organ* entnommen. Die Publikation Nr. 1 ist unauffindbar. Vorhanden sind Nr. 2-7 in der Brukenthal-Bibliothek (Hermannstadt/ Sibiu), Nr. 3 in der Bibliothek der Honterusgemeinde (Kronstadt / Braşov), Nr. 4 und Nr. 7 in der Bibliothek der Rumänischen Akademie (Klausenburg / Cluj-Napoca), Nr. 5 in der Teleki-Bolyai-Bibliothek (Neumarkt / Târgu Mureş) und Nr. 7 in der Zentralen Universitätsbibliothek "Lucian Blaga" (Klausenburg / Cluj-Napoca).

⁴⁹ Da die gleichen Referenzen wiederholt werden, sind sie in Klammern angegeben. „Unverricht“ bezieht sich auf die deutsche Version, „Unferriht“ auf die rumänische.

⁵⁰ Zu Carl Unverrichts teilweise abenteuerlichen Lebenslauf, siehe: Joseph Trausch: *Schriftsteller-Lexikon oder biographisch-literarische Denk-Blätter der Siebenbürger Deutschen*. Kronstadt 1871 (Bd. 3), 451; *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*. Wien 1884 (Vol. 49): "Unverricht, Karl"; siehe: https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/BLK%C3%96:Unverricht,_Karl (aufgerufen am 27.03.2016). Lurtz und Unverricht dürften sich gekannt haben, da beide im Siebenbürgischen Verein für Naturwissenschaften tätig waren. Siehe z. Bsp.: *Mittheilungen des siebenbürgischen Vereins für Naturwissenschaften*. Hermannstadt 1858, 70-71.

hundert Kreuzern, einen Dezimalpunkt - das gebräuchliche Dezimaltrennzeichen - vor die letzten zwei Ziffern zu stellen, um den Wert in Gulden und Kreuzer aufzuteilen (Lurtz 12; Deslusire 7-8; Unverricht 26; 41). Lurtz und Unverricht verglichen den Vorgang mit der gängigen Verwandlung von Zentner (zu 100 Pfund) in Pfund (Lurtz 12; Unverricht 42).

Die Umrechnung von Gulden Conventionsmünze in Gulden österreichischer Währung erfolgte entweder dadurch, dass die Summe mit 105 multipliziert und durch 100 geteilt wurde (Deslusire 7), dass die Summe „mit 5 multiplicirt, das erhaltene Product als Neukreuzer behandelt und zu der gegebenen Summe von Gulden addirt“ wurde (Unverricht 25-27), dass der Summe $1/20$ hinzugerechnet wurde (Unverricht 24-25) oder dass für jeden Gulden Conventionsmünze dem Gulden österreichischer Währung 5 Neukreuzer hinzugezogen wurden (Lurtz 4; Deslusire 7; Unverricht 5).

Die Umwandlung von Kreuzern Conventionsmünze (oder „guten Kreuzern“) in Neukreuzer erforderte, die Summe durch 4 zu teilen und mit 7 zu multiplizieren (Unverricht 10, 19), beziehungsweise der Summe noch $1/2 + 1/4$ ihrer selbst hinzu zu rechnen (Lurtz 6-7; Deslusire 8; Unverricht 20-21). Da es keine kleinere Teilmünze als den $5/10$ Neukreuzer gab, musste zusätzlich auf- und abgerundet werden (Unverricht 21). Der Autor von *Deslusire* riet, anstelle einer ungeraden Zahl die vorangehende gerade Zahl als Dividend zu nehmen und zum Ergebnis 2 Neukreuzer hinzu zu rechnen (Deslusire 8-9) und Unverricht empfahl, „die Eier stets nur in einer solchen Anzahl auf einmal (zu) verkaufen ..., bei der der Preis in altem Gelde und die Bezahlung in neuem Gelde immer gut zusammenpaßten“, das hieß, war die Conventionsmünze die Ausgangswährung, „am besten stets 2, oder 4, oder 6, oder 8, oder 10, oder 12 auf einmal (zusammen)“ (Unverricht 10; 14).

Die Kreuzer Wiener Währung (oder „Schein-Kreuzer“) standen zu den Neukreuzern im Verhältnis 10 zu 7, wodurch bei der Umwandlung Zehntelbrüche entstehen konnten, die erneut auf- oder abgerundet werden mussten (Unverricht 22-23). Die Gulden Wiener Währung wurden mit 42 multipliziert und durch 100 geteilt (Unverricht 28-29).

Sollten Summen in österreichische Währung umgerechnet werden, die aus Gulden und Kreuzern bestanden, riet Unverricht, dass „jedes für sich berechnet, und der Betrag von Beiden zusammengezählt“ werde (Unverricht 28; vgl. Lurtz 6-7).

Für die Umwandlung von Gulden österreichischer Währung in Conventionsmünze gab Unverricht zwei Methoden an. Die erste bestand darin, für jeden Gulden österreichische Währung vom Gulden Conventionsmünze 3 Kreuzer Conventionsmünze (einen Silbergroschen) abzuziehen, wobei für jede 7 Gulden österreichische Währung wieder 1 Kreuzer Conventionsmünze hinzugerechnet wurde (Unverricht 29). Die zweite verlangte, die Summe mit 100 zu multiplizieren und durch 105 zu teilen. Der Rest der Division, die Neukreuzer, musste dann mit 4 multipliziert und durch 7 geteilt werden (Unverricht 39; vgl. Lurtz 7; Desluşire 9; Unverricht 37). Sollten Gulden und Kreuzer österreichischer Währung in Conventionsmünze umgewandelt werden, so riet Unverricht, "die neuen Gulden für sich und die Neukreuzer auch für sich" umzurechnen (Unverricht 40). Lurtz empfahl hingegen, die Gulden zuerst in Neukreuzer zu verwandeln und dann die Regel für die Neukreuzer anzuwenden (Lurtz 1858, 7).

Die Umrechnung von Gulden österreichischer Währung in Wiener Währung verlangte, die Summe mit 100 zu multiplizieren und durch 42 zu teilen, respektive die Umwandlung der Neukreuzer in Kreuzer Wiener Währung, die Summe mit 10 zu vervielfachen und durch 7 zu dividieren. Unverricht stufte die Kenntnis dieser Regel als unnötig ein und vermerkte sie nur im Inhaltsverzeichnis (Unverricht 42). In diesem gab er auch eine Methode zur Umrechnung von Groschen (3 Kreuzer) Wiener Währung in Neukreuzer an: die Summe wurde mit 2 multipliziert und ihr noch 1/10 hinzugerechnet (Unverricht 43).

Waren die "Gelegenheitschriften anlässlich der neuen Währung" preislich für einen Großteil der Bevölkerung erschwinglich,⁵¹ so dürften sie nur einer Minderheit inhaltlich zugänglich gewesen sein. Zwar lernten die Schüler an den Elementarschulen (Nationalschulen) das Rechnen mit "benannten Zahlen", das heißt von Maßeinheiten gefolgt Zahlen, und die Lösung von Gleichungen, darunter zur Umrechnung von Währungen,⁵² doch war die Siebenbürger Bevölkerung vorwiegend ländlich und ungebildet.⁵³ Trotzdem waren die Autoren zuversichtlich.

⁵¹ Laut Unverricht kostete ein Ei 1-2 Kreuzer Conventionsmünze oder 1 3/4-3 1/2 Neukreuzer: Unverricht 1858 (dt), 10-11.

⁵² Anonymus (Franz Močnik?): Anleitung zum Rechnen zum Gebrauche der Nationalschulen im Königreiche Ungarn und den damit verbundenen Staaten. Ofen 1846, 23ff.; Franz Močnik / Samoil Andrievici: Artimetică pentru a doa și a treia clasă a scoalelor naționale din Bucovina. Viena 1850, 71ff.; 188.

⁵³ Dies entgeht der Volkszählung von 1857. Siebenbürgen besaß 16 Städte, 79 Märkte und 2.622 Dörfern, war also vorzüglich ländlich. Von der 2.173.704 Seelen starken Bevölkerung übten nur 43.137 (2%) Tätigkeiten aus, die wenigstens eine minimale

Lurtz versicherte: "So wie früher keine Verwirrung daraus entstand, daß die mit 30 und 15 kr. bezeichneten Kupfermünzen nur 6 und 3 kr. *W(iener) W(ährung)* galten: so wird auch jetzt die Sache nicht so schwierig werden, und wir werden uns bald daran gewöhnen, daß z. B. die mit 6 kr. bezeichnete Silbermünze 10 Neukreuzer zu gelten hat, u. s. w." (Lurtz 3-4)

Carl Unverrichts *Gespräche der Bauern Hans und Georg über das neue Geld* und ihre rumänische Übersetzung

Unverrichts Druckschrift ist sicher die interessanteste: Erstens gibt sie nicht nur Tabellen, Regeln und Rechenmethoden an, sondern ist als Dialog gestaltet, der in drei *Gespräche* unterteilt ist und dem sogar einige Regieanweisungen beigelegt sind: "Der Bauer Hans kommt mit einigen kleinen Büchelchen in der Hand zu seinem Freunde und Nachbarn Georg, grüßt, und wirft die Schriftchen vor diesem auf den Tisch und ruft aus: ..." (Unverricht 3); "(Beide verabschieden sich.)" (Unverricht 15; 29); "Hans und Georg sitzen wieder in dem Wohnzimmer des Letzteren an dem großen Eßtische. Georg nimmt das Wort und spricht: ..." (Unverricht 16); "Hans und Georg haben eine der neuesten Nummern des Landes-Regierungsblattes vor sich und betrachten die darin enthaltenen Abbildungen des neuen Geldes. Georg unterbricht diese stille Betrachtung und spricht: ..." (Unverricht 29)

So erinnern die *Gespräche der Bauern Hans und Georg über das neue Geld* sowohl an ein Schulbuch in Katechismus-Form, in der die Fragen des Lehrers und die Antworten, respektive Gegenfragen der Schüler vorgegeben sind,⁵⁴ als an ein Schuldrama.

Der Prot- und der Deuteragonist des Dialogs, beziehungsweise der Schüler und der Lehrer, sind Hans und Georg. Hans, ein lesekundiger, doch wenig gebildeter Bauer, hat "eine Menge Geld für ...

Bildung voraussetzten. Davon waren 4.235 Geistliche, 8.795 Beamte, 863 Literaten und Künstler, 185 Rechtsanwälte und Notäre, 949 Sanitätspersonen, 25.443 Fabrikanten und Gewerbsleute, sowie 2.667 Handelsleute: Statistische Übersichten über die Bevölkerung und den Viehstand von Österreich nach der Zählung vom 31. Oktober 1857. Wien 1859, 256; 164. Eine statistische Nachricht in der *Gazeta Transsilvaniei* deutet auch darauf hin, dass der Bildungsstand von der Volksgruppe abhing: So kam bei den Sachsen 1 Schule auf 423 Seelen und bei den Rumänen 1 auf 1634: *Gazeta Transsilvaniei* 13.03.1858 (N. 21), 1 (Braşovü). Statistiken über Schulpflicht und Schulbesuch waren leider für Siebenbürgen unauffindbar.

⁵⁴ Siehe z. Bsp. T. Codrescu / D. Gusti: *Istori'a Romaniloru. Biografii Românesci dupre metód'a cateheticâ pentru classa a 2-a si a 3-a primara, si scólele sâtesci din Principatele-Unite*. Iassi 1860.

Büchel über das neue Geld gezahlt“, doch versteht er deren Inhalt nicht. In solchen Fällen fragt er den Pfarrer oder den Notär um Hilfe (Unverricht 3). Georg, ein Bauer mit 2 Klassen Realschule, kann Hans die Umwandlungsregeln selbst erläutern, nachdem ein „alter Professor“ sie ihm erklärt hat (Unverricht 3-4). Georg verkörpert den Pädagogen der Aufklärung. Sein Ziel ist, Hans die Regeln „klar und deutlich“ zu machen (Unverricht 22). Gleichzeitig beschwichtigt er seinen Schüler: „Es wird mir lieb sein, wenn Du Dir allein helfen lernst; so lange Du aber nicht so weit bist, will ich Dir gern mit gutem Rathe beistehen; - komme nur so oft Du's nöthig hast.“ (Unverricht 29) Im Laufe des Dialogs erwirkt Georg dadurch, dass er Hans die Regeln und Rechenmethoden angibt und ihm Beispiele vorrechnet, dass sein Schüler diese versteht und selbst anwendet (Unverricht 18-19; 37; 38). Hans ist willig, verliert aber manchmal den Mut (Unverricht 22). Am Schluß des dritten und letzten Tages ermüdet er ganz und fragt: „Mit diesen Regeln sind wir jetzt wohl endlich einmal zu Ende?“ (Unverricht 40)

Im Gegensatz zu den anderen Druckschriften, die sich auf die Umrechnung der alten in die neue Währung konzentrierten und gegebenenfalls den rechtlichen Rahmen resümierten (Lurtz 3-6; 8-11; Desluzire 3-6), enthielten die *Gespräche...* auch praktische Ratschläge, die, mit dem Sprichwort „Ehrlich währt am längsten“ (Unverricht 8) bekräftigt, darauf hinzielten, sowohl die Bauern vor einem Verlust als die Stadtbewohner vor einer Verteuerung landwirtschaftlicher Erzeugnisse zu schützen.⁵⁵ Unverricht wollte den Bauern beibringen, ihre Waren in bestimmten Mengen zu verkaufen, um nicht am Wechsel zu verlieren (Unverricht 10; 12; 14; 23) und zum gleichen Zweck ihre Preise schnellstmöglich in der neuen Währung festzusetzen (Unverricht 8); ihre Preise nicht zu steigern, sogar wenn die Städter es taten, um nicht auf ihren Waren sitzen zu bleiben (Unverricht 8-9) und sich für die Auf- und Abrundung der Preise nach den Städtern zu richten (Unverricht 21); sich das Gepräge der Münzen gut zu merken, um nicht alte mit neuen Münzen zu verwechseln und so betrogen zu werden (Unverricht 31) - dafür übernahm er die amtlichen Abbildungen der Gepräge (Unverricht 30-34) - und Vertrauen in die Verwaltung zu haben, an welche die „Mauth und Steuer in neuem Gelde“ zu entrichten war (Unverricht 36-37). Grundsätzlich empfahl Unverricht den Bauern, die Preise durch eine gesteigerte Produktion niedrig zu halten (Unverricht 15).

⁵⁵ Eine ähnliche Angst zeichnet sich in einem Artikel der *Gazeta Transilvaniei* ab: *Gazeta Transilvaniei* 03.05.1858 (N. 35), 137-138.

Unverricht erkannte die Schwierigkeiten, denen die Bauern und Bäuerinnen durch die Münzreform ausgesetzt waren. Er ließ Hans klagen: "Ich merke schon, daß wir einfachen Leute uns leichter in den Unterschied der alten und neuen Gulden finden werden, wie in die Kreuzerrechnung und gerade mit dieser haben unsere Weiber am meisten zu thun, wenn sie auf den Markt gehen" (Unverricht 5; vgl. 39-40). Trotzdem befürwortete Unverricht die Einführung des metrischen Systems. In Bezug auf den Zentner und das Pfund legte er Georg die Worte in den Mund: "... vielleicht bekommen wir später auch für die größeren Fruchtmaße noch solche bequeme kleine Maße, die mit 10 und 100 ausgehen." und tat Hans antworten: "Das würde auch ganz gut zu den Neukreuzern passen." (Unverricht 26)

Die *Gespräche...* geben auch Auskunft über das Alltagsleben der Bauern und Bäuerinnen: Sie lebten im Dorf, wo der Pfarrer und der Notär die intellektuelle Elite bildeten. Ihre Produkte verkauften sie in der Stadt. Meistens waren es die Frauen, die die Waren zu Märkte trugen (Unverricht 5, 18). Die Preise, die sie verlangten, mussten niedrig genug sein, damit die Städter bereit waren, sie zu bezahlen, und ausreichend hoch, dass sie die Erzeugnisse der Handwerker und der Kaufleute mit dem Gewinn aus dem Verkauf erwerben konnten. Als Handwerker erwähnt wurden die "Seifensieder, Riemner, Huterer, Schuster, Schneider" (Unverricht 9). Dienstleistungen wurden zum Teil *in natura* entlohnt: So gab Georg seinem Professoren "einige Eier und ein tüchtiges Stück Butter" als Dank für die Erläuterungen (Unverricht 4). Neue Gesetze wurden zwar im Dorf ausgerufen (Unverricht 6), die Bauern hatten aber Mühe, sie zu verstehen. Dadurch waren sie Betrügnern ausgesetzt, weshalb es aus Unverrichts Sicht nötig war, ihnen eine Bildung zu geben.

Schließlich beinhalten die *Gespräche...* damalige Lebensmittelpreise: 1 Ei kostete 1 bis 2 Kreuzer Conventionsmünze oder 3 bis 6 Kreuzer Wiener Währung und im Winter bis zu 7 oder 8 Kreuzer Wiener Währung (Unverricht 9), die "geringe Milch" 4 bis 6 Kreuzer Conventionsmünze das Maß und die "gute" 2 bis 3 Kreuzer Conventionsmünze oder 6 Kreuzer Wiener Währung das Seidel (1/4 Maß) (Unverricht 17-18) und die Butter 40 Kreuzer Conventionsmünze das Pfund (Unverricht 18). Aus der Druckschrift geht auch hervor, dass in Siebenbürgen noch in Wiener Währung gerechnet wurde (Unverricht 6).

Die *Gespräche...* erschienen im Jahr 1858 nicht nur auf Deutsch, sondern auch auf Ungarisch und auf Rumänisch. Herausgegeben wurden die drei Fassungen von Theodor Steinhaufen in Hermannstadt,

dem Verleger des dreisprachigen *Landes-Regierungsblatts für Siebenbürgen*, was auch erklärt, weshalb der Verlag über die Druckplatten mit den amtlichen Abbildungen der neuen Münzen und über die nötigen kyrillischen Lettern und rumänischkundigen Setzer für die rumänische Version verfügte.⁵⁶ Theodor Steinhaußen veröffentlichte zu der Zeit auch Schriften des k. k. Schulrats und korrespondierenden Mitglieds der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften Johann Karl Schuller (1794-1865)⁵⁷ über die rumänische Sprache und Volksdichtung⁵⁸ und die *Theoretisch-practische Grammatik der romänischen Sprache* des orthodoxen Priesters Sabbas (Sava) Popovici Barcianu (1814-1879).⁵⁹ Den Siebenbürger Dialektismen⁶⁰ und gleichzeitigen Germanismen,⁶¹

⁵⁶ Der deutsche Teil des *Landes-Regierungsblatts* wurde in Frakturschrift gedruckt, der ungarische in lateinischen Buchstaben.

⁵⁷ Siehe: Josef Trausch: *Schriftsteller-Lexikon oder biographische-literarische Denkblätter der Siebenbürger Deutschen*. Kronstadt 1871 (Bd. 3), 248-261. Auch Schuller dürfte Unverricht über den Siebenbürgischen Verein für Naturwissenschaften gekannt haben.

⁵⁸ Z. Bsp.: Johann Carl Schuller: *Zur Frage über den Ursprung der Romänen u. ihrer Sprache*. Sylvesterausgabe für Gönner und Freunde. Hermannstadt: Theodor Steinhaußen 1855; Johann Karl Schuller: *Kloster Argisch, eine rumänische Volkssage*. Urtext, metrische Übersetzung und Erläuterung. Hermannstadt: Theodor Steinhaußen 1858; Johann Karl Schuller: *Rumänische Volkslieder*. Metrisch übersetzt, und erläutert. Hermannstadt: Theodor Steinhaußen 1859.

⁵⁹ Sabbas Popovici Barcianu: *Theoretisch-practische Grammatik der romänischen Sprache*. Zum Schul und Selbstgebrauche. Hermannstadt 1858. Popovici Barcianu trat dem Siebenbürgischen Verein für Naturwissenschaften im Jahr 1860 bei: *Mittheilungen des siebenbürgischen Vereins für Naturwissenschaften*. Hermannstadt 1860, 233.

⁶⁰ Als solche sind klar identifizierbar: "aü" für "saü" (Unferriht 1); "aci" für "aici" (Unferriht 5); "nimăruî" für "nimănuî" (Unferriht 12); picioğî für "cartofi" (Unferriht 15); "a mułțami" für "a mułțumi" (Unferriht 25); "modrulü" für "modulü" (Unferriht 30). (Răzvan Roșu)

⁶¹ Allgemeine, nicht auf ein bestimmtes Gebiet bezogene Germanismen sind z. Bsp.: "ce arü fi însă să fie ele, totü nu potü fi" für "was sie aber sollten, können sie doch nicht" (Unferriht 2), "a se atinge de" für "betreffen" (Unferriht 4), "bucurosü" für "gern" (Unferriht 6), "omulü vine cam adăncü în frânture de numeri" für "man kommt ziemlich tief in die Brüche hinein" (Unferriht 6), "creta cea îndoită" für "doppelte Kreide" (Unferriht 8), "a remănea frumosü pe gătü" für "schön auf dem Halse bleiben" (Unferriht 8), "privire de căpetenie" für "Hauptübersicht" (Unferriht 13), "a veni înainte" für "vorkommen" (Unferriht 14), "a îngriği de aceea, ca" für "dafür sorgen, dass" (Unferriht 14), "a se supune la simțulü de obosire" für "dem Gefühl der Ermüdung nachgeben" (Unferriht 14), "a apuca vorba" für "das Wort nehmen" (Unferriht 15), "fără de aceea" für "ohnehin" (Unferriht 23); "maî de apröpe" für "zunächst" (Unferriht 31); "a veni în multe zăpäcirî" für "in viele Verlegenheiten kommen" (Unferriht 35), "lucrarea aceasta este binișorü lăğită" für

Latinismen und Italianismen⁶² nach zu schließen dürfte der Übersetzer der *Gespräche...* ins Rumänische - war es nicht Unverricht selbst - ein solcher siebenbürgisch-sächsischer oder siebenbürgisch-rumänischer Gelehrter gewesen sein.

Der Übersetzer ins Rumänische der *Gespräche...* war vor eine Aufgabe gestellt, die sprachliches und pädagogisches Geschick erforderte, da eine Reihe Wörter und Ausdrücke im Bereich der Münzkunde, Rechenkunst und Wirtschaft in der rumänischen Sprache fehlten und deshalb neu gebildet werden mussten, ohne dass der schon komplexe Text weiter an Verständlichkeit verlor. Auch waren bereits bestehende Neologismen dem breiten Publikum noch unbekannt.⁶³

Zur Lösung dieser Aufgabe benutzte der Übersetzer drei Strategien. Die pädagogisch am wenig wertvollste war sicher die wortwörtliche Übertragung deutscher Ausdrücke, wie "a sta cătră x" für "sich zu x verhalten" (Unferriht 4),⁶⁴ "a lăsa afară frântura" für "den Bruch weglassen" (Unferriht 8), "a veni pe / cu / la x" für "auf x kommen" (Unferriht 11; 13),⁶⁵ "a număra la x" für "zu x zählen" (Unferriht 20), "a părăsi x" für "x fallen lassen" (Unferriht 22), "a arca mărfile" für "die Waren steigern" (Unferriht 8) oder "a trage în lăuntru" für (Münzen / Scheine) "einziehen" (Unferriht 39).⁶⁶

Die zweite Strategie bestand in der Verwendung von Latinismen oder Italianismen, so "computare" oder "compută" für "Rechnung" (Unferriht 6; 22), "a computa" für "rechnen" (Unferriht 12), "cifră" für "Ziffer" - neben dem deutschen Lehnwort "țifră" - (Unferriht 26-27), "nulă" für "Null" (Unferriht 38), "sumă" für "Summe" (Betrag) (Unferriht 7), "prodoptă" für "Product" (Unferriht 20),⁶⁷ "reportulă" für

"dies Verfahren ist ziemlich weitläufig" (Unferriht 37) und "îți rostescă a mea cea măi frumôsă mulțămită" für "ich ... sage Dir ... meinen schönsten Dank". (Unferriht 39).

⁶² Allgemeine, nicht auf ein bestimmtes Gebiet bezogene Latinismen und Italianismen sind z. Bsp.: "acurată" für "genau" (Unferriht 11) und "prospectă" / "conseptă" für "Übersicht" (Unferriht 23; 33).

⁶³ Siehe: Zahariă Boiū: *Manducere pentru învețători la întrebunțarea Abțdariului Sibiiu* 1862, 16.

⁶⁴ Alle Substantive und Adjektive sind im Nominativ Singular und alle Verben im Infinitiv angegeben. In den Fällen, in denen die Formen angepasst werden mussten, wurde die Rechtschreibung des Autors respektiert.

⁶⁵ "A veni pă" in *Deslușire...* (Deslușire 3).

⁶⁶ Identisch in *Deslușire...* (Deslușire 3).

⁶⁷ Da die lateinischen Entlehnungen "Null", "Summe" und "Product" / "Produkt" im Deutschen gängig waren, ist anzunehmen, dass die rumänischen Neologismen "nulă", "sumă" und "prodoptă" über das Deutsche aus dem Lateinischen kamen.

“Verhältnis” (Unferriht 20), “a respunde la x” für “x betragen” (x entsprechen) (Unferriht 7), “fracțiune” für “Bruch” (Unferriht 35), “a precalcula” für “vorrechnen” (Unferriht 23),⁶⁸ “comerciu” für “Verkehr” (Unferriht 32), “a costa” für “kosten” (Unferriht 40)⁶⁹ und “monetă” für “Münze” (Unferriht 30). Es handelte sich teils um Neologismen, die in Gelehrtenkreisen gängig waren. So schrieb der Autor von *Deslușire...* “țifără” für “Ziffer” (Deslușire 7), “sumă” für “Summe” (Deslușire 7), “productü” für “Produkt” (Deslușire 7) und “monetă” für “Münze” (Deslușire 3). In seiner Übertragung eines Lehrbuchs von Franz Močnik ins Rumänische (1850) gebrauchte der orthodoxe Priester im Bukowiner Ort Czahor und zukünftige Metropolit der Bukowina und Dalmatiens Samoil Morariu-Andriewicz (1818-1895) unter anderem die lateinischen und deutschen Entlehnungen “computăciune” für “Rechnung”, “a computa” für “rechnen” und “țifără” für “Ziffer”, doch das neu definierte rumänische Wort “produs” [Erzeugnis] für “Produkt”. “Bruch” übersetzte Morariu-Andriewicz mit dem rumänischen “fruntură” [Bruchstück], gab aber zwischen Klammern auch den Latinismus “fracție” an.⁷⁰

Die dritte Strategie des Übersetzers der *Gespräche...* beruhte in der Umdeutung rumänischer Erbwörter. Waren “a împărți cu x” für “durch x dividieren” (Unferriht 18), “a adăuga la x” für “zu x hinzuzählen” (Unferriht 24), “x ori y” für “x mal y” (Unferriht 18) und “fără soț” für “ungerade” (Unferriht 21) wahrscheinlich in der Volkssprache geläufig, so gab der Übersetzer dem Verb “a potrive x în / cu y” [x an y anpassen] / “a împăca x cu y” [x mit y versöhnen] die Bedeutung von “x mit y ausgleichen” (Unferriht 7; 8), “a hotărî” [entscheiden] von “bestimmen” (ausrechnen) (Unferriht 11), “a preface” [verwandeln] / “a strămuta” [umstellen] “în x” von “in x umrechnen” (Unferriht 21), “a scôte” [herausziehen] von “abziehen” (Unferriht 37), “a înmulți” [vermehren] “cu x / prin x” von “mit x multiplizieren”

Auch das Neuwort “țifără” kann als Relatinisierung des deutschen “Ziffer” gesehen werden: vgl. Anonymus (Franz Močnik?): Anleitung zum Rechnen zum Gebrauche der Nationalschulen im Königreiche Ungarn und den damit verbundenen Staaten. Ofen 1846.

⁶⁸ Mit dem gleichen Präfix, aber dem rumänischen Verb “a socoti” (rechnen) schuf der Übersetzer das Neuwort “a presocoti” (Unferriht 12).

⁶⁹ Der gängige Ausdruck scheint “a fi cu x” (mit x sein) gewesen zu sein (Unferriht 15).

⁷⁰ Franz Močnik / Samoil Andriewicz: *Artimetică pentru a doa și a treia clasă a scoalelor naționale din Bucovina*. Viena 1850, 29; 39; 106.

(Unferriht 20; 25),⁷¹ "a ȳerta" [verzeihen] von "fallen lassen" (abrunden) (Unferriht 20), "a se naște" [geboren werden] von "erhalten" (sich ergeben) (Unferriht 25) und dem Substantiv "tipariu" [Muster] den Sinn von "Geprage" (Unferriht 30). Wie Morariu-Andriewicz benutzte der bersetzer auch das rumanische "frantura" im Sinne von "Bruch" (Unferriht 6) als Variante von "fracțiune".

Der bersetzer bot fters zwei Varianten fur ein Ausgangswort an, bald in Klammern, bald mit dem Bindewort "sea" [oder], beziehungsweise "adeca" [das heist]. So schrieb er "suma sea productul" [der Betrag oder Produkt] (Unferriht 25), "productul adeca suma" [das Produkt, das heist, der Betrag] (Unferriht 36), "numeri frani sea fracțiuni" [gebrochene Zahlen oder Bruche] (Unferriht 35), "bani (monete)" [Kleingeld (Munzen)] (Unferriht 31), "comerciul (treaba)" [der Verkehr (das Geschaft)] (Unferriht 32). Den letzten Terminus erlauterte er sogar zwischen Klammern: "comerciul (treaba ce o facem uni cu alii)" [der Handel (das Geschaft, das wir miteinander machen)] (Unferriht 39), wobei diese Erklarung doppeldeutig und somit burlesk geklungen haben durfte.

Die rumanische Version von Unverrichts *Gesprache...* schwankte demnach zwischen groben Germanismen und gelehrten Formen einerseits, welche die Kenntnis der deutschen Sprache und rumanischer Neologismen voraussetzten und Umdeutungen rumanischer Erbwortern und Erlauterungen durch Varianten andererseits, die aufklarerisch an das einfache Volk gerichtet waren. Zieht man zusatzlich die Komplexitat des Ausgangstexts in Betracht, durfte die rumanische Version dem breiten Publikum nicht zuganglich und eher ein Kuriosum fur Gelehrtenkreise gewesen sein, das jedoch heute als Zeugnis der damaligen Tendenz steht, eine rumanische Fachsprache zu schaffen.

Die rumanische Version ist auch eine interessante Quelle, was die siebenburgisch-rumanischen Namen von Ma- und Munzeinheiten anbelangt: Das Ma hie nach dem Sudslawischen "cofa" oder dem Ungarischen "cupa" (Unverricht 15; 16), das Seidel nach dem Ungarischen "fartaiu" (Unverricht 15) oder dem Deutschen "ferdala" (Unverricht 16), der Zentner nach dem Ungarischen "maja" (Unferriht 26), das Pfund nach dem Deutschen "funt" (Unferriht 16), die Gulden

⁷¹ Morariu-Andriewicz benutzte die einfache Form "a muli": Franz Monik / Samoil Andriewic: *Artimetica pentru a doai și a treia clasa a scoalelor naionale din Bucovina*. Viena 1850, 39.

deutsch-lateinisch "florini" oder polnisch "złoti"⁷² (Unferriht 4), die "creițari" nach dem Deutschen "Kreuzer" (Unferriht 4) oder rumänisiert "cruceři" (Unferriht 11), die 20 Kreuzer-Stücke nach dem Deutschen "svanți" (Unferriht 5) oder dem Ungarischen "husoși" (Unferriht 4), die 5, 6 und 10 Kreuzer-Stücke rumänisiert "cinceriu", "șeseriu" und "zeceru" (Unferriht 5), die Groschen (3 Kreuzer-Stücke) nach dem Deutschen oder Polnischen "groșițe" (Unferriht 5), die 2 Groschen-Stücke nach dem Polnischen "dută" (Unferriht 6) und die Kreuzer der Wiener Währung deutsch-rumänisch "creițari de aramă rei" [schlechte Kupferkreuzer] (Unferriht 6), beziehungsweise, nach dem Deutschen, "creițari șain" (Unferriht 9). Für die Neukreuzer verwendete der Übersetzer das deutsch-rumänische "creițari noi" (Unferriht 4), obschon das *Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen* den rumänisierten Namen "cruceři noi" als Übersetzung vorgab.⁷³ Das italienische "centesimi", das die *Gazeta Transsilvaniei* empfiehlt, kam augenscheinlich nicht in Gebrauch.⁷⁴

Über die Auswirkung der Münzreform von 1857-1858 in Siebenbürgen behauptete die *Gazeta Transsilvaniei* am 24. November 1858, dass "die Einführung der neuen Münze (*monetă*) bei uns nicht die gleichen Ärgerlichkeiten und Dreistigkeiten verursacht hat, über die wir in Zeitungen anderer Orte lesen, weil das Volk ziemlich gut durch die vorigen Veröffentlichungen vorbereitet war; nach einem halben Monat begann es auch, in der neuen Währung zu rechnen, es hat sich selbst eine Regel zurechtgelegt, mit der es nun vorgeht, so gut oder schlecht es kann, und der Frieden ist gemacht."⁷⁵ Ob sich die "vorigen Veröffentlichungen" einzig auf die Beiträge in der *Gazeta Transsilvaniei* beziehen, oder auf die siebenbürgischen "Gelegenheitschriften anlässlich der neuen Währung" im Allgemeinen ist unklar, und somit auch, ob die Meldung der *Gazeta Transsilvaniei* auf Fakten beruhte oder zum Ziel

⁷² Siehe: János Buza: Silbergulden als "Zlot" im Geldumlauf des Fürstentums Siebenbürgen am Ende des 17. und am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts. In: Bernd Kluge / Bernhard Weisser (Hg.): XII. Internationaler Numismatischer Kongress Berlin 1997. Akten - Proceedings - Actes. Berlin 2000 (Teil II).

⁷³ *Landes-Regierungsblatt für Siebenbürgen* (I. Abtheilung) 1858 (N. 1), 9 (N. 3). Diese Übersetzung wurde auch für die Aufschriften auf den Banknoten österreichischer Währung verwendet.

⁷⁴ *Gazeta Transsilvaniei* 28.09.1857 (N. 77), 2.

⁷⁵ *Gazeta Transsilvaniei* 15.11.1858 (N. 69), 1 (Brașov): "Într'oducerea monetei nouă pe la noi nu a cășunatū acele neplăceri și scărbe, despre care citimū în jurnale de pe la alte locuri; din causă că poporimea fiindū binișorū pregătită prin publicăciunile de mai nainte, într'o jumătate de lună s'a și dedatū a socoti pe valute nouă, ș'a ficsatū ea înșăș unū calculū, după carele merge înainte, bine, rău, cum pôte și pacea este gata."

hatte, die Rolle der Zeitung bei der Aufklärungskampagne hervorzuheben.

Jedenfalls war, wie es der *Österreichische Gendarmerie-Almanach für 1859* formulierte, "es wohl werth, ... die geringe Mühe nicht scheuen, die neue Rechnungsweise (*sich*) recht bald anzueignen", da die Münzreform von 1857-1858 "die verschiedenen Währungen, welche bisher in Österreich bestanden, und durch die Mannigfaltigkeit der Rechnungsarten den gegenseitigen Verkehr sehr (*erschwert*) ... vollständig beseitigt" hatte.⁷⁶

Mehrsprachige Banknote vom 1. November 1860 zu 10 Kreuzern österreichischer Währung. Rechts unten, in kyrillischen Buchstaben, die rumänische Variante "Zece cruceri noi". (Sammlung Philippe Henri Blasen)



⁷⁶ Österreichischer Gendarmerie-Almanach für 1859, Wien 1858, 186. Einige Währungen blieben jedoch noch bis 1870 im Umlauf, wie es unter anderem die "Kaiserliche Verordnung vom 29. August 1870, wodurch ... ein letzter Termin für die Einlösung der Münzscheine und der Silberscheidemünze zu 6 Kreuzer C. M. festgesetzt" wurde, zeigt: Reichsgesetzblatt für die im Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder 1870 (N. 44), 237, (N. 108).

Notes on the Image of Croatia and the Croats with the Romanians from Transylvania (1867-1914)*

Vlad Popovici

Babeş-Bolyai University

Abstract: *Notes on the Image of Croatia and the Croats with the Romanians from Transylvania (1867-1914).* The present study proposes to succinctly analyze the means of building an image of Croatia and Croats by the Romanians in Transylvania during the dualist period. Even though they were citizens of the same state, Croats rose, within Romanian press, and later in historical writings, a lot less interest than other nations in the Empire. This was both due to the limited direct interaction between the two nations, as well as the different political situation after 1867. Together with general geographical descriptions, the field of politics, social-cultural initiatives and the image of a people with martial attributes represented the main coordinates of the imagological construction within the Romanian press and school textbooks. The image is a generally positive one, showing even a slight feeling of inferiority from the Romanians' side, generated, most probably, by the Croats' success in preserving their historical autonomy, with all the social and cultural consequences deriving from it. Equality between the two nations is seen only in the military field, but here, too, with specific imagological nuances.

Keywords: Croatia, Croats, 19th century, imagology, Romanians, Transylvania

Rezumat: *Note cu privire la imaginea Croației și a croaților la românii din Transilvania (1867-1914).* Studiul își propune să analizeze succint modalitatea de construcție a imaginii Croației și a croaților la românii din Transilvania în perioada dualistă. Deși cetățeni ai aceluiași stat, croații au suscitât în mediile românești, și ulterior în scrisul istoric, mult mai puțin interes decât alte națiuni din Imperiu. Acest fapt se datorează atât interacțiunii directe limitate dintre cele două corpuri etnice, cât și situației politice diferite de după 1867. Alături de descrierile geografice generale, domeniul politicii, inițiativele social-culturale și imaginea de popor cu atribute marțiale au reprezentat principalele coordonate ale construcției imagologice în presa și manualele școlare românești. Imaginea este una în general pozitivă, lăsând să se întrevadă chiar un ușor sentiment de inferioritate al românilor, generat, cel mai probabil, de succesul croaților în a-și prezerva autonomia istorică, cu toate consecințele sociale și culturale rezultate din aceasta. Egalitatea între cele două națiuni este reclamată doar în domeniul militar, însă și aici cu nuanțe și tușe imagologice specifice.

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Cuvinte-cheie: Croația, croați, secolul al XIX-lea, imagologie, români, Transilvania

The image of Croatia and Croats among the Romanians in Transylvania did not benefit from the same attention, within autochthonous imagology works, as other ethnic images.¹ The main reason probably pertains to a more reduced interest for this geographical space and its inhabitants within sources of that time, a situation further reflected by historical research. Within the images of alterity circulated by Romanian intellectuals in the second half of the 19th century, the Croats seem to more difficultly find their place. Even though they were citizens of the same state, the geographical distance, belonging to distinct confessional structures, but most of all the differences in historical tradition and political situation after 1867 rendered the interactions between Romanians and Croats, with effects within the space of ethnical imaging, to punctually concern only a small and well circumscribed number of aspects.

Since the amplitude of the theme is inversely proportional to the richness of previous research, also taking into consideration the situation of primary sources, the present study will exclusively focus on the image of the Croats as it appears in the Romanian journalistic discourse and school textbooks of the time. This is one of the main reasons why, even from the title, it iterates the status of extensive reading notes, ordered in such a way as to offer a point of reference for future research works.

On emitters and receivers

Before diving into the actual subject of the paper, a few words would be welcome on those building (journalists and school textbooks authors) and on the other ones receiving the discourse (the general public). In

¹ See, for example, the main scientific works referring to ethnic images exterior to the Transylvanian space, among Romanians from Transylvania: Sorin Mitu, *Imagini europene și mentalități românești din Transilvania la începutul epocii moderne* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000), p. 10-193; Gheorghe Lascu, *Imaginea Franței la românii din Transilvania până în anul 1918* (Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință, 2000); Corneliu Crăciun, *Imaginea Europei în revista Familia (1865-1906)* (Oradea: Editura Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, 2005); Luminița Ignat-Coman, *Imagine de sine la românii ardeleni în perioada dualistă* (Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2009), pp. 301-307; Elena-Andreea Trif-Boia, *Imaginea celuilalt în cultura românească din Transilvania. Secolul al XIX-lea* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2012).

what regards the former, they were, during that time, educated people, most of them involved or preparing to get involved in national politics. Among the editors of the Romanian newspapers one can find members of the board of the Romanian National Party, members of the Hungarian Parliament, University Professors, members of the Romanian Academy, but also the top Romanian professional journalists from Transylvania and Hungary. It is true, due to the lack of in-depth research, little is known about the inner editorial processes, about information networks and the way in which correspondence and news were selected for publishing, but even so it would not be wrong to say that the people building the image of Croatia and Croats among fellow Romanians were members of the highest strata of the Romanian society of the time.

It is worth mentioning at this point that not all the articles in the Romanian newspapers were written by Romanians. Where texts from foreign authors have been borrowed, we have explicitly highlighted this situation, without however considering it as a methodological hindrance. Even if the original image was not depicted by Romanians, its non-critical borrowing and re-projection point out towards full acceptance. Furthermore, in those cases in which the original source was not mentioned, there is a high chance the information originally came from Hungarian or German regional newspapers, thus there is little first-hand information the historian can rely on.

Things tend to get more complicated when focusing on those receiving the image. For most of the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary, Croatia remained a relatively distant land, and most probably some of them knew nothing more about it than the fact that Croats existed among the other peoples of the Monarchy and that some of them were constantly involved in soldierly activities due to the fact that a large part of the country's territory was integrated into the former military border region.² The image of Croatia, as depicted in the Romanian school textbooks, does not stand out by means of many specificities. Imagology information comprised in school textbooks is extremely low, with a priority on listing and describing the main geographical landmarks (land forms, hydrology, climate, settlements). Should we synthesize the information a Romanian pupil accumulated

² Ioan Rus, *Icoana pământului sau carte de geografie*, tom II (Blaj: Tipografia Seminarului, 1842), pp. 66-67, 83-87. The Latin transliteration of the original Cyrillic text: *Ibid.* (Baia Mare: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2011). After the dissolution of the military border area, references to it also disappear from school textbooks, although its remembrance must have been perpetuated throughout the following decades.

(ideally) regarding the Croatian space, out of school textbooks, we could state that this space was formed out of two provinces, situated in the South of Hungary, with a large coastline towards the Adriatic Sea, with mixed landforms (mountainous and barren towards the West, but plain, partly swampy, to the East) and with a temperate climate, but harsh in the Western regions. Regarding the inhabitants, Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs are mentioned, and at the coastline, Italians.³ Out of the few ethnical stereotypes we could find in the school textbooks, that of *warrior men of inferior culture*⁴ from the region of the Dalmatian coastline is consonant with the image of Croats and Serbs in Croatia-Slavonia as a *diligent and brave people, the most educated* (among Slavs in the South) *and their literature develops beautifully*.⁵

People from the Western and South-Western regions of today's Romania (mainly the Banat region) were certainly familiar with Croats and probably made clear differentiations between Serbs and Croats, primarily because they got in touch with compact communities of both ethnicities. But in what regards the ones from Transylvania, where such communities were few and small in numbers, the only way they got to know about Croatia and Croats was through either Geography textbooks or newspapers. So there is a high chance that many Romanian peasants would carry throughout their entire life, in their vocabulary, the ethnicon 'Croat' without actually having the possibility to relate it to anything of substance, or to build the slightest geographical projection of the land inhabited by these people. There is an equally high chance the only Croat many Romanian peasants from Transylvania would have seen during their entire life was the one pictured in the satirical reviews of the time.⁶

³ Nicolau Pop, *Geografia Ungariei și elemente din geografia generală pentru școlile populare* (Brașov: Tipografia Alexi, 1882), pp. 29-30; Alexandru Márki, *Geografie pentru școlile civile și superioare de fete pe baza planului de învățământ din 1887, după edițiunea V, în românește de I. Popovici* (Sibiu: Tiparul Tipografiei Arhidiecezane, 1900), pp. 52-57; Vasile Goldiș, *Geografia pentru școlile populare întocmită pe baza planului ministerial de învățământ. Partea primă (pentru clasele III și IV)* (Brașov: Editura Librăriei Circu, 1900), p. 62-64; Id., *Geografia pentru școlile populare întocmită pe baza planului ministerial de învățământ. Partea a doua (pentru clasele V și VI)* (Brassó: Editura Librăriei Ciurcu, 1900), p. 15.

⁴ Goldiș 1900 (III și IV), p. 64; Goldiș 1900 (V și VI), p. 15.

⁵ Márki 1900, p. 55.

⁶ *Gura Satului*, XI, 1871, 17, 25 April/7 May, p. 4; Id., XII, 1873, 43, 23 October/4 November, p. 2-3.

The peoples of Croatia

From a demographical and ethnic ('racial') point of view there was little differentiation made by the Romanian press between the Serbs and the Croats living in 19th century Hungary. They were perceived as Southern Slavs, and statistical figures were always offered summed up for the two nations. The country itself was nominated in the textbooks by its official name: Croatia-Slavonia. Furthermore, the imagined geographies, of Western origin, of a post-Imperial future were placing Croatia-Slavonia and a large part of Bosnia under the control of the Kingdom of Serbia, 20 years before this political reorganization actually took place.⁷

This reduction to the general Slavic character represents, technically, a form of essentialization whose inner entanglement, subtracting and overwriting mechanism are comparable, *mutatis mutandis*, with the ones described by Edward Said for Orientalism.⁸ The two nations have been merged, from a demographical perspective, into a single Slavic corpus. Even the figures of military statistics presented by the Romanian newspapers kept them together.⁹ Of course, the press was only reproducing statistics borrowed from other sources (both official and unofficial), thus projecting rather than building an image in this regard. Effects among the readers remained however unchanged by this authorship issue. This was in fact only the lowest step of the ladder on top of which Austria-Hungary was imagologically divided between four main 'races': Germans, Hungarians, Slavs and Latins, with the Romanian press constantly rising awareness towards the imminent danger of the overwhelming growth of Slavic populations and their allegiance towards the Russian Empire.

If from a 'racial' perspective the Croats were perceived as Southern Slavs, being regarded somewhat similar to the Serbs, from a denominational point of view the difference between these two nations was always underlined. Croats were Catholics, this being reminded constantly, while Serbs were Orthodox.¹⁰ Just as the Republic of Venice in the late 18th century was making distinctions among the populations in Dalmatia based rather on denomination than ethnicity,¹¹ the Romanian press, a century later, acknowledged the confessional division

⁷ *Bunul Econom*, II, 1901, 45, 3/16 November, p. 7. Information originating in the newspaper *Arena* from Verona, spread by French newspapers from Paris.

⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York etc.: First Vintage Books, 1978), p. 239-241.

⁹ *Bunul Econom*, II, 1901, 12, 17/30 March, p. 12.

¹⁰ *Albina Carpaților*, I, 1877, 2, 25 August, p. 24.

¹¹ Larry Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs. The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), p. 11.

while stressing the 'racial' unity. But the place of the Croats in this matter seems to be somewhere in between, as their rising nationalist feelings are presented as surpassing the confessional ones even among the clergy: *Croatian Catholic priests are largely different from the ones from the West. They are, just as the lower Hungarian clergy, more devoted to their nationality than to Rome. They behave proudly and independently [...] they have a most martial appearance [...] They have asked for, and the Gathering of 1848 also asked for them the right to use vernacular in church service and to get married. They see alongside them the Greek-Uniate priests, also servants of Rome, who have children and wives like in the early church, and do not understand why they are not allowed to do the same.*¹² Even if the description above does not belong to a Romanian, its translation and publication by two main Romanian newspapers of the time, on both sides of the Carpathians, adds its content to the Romanian imaginary on Croats.

Despite the shared belonging to the Slavic race, there were cases in which differences between Serbs and Croats were clearly emphasized, especially when there was a political stake involved. One such example was the violent protests of 1902 against the requests of the Serbs from the northern Croatian counties to have these administrative units merged with Hungary.¹³

Alongside the Slavic inhabitants of Croatia, the Romanian newspapers, unlike the textbooks, constantly mentioned the presence of the Vlach populations, close relatives of the Romanians.¹⁴ The recovery process of the 'brothers' Vlachi represents a perfectly normal feature of the late romanticism and early liberal-nationalism which characterized both the cultural-scientific life and the political visions of the Romanians during the second half of the 19th century. Articles about them are being signed by important cultural personalities of the time (Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu, Grigore Silași) and references to these populations are usually entangled with alarms regarding the process of acculturation and the loss of their ethnic specificity. Such alarms, however, do not point

¹² *Federatiunea*, I, 1868, 130, 4/16 September, p. 513 (article by Émile de Laveleye in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, translated for *Românul* by D.P. Vioreanu): *Preoții catolici diferă mult de ai Occidentului. Ei sunt, ca clerul inferior ungar, mai devotați naționalității lor decât Romei. Au apucături independente și mândre [...] au un aer foarte marțial [...] Au cerut și adunarea din 1848 a reclamat și ea pentru dânsii autorizarea de a face liturghia în limba vulgară și a se căsători. Ei văd lângă dânsii pe colegii lor greci-uniți, supuși și ei Romei, având femei și copii ca în timpurile primitive ale bisericii și nu înțeleg pentru ce să nu poată face și ei asemenea.*

¹³ *Bunul Econom*, III, 1902, 35, 6 September, p. 35; Id., 37, 21 September, p. 2; Id., 40, 12 October, p. 3.

¹⁴ See also Crăciun 2005, p. 113-116.

towards forced denationalization, but mainly towards an inexorable and lengthy process of acculturation in which time and geographical distance from the main national body were the main adversaries of these ethnic enclaves: *As we know, in Serbia, and even in Croatia, there are Romanians which, sadly, we know little about: what they do and how they live these poor souls – wouldn't it be better if at least from Serbia a Romanian would have been called into that society?* (the Romanian Academy)¹⁵

Croats and Politics

Politics was the field to generate most of the Romanian press's texts on Croatia and Croats, especially after 1865. At the same time, this large quantity of references hosts rather poor and highly stereotypic information, consisting usually in a depiction of recent political events and developments accompanied, implicitly or explicitly, by anti-Hungarian remarks.

In what regards the position of the Croats towards the 1867 Compromise, the interest of the Romanian press is easily understandable. It was clear for everyone that, even before the 1866 war, the union of Transylvania and Hungary was sealed. The special situation of Croatia, however, the debates around it and the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise represented, for the Romanians, an example, up to a point a hope, and after that point a reason for frustration and for those in Hungary to criticize the ones in Transylvania for not opposing harder the dualist tendencies. Between 1866 and 1868 news about Croatia appeared in the Romanian newspapers every second or third issue, due mainly to the political situation of the province. These news, however, remain poor in descriptive imagology elements, so that rather the selection of events and the general attitude of the editor are the ones that offer clues about the perception of Romanians over this ethnical group.

Generally, Croats were characterized as more politically active than Romanians,¹⁶ and the pact of 1868 remained a landmark and desideratum for Transylvania. Even since March 8th 1867, Iosif Hodoș, member of the Hungarian Parliament, demanded the situation of the intra-Carpathian Principality to be resolved through negotiations between two parliamentary delegations (from Hungary and Transylvania), just like in the case of Croatia, since Transylvania would

¹⁵ *Albina*, I, 1866, 17, 15/27 May, p. 2: *Precum știm în Serbia, ba și în Croația, sunt români despre care voi! puține știm: ce mai fac și cum trăiesc săracii – apoi n-ar fi fost bine ca cel puțin și din Serbia să fi chemat vreun român la acea societate.*

¹⁶ *Amicul Școalei*, V, 1864, 9, 2 May, p. 96.

have at least just as many rights as the latter.¹⁷ The same attitude continued after the political situation of the two provinces became completely different: *An intimate nex rules between the hardships of Croatia and Transylvania. The Croatian people, and the Transylvanian one, meaning Romanian, equally fight for their national freedom and public right freedom. Thus, Croatia and Transylvania are natural allies even through their stance towards the Empire.*¹⁸

The more favorable political deal negotiated by the Croats was viewed by Romanians in Transylvania as a defeat, and a reason to once again blame the discord and lack of unitary vision that reigned within the national movement: *Even today, when Croats start receiving compliments and, generally, the friendliest promises, they are fearful and reserved; loyal patriots that they are, they gladly incline towards a truce, but a formal one, with all involved and from the grounds, on positive bases and guarantees: they care for the national program and honor. Seeing this, we cannot help from being happy for the Croats and sad for the Romanians! Where would our cause have been today should the great and many selfish men have not stood between us, those who left the camp of national fighters to pursue their own private interests, and then supported the plans and system that were contrary to our interests and development as Romanians?*¹⁹

From this point of view, Croats were, for Romanians, throughout the entire dualist period, a permanent landmark in the construction of their own political image, as well as the embodiment of the success in political relations with the Hungarians. The explanation of this success did not pertain to the different historical, judicial or demographic realities that were creating the distance between Transylvania and Croatia, instead it was regarded as being a result of the firmer attitude and character of the Croats: *Croats have been and are Croats,*

¹⁷ *Albina*, II, 1867, 25, 1/13 March, p. 3.

¹⁸ *Federatiunea*, III, 1870, 48-380, 22 May/3 June, p. 187: *Între năzuințele Croației și ale Transilvaniei domnește un nex intim. Poporul croat și transilvean, respectiv român, luptă în mod egal pentru libertatea sa națională și de drept public. Drept ce Croația și Transilvania sunt aliați naturali chiar prin pozițiunea lor față de Imperiu.*

¹⁹ *Albina*, VII, 1873, 61, 12/24 August, p. 1: *Chiar astăzi, când croaților încep a se face complimente și în generalitate cele mai amicabile promisiuni ei sunt caviți (precauți, n.a.) și rezervați; ca patrioți loiali ce sunt se declară plecați bucuroși la împăcare, dar la împăcare formală, cu toții și din temei, pe baze și garanții pozitive: ei țin la programul și onoarea națională. Când vedem întâmplându-se acestea nu putem a nu ne bucura pentru croați și a nu ne întrista pentru români! Unde sta astăzi cauza noastră dacă între noi nu se găseau egoiștii cei mulți și mari, care pentru interesul lor particular se despărțiră de tabăra luptătorilor naționali și se făcură sprijinitorii sistemului și planurilor contrare interesurilor și dezvoltării noastre ca români?*

*and today they are more national than ever in defending and strengthening the autonomy of Croatia and the freedom of the Croat nation.*²⁰

The comparison did not stop at the boundaries of the former historical provinces in the new Dualist Hungary and at the determination proven during national political fights, but also reverberated towards the relation between church and politics. Among the most important Croatian personalities, Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer represents the main character emphasized by the Romanian press during the second half of the 19th century, most probably because of his strong national political involvement, a feature lacking in almost all Romanian hierarchs of the period.²¹ His image of a national fighter – both politically and on a social and cultural plan – was constantly present in the Romanian press, determining Romanian Greek-Catholic periodicals at the end of the century to reiterate the theme of the importance of bishops' involvement in the national political fight: *Croats, a handful of people, but all Catholics, fought for independence and autonomy, which would of course also please the aspirations of Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary, should they obtain it for themselves. In the Croats' fight for their rights, we always see, in the foreground, the Catholic clerics and bishops.*²²

The social and cultural comparison

The more favorable political deal struck by Croatia in 1868 seems to have generated among Romanians not only frustration, but also an inferiority complex which reverberates from politics towards the field of societal and cultural accomplishments.²³ In this regard, the Croats were almost always presented as the more advanced nation. Socially, they were being associated with a higher share of nobility, and with a wider involvement of this noble class into the everyday life and civil society. Even leaving aside nobility agency, the fact that in Croatia women had the right to be

²⁰ *Federatiunea*, V, 1872, 66-666, 17/29 June, p. 2: *Croații au fost și sunt croați, și astăzi mai naționali ca oricând altă dată întru apărarea și întărirea autonomiei Croației și a libertății națiunii croate.*

²¹ *Biserica și Școala*, XXIX, 1905, 14, 3/16 April, p. 115.

²² *Unirea*, VI, 1896, 28, 11 July, p. 222: *Croații, o mână de oameni, însă toți catolici, și-au eluat o independență și o autonomie, care desigur ar mulțumi și aspirațiunile românilor din Transilvania și Ungaria, când ar putea-o dobândi și pentru sine. În lupta pentru drepturile croaților totdeauna vedem figurând pe primul plan clerul și arhierii catolici.*

²³ It should be noted that this inferiority complex in relation with the Croats represents only a small, particular, aspect of the negative side of Romanians' self-image. For an overview of the latter see S. Mitu, *Geneza identității naționale la românii ardeleni* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1997), p. 85-186, especially p. 103-110, 131-144 for issues related to cultural backwardness and lack of political enthusiasm.

elected into local representative organisms was being highlighted by the Romanians press as a feature placing them among the most advanced nations of the continent.²⁴

From a cultural point of view, money collections for the University and the cultural activities in general were constantly praised by the Romanian press, which seized the moment and highlighted, by comparison, the less developed state of the Romanians in similar issues, despite the clear demographic advantage: *a handful of Croats accomplishes wonders. And us, millions of Romanians?*²⁵ The same stereotype can be identified almost 50 years later, during the First World War, when the Romanian Greek-Catholic press lamented on the Romanian cultural institutions being unable to provide the soldiers with enough books: *Our views are so narrow that we are ashamed to compare with other people, let us just say the Croats, which are by no means more numerous than us, the Unites.*²⁶

The issue of the University, at its turn, was one of the Romanians' greatest set-backs. Despite the idea of a Romanian institution of higher education being brought up immediately after the 1848-49 revolution, in the end Romanians had to settle with two chairs of Romanian Language and Literature, one at the University in Budapest and the other in Kolozsvár/Cluj.²⁷ In this regard, news about the projected University in Zagreb were constantly present in the newspapers before 1874, Bishop Strossmayer's initiatives were being highly emphasized,²⁸ and the inauguration of the new institution was saluted with great enthusiasm.²⁹

Just as in the case of political fights, the Romanian religious press constantly highlighted, at the beginning of the 20th century, the important role played by Croatian bishops in the cultural and social prosperity of the nation³⁰. However, the involvement of the clerics in

²⁴ *Amicul Familiei*, VIII, 1884, 7, 1/13 April, p. 98.

²⁵ *Federatiunea*, II, 1869, 49-234, 27 April/ 9 May, p. 198: *O mână de croați face minuni. Și noi, milioanele de români?*

²⁶ *Cultura creștină*, VI, 1916, 8, 25 April, p. 236: *Așa de înguste orizonturi avem, încât ni-e rușine să ne asemănăm cu alte popoare, să zicem numai cu Croații, cari nu sunt mai mulți la număr ca noi uniții.*

²⁷ Cornel Sigmirean, *Istoria formării intelectualității românești din Transilvania și Banat în epoca modernă* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000), p. 39-57.

²⁸ *Albina*, I, 1866, 79, 14/26 October, p. 2.

²⁹ *Federatiunea*, VII, 1874, 79-80-884-85, 17/29 November, p. 603.

³⁰ *Biserica și Scola*, XXXVI, 1912, 5, 29 ianuarie/11 februarie, p. 7; *Cultura creștină*, VI, 1916, 3, 10 February, p. 91: *... ne gândim cu o cale și la marele episcop Strossmayer – de la nașterea căruia s-au împlinit acum 100 de ani – care prin luptă continuă a asigurat neamului*

society and the symbiosis between the Church and the nation are presented as manifesting on all levels: *A study colleague in Croatia (father Blazevic) told me a lot about secular priests, doctors, lawyers, professors, journalists, ploughmen, foremen and industrialists, who belong to either of these orders, especially to the Franciscan one. We can image what that would be like in other parts of the Catholic world.*³¹

Even the laymen economy magazines seemed to adhere to this idea. The editors of these magazines ascribed the better organization of the Croat *Matica* and the improved symbiosis between it and the civil society (as compared to ASTRA), to the influence of church hierarchs, and in particular to Strossmayer.³²

Despite the fact that the Romanian press accepts a Croats' superiority on a cultural and social level, the economic level of the greater mass of the population is presented as being rather precarious (poor harvests, natural disasters).³³ The high backlogs in paying taxes,³⁴ and even the protests against inter-regional exchanges of children during holidays – due to economic reasons,³⁵ are factual arguments that complete this picture. Croatia is generally presented as poorer than Transylvania. But this situation is used as a favorable argument for Croats in the ensemble of the comparison between the two nations, by highlighting the successes in other fields, including the political relation with Hungary, despite the more difficult economic premises: *Croatia is a country which is a lot poorer than Transylvania, and does not believe the promoters of the false doctrine, and in order to be rid of the deficit created by the so-called union with Hungary, they demand even the expansion of autonomy in the financial field.*³⁶

său o aleasă poziție de drept public, a dat un partid național (al dreptului), o academie sud-slavică în Zagreb, știință tehnologică și o universitate croată. Așa se iubește biserica, fără ca interesele neamului să fie neglijate ori chiar uitate! Figura marelui nostru episcop I.M. Clain, a mecenatului Șuluțiu, și a altora, sunt pildele românești ale acestui fel de iubire.

³¹ *Cultura creștină*, XV, 1926, 4-6, April-June, p. 112: *Un coleg de studii din Croația (păr. Blazevic) îmi povestea că la ei o mulțime de preoți seculari, medici, avocați, profesori, ziariști, de plugari, maiștri și industriași fac parte din câte unul din aceste ordine, dar mai ales din cel franciscan. Ne putem gândi cum va fi în alte părți ale lumii catolice.*

³² *Revista economică*, VIII, 1906, 39, 30 September, p. 349.

³³ *Biserica și Scola*, IV, 1880, 45, 2/14 November, p. 356; Id., XXII, 1898, 10, 8/20 March, p. 78.

³⁴ *Bunul Econom*, I, 1900, 3, 15/27 January, p. 5.

³⁵ *Biserica și Scola*, XLII, 1918, 33, 12/25 August, p. 2.

³⁶ *Federatiunea*, V, 1872, 18-618, 13/25 February, p. 1.

Croats as martial people

One of the most interesting parts of the Croats' image refers to their martial features. There is no solid and continuous discourse on this stereotype, but various pieces of information let us perceive that they were regarded for certain as stoutly, violent and battle-ready people. Even some of the textbooks mentioned this feature, but only in relation with the population of coastal Dalmatia, not the inner-land: *Its inhabitants are Dalmatians and Italians, warrior people, but of little culture.*³⁷ It is interesting, from this point of view, the fact that the image in Romanian textbooks is the opposite of the one developed by the Venetians, who considered the inhabitants of the coastline to be more civilized as those inside the country.³⁸ Most probably, in this case, we are dealing partially with a game of distances (the perceived degree of civilization decreases depending on the geographical distance to the emitter of discourse), partially with a classical association between mountainous landscape and the character of the people.³⁹

Regarding the military aspect of the image of Croats, it has two components: one dedicated exclusively to alterity and a second one aimed at the Romanian identity construction in relation to the Croatian alterity. The majority of references to the former component places the Croats within the most martial peoples of the Monarchy, praising their military qualities.

For example, a short while before the start of the 1866 war, when relations between Austria and Prussia were already highly deteriorated, the following piece of news was published by one of the main Romanian journals: *Fear of Croats. As one can see, the Prussians fear much the Croatian militia of Austria. The newspaper from Berlin Evangelische Kirchenzeitung, under the title The Bible and the Croat shows how a [Prussian] soldier escaped from a Croatian bullet by having a Bible between chest and shirt. The bullet went through Moses and the Prophets, but stopped at the New Testament. Go then, and do the same [the German newspaper wrote]. Of course, the respective journal forgot to ask itself if God himself knew about Bismark's politics and if there will be a war against Austria.*⁴⁰ There are many layers of information in this short piece of news. Even if the information is based on a true event, the German Lutheran newspaper surely knew how to make it sound appropriate to its agenda, by highlighting the right

³⁷ Goldiș 1900 (*V și VI*), p. 15.

³⁸ Wolff 2001, p. 11.

³⁹ Dumitru Drăghicescu, *Din psihologia poporului român (introduce)* (Bucharest: Librăria Leon Alcalay, 1907), p. 52-53.

⁴⁰ *Albina*, I, 1866, 19, 22 May/3 June, p. 4.

alterities in it. First, a German Lutheran newspaper writes about an enemy which is Austrian (by citizenship), Catholic (by religion) and at the same time Slavic (by ethnicity). And not any kind of Slavic, but Croat – well known for their military skills. Secondly, the bullet went through the whole Old Testament, but was stopped by the cornerstone of Christianity: The New Testament – an outcome befitting a church newspaper. At its turn, the Romanian newspaper turned this minor piece of German propaganda into Austrian propaganda by inferring that the Germans were afraid of the Croatian soldiers. One should not see the actual fear of Croats as inspiration for this article in the first place, but rather their perfect fit-in: they represented the perfect alterity as a militarized Catholic Slavic nation in service of the Habsburgs. The purpose of the German newspaper was purely propagandistic, in the same way as it was the purpose of the Romanian newspaper, and they were both using the image of the Croats as a loyal nation with military tradition, in order to fuel the propagandistic war that prepared the military conflict.

Another case dates from early 20th century. During the first years after 1900, when the commanding language in the Imperial and Royal army became an issue of high interest due to the pressures of introducing Hungarian as commanding language for the Hungarian units in the common army (k.u.k.), the Romanian journalists, strong supporters of the unified command in German, took great pleasure in highlighting the Croatian opposition's intent of asking for Croatian to be introduced as commanding language for the Croatian k.u.k. units if Hungarians got along with their request.⁴¹

Of course, such propositions and sceneries were, again, purely press propaganda. The German commanding language represented one of the strongest unity features of the Imperial and Royal Army which, at its turn, was one of the main pillars of the Empire. Neither did the Hungarians succeed, nor the Croats even seriously attempted in such endeavors. Still, the image remains: for the Romanians, the Croats represented at the time the only nation in Hungary who, based on its political situation and military historical tradition, was in position to ask loudly for equal treatment.

The recognition of the military qualities of Croats does not seem to have induced, however, any feeling of inferiority to the Romanians. As opposed to politics, where the difference in status between Transylvania and Croatia had generated, as previously shown, a series of inherent

⁴¹ *Bunul Econom*, IV, 1903, 37, 20 September, p. 3.

frustrations, on a military level, the Romanian press insists, throughout the entire dualist period, on the equality of military qualities of the two nations: *Romanians and Croats have been counted, and still are until today, among the best soldiers of Austria and they have shared, proportionally, more blood for the Throne and Habsburg Dynasty.*⁴²

*On the battle fields, surrounded by the shine of shared glory and wetted by shared blood, we have met each other, and the shared glory of hard fights and common sacrifices made us again comrades with the Croatian sister-nation.*⁴³ There are even cases in which the Romanians' contribution to the armed forces of the Empire is being emphasized as higher than the Croats'.⁴⁴

The martial image of Croats does not stop, however, at military profession and activities, and its being projected over the whole nation, this being one of the essential aspects that differentiates them from Romanians. Either if referring to the warrior inhabitants of the Dalmatian coast (as V. Goldiș did in the above mentioned textbook), or to the outlaw Udmanic, who, when surrounded by the representatives of the Law, preferred to shoot himself, rather than be caught alive,⁴⁵ or to cases of violent peasant uprising brought to public view,⁴⁶ the image of the Croats as violent but proud and fearless people is constantly reinforced by the Romanian newspapers. Such features are seen as widespread among laymen and priests alike and the *extreme violence of their patriotic feelings*⁴⁷ is thought to be the cornerstone of the Croatian national success. In the end, these collective traits are deeply opposed to the seemliness, seriousness and patience characterizing the Romanians from Transylvania.⁴⁸

⁴² *Albina*, XI, 1876, 35, 11/23 April, p. 2: *Românii și croații s-au numărat și pot număra până astăzi, la locul întâi, între cei mai buni soldați ai Austriei și ca proporționalminte dâșii au vărsat mai mult sânge pentru Tronul și Dinastia Habsburgică.*

⁴³ *Unirea*, XXV, 1915, 88, 7 September, p. 2: *Pe câmpurile de luptă, înconjurată de strălucirea gloriei comune și udate cu sânge comun, ne-am întâlnit unii cu alții și gloria comună a luptelor grele și jertfele comune din nou ne-au făcut tovarăși cu națiunea soră croată.*

⁴⁴ *Foaia Diecezana*, XI, 1896, 14, 31 March, p. 6.

⁴⁵ *Albina*, I, 1866, 67, 16/28 September, p. 4.

⁴⁶ *Bunul Econom*, IV, 1903, 19, 17 May, p. 3; *Id.* 23, 14 June, p. 2; *Id.*, 25, 28 June, p. 3; *Id.*, 33, 23 august, p. 6.

⁴⁷ *Federatiunea*, I, 1868, 130, 4/16 September, p. 513.

⁴⁸ Mitu 2000, p. 299-307.

Conclusions

Although this paper covered a limited series of sources, being more of a prolegomenous study than an actual research, some general observations and future topics of interest are worth highlighting.

In the space of mediated interactions, a first field in which the image of Croatia and the Croats came into contact (at least in theory) with the entire Romanian population, was that of school education. As opposed to the case of co-inhabiting ethnicities of Transylvania, where empirical knowledge, with its entire baggage of stereotypes, preceded theoretical knowledge, it is very likely that the first encounter between the majority of Romanians and the name 'Croatia', respectively the ethnical label of 'Croat', took place in school, in the pages of Geography textbooks. Knowledge obtained from these sources is characterized by a high degree of standardization, according to pedagogy rigors and by low imagology content. The most important circulated stereotype was that of the unflinching and warrior character of the inhabitants, somewhat associated to the mountainous and barren specificity of the Western and coastal regions of the province.

Within the journalistic discourse, the most extended among the fields of interest, as weight within the written sources of that time, is represented by the internal politics of the Double Monarchy. The moment of the Compromise of 1867, then the political crises between Croatia and Hungary - especially after 1900 - drew the attention of the Romanian press, always in search of examples and political allies against the Hungarians. In this context, one even perceives the development of a sentiment of inferiority of Romanians, who constantly relate to Croatia's autonomy and seek to explain their political failure through differences in character and attitude between the two nations. In the context of a different political situation within Hungary, direct relations between Romanian and Croatian leaders were extremely reduced and lacked notable results,⁴⁹ so the political relation between the two ethnic groups remained predominantly imagined, even at the highest strata of the political elite.

In the spirit of the previous political parallel, and given the fact that both Croats and Romanians would find themselves in a point of political and identity defense, comparisons in the field of social development and cultural accomplishments can be regarded as an expression of the importance that civil society and cultural institutions

⁴⁹ Lucian Boia, *Eugen Brote (1850-1912). Destinul frânt al unui luptător național* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2013), pp. 136-137.

had, in the eyes of the elite, in building national identity. In this plan, too, the Romanian press projects on the Croats the image of a people more organized and more advanced, despite the province's reduced economic resources.

The martial aspect is one of the constants in the Croats' image. It involves both a purely military dimension, and references to the character traits specific to warrior nations projected on the Croatian civil society. Comparisons with Romanians are present in this case, too. While on a military plan, they see the qualities of the two nations as equal, regarding the general attitude, Croats are seen as much more unflinching and firm, character traits which are also used to explain their political successes.

In broad terms, this is how the image of Croats was built, as it was promoted by the Romanian press and school textbooks in Transylvania: a people with a military tradition and martial attributes, the latter reverberating in the field of politics and social-cultural organization; a permanent example for Romanians in terms of the more successful political relations with Hungary and social and cultural progress; lastly, a landmark in identity construction, both in the dimension of the negative self-image of Romanians (the lack of unity and political firmness, lacks in social and cultural commitment), and the positive one (military traits).

Vasile Alecsandri's Peasants. The Peasant's Image in Vasile Alecsandri's Work

Constantin Bărbulescu

Babeş-Bolyai University

Abstract: *Vasile Alecsandri's Peasants. The Peasant's Image in Vasile Alecsandri's Work.* I am trying to present in this paper the image of the Romanian peasant as it appears in the work of a representative writer of the 19th century: Vasile Alecsandri. Or, happily for us, the peasant is an important character in Alecsandri's writings. I excluded the plays from this research. In other words I have studied correspondence, poetry and prose. The multishape image of the peasant can be structured in few independent topics. Thus, I have identified the topics of the oppressed peasant, the hero peasant, the picturesque peasant, the real peasant (in correspondence) and finally the good peasant. In Vasile Alecsandri's work the dominant dimension of the peasant's image is a positive one. We are here in the paradigm of the identity peasant, that as we know now is not unique in the 19th century.

Keywords: literature, 19th century, peasant, image of peasant, history

Rezumat: *Țăranii lui Vasile Alecsandri. Imaginea țăranului în opera lui Vasile Alecsandri.* În lucrarea de față am încercat să surprindem imaginea țăranului român așa cum apare ea în opera unui scriitor reprezentativ din secolul al XIX-lea: Vasile Alecsandri. Or, din fericire pentru noi, țăranul este un personaj important în toate scrierile lui Vasile Alecsandri. Am exclus din această cercetare dramaturgia. Cu alte cuvinte am lucrat pe corespondență, poezie și proză. Imaginea multiformă a țăranului poate fi structurată în câteva teme de sine stătătoare. Am identificat astfel tema țăranului chinuit, a țăranului erou, a celui pitoresc, a celui real (din corespondență) și, în final, țăranul cel bun. În opera lui Vasile Alecsandri dimensiunea dominantă a imaginii țăranului este una pozitivă. În marea majoritate a situațiilor țăranul este un personaj pozitiv. Suntem aici în paradigma țăranului identitar, care, acum știm, nu este unică în secolul al XIX-lea.

Cuvinte-cheie: literatură, secolul al XIX-lea, țăran, imaginea țăranului, istorie

First of all we should define what we are about to analyze in the present research: we will describe the manner in which the peasant is presented in a collective sense, but also as an individual, in Vasile Alecsandri's

works¹. These works of Alecsandri include those with a public audience – prose, poetry, drama – as well as those with a private one, his personal correspondence.

What is the aim of this research and why is it important, a skeptical person might ask. For a better understanding of the impact of the ideological role of the peasant, I propose a short incursion into contemporary Romania. Today, the peasant is an ubiquitous character: we find him beautifully dressed in in-door ethnographic museums, and in his modest house with sculpted pillars and woven cloths in the open air museums. He is present in the almost endless multitude of folkloric festivals and on TV channels dedicated to the same phenomena. Research institutes in the larger cities investigate his high spirituality molded in the genius of folk literature; we even find him in works that are ostensibly dedicated to him. In these ways, ever present, the ghost of the good peasant still haunts Romanian society; he permeates it so intensely that in the face of devastating modernization, the vice-prime-minister of the new government proposes to save as much as possible the soul of native peasant civilization².

The ideological status of the peasant in contemporary society, however, does not come from nowhere, but from the historical sources. We have found it described in different paradigms – sometimes a negative one, as in a book, recently published, concerned with the peasant's image in the medical discourse along the 19th century³. The peasant in nineteenth-century Romania is a character of first importance, as a simple review of the writings of the intellectual elite starting with 1830 demonstrates. Peasantry is not only “the only real class”⁴ as Titu Maiorescu describes it in 1868, the one that by its own work assures the preservation of the symbolic “wheat sack” that Stefan Zeletin puts at the foundation of modern Romania as the basis of a national identity. The entire national ideology of the 19th century is impregnated by peasantry. The peasant and peasantry as social group are thus also an admirable object “good to think of,” as Levi-Strauss would say, and the intellectuals of the 19th century were not shy in treating him likewise, as

¹ I have excluded from this research for reasons of economy, the analysis of the peasant's image, in Vasile Alecsandri drama.

² Vice-prime-minister Vasile Dîncu: *Integration in UE gave a mortal stroke to Romanian peasant*, in „Revista 22”, seen on website December 7th, 2015.

³ Constantin Bărbulescu, *România medicilor. Medici, țărani și igienă rurală în România de la 1860 la 1910*, Ed. Humanitas, București, 2015.

⁴ Titu Maiorescu, *În contra direcției de astăzi în cultura română*, in Titu Maiorescu, „Opere”, vol. I, Ed. Minerva, București, 1978, p. 151.

we are doing today. In conclusion, for a better understanding of the extraordinarily important role of the peasant in today's Romania, we must go back a few centuries and watch as this image was born and was shaped by the ideology that created it.

After studying the image of the peasant in the medical discourse of the 19th century, my wish was to expand the area of research to the same image in other categories of discourses. In other words, I knew it was important to study not only what physicians said about the peasants but also what literary or political people said about the same peasant. Because the negative image thrust upon the peasant by the medical discourse was contested during that time by a different, more positive one, which serves as the basis of today's representations upon the same peasant.

The peasant in nineteenth-century literature is a fabulous topic. Vasile Alecsandri, Mihai Eminescu, and even I.L. Caragiale, through short stories, made of the peasant an important character in their writings. And these writers are only a few of the noted authors during this period that engaged in such literary endeavors. Of all these writers of the 19th century, I chose, randomly, one of them – Vasile Alecsandri – to test the field, so to speak. As you will see further on, it was a happy choice: his work is impregnated by peasantry.

Before starting, I think it is useful as an introduction to make a short presentation of Alecsandri's biographical data. Vasile Alecsandri was most likely born in 1821⁵. His father, "a smart and diligent small boyar" as G. Bogdan-Duică⁶ characterizes him, was born in 1792; he climbed step by step up the social hierarchy, first under fanariot kings (when he reached boyar rank three –*medelnicer*) but also during the Organic Regulations period, when he continued his climb. He eventually reached the difficult rank of boyars first class in 1840, when he becomes *postelnic*⁷; significantly, he accomplished this not through marriage, as usually happened. Instead, Alecsandri's father seemed to marry out of love with a girl of a boyar but without a dowry – Elena Cozoni, the daughter of *pitar* Dumitrache in Târgu-Ocna⁸. He succeeded the performance of this social progress by making himself useful to the

⁵ G.C. Nicolescu, *Viața lui Vasile Alecsandri*, ediția a III-a, Ed. Eminescu, București, 1975, pp. 10-11.

⁶ G. Bogdan-Duică, *Vasile Alecsandri. Povestirea unei vieți*, Ed. Cultura Națională, București, 1936, p. 5.

⁷ Elena Rădulescu-Pogoneanu, *Viața lui Alecsandri*, Ed. Scrisul Românesc, Craiova, 1940, pp. 13-15.

⁸ G.C. Nicolescu, *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

potents of the day as a clerk of the treasury, position that he had after the events of 1821. He eventually reached his highest rank in 1852, as a lessee – together with Teodor Balș – of the cereals' export through Galați harbor⁹. One thing is sure – his rapid social uplift was accompanied by a similar accumulation of a fortune. At the end of his life, in 1854, Vasile Alecsandri's father was the happy owner of a few estates: Mirceștii, Borzeștii și Pătrășcanii, Moimeștii and a final one which in fact was the largest, with a surface of 11.444 hectares – Folteștii. Houses in Iași, Galați and others added up¹⁰ to a considerable fortune.

Alecsandri as a child grew up at the boyar's court in Mircești, a time he would later remember at the death of his childhood friend, the gypsy Vasile Porojan. He attended Cuenim pension in Iasi and in the end of 1834, departed for studies in France. Young Alecsandri passed the baccalaureate in letters in France and then went on to university. He tried medicine first, but found it unsuitable: he simply could not stand dissections. Law followed without success. He considered engineering but for that he needed a baccalaureate in sciences that he likely would never pass.¹¹ It is certain that in the end Vasile Alecsandri did not succeed in returning from France with a university diploma, but with a passion for literature. One way or another, in France he discovered his vocation. He started writing rhymes, first in French, and later, after coming back in the country, in Romanian. By 1842 he started to compose rhymes and became, willy-nilly, a drama author. He published his first poetry in *Doine* cycle in 1843 and more of them in „Propășirea”, the following year.

When one follows as I do, a certain topic in the work of a writer, you have to make an essential methodological choice from the start: the results will be presented either chronologically as you identify them or thematically, if the topic allows such an operation. My option here is the thematic presentation because the peasant image in Vasile Alecsandri's work is well structured, with clearly identified sub-topics. Each of them constitutes a distinct topic of this present work.

⁹ Elena Rădulescu-Pogoneanu, *Op. cit.*, pp. 14-16.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 17, 27.

¹¹ G.C. Nicolescu, *Op. cit.*, pp. 23-29.

The oppressed peasant

In contrast to other colleagues of his ideological generation – the revolutionary *pashoptists*¹², if we keep Paul Cornea's terminology¹³ – such as Nicolae Bălcescu, Al. G. Golescu, Ion Ionescu de la Brad, under Vasile Alecsandri's plum, the pains of peasantry find just a pale echo. Certainly there is a fundamental difference between Vasile Alecsandri and Dinicu Golescu, for example, who illustrates best in Romanian literature of the first half of 19th century the topic of the oppressed peasant. The poet Alecsandri, we will see, is a great admirer of the peasants, but does not resonate fundamentally with their social situation: he is not a social reformer. Still, in a text from 1872 Alecsandri weeps in such images as the peasant condition during the Organic Regulations period. In the *Introduction* he refers to the works of his friend Costache Negruzzi, who made the famous fresco of the Organic Regulations society, from king to peasant. The description of the peasantry condition is worthy of Dinicu Golescu's plum: "Finally the people were lost in the shadow, in desertion, in ignorance!... the people subdued to the boyars, the people on whose head they were all masters, all: *vătavi*, lessees, landowners, servants, *cenușeri*, *țârcovnici*, *revizori*, *sameși*, *ispravnici*, judges, directors, ministries, king, sultan and emperor!...the people subjected to *beilicuri*, to poll taxes, to send the lads to army, whipped, smoking in prisons, exposed to all cruel caprices of the fate, to all moral and physical miseries, obeyed to all, either natives or foreigners, sunk into poverty, abased, terrified from childhood till death and unprotected by law not even against crimes!"¹⁴(1872)¹⁵. Regarding such crimes, we find in the next two pages that it is not just a figure of speech: „the torture of the peasants and gypsies was a daily routine and was such an absolute prerogative of the landowners, that if the unfortunate victims that died in torture would wake up from their graves, we would be frightened by that cloud of sinister ghosts that remained unavenged”(1872)¹⁶. Despite

¹² In Romanian the term is *pașoptist* resulted from the words *patru*(4) and *opt*(8), signifying a short for 48, meaning a participant in the Revolution in 1848.

¹³ Paul Cornea, *Originile romantismului românesc. Spiritul public, mișcarea ideilor și literatura între 1780-1840*, Ed. Cartea Românească, București, 2008, pp. 375-380.

¹⁴ Vasile Alecsandri, *Constantin Negruzzi. Introducere la scrierile lui*, in Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere”, vol. IV: „Proză”, Editura Minerva, București, 1974, p. 355

¹⁵ For an easier time with footnotes, after each quote from Alecsandri's writings or the other authors quoted, we will mention in brackets the year of drawing or publication of the text, whenever it is possible to do so.

¹⁶ Vasile Alecsandri, *Op. cit.*, pp. 356-357.

what I have said above, this text shows a compassion in the line with most writings on peasant conditions in the 19th century.

But, as I said, Vasile Alecsandri was not a social reformer, as was Mihail Kogălniceanu, a colleague of his generation and a one-time friend. The latter was fundamentally a fighter for the peasantry's rights, which affected his writings from the start. In one text, an extremely hilarious one that proves what Romanian literature lost by the total political engagement of Kogălniceanu, the author makes fun of all and everything; but the peasantry is simply spared. After 1844, however, Mihail Kogălniceanu could not simply make harmless jokes on the peasantry's behalf; he is structurally against it: "Peasants, that is land workers, cannot serve my type: their life is so vile compared to ours, their character is so natural, my compassion for them is so great and fair, that I would feel it as an infamy the smallest joke I could make upon some people upon which resides all the tasks, besides the useful ones, and who feeds us the lazy and idlers of the cities" (1844)¹⁷.

In contrast, the pure and the simple Vasile Alecsandri could not empathize with the contemporary peasantry's condition. He could speak in memorable texts about the sorrows of the old peasants but not at all about the sorrows of his contemporary peasants.

Nevertheless, I should not be unfair to Alecsandri: in his youth in 1848, he drew programmatic documents for the revolution in Moldavia such as *Protestație în numele Moldovei, a omenirei și a lui Dumnezeu* [*Protest in the name of Moldavia, humankind and God*] published in seclusion in Brasov, where he describes the peasantry condition under Mihail Sturza ruling:

"Because the villagers reached the highest level of meanness due to the careless of most landowners and especially through the measures of oppression of Mihail Sturza government, as it is proven by the money taxation they are subjected to, as payment for the soldiers, payment for servants, payment for the villages boxes, for the village newspaper, for seals etc. (all these over the taxation decided by the Regulation); - as it is proven through the numerous *beilicuri* they are forced to do at any time, both for the landowners as also for the ruling, that is: stone, wood and crude naphta carrying for the sidewalks in Iași, or from the county fairs; lime carrying, stone and lumber for the private walling of the landlords in fairs and estates; the unmeasured working to the boyar, to the roads,

¹⁷ Mihail Kogălniceanu, *Fiziologia provincialului în Iași*, in Mihail Kogălniceanu, „Opere”, vol. I: „Beletristica, studii literare, culturale și sociale”, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, București, 1974, p. 70.

to the bridges etc., all these under the whips of the servants, that they keep with their money; as it is proven by the known oppressions of some leasees especially through the tortures that even *beizade* Grigori Sturza does to the inhabitants of the estates taken in lease by him; tortures that thrilled the whole country, but that the king of Moldavia allowed as a good and caring father of the... people; in one word, as it is proven in the complains of this helpless and hopeless people, right complains, that spread all over country and civilised Europe: - The Community that knows the peasants as good brothers of the same blood and name, wishing to cease their sufferances, demands: <<*The soon embetterment of the status of villagers, both in their relations to the landlords and with the ruling, as also the stop of all beilicuri known as payment and others*>>¹⁸.

We notice that the Moldavian revolutionaries ask only the „embetterment of the peasants status” and not the apportionment of land. A little later, in Cernăuți, their position would become more radical, this time taking into account the apportionment of land for the peasants; Vasile Alecsandri, to his honor, adhered to this position. It is a very good choice because decades later, following the staging of some dramas where he expressed doubts regarding the liberals’ social reforms, he could defend himself from their accusations precisely with that signature: “they went so far in accusing the author to be retrograde and contrary to the reforms needed for Romanian prosperity such as: *peasant apportionment of land, communes organization etc.*”. “These accusations have made me laugh even more because in 1848, in Cernăuți, I was one of those who subscribed to the engagement to *give land to the peasants*, as one who being a landlord, I had the means to fulfill the thought”¹⁹. But, as we all know, the simple signature on a piece of paper can mean nothing in the end.

The peasant hero

The peasant hero appears in the works of Vasile Alecsandri only in the „tough” moments of the national history lived by the poet: 1848 and 1877-1878. The armed peasants on the Cantacuzino estates in 1848, which Alecsandri wanted to be on their way to Iași to support the Revolution, are caught in their potential heroic hypostasis in an image that touched the poet and that he remembered in later years in his famous

¹⁸ Vasile Alecsandri, *Protestație în numele Moldovei, a omenirei și a lui Dumnezeu*, in Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere”, vol. IV: „Proză”, Editura Minerva, București, 1974, pp. 542-543.

¹⁹ Vasile Alecsandri, *Prefață*, in Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere”, vol. V: „Teatru”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1977, p. 30.

autobiographical letter to Ubcini: "I saw here at night that admirable scene I told you once at your place: peasants holding their guns in one hand and lit candles in the other one during Easter and leaning forward a box full of gun powder on the risk of blowing up."²⁰ This moment is evoked in 1869 in the text *An episode from 1848*, when, significantly, he describes the reaction of indifference of the peasants towards the revolutionary events in Iași, including the persecutions that the revolutionary boyars are subjected to by Mihail Sturza, as also the basis of a "sad truth": "that the social distance between the privileged class and the people developed in the heart of the people an absolute indifference regarding boyars and the abuses of civil servants made Romanians stigmatize with an insulting name of parvenus all those who were not from their rank"²¹.

As I have mentioned, in 1848 the armed peasants were only potential heroes but in 1877 they transformed into real heroes, a metamorphosis regarded with some surprise and great delight by the poet: "What an amazing thing, isn't it?! Simple peasants taken from the plough to become heroes at once!"²². The heroization of the peasant is done in the cycle of poems "Our soldiers," where Alecsandri builds memorable characters for the national ideology of the epoch. Probably the most famous is *Peneș Curcanul*, the only survivor of the group of ten foot soldiers left from Vaslui from the battle in Bulgaria. The ten are all peasants („from the field, from home, from the plough/ we left last summer"), led by the sergeant, *Mătrăgună* and including *Cobuz*, the shepherd, *Ținteș*, *Bran*, *Vlad*, *Burcel*, *Șoimu*, and the brothers *Călini*, all heroes from Plevna. The poem is but a remembrance through *Peneș* of the heroic death of each of them²³. Together with *Peneș*, Vasile Alecsandri creates other peasant heroes: the sergeant in the poem has the same title as the brothers *Jderi*²⁴. All of them, peasant heroes in the War for Independence, are Moldavian, and go to battle with an undisimulated enthusiasm; they are fearless, fight bravely, and are wounded. In this

²⁰ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. VIII: „Corespondență (1834-1860)", Ed. Minerva, București, 1981, p. 262.

²¹ Vasile Alecsandri, *Un episod din anul 1848*, in Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere", vol. IV: „Proză", Editura Minerva, București, 1974, p. 309.

²² Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. X: „Corespondență (1871-1881)", Ed. Minerva, București, 1985, p. 348.

²³ Vasile Alecsandri, *Peneș Curcanul*, in Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere", vol. II: „Poezii", Editura pentru literatură, București, 1966, pp. 167-173.

²⁴ Vasile Alecsandri, *Sergentul și Frații Jderi*, in Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere", vol. II: „Poezii", Editura pentru literatură, București, 1966, pp. 174-175; 178-181.

circumstance their only thought is to be revived and to return from the front. Most often, they are simply killed in battles, dreaming of victory and country.

Strong characters the hero-peasants are; they are the ones that dreamed of Romania's greatness and gave their lives in the War from 1877-1878. They do not know fear or cowardness: even the peasant women from the poem „Românca de la Grivița” go on quietly in making polenta under enemy fire²⁵. The cowards are somewhere else: they are the ingrate leaders („people with bare hearts/tied by the country's wheel with serpent twists/ you who stayed away from the fire and pain/ how you turned back the children to the breast of the poor country?” or liberals condemned in the poem „Eroii de la Plevna”²⁶ written no doubt after the press accounts of the poor state of Romanian soldiers returned from Bulgaria. Alecsandri would not publish during his life the poem mentioned above.

There is another version of heroism, the so-called the social one, where the peasants themselves excelled, but also the folk poetry so dear to the poet. And here we have to focus on the justitiary peasant, the revolutionary haiduk. Vasile Alecsandri right from the start of his literary career was interested in this aspect: from the first cycle of poems - „Doine” (1842-1852) he drew the portrait of the justitiary haiduk in the famous „Strunga” and „Cântic haiducesc”. Even in „Hora” the young peasant that seems a sort of haiduk, bursts out in the end: „I'm sick of heavy taxations/ and of plough and hoe/of parvenus, of whips/and of the wide hoe”. It can easily be seen that such characters have the entire compassion of the poet. A letter to Ion Ghica from 1842 supports this claim; in the correspondence, he describes the latest events in Moldavia. Among them, he makes the assertion that „from some time, the peasants like to play the masters, even towards the masters; that is they got that their numbers make the force and that a boyar can receive with the same grace the club strokes that someone would give to him. We already have many examples since your departure that clearly prove a great fund of judgement in the *peasant* class”. Kogălniceanu's uncle (Ion), who already got a good lesson during the revolt of the peasants during Russian occupation, was again arranged with many clubbings, too little refreshing. Conachi was left with wonder of witnessing such a festivity,

²⁵ Vasile Alecsandri, *Românca de la Grivița*, in Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere”, vol. II: „Poezii”, Editura pentru literatură, București, 1966, p. 302.

²⁶ Vasile Alecsandri, *Eroii de la Plevna*, in Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere”, vol. II: „Poezii”, Editura pentru literatură, București, 1966, pp. 270-273.

and a certain Cantacuzino who just arrived from Lemberg (the brother of knez Ticit-sasiul), took a beating in Fălticeni fair worthy of the title he had.

Further on, a French count, travelling for pleasure, departed from Galați with some very strong impressions. „Finally my dear, the government, worried by these facts and others, gave order that the counties in Upper Moldavia be disarmed. All that they found from peasants were guns, knives even iron forks, which were taken in the name of public order... here it is on this occasion the reflection of a man from the people who was taken a gun: <<Let them take our guns>> he said, << so what? We are left the famous *club* and that is taking fire easier and when it does, it lasts longer>>, - historical - say it my dear that it is wonderful! He spoke like an old Roman”²⁷. When he was writing these lines, Alecsandri was 21; he was a young son of a boyar, a poet fascinated by peasant poetry and fully contrary to the state of regimented things. His personal revolt converged very well with the peasant one and here is the origin of such a positive image of the revolutionary haiduk.

Later, in a study of folk poetry, Alecsandri remarked with obvious pleasure the atmosphere of the talks with the Bukovinean Al. Hurmuzachi, invigorated by a warm patriotism. The essential component of such a type of patriotism was exactly the glorification of the great deeds of the arms of the past and of the present, in the form they existed: „in those hours of patriotic urge, any historical deed of the ancestors was raising in our imagination to huge proportions; any brave deed of a Romanian of present days, be him a wood thief, was inspiring a secret pride”²⁸. And the peasant poetry confessed the same „secret pride” for the justiciary thief because the haiduk by excellence is a revolutionary man against parvenus, as all the pashoptists, and not a character greedy for money and wealth: „money taken from the belt of the rich man goes into the hand of the poor”²⁹. The definitive edition in 1866 of the “The Folk Poems of Romanians” consists of many of such haiduk's ballads: „Mihu copilul”; „Codreanul”; „Vidra”; „Bujor”; „Jianul” or „Tunsul” on whose occasion the author finds it appropriate to sketch for the unknowing public the image of few famous haiduks.

²⁷ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. VIII: „Corespondență (1834-1860)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1981, p. 35.

²⁸ Vasile Alecsandri, *România și poezia lor*, in Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere”, vol. IV: „Proză”, Editura Minerva, București, 1974, p. 107.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 113.

In conclusion, if for the pashoptists the heroization of the peasant is done especially in its social version (the heroization of haiduk), the true heroization takes place on the occasion of the first armed conflict where the peasant citizen transforms into the soldier – the war for independence in 1877-1878. The next stage, logical one of peasant heroization, will be the WWI.

The picturesque peasant

The picturesque peasant, together with the hero one, is the other facet of the positive peasant image in Vasile Alecsandri's poems. He appears especially in the poems of the cycle „Pasteluri”, (1862 – 1870s) but we also find him in the following cycle of „Ostașii noștri”. In this variant the village and its inhabitants are idealized. The village flows in a calm, merry atmosphere as in poem entitled „Easter”: “On Easter in the merry village the whitened houses/ shine under those piles of golden canes”; somewhere „in the valley” a swing gathers „lads and maids that laugh with joy”; the dance stretches on „the meadow”³⁰: everything seems perfect in the most perfect of worlds!

If we try to systematize the images that compose the picturesque peasant we cannot but remark that Alecsandri centers thematically his attention on work scenes. Besides this is the description of feminine figures: they are all young, beautiful, seductive: „Young Rodica” with „her white, round shoulders” enchants the „young sowers”³¹ and the „Little Romanian Girl” in „The Well” with her „red lips” stirs the traveller's eroticism, which we identify with the author himself³². The eroticism is ever present: at Easter the swing bears “Pairs hugging sweetly”, at mowing a pair „one lad and and a maid/ give furtively a kiss next to the straws” until the mower discovers at the end of the poem „by a melilot” a true love nest: „he sees the grass in disorder/ << What is is to be?...A predator cub?... O! Wonder!>> He says/ And, smiling he leans and picks... an earring!”³³ All the works in the field described in the mentioned cycle are performed in an atmosphere of general joy – „the

³⁰ Vasile Alecsandri, *Paștele*, in Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere”, vol. I: „Poezii”, Editura pentru Literatură, București, 1966, p. 333.

³¹ Vasile Alecsandri, *Rodica*, in Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere”, vol. I: „Poezii”, Editura pentru Literatură, București, 1966, p. 336.

³² Vasile Alecsandri, *Fântâna*, in Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere”, vol. I: „Poezii”, Editura pentru Literatură, București, 1966, p. 347.

³³ Vasile Alecsandri, *Cositul*, in Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere”, vol. I: „Poezii”, Editura pentru Literatură, București, 1966, p. 349.

mowers merrily stay in line"; „the sowers merry go forward”³⁴; at ploughing the „joyous servants work”³⁵. Where were the oppressed peasants of the other times? Or those put down by the killing alcohol of master Moisi? Not at work to the great master it seems. But let us not exaggerate with the wickedness - the poetical vision of the cycle is a serene one, of glorifying youth, eroticism, work of the land and nature; it is simply another way of recombining the reality of the poet and the world around him.

The poem “Shepherds and Plowers,” in the cycle “Our soldiers,” offers the same picturesque scene, but in a collective dimension; the poet tries to catch the peasant dimension of the Romanians left for the war of independence, all shepherds or plowers. Here there is not a shadow of eroticism, which would be totally out of line, but only a warm moral idealization the shepherds “Living a smooth life in the secret nature/ with the Romanian shepherd’s alp horn in their hands, with the whistle at their lips.” They seem to be ideal beings, clean souls at the essence of the era. And the plowers, “with their calm face, their eyes so alive,”³⁶ seem the most candid beings in the world. The poem is polemical and seems to have been written as a response to the negative, ironical, malicious image that the others painted of the peasant, or so the poet thinks. We are here at an open conflict between the two images of the peasant. Alecsandri builds an ideal image, profoundly positive, with a humanity in the peasant that he strongly believed in at that moment. It was a blasphemy to mock the peasant soldier in 1877!

The real peasant

Under the title of “real peasant” we gather the testimonies of the poet regarding the real peasants that he had contact with: the peasants in Mircești; the peasants on his estates; or simply peasants that he had come across or interacted with. From the start we notice that the great boyar, who became after 1864 the great landowner, Vasile Alecsandri does not write much about the real peasant and does not write in the same tonality as in prose or poetry. The real peasant appears always in correspondence and resembles much to that which the physicians describe in the same epoch. There are two life circumstances when the

³⁴ Vasile Alecsandri, *Sămănătorii*, in Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere”, vol. I: „Poezii”, Editura pentru Literatură, București, 1966, p. 335.

³⁵ Vasile Alecsandri, *Plugurile*, în Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere”, vol. I: „Poezii”, Editura pentru Literatură, București, 1966, p. 334.

³⁶ Vasile Alecsandri, *Păstorii și plugarii*, in Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere”, vol. II: „Poezii”, Editura pentru Literatură, București, 1966, pp. 176-177.

real peasant comes out: the church fire in Mircești in summer 1864 and the trial of the inhabitants in Pătrășcani occasioned by the famous agrarian law in the same year. Let us deal with them in order.

The church fire is described memorably in a letter to Maiorescu where he asks for support in getting the books necessary for the new church built with the support of the village teacher in the place of the old one. We must let him tell us: "In Mircești village there is an old church, made of oak and adorned with arabesques, very beautiful, made by an unknown sculptor along the beams. That modest temple, lost in the field and surrounded by graves was having a priest that among other gifts he had also the drunkenness one. One Sunday, some years ago, the holy man, wishing to change that glass for the jug and leave the altar to go to the pub, he did the mass in rush and ran to master Moisi forgetting to blow out the candles in the church. It was great wind that day; the wind blowing through a spoiled window, fluttered the curtain and pushed it against a candle. The curtain set on fire and burned the church!... The centenary temple burnt in a minute from top to bottom and raised to the sky like the smoke of a giant censer. Everything that was inside, icons, clothes, sacral things, books were turned to ashes... but no metal was found among ruins because some gypsies of the B. Type had made *des fouilles* on account of master Moise. Following that sinister act, Mircești village remained without church and priest, because the first one disappeared to retreat on a pious world, and the second retreated without worries in the woods of Vaslui, next to Sionești. Eversince the poor inhabitants had no church and consecrated to the pub in all the days red marked in the calendar. Drunkenness develops in the village quickly and in huge proportions and master Moisi turns fat like the golden calf. Mortality followed the same progress with misery so that Mircești village one of the richest in Roman county before, turned today in a crowd of vilain earth housees and crippled people, poisoned by the corosive influence of vitriol"³⁷(1875).

What could I add? Here is where the absence of a church and a priest can lead! Could Vasile Alecsandri believe that the church bans the devil of drunkenness or are we having a rhetorical artifice in a letter requesting a favor for Mircești village? I believe in the second variant. Anyway, the attitude of the peasants in Mircești during the fire scandalized him as it appears in a letter to Costache Negri: "during the fire, all Traian descendants that live on my estate, assisted the show

³⁷ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. X: „Corespondență (1871-1881)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1985, pp. 191-192.

without trouble and without helping in anyway. They even made jokes of a very little Orthodox taste"³⁸.

As any great responsible landowner, the material state of the peasants on his estates and of the peasants in general worried him: in 1881, a rainy and difficult year for agriculture, he worried for the peasants that "did not do the work, what will they eat till the next year? Are they afraid of starvation?"³⁹. After July 1866 he was also worried "because of cholera, famine and tomorrow patriots"⁴⁰. But he is not interested only in the material state of rural population, but also in the moral one and again alcoholism is indicated: in January 1866 he remarked that "for the people ... drunkenness reached a scary level."⁴¹ This took place in Moldavia, the one considered by the medical discourse in the past decades of the 19th century as perfectly and fully alcoholized⁴². But let us not deceive ourselves, Vasile Alecsandri is interested in and finally takes care of the well-being of the peasants on his estates, not from pure humanitarian reasons, which must not be excluded, but for the simple reason that the peasant was, as Mihail Kogălniceanu said, "the only factor, the only income of the boyar"⁴³. To exploit wisely the estate meant to take care of the good status of your work force: peasants and cows. It is an elementary condition of getting profit, and the great landowners in Moldavia are perfectly conscious of this. Besides, the condition of the landowner is admirable described by Vasile Alecsandri with great humor in a letter to Mihail Obedenaru: "Mr. Aurelian wrote somewhere two phrases destined to be legendary: 1. <<our climate is perfectly good. 2. Our land is perfectly fertile!>> Based on these two fallacious axiomas and lacking the lessee, I took the plough to exploit myself the estate. Here is now the third year I convince myself of the rich fantasy that Mr. Aurelian has and of the truth of a new axiom: The landowner doing agriculture is a perfectly naive being. He

³⁸ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. IX: „Corespondență (1861-1870)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1982, p. 218.

³⁹ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. X: „Corespondență (1871-1881)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1985, p. 718.

⁴⁰ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. IX: „Corespondență (1861-1870)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1982, pp. 267-268.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 246.

⁴² Constantin Bărbulescu, *Op. cit.*, pp. 160-185.

⁴³ Mihail Kogălniceanu, *Dezrobirea țiganilor, ștergerea privilegiilor boierești, emanciparea țăranilor. Discurs rostit în Academia Română*, în Mihail Kogălniceanu, „Opere”, vol. II: „Scrieri istorice”, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, București, 1976, p. 618.

compromises his fortune and alienates his independence; flattering himself with the idea that he has a thesaurus in the land, and with the hope of future harvests, the poor man he is always in short of money because everything he earns he buries under the plough and then: wait, horse, to graze green grass!"⁴⁴(1881). At least this is the poet's impression at the end of the eighth decade and the beginning of the ninth.

The next event that reveals the real peasant is the conflict that opposes him to the peasants in Pătrășcani at the application of the agrarian law in 1864. Like any great landowner, Vasile Alecsandri was not thrilled by agrarian reform, despite the declarations of good will that he made such as "I accept it as a means to elevate the peasant class"⁴⁵. In fact, by the abrupt way the agrarian law was imposed, it was perceived as a true catastrophe for the great landowners that he considers as the victims of the law. His concrete situation in the relations with the lessees and the peasants draws him to such conclusions:" As far as I am concerned, despite my lessee in Mircești is forced by contract to hold my estate till April 1865, I had to make a reduction of 500 *galbeni* (coins) upon the lease for the next year. As about the other estate of mine I should give a capital of at least 2000 *galbeni*, to buy machines of all sorts to replace the peasants arms. But where would I take all this money? From the Jews? Always the Jews!! One would say that the law was made to enrich the usurers; because the government did not prevent the difficulties coming from the law and did not found a bank before this. Finally, may it rest in peace! May the ruin of one class, that of the landowners and lessees lead to the use of the peasant one"⁴⁶(1864). In these conditions where he estimates considerable losses and forced investments there is no wonder that Alecsandri does not focus on the agrarian reform in his writings: it is one of the great reforms of the 19th century that does not inspire him on the literary ground. This fact did not pass unnoticed: Iacob Negruzzi that loves and esteems him as a person ""with small faults and great qualities"⁴⁷, does not forgive him for that⁴⁸; nor did Garabet Ibrăileanu (1909)⁴⁹.

⁴⁴ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. X: „Corespondență (1871-1881)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1985, p. 733.

⁴⁵ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. IX: „Corespondență (1861-1870)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1982, p. 220.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 220-221.

⁴⁷ Iacob Negruzzi, *Amintiri din „Junimea”*, Editura Minerva, București, 1970, p. 99.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 90.

⁴⁹ Garabet Ibrăileanu, *Spiritul critic în cultura românească*, in Garabet Ibrăileanu, „Opere”, vol. I, Ed. Minerva, București, 1974, pp. 88-89.

But let us come back to the problem of the trial with the inhabitants of Pătrășcani estate. In the summer of 1866 Vasile Alecsandri complained that his "vassals" in Pătrășcani "have found a way to take the whole of my arable land"⁵⁰; in other words, they did not comply with the division made through the agrarian reform. This division, the poet says, was advantaging them obviously, and in the case of a new delimitation, "I will let aside the generous feelings that foolishly guided me at the first division and I will not let to the peasants but the two thirds of my estate, because this is from category *moșii stânte*. This way, instead of 551 *fălci*⁵¹, the peasants will have to share only 400. A new delimitation would force me to measure first all the estates with wood or brambles to take them out of the property and in this case the rest of the estate will represent only an unsatisfactory proportion for the mass of my old vassals. Even more their land and mine will be so messed up that nothing will be understandable. Giving them their share around their villages I thought I made them a service, putting them at shelter from the lessees' abuse that will profit from the passing of their cattle to fine them etc., or because these miserable pushed by some revolted stubborn to do the contrary they would deserve to have their complaint rejected, for their own good"⁵². These stubborn miserables would continue the process for a long time, until February 1869, when, as predicted, they would lose. Three years of long and expensive trials for the peasant community in Pătrășcani would end by the betrayal of their representatives - Nedelcu and Vasile Grădinariul - who, in the end, tried to obtain only some personal advantages on the cost of those who they were representing: "they came to propose to me to sell me the rights of their clients in exchange for a land concession for their own use."⁵³ The trial was lost by the peasants and we know only the version of the great writer and landowner Vasile Alecsandri; the peasant version, lost somewhere in the files of the Justice Ministry, will be lost probably forever. I cannot but wonder still: Why so much virulence/obstinence from the peasants if it was such an advantageous division for them?

From the position of his status as great Moldavian landowner, Vasile Alecsandri was behaving paternalistically with the peasants on his estates and thus maintained relations in two ways with them. In 1874

⁵⁰ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. IX: „Corespondență (1861-1870)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1982, p. 268.

⁵¹ *Fălci* means 1 ½ hectare.

⁵² Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. IX: „Corespondență (1861-1870)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1982, p. 268.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 378.

when his daughter Maria was brought from Paris by her father⁵⁴ to spend the summer in Mircești, several peasants offered to the young girl "the most beautiful birds in their barn," which, multiplying the next year, "messed up the garden."⁵⁵ When in the definitive edition of "Romanian Folk Poetry" in 1866 he explains the term "colaci", we find that in that time it became synonym with "plocon" and "the people living in the countryside have the custom to go to the landowners with *colaci* at holidays, but those *colaci* are represented by eggs, chicken, honey, fruits and lambs"⁵⁶. Does the poet receive such gifts at holidays? No doubt that he did; we know it from Mihai Lungu in Mircești, who in 1906 told the philologists interviewing him that they went to him with *colaci* at Christmas⁵⁷. And in his turn, the landowner returned the gifts from the peasants through punctual services - as he does for the vineyard keeper in Bucium, that he hires in 1871 legally, this way "protecting him by the police"⁵⁸, thus of being recruited - or through services in favor of the community, such as the building of the communal school in Mircești at the end of the sixth decade and the beginning of the seventh. Vasile Alecsandri seems to be the prototype of the enlightened Moldavian boyar that takes good care of the inhabitants of his estates, so regretted by the peasants in the complaints around the revolt in 1907.

The Peasant - The Romanian - The People

To understand the meaning of Alecsandri's writing, it is necessary to unpack the conceptual luggage the poet operates with. In certain situations Alecsandri thinks of himself as a "peasant": in a letter in 1861 to Costache Negri, he identifies himself as "peasant from the Danube"⁵⁹ just as three years before, the Romanians as national body could be treated as "peasants from the Danube"⁶⁰, this time in a text written to a

⁵⁴ G.C. Nicolescu, *Op. cit.*, p. 472.

⁵⁵ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. X: „Corespondență (1871-1881)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1985, p. 225.

⁵⁶ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. III: „Poezii”, Editura pentru Literatură, București, 1966, p. 118.

⁵⁷ I.-A. Candrea, Ov. Densusianu, Th. D. Sperantia, *Graiul nostru. Texte din toate părțile locuite de români*, vol. I, Atelierele Grafice Socec & Co, București, 1906, p. 475.

⁵⁸ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. X: „Corespondență (1871-1881)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1985, p. 14.

⁵⁹ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. IX: „Corespondență (1861-1870)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1982, p. 71.

⁶⁰ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. VIII: „Corespondență (1834-1860)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1981, p. 351.

stranger. It is obvious that in this case we have an identification of geographical and social nature. Later, after the retreat at Mircești, and when the warm season meant for any great landowner responsible, agricultural preoccupations, Alecsandri defines himself, with irony, „peasant” with the meaning of land worker⁶¹.

But how is he describing or categorizing the peasants during this time? And especially what relationship exists between the few terms he uses – *peasant*, *people*, *Romanian* – that appear in certain situations to be in perfect synonymy? In other words: is the peasant the equivalent of the *people* and of *the Romanian*? So it seems, if we think that he uses often in his letters expressions taken from folk language that he characterizes either as folk saying: “*easy to say pie!* A folk saying says so”⁶²(1878), or as peasant expression: “The Romanian does not die one-two, not even nine, because he has seven lives and is the son of devil as the peasants say”⁶³ (1878). If you are not fully convinced, let us take a look to a more than one decade earlier – the notes to the volume in 1866, “The Folk Poetry of Romanians” that offer plenty of examples. Even from the notes that makes explicit the text opening the volume – Miorița – we find out that: „the Romanian loves poetical images”⁶⁴. In a few pages we are informed that „the people believes in the power of magic”⁶⁵ etc.

The peasant, however, is missing in these words! We notice the concern of the author to dismiss this term: the peasant women are miraculously transformed to be „the Romanian women”⁶⁶ and the peasant into „the Romanian”. Still, even Alecsandri makes mistakes: at page 265 we find out that the text „the Sister of the Contrabandist” was picked up from „a young peasant women”!⁶⁷ Why is he clearly avoiding the use of the term peasant, when he is not shy in using it in correspondence? We think that the reason is the public and quasi-official character of the work: he dedicates „the Folk Poems” to queen Elena Cuza and the royalties to the asylum „Elena Doamna,” founded by her. It is also possible that the terms *people* and that of *peasant* even more were

⁶¹ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. IX: „Corespondență (1861-1870)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1982, pp. 243, 251.

⁶² Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. X: „Corespondență (1871-1881)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1985, p. 390.

⁶³*Ibidem*, p. 430.

⁶⁴ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. III: „Poezii”, Editura pentru Literatură, București, 1966, p. 19.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 23.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 217.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 265.

preserving in the seventh decade that semantic balance between *plebs* și *nation*, highlighted by Paul Cornea for the moment 1848⁶⁸. In other words, the term *peasant* continued to designate extremely precise the social category subordinated from the social, cultural and economic point of views, and retained in such a context a pejorative nuance, that it has today as well when *people* and *Romanian* with the meaning of *nation*: that is, all Romanians, whose concept encloses the non-peasants. It is obvious that for Alecsandri, at least in 1866, *the Romanian* is the same with *the peasant*.

The Folk Language

Vasile Alecsandri lived during the greatest and most rapid linguistic transformation in the space that eventually became Romania. He lived all his life in this true Babel tower and he was active in the battle for the formation of a Romanian language, the one that was imposed definitively at the end of his life and that we are using today. He is known to have rejected the Latinist exaggeration of the Transylvanians and he was a partisan in the building of the Romanian language starting from the spoken language, the language of the people. In 1864, in a letter to G. Boteanu he exposed his creed: „Romanians have an original and harmonious language that sits hidden outside cities, our duty is to find it and cultivate it carefully so that we could express our ideas and feelings in a pleasant way and understandable for the whole Romania”⁶⁹. Alecsandri was a great admirer of the expresivity of folk language – one of the things he loved about the peasant is the language: “ who talked with the field worker(...) and did not find pleasure in listening to his language adorned with original figures? For example: he wants to tell about a good man? He says: he is good like the mother’s breast”⁷⁰. Undoubtedly, the spoken language was a perfect instrument that needed to be enriched. All his life he fought for building such an instrument, essential for him as man of letters. His testimonies in correspondence and other writings proves it. When he enumerates the obstacles an author finds in the 1850s, one of them is precisely the language “that it is still in

⁶⁸ Paul Cornea, *Cuvântul „popor” în epoca pașoptistă: sinonimii, polisemiii și conotații. Între semantica istorică și semiotica mentalului colectiv*, in Paul Cornea, „Regula jocului. Versantul colectiv al literaturii: concepte, convenții, modele”, Ed. Eminescu, București, 1980, p. 243.

⁶⁹ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. IX: „Corespondență (1861-1870)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1982, p. 211.

⁷⁰ Vasile Alecsandri, *Românii și poezia lor*, in Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere”, vol. IV: „Proză”, Editura Minerva, București, 1974, pp. 109-110.

diapers" (1852)⁷¹. He would bemoan after the Union the perpetuation of the linguistical systems (seen as old now) that in a not very far past found justifications - they were instruments in the panoply of national emancipation: "in 1848 and few years before, there was a need to reject the notes in Petersburg, that ascribed to us a Slavic origin; then any weapon was good: history, geography, ethnography, folk poetry, old customs, especially the language, the language purified from slavonisms, and the spelling so Latinized, so messed up... all were used successfully to probe that we are Latin, and we descend from Traian. And the world, finally, believed us" (1871)⁷². With Maiorescu and Junimea's support his position regarding the language would be triumphant. Even today, his prose is monumental. To me, personally, before this research I was unfamiliar with his work; Vasile Alecsandri's prose was an extraordinary discovery. He enters the gallery of the great men of „ the beginning of the road" as happily expresses Paul Cornea⁷³, in full rights next to Mihail Kogălniceanu or Alecu Russo.

The Folk Literature

Today it is almost a truism to assert that Vasile Alecsandri is the initiator of folk research in our country. Almost any folk literature research is done in the public spirit of Vasile Alecsandri's name. Under a dual aspect--of the gathering of folk material and the usage of folklore--an inspirational source for national literary creation emerged. For this latter meaning the poet put in practice brilliantly the program of "Literary Dacia". His first poems, the cycle "Doine", that he started writing in 1842, had a pure peasant influence and made a sensation in their day. Let us remember Costache Negruzzi's reaction, told by his son Iacob, upon the illuminating moment of the first audition: "I heard many times my father saying that one evening finding himself in Mrs. Sturza's salon, who called herself a countess, together with Alecsandri and other young fellows returned recently from abroad the word about our national literature came upon. Mrs. Sturza, a very intelligent woman, encouraged then Alecsandri to read some poems that she has heard he had written those days, so as my father would hear them, and the young poet recited

⁷¹ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. VIII: „Corespondență (1834-1860)", Ed. Minerva, București, 1981, p. 192.

⁷² Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. X: „Corespondență (1871-1881)", Ed. Minerva, București, 1985, p. 42.

⁷³ Paul Cornea, *Oamenii „începutului de drum"*, in Paul Cornea, „Oamenii începutului de drum. Studii și cercetări asupra epocii pașoptiste", Ed. Cartea Românească, București, 1974, pp. 26-29.

his first ballads: *Baba Cloanța, Strunga, Andrei Popa...* My father was delighted. Returned home late at night he could hardly sleep as he was excited and walked through the house for hours declaiming the poems he just had heard"⁷⁴. Obviously this impression propagated in the liberal boyar environment, the former collaborators at "Literary Dacia" and the future participants in the 1848 Revolution. On the other side, the publishing of a few poems from this cycle in a "calendar in 1843, provoked many critics. In great salons they were called cottage poems,"⁷⁵ the poems being obviously contaminated by the low social prestige of the inspirational source.

The question to be asked is: why was Vasile Alecsandri publishing folk literature? And obviously, why was he using it as inspiration for his poetry? The answer can be found in his texts. First, we remember the fragment in the letter to Ubicini, quoted above, that the folk creation has the merit to demonstrate the Latinity of Romanians, and it is an instrument in the fight for a non-Slavic and illustrious origin. Here we are in the same paradigm as in Samuil Micu, who in *Short Knowledge of Romanians History*, uses the ethnographic argument to prove Romanians' Latinity⁷⁶. When Alecsandri gathers folk literature, this fact was becoming a known fact. Secondly, let us remember Mihail Kogălniceanu's assertion in *Introduction* for "Literary Dacia" that "our customs are quite picturesque and poetical" enough to be a literary topic with full norm⁷⁷. And Kogălniceanu was the first to stress the aesthetic value of folk poetry⁷⁸. But it is clear that for Vasile Alecsandri folk literature reveals "the character of this people" (1852)⁷⁹, that they are "those expensive gems of the Romanian genius treasure" (1862)⁸⁰ – gems of a priceless beauty and gentleness. In 1868, on this segment, the programme of Literary Dacia did not conquer all the spirits; at least this is what Alecsandri tells with indignation in a letter to Alexandru

⁷⁴ Iacob Negruzzi, *Op. cit.*, pp. 87-88.

⁷⁵ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. VIII: „Corespondență (1834-1860)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1981, p. 256.

⁷⁶ Samuil Micu, *Scurtă cunoștință a istorii românilor*, introducere și îngrijirea ediției de Cornel Cîmpeanu, Ed. Științifică, București, 1963, pp. 82-88.

⁷⁷ Mihail Kogălniceanu, *Introducere [la „Dacia Literară”]*, in Mihail Kogălniceanu, „Opere”, vol. I: „Beletristică, studii literare, culturale și sociale”, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, București, 1974, p. 223.

⁷⁸ Paul Cornea, *Originile romantismului românesc. Spiritul public, mișcarea ideilor și literatura între 1780-1840*, Ed. Cartea Românească, București, 2008, p. 444.

⁷⁹ Vasile Alecsandri, *Poezia populară*, in Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere”, vol. III: „Poezii”, Editura pentru Literatură, București, 1966, p. 15.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

Hurmuzachi:” When the hell will we understand that a literature to be truly national literature must take its source from the people’s genius and not from the spoiled word fabrics of Cipariu and Compani!”⁸¹. And in 1868, in the journal of the same Al. Hurmuzachi, Vasile Alecsandri puts another brick to the foundation of the folk literature as basis of the national genius, sending for publication Alecu Russo’s manuscript upon *Folk Poetry*. Russo’s opinions are fully concordant with Alecsandri’s: he thinks too that „Romanianism genius” is not to be found in the creation of elites; he will find it „randomly”, „one day”, in a fair where „suddenly I am in a different world. I see people and clothes that I did not see in towns; I hear a language, harmonious and picturesque and so strange to books jargon. And from the doubt if Romanians are a nation or a modern cosmopolite colony, a kind of French-Italian-Greek Algeria, I start to see the truth”. And the one that leads him on the path of truth is a peasant: „He enters in a leaves hut, takes an instrument that he calls *lăută* and start singing. People surround him and listen to him lovingly, because he plays old ballads!... My eyes open; an entire nationality reveals in the talk, the clothes, the ancient type, in the songs of those people(...) Later the player trying to lead me to ecstasy, starts Miorița ballad”. Finally Russo is convinced by „Romanian nationality, Romanian genius, of the true Romanian literature”⁸².

Russo and Alecsandri are marked by memorable meetings with remarkable narrators such as that „shepherd called Udrea, at the sheepfold on Ceahlău mountain” that reveals Miorița. The scene must be mentioned:”that shepherd played the Romanianshepherds’ alp horn with an extraordinary power that the mountains echoed. He played the flute many shepherd’s songs and especially Doina with such a compassionate expression that would bring tears in the eyes of the listeners. In 1842 in a beautiful summer evening climbing to the sheepfold in Ceahlău, where I have heard Udrea’s Romanian shepherds’ alp horn, I saw one of the most beautiful show of nature, lighted by the rays of sunset; and when the night brought stars in the sky I stayed with Udrea and other shepherds around the fire and listened to the songs till morning.”⁸³. As any modern ethnologist, Vasile Alecsandri has the chance of the wonderful meeting because he searched for it.

⁸¹ Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. IX: „Corespondență (1861-1870)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1982, p. 352.

⁸² Alexandru Russo, *Scrieri*, Institutul de arte Grafice Carol Göbl S-sor I. St. Rasidescu, București, 1908, pp. 192-194.

⁸³ Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere”, vol. III: „Poezii”, Editura pentru Literatură, București, 1966, p. 76.

We must not imagine that the discovery of folklore is an event of the fifth decade of 19th century: on the contrary, and Paul Cornea bring arguments convincingly: the discovery of the aesthetic value of folklore and its use as object of literary inspiration was delayed precisely for its omnipresence, because it „saturates our entire old culture”⁸⁴. Thus, not not knowing such cultural richness prevents its valorification. Our pashoptists live in an universe impregnated with folklore – Alecsandri rightfully wondered in 1849: ” Which one of us has not been rocked with the *Lullaby* and with stories full of bad characters that chase the Beautiful prince, with one jaw in the sky and the other in the ground? Who was not terrified at the names of ghosts, spirits, old hags, that get out at night from the graves and cellars to scare the bad children?”⁸⁵. And Alecu Russo and Costache Negruzzi and Mihail Kogălniceanu, cannot contradict, we know it from their works. Then, under the circumstances when folklore – with goods or bads – was there, in the life of everybody, it needed a profound change of mentality to propel it to the first stage of literary life. Or such a change of mentality has as an object, the peasant as an essential part of the national body.

A new idea of nation – its components and the strategic ways of strengthening the national body – led to that re-evaluation of the peasant status and implicitly his creation. Paul Cornea asserted decades ago that the new attitude towards the peasant surpassed the simple compassion for the oppressed being, and coincided with the emergence of romanticism and the appearance of the democratic reflexes in national ideology⁸⁶.

Alecsandri's writing illustrates very well this stage. In his work, as we have seen, the theme of the oppressed peasant is weakly represented and the metamorphosis of the oppressed peasant into the magistral representative of the „people genius” is powerfully marked. Eventually the emergence of folklore in cultural space is but a consequence of the transformations of national ideology from the mid-nineteenth century that supported a new vision upon the peasant.

⁸⁴ Paul Cornea, *Originile romantismului românesc. Spiritul public, mișcarea ideilor și literatura între 1780-1840*, Ed. Cartea Românească, București, 2008, p. 440.

⁸⁵ Vasile Alecsandri, *Românii și poezia lor*, in Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere”, vol. IV: „Proză”, Editura Minerva, București, 1974, p. 109.

⁸⁶ Paul Cornea, *Originile romantismului românesc. Spiritul public, mișcarea ideilor și literatura între 1780-1840*, Ed. Cartea Românească, București, 2008, p. 440.

The good peasant

The question still remains for the present research: what kind of characters are Vasile Alecsandri's peasants? Do their qualities shadow their faults? As we expect from the poet, as a fine observer of people and things, is the big picture of the peasant a kaleidoscope of micro-images, some negative some positive? The negative we highlighted above. Now we will talk about the positive ones.

Peasants in Mircești are like all people: some times sinners that mock at the church fire; later transforming into „good men” that help the boyar by saving his assets from the flood: „these people work with all their heart to salvation of the goods and so dismiss the rumors spread all over Europe upon the state of morality of our people”(1888)⁸⁷. Peasants in their simplicity know that the simple village church is one thing and the assets of the boyar who helps you make a living is another. Despite the mentioned conflicts with the peasants in Pătrășcani, it appears that the image of the boyar Vasile Alecsandri is positive to the peasants on his estates. At the beginning of the 20th century researches of linguistics and ethnography show this image. Sixteen years after the poet's death Mihai Lungu frames him in the category of boyar loved by peasants, „good boyars”: „we didn't have boyar as good as him nor will we”⁸⁸. Mihai Iacob Trifaș, eighty years old (in 1906) thinks also that he „was a good boyar, master Alisăndri was good. He called us in his yard and watched us. He was an honest boyar, nice. He did not beat anyone, he talked to everybody”⁸⁹.

One of the qualities much appreciated by peasant is the caring of the boyar towards his workers, and here Vasile Alecsandri excelled: „He was compassionate. He sent brandy in the field to his workers. And when it was hot he told people to go in the shadow till the weather is good to work again”⁹⁰. We are so far from Dr. Lupu's descriptions upon the food of the peasant working to a landowner!⁹¹ From the few testimonies of the peasants it looks like Vasile Alecsandri was the ideal type of Moldavian boyar, who administered alone his estates, with a benevolent attitude towards peasants. It is that perfect symbiosis, always described and almost never found, between the patriarchal landowner and the diligent and grateful peasant.

⁸⁷ V. Alecsandri, *Scrisori, însemnări*, Editura pentru Literatură, București, 1964, p. 24.

⁸⁸ I.-A. Candrea, *Ov. Densusianu*, Th. D. Sperantia, *Op. cit.*, p. 475.

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 479.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 275.

⁹¹ Constantin Bărbulescu, *Op. cit.*, p. 143.

It is certain that after 1860 Vasile Alecsandri started to appreciate more than ever the rural life; he started to understand profoundly Romania's modernity so drowned and blurred by that huge rural mass that is its demographic, economic basis but also an essential spiritual resource. In a letter to Pantazi Ghica, he leaves us the impression that he understood everything: "If you would have the time to live for a whole summer the life in the countryside. Getting out suddenly from the noise of Bucharest, you would be surprised by the feeble echoes the noises of this city leave beyond its borders. There a multitude of dwarf cyclops think they make such noise with their political little hammers, still all their noise is suppressed by the simple rocking of an empty wagon crossing the fields. Here is the truly truth upon the country (1866)⁹². Until today historians have not reached Vasile Alecsandri's wisdom.

Despite this sincere adaptation to rural life and the loving declaration to „our fields” and for the „patriarchal simplicity of our peasants” that he prefers a million times to Paris (1867)⁹³ he accepted in 1885 I. C. Brătianu's offer to be the chief of Romanian legation in France and spent his last years of his life in Paris.

Anyhow, we have from Alecsandri, one of the most beautiful pages in 19th century literature dedicated to the peasant, it is true in his quality of Romanian:

„I am very fond of the Romanian and I know to cherish the qualities nature endowed him. I love to watch and listen to him, because he is simple and beautiful, because he is clean, wise, merry and poetic in his speech. I like his patriarchal customs, his fantastic beliefs, his old dances, his costume that in Rome can be seen on Traian's column, his pathetic songs and especially his harmonious poems! I have great hopes for this people whose goodness is printed in many proverbs, some wiser than others; whose imagining is painted in its poetical stories and brilliant like the oriental ones; whose satirical spirit proves in many anecdotes upon the nations it was related to; whose good and giving heart show itself in the hospitality inherited from its ancestors; whose genius brights so vivid in its poetry done honoring the great deeds” (1849)⁹⁴.

⁹² Vasile Alecsandri, *Opere*, vol. IX: „Corespondență (1861-1870)”, Ed. Minerva, București, 1982, p. 267.

⁹³ *Ibidem*, p. 287.

⁹⁴ Vasile Alecsandri, *Românii și poezia lor*, în Vasile Alecsandri, „Opere”, vol. IV: „Proză”, text ales și stabilit, note și variante de Georgeta Rădulescu-Dulgheru, Editura Minerva, București, 1974, pp. 108-109.

Who would have thought that after such true *ode dedicated to Romanian peasant* in three decades the same peasant could transform in the degenerate of dr. C. I. Istrati?⁹⁵ Who could imagine that C.I. Istrati and Vasile Alecsandri are contemporary, even from intellectually and socially different generations?

⁹⁵ Constantin Bărbulescu, *Op. cit.*, pp. 218-277.

Mircea Eliade's correspondence with metropolitan Vasile Suciu

Lucian Turcu

Babeş-Bolyai University

Abstract: *Mircea Eliade's correspondence with metropolitan Vasile Suciu.* The present study takes into account the epistolary dialogue between Mircea Eliade and the Greek-Catholic metropolitan Vasile Suciu. In fact, we have two letters sent the young philosopher from Bucharest to the high hierarch in order to receive from him the volumes of theology whose author he was. The study analyses the cultural context in which Mircea Eliade was placed in the third decade of the twentieth century, the self-characterization that he presents, but also the way in which he justifies the interest towards studying and knowing the Eastern theology. Moreover, Vasile Suciu's theological work is commented, also investigating its doctrinal identity, which made some intellectuals (among them being Mircea Eliade) believe that it is representative for the theological reflection of the Eastern Church.

Keywords: letters, religious identity, Orthodoxy, Greek-Catholicism, theological work

Rezumat: *Corespondența lui Mircea Eliade cu mitropolitul Vasile Suciu.* Studiul de față are în vedere dialogul epistolar dintre Mircea Eliade și mitropolitul greco-catolic Vasile Suciu. De fapt, este vorba despre două scrisori pe care tânărul filosof bucureștean i le-a trimis înaltului ierarh de la Blaj, cu scopul de a obține din partea acestuia volumele de teologie pe care le publicase. Este analizat contextul cultural în care se plasa în deceniul trei al secolului XX Mircea Eliade, autocaracterizarea pe care acesta și-o face, dar și felul în care își justifică interesul pentru cunoașterea teologiei răsăritene. De asemenea, este comentată opera teologică a mitropolitului Vasile Suciu, fiind sondată identitatea doctrinară a acesteia, care îi făcea pe unii intelectuali să creadă (printre ei, numărându-se și Mircea Eliade) că ea este reprezentativă pentru gândirea teologică a Bisericii răsăritene.

Cuvinte-cheie: scrisori, identitate religioasă, ortodoxie, greco-catolicism, operă teologică

On the 25th of June 1928 after he had just returned to the country after a stage of almost three months in Rome, Mircea Eliade sent metropolitan

Vasile Suciu a reverent letter.¹ Being a final year student of the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy in Bucharest, Mircea Eliade had not been at his first direct intellectual experience in the Italian space. Just a year before, the "Spiru Haret" high school, whose graduate he was, had organized a three week trip to Italy, where some former students had also been invited to take part.² Although that meant bearing a considerable financial effort by the family, the chance had not been missed by the young newly enthusiast of the history of religions, yoga and Oriental studies. He fully capitalized on that opportunity to get to know some of the writers that he was in correspondence with (among them being Giovanni Papini, Ernesto Buonaiuti, Vittorio Macchiario etc.) to visit the remains of a civilization that he was fascinated by, to practice their his Italian language and to enrich himself with readings he had not had access to before. "This first trip to Italy remained in my memory as the most luxurious and most perfect trip from my youth", the memoirist would write down over the years, filled with nostalgia.³

The second Italian experience has been internalized at a level at least equal to the first. On the verge of presenting his dissertation in philosophy, the diligent student was compelling himself to take full advantage of the generosity of the documentary sources available in the Roman institutions of culture. "As I started to study in Rome, I would have never ended anything of what I began. I was aware of the danger, but the temptation was too strong. For the first time, I was *living* (e.a.) in a Western library, among publications which were inaccessible in Bucharest. I would have wanted to see everything, to read everything, to transcribe everything. I was forever taking notes, without conceding to leave untranslated pages I knew that my eyes would never see", Mircea Eliade would recall over time the fervour of those last days of studentship.⁴

Despite endeavors to deplete the sources of his dissertation on the philosophy of the Italian Renaissance (or precisely because of them), Mircea Eliade was unable to complete the thesis and had to postpone its presentation for the fall of 1928. At the moment of his repatriation after the second stage of the research on Italian land Mircea Eliade had two

¹ The entire text of the letter at the Service of National Archives of the Department of Cluj, Personal Fund *Vasile Suciu*, file 30/1928, f. 1r-v (hereinafter, AN SJ Cluj).

² Mircea Handoca, *Viața lui Mircea Eliade*, [Mircea Eliade's life], the third edition, Dacia Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, p. 35.

³ Mircea Eliade, *Memorii 1907-1960*, [Memoirs, 1907-1960] revised edition and index by Mircea Handoca, Humanitas, Bucharest, 2004, p. 126.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 149.

well-defined possible courses of professional development: either to seek a scholarship at one of the universities in Western Europe, where he wanted to study compared philosophy in order to later dedicate himself to research in the history of religions, either he would study Sanskrit and Indian philosophy at a university in India, pending a response to a request for a scholarship that he had addressed to Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy.⁵ The attraction towards Oriental philosophy, namely the Indian one, towards yoga techniques and Asian mysteries were transformed into a real obsession in the last years of his studentship: "I felt that the Orient is to me more than a fairytale landscape or object of study, part of the world that deserves to be known for its secret history or for the greatness of its spiritual creations" was the belief assumed by the young philosopher.⁶ The affirmative response to the request for financial support from the Maharaja of Kassimbazar would widely open the door of the great intellectual and spiritual adventure on Indian land. "I have no doubt that my life would have been different without that letter," Mircea Eliade would confess, strongly, convinced, over the years.⁷ We note that this was not the first scholarship he has been awarded. Being a student he had benefited from another scholarship, along with other colleagues, offered by the League of Nations with the aim of familiarizing young people with the activity and projects mandated to ensure the maintenance of world peace after the war.⁸ But the two months spent on that occasion in the Swiss capital would fade before the three years it would last the *peregrinatio academica* on the land of the Hindu civilization.

Given this versatile intellectual profile of the young graduate of philosophy, it is useful to insist upon the content of the two letters he had sent to Blaj to the primate of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church at that time. I would firstly note the apparently trivial similarities. Both letters are written on sheets of paper bearing the letterhead of the magazine "Cuvântul" (The Word - translator's note). Was this a deliberate choice to underline the intellectual prestige of the sender? Or a gesture relieved of such a connotation determined by the mere availability of such a piece a paper? It is difficult to answer. The fact is

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 150.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 152.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 150.

⁸ About the creation and the activity of the League of Nations, see George Scott, *The Rise and Fall of the League of Nations*, Hutchinson, London, 1973; Frederick Samuel Northedge, *The League of Nations: Its Life and Times 1920-1946*, Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1986.

that in December 1926 Eliade had become editor of the prestigious gazette which had its editorial staff on No 4, Sărindar street, in Bucharest. His approach with this publication led at the time by Titus Enacovici was realized after Eliade had published, in a student magazine, a review that basically abolished the first volume of "Essai de synthèse de l'Histoire universelle" (a Synthesis Essay of Universal History - t/n) by Nicolae Iorga, a critique that added to his intellectual visibility, but which put him on antagonistic, even hostile positions, against the personality of contemporary Romanian culture who served him as a model up until then.⁹ Of no lesser importance near the cultural circle around the magazine "Cuvântul" was the admiration that Eliade had towards some of the collaborators of the publication, especially towards Nae Ionescu, professor of Logic and Metaphysics who he was looking up to. "For me, as for my entire generation, «Cuvântul» was not a gazette like any other. I considered it more a magazine, because the articles that were signed (and there were seven articles only on the front page) and because, in addition to Cezar Petrescu, Nichifor Crainic, Pamfil Șeicaru, Nae Ionescu, Lucian Blaga, Perpessicius, G. Breazul, O. W. Cisek also collaborated as did so many other writers, critics and essayists from the circles of «Gândirea» (the Intellection - t/n) and «Idea europeană» (the European Idea - t/n).¹⁰

The second detail on which I would like to insist is about the address of the sender of the letters, namely No 1, Melody Street, in Bucharest. Following the final moving of the family in the Romanian capital, the building located on this address was the place to which Mircea Eliade has linked the strongest emotions and experiences specific to childhood, an adolescence full of mysteries and crises and emerging adulthood. The house in question had been given to the author to the "Novel of the Myope Adolescent"’s mother by her foster father and had been used as a means to supplement the family income by renting it in the postwar period, when the family resources had been reduced considerably.¹¹ The history of the building comes to an end in the middle of the fourth decade of the last century when, recalls Eliade, the building was demolished, and in its stead a massive block of flats was built.

Going now into the content of the letters, the first of the letters captures the outset with a formula designed to draw attention to whom

⁹ The review, in the publication *Revista universitară*, [The University Magazine] year I, no. 3, March 1926.

¹⁰ Mircea Eliade, *Memorii 1907-1960*, [Memoirs 1907-1960] p. 121.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 67.

he wrote: "Blessed Father, although not having the honor to get to know you, and not knowing the formulas by which a layman and a young should properly address a clergymen, I dare to write to you." A cautious formulation therefore, but still full of politeness imposed by the dignity that the addressee holds: that of a man of the Church ("a Figure of the Church"), a bearer of the bishop's crosier, even. Two details stand out in particular. The first, related to the fact that Eliade was not very familiar with the clerical elements, hence his reluctance regarding the formula to the addressee; secondly, much more important in terms of relations between the sender and the recipient of the letter, is that Mircea Eliade and metropolitan Vasile Suciú did not know each other personally, they had not had this opportunity before. This is why the sender of the letter introduces himself, he wants to delineate the areas of intellectual interest, which justified the request he was going to make, "maybe my name is not entirely unknown to you. I am a student of philosophy and a publicist. This is unimportant. But my inclination towards the history of religions and the love for the Christian experience is. Although I have not yet actually had an Orthodox experience, I came to be philosophically aware of the need for orthodoxy, and I often confessed it." What can one significantly draw from this brief self-characterization? First, the claim that Eliade declares himself to be not just an anonymous figure in the contemporary cultural landscape "maybe my name is not entirely unknown to you. I am a student of philosophy and a publicist". Deservedly, at the 21 years that he had when writing the letter, Mircea Eliade was not just any name in the Romanian cultural space. Since his first article on "The enemy of the silkworm" published in the "Newspapers of the popular science" in May 1920 he managed in only five years' time to be able to celebrate with a few close friends emergence of his hundredth article. This impressive scientific prolificacy was not just keeping up with the "reconversion" of its new areas of interest: from entomology, chemistry-physics and natural sciences to philosophy, Oriental studies and the history of religions. Of course, literature should not be forgotten, many of the works from his youth remaining only as manuscripts or being fragmentarily published in various publications of the time.¹² Recently, Eliade had focused in terms of formative interest in the field of history and philosophy of religions, being interested to unravel the mysteries of Christianity, to go into the depths of Orthodoxy,

¹² It is the case of *Romanul adolescentului miop*, [Diary of a Short-Sighted Adolescent] finished in 1927, but edited only in 1989 by Mircea Handoca. Fragments of the novel had appeared during the author's life.

which, to his own confession, he assumes intellectually, philosophical and less as a way of life, as a lived experience.¹³ Relating to the Orthodox Christianity had become a central point of his reflection at the beginning of the third decade of his life, and its understanding is not possible without taking into account the ideas in which the writer was placing at that time.¹⁴ More specifically, for Mircea Eliade redefining the role of Orthodoxy in the Romanian cultural space came from the major mental mutations that the Great War which has just ended had generated all over the world, including in the Romanian society.¹⁵ In other words, if for the previous generations the national integration had represented an ideal that had fueled a sense of strong solidarity, for the new generations, the fulfillment of that ultimate aim risked of provoke crises in the collective consciousness, general confusion, due to the absence of a great cause, which would gather national energies. "We were the first Romanian generation unconditioned by fulfilling a historical aim" felt Eliade and many of his contemporaries. In addition, the war and its horrors had revived religious life worldwide, causing a rediscovery of religious sentiment and a refreshment of forms in Christian devotion.¹⁶ But not only the "prescribed religion" had a gain after the war and the fear of death that it induced among the masses, but the interest in psychoanalysis, surrealism and Oriental gnoses had also increased. Given that the myth of continuous progress, promising the general welfare and social justice had failed before the cruelty of war, a new binder was needed to cement the societies, to impart the idea of a common destiny and to give them personality.¹⁷ Looking therefore for new spiritual landmarks, the "young generation", which included Eliade, saw Orthodoxy as a basis of new forms of expressing the national solidarity and understanding of the world «for some of the "younger generation" Orthodoxy might provide a total view of the world and the

¹³ The role of the Orthodoxy in Mircea Eliade's philosophical thinking at Aura Al. Constantinescu-Cazacu, „Reflecțiile tânărului Mircea Eliade despre semnificația ortodoxiei”, [The reflections of the young Mircea Eliade about the meaning of Orthodoxy] in *Analele Universității Spiru Haret. Studii de filosofie*, [The Annals of the Spiru Haret University. Studies of Philosophy] no. 10, 2008, p. 35-43.

¹⁴ Vartolomeu Androni, *Mircea Eliade și creștinismul ortodox*, [Mircea Eliade and the Orthodox Christianity], Ramida Publishing House, Bucharest, 1996, p. 3-4.

¹⁵ Aura Al. Constantinescu-Cazacu, *Reflecțiile tânărului Mircea Eliade*, [The reflections of the young Mircea Eliade] p. 36-37.

¹⁶ See Annette Becker, *La guerre et la foi. De la mort à la mémoire 1914-1930*, Armand Colin, Paris, 1994, p. 47-55.

¹⁷ Aura Al. Constantinescu-Cazacu, *Reflecțiile tânărului Mircea Eliade*, [The reflections of the young Mircea Eliade] p. 42-43.

existence and this phenomenon, if realized, will be a new phenomenon in the history of modern Romanian culture».¹⁸ But this view on Orthodoxy assumed by Mircea Eliade, as an intellectual experience and means of asserting the Romanian identity, would be challenged by various people in his circle of sociability, «only by talking to Mircea Vulcănescu and Paul Sterian did I realized how ignorant I was concerning Eastern Christianity and the Romanian religious traditions, not to mention the "Orthodox experience," which I did not have at all. [...] Personally, although I was attracted by this tradition, I did not live it».¹⁹ But the harshest criticism on the vision of Christianity, on Orthodoxy to be precise, would be received by Mircea Eliade from Nae Ionescu, who reproached him that he saw in Orthodoxy a simple Romanian tradition, a mere "spiritual adventure", lacking depth. His mentor had also reminded him that the Romanian Orthodoxy is not simply a cultural element, but is a part of the very essence of the nation, of the definition of being a good Romanian.²⁰ „If you are Romanian, you are born Orthodox", the future ideologue of the Legionary Movement would warn him, highly stressing the intimate connection, the interdependence between the Romanian nationality and Orthodox faith.²¹

Going back to the content of the letter, Eliade was still revealing his intentions regarding the continuation of his studies: "I will leave in the fall in India, then England and Germany. I would not like, however, not to thoroughly master the information on the Eastern theology, before I go "states programmatically Mircea Eliade. It stands out the author's thought to blend in his formation the career projects mentioned above, namely the Oriental academic experience, which he possessed, given the promise obtained from Indian prince to support his studies at the University of Calcutta under the guidance of Surendranath Dasgupta respectively perfecting himself at the top European universities. But the immediate priority appears to be mastering the dogmatic content of Orthodox theology given, as we have seen, his own beliefs, but also those inspired by his master on the role of Orthodoxy.

¹⁸ Mircea Eliade, *Memorii 1907-1960*, [Memoirs 1907-1960] p. 137.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ About this relationship, nationality and Orthodoxy at the Romanians, see Olivier Gillet, „Orthodoxie, nation et ethnicité en Roumanie au XXe siècle: un problème ecclésiologique et politique”, in vol. *Ethnicity and Religion in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 1995, p. 349-350.

²¹ Vartolomeu Androni, *Mircea Eliade și creștinismul ortodox*, [Mircea Eliade and the Orthodox Christianity] p. 7.

The letter continues: "I have read many books. Father Korolevski in Rome, praises Your Excelency`s volumes. Now I see them in bookshop windows. As I am a poor student, please, Your Holiness, gift me with that tome of Dogmatic or Theology to enlighten me on the substance of Eastern Orthodoxy. It is of utmost necessity for my theological culture, watered so far from Western sources." The fragment we have just quoted reveals the motivation of the epistle by Eliade and the favor he asked Vasile Suciu, the metropolitan from Blaj. But it tells us more than that. First, about the author of the letter, we learn that, being in Rome, Kiril Korolevski, one of the most brilliant specialists in those days in the problems of the Eastern Churches,²² recommended him to consult volumes of theology published by the Romanian Greek-Catholic metropolitan after his return from studies from the world capital of Catholicism which, in 1927 had been re-edited. Interestingly, Eliade asks a Greek-Catholic bishop for the theological volumes written by him, expecting to find in them "the substance of Eastern Orthodoxy." In other words, for Mircea Eliade the theological work of metropolitan Vasile Suciu had to complement the theological culture that the literary philosopher had appropriated so far, namely the Western culture ("watered so far from Western sources"). In fact, who was this high prelate, primate of an Eastern rite church in communion with the Holy See, whose theological work was seen by some as being so representative for the Orthodox theological thinking?

Vasile Suciu was the fourth bishop of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church, who had the difficult task to navigate on the ship of the Uniate Church from the confessional political horizon of the Hungarian state and to set anchor on the Romanian coast.²³ Born on January 13, 1873 in the border guard village Copăcel (Kopacsel) in the county of Fagaras, he began learning in his village subsequently at the Gymnasium of Blaj. Very close to pursuing a career in law, he came to study at the "St. Athanasius" College and at Urban College in Rome, obtaining a doctorate in theology and philosophy. Also in the capital of the Catholic world he received sacrament of priesthood by the hand touch from the

²² About Kiril Korolevski and his ties with the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church in Nicolae Brânzeu, *Memoriile unui preot bătrân*, ediție, prefață și note de Pia Brânzeu, [The memoirs of an old priest, edition, preface and notes by Pia Brânzeu] Marineasa Publishing House, Timișoara, 2008, p. 353, note 1.

²³ Details about the Vasile Suciu's life and pastoring at Lucian Turcu, *Arhidieceza greco-catolică de Alba Iulia – Făgăraș în timpul păstoririi mitropolitului Vasile Suciu (1920-1935)*, [The Greek-Catholic Archdiocese of Alba-Iulia – Fagaras during Vasile Suciu's pastoring 1920-1935] Ph.D thesis, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, p. 264-343.

Archbishop of Philippi, Sthephanos Sthephanopoli.²⁴ After his graduation in the summer of 1898, Vasile Suciú returned to Blaj, where he held various responsibilities, in particular in the field of education. He was, to start with, spiritual at the Seminary in Blaj, then professor of dogmatic theology and prefect of studies within it. He assumed the role of Religion teacher at the local Gymnasium, also being an editor-journalist at the gazette "Unirea" (The Union - t/n), subsequently occupying the post of curator of the Archdiocesan Library. During 1904 Vasile Suciú had requested the church authorities to be relieved of the role of prefect of studies at the Seminar. The reason for demanding that favor was a laudable one: he wanted to devote himself to the work of composing a work of dogmatic theology, a project that began four years ago, based on the fact that finding specialized works was difficult, and the existing ones "no longer meet the requirements of our time." The respective work appeared in 1907 at the printing press of the Archdiocesan Seminary in Blaj, in two sizeable opuses at the expense of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, who supported his former alumni project with a subsidy of 300 Italian liras. But, as we shall see, this was not the first work that had been authored by Vasile Suciú. Another office which he has fulfilled was that of ordinary assessor at the archdiocesan tribunal of second instance, an office with which he has been entrusted with since February 1906.²⁵ Also, Emil Viciú's waiver, for health reasons, to the post of rector of the Vancean boarding school for boys, caused the bishop at the time, Victor Mihályi, to consider that the best replacement for the resigning rector was Vasile Suciú.²⁶ But the most important position in Vasile Suciú's career path would intervene in the year 1910. Augustin Bunea's disappearance in November of the previous year prompted the vacancy of a post in the Metropolitan Cathedral Chapter, whose member he had become since 1895. After the redistribution of canonical degrees ("gradual promotion"), the members of the Bobian chapter held on March 20 a meeting to elect a new canon, and the one with the most votes was Vasile Suciú.²⁷ He would occupy the rank of canon theologian, metropolitan Mihályi's decree by which he was canonically "named and constituted" praising his "eminent qualities, knowledge, dexterity, exemplary mores and other laudable qualities and

²⁴ A.N.S.J. Cluj, Fond *Biblioteca Centrală Blaj*, [The Central Library of Blaj Fund] file no. 54/1873-1929, f. 5r.

²⁵ A.N.S.J. Cluj, Fond *Biblioteca Centrală Blaj*, file no. 54/1873-1929, f. 14r.

²⁶ A.N.S.J. Cluj, Fond *Biblioteca Centrală Blaj*, file no. 54/1873-1929, f. 15r.

²⁷ A.N.S.J. Cluj, Fond *Biblioteca Centrală Blaj*, file no. 54/1873-1929, f. 17r.

distinct virtues." Appointed on Palm Sunday formally in the Metropolitan Cathedral, Vasile Suciuc became the occupant of the lowest of all the 10 positions of the metropolitan chapter. The new position as a member of the College of metropolitan Canons prompted Vasile Suciuc to request his release from his post as professor of dogmatic theology at the Archdiocesan Seminary. The year 1911 will bring Vasile Suciuc a new important nomination, a recognition of his merits in the Romanian theology and culture in general. He would be vice-president of ASTRA (the president was Andrei Bârseanu) a position obtained during the congress held between 28 and 30 August of that year.²⁸ Since 1913, Vasile Suciuc asked his superiors to be remitted from the office of Rector of the Vancea boarding school from the post of professor of religion at the upper grades of the Gymnasium of Blaj, citing a desire to devote himself more intensely to the responsibilities he held at the archbishop Curia.²⁹ This is Vasile Suciuc's career course and the enumeration of his attributions performed by him until the last year of the war, when he became vicar capitular (temporary manager of the archdiocese until the appointment of the new metropolitan), and then, in the council from May 9, 1918 held at Blaj Ihe was credited with the highest trust by the elector priests to become the new bishop of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church.

Therefore, we have a *cursus honorum* which is varied and honorable for Vasile Suciuc, until the age of 45, when he was called to be the head of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church. The profound upheavals produced by the war, which led to the redrawing of the European political geography also affected the Romanian Greek Catholic Church, which was made active, for the first time in history since its establishment, within the framework of a Romanian state. Which is why, the 15 year pastoring (until 1935) by metropolitan Vasile Suciuc meant a

²⁸ Archivio della Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali, *Romeni. Affari generali*, 1129/28, f. 32r-v (hereinafter A.C.C.O.). Vasile Suciuc has had this position until 1922; after the president of the Association's death, he refused the proposition to candidate as head of the organization, saying that his priority was the Church. He continued to be active inside the Association until 1930 when he retired from medical reasons: Valer Moga, „*Astra*” și societatea 1918-1930, cu o prefață de Marcel Știrban, [Astra and the society 1918-1930, with a preface by Marcel Știrban], Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 81, 104, 147.

²⁹ A.C.C.O., *Romeni. Affari generali*, 1129/28, f. 36r-v.

great deal of work on his part to identify the place and role of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church in the Greater Romania.³⁰

Regarding the theological work of Vasile Suciu, it deserves some special considerations. The first mention to be made is that it was published over half a decade, until its author assumed the canonical function in the chapter of the Blaj cathedral. Thematically diversified, and especially consistent in terms of content, the theological works that Vasile Suciu placed his name upon were the result of personal reflection, of the horizon of books that he had acquired until their composition, some may be framed in the debates of ideas of the moment, others aiming simply to renew the theological literature or to cover the gaps found in books from specialized bookshelves.

The first opus to bear Vasile Suciu's signature which came out 8 years after his return from the studies in the capital of the unified Italy attacks with the courage of a young man driven by strong convictions, tributary to the cultural environment of the Christian spirituality, themes that had a large public, indistinct in terms of confession, but intent on extrasensory experiences, to whom the generalized optimism, technological or intellectual or artistic emulations that have characterized "la belle époque" could not provide a complete satisfaction.³¹ It's about the "inventions of our times," as the author called them, such as hypnotism and spiritualism, which "had begun to settle in our cities and towns".³² Originally published as a river study in "Unirea", the work in question was meant to be a guide for any reader of good faith on the two phenomena which disturbed people's minds and threatened to weaken the faith through the sensationalism that characterize them. Wanting to demonstrate the fundamental errors that were based on the two psychic experiences of the modern world, Vasile Suciu subjected them to thorough analysis from the perspective of the teachings of faith and true Christian values, articulating text around a few referential points: the emergence of the two concepts, the phenomenology, their consequences, focusing on confuting the two phenomena based on the teaching of faith of the Catholic Church. The conclusion stated by Vasile Suciu at the end of the analysis was unequivocal: any genuine Christian was obliged to abandon immediately the practice and popularization of the two great

³⁰ For details, see Lucian Turcu, *Arhidieceza greco-catolică*, [The Greek-Catholic Archdiocese] p. 44-216; 344-569.

³¹ Maurice Larkin, *Religion, politics and preferment in France since 1890. La Belle Epoque and its legacy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995, p. 53-67.

³² Vasile Suciu, *Hipnotism și spiritism. Studiu critic-teologic*, [Hypnotism and spiritism. A critical-theological study] Tipografia Seminarului arhidiecezan, Blaj, 1906.

errors of those times, assimilating them to "very dangerous superstitions, who put many believers on the way of human and devilish deception."

A second work by Vasile Suciú published in two volumes in the spring of 1907 with the material support of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, as we have seen, was one of fundamental dogmatic theology.³³ Observing the lack of such works, given that the similar writing that was authored by Simeon Micu was obsolete at that time and even old in terms of language, Vasile Suciú took the initiative of renewing the theological literature by laying on paper the lectures presented before the archdiocesan seminary students from Blaj. The task was easy, as the writer confesses in the preface to the first volume. Specifically, Vasile Suciú believed that in order to debate capital themes from the inventory of the Catholic faith pedagogy, "man has to rise above the hardships and daily harassments, he needs to be stripped of all that he has and seek the truth." Another difficulty lay in the pluralization of the perspective on the subject treated. More specifically "today, thanks to their sects and systems, it's not enough for one who writes books of theology to know about approaching religious truths, but he must also know the beliefs of other religions or denominations." Other obstacles that the author had to face in drafting the treaty of fundamental theology concerned the lack of specialized terminology in Romanian ("we do not find two or three authors who express a concept in the same words, but one uses Greek terms, another uses Latin Latin and the third Slavonic words"), but also the lack of a public to be interested in the work of theology, given that "our clergymen, who can and want to study theological sciences are very few". Therefore, Vasile Suciú's purpose by drafting the Treaty of fundamental theology was double: one was to give those who studied theology a handy tool for the specialized literature was meager consisting most often in translations or compilations and the other was to make available to the general public "an aid for the personal study", which is why the actual text was accompanied by explanatory notes and bibliographical references. Writing above all "a didactic book," Vasile Suciú tried to innovate methodologically, so that the content be learned easily and efficiently. More specifically, at the beginning of each chapter or subchapter he expounded the doctrine of faith of the Church and the contrary opinions on the subject he approached, after which the

³³ *Idem, Teologia dogmatică fundamentală, vol. I. Apologetica creștină*, [The fundamental dogmatic theology, Vol. I, The Christian apologetics] Tipografia Seminarului arhiepiscopesc, Blaj, 1907; *vol. II. Tradițiunea și Biserica*, [Vol. II Tradition and Church] Tipografia Seminarului arhiepiscopesc, Blaj, 1907.

author formulated a sentence with hypothetical value extracted from the precepts of the Church, and the demonstration was based on the initial sentence, the arguments being taken from the same field of faith from teachings of the Church, so that the final part was reserved for "more difficult objections" on that theme. Each of the two volumes was abundant with topics related to the theology of divine revelation, its ways of expression, the content transmitted and its significance for the history of the human salvation.³⁴

The following spring, a new ample work appeared signed by the same passionate teacher from the Archdiocesan Seminary from Blaj. This time it was a treaty of special dogmatic theology, in turn made of two large parts.³⁵ Encouraged by the positive feedback he had received after

³⁴ The issues of terminology, the relation between theology and the broad spectrum of modern sciences, the semantics of the term "religion", the man's intrinsic need to believe, the usefulness of religion for societies and modern states, the specifics and means of manifestation of the supernatural revelation, the concept and the phenomenology of the divine miracles, the characteristics of the prophecies, the divinity of the Christian religion, the relationship between reason and revelation, veracity of Christianity in relation to other religions and systems of religious belief (Confucianism, Zoroastrianism, Brahmanism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Islam), the similarities and especially the fundamental differences between Christianity on the one hand and the pagan beliefs and conceptions on the other, the divine character of the Christian revelation, the veracity of miracles performed by Jesus Christ, the messianic prophecies and their fulfillment in the person of the Savior, the spread of the Christian religion and the emergence of the first generations of martyrs of Christianity, the Sacred Tradition and the Sacred Scripture as instruments for transmitting God's revelation, the founding of the Christian Church and its meanings, the properties and prerogatives of the Church (the unity, holiness, catholicity, apostolicity, infallibility), the concept of "true Church", the doctrine of St. Peter's primacy of jurisdiction over the apostolic college and over the Church and the perpetuation of the primacy by his successors to the episcopal see of Rome, the nature of the Pope's primacy and the dogma of papal infallibility are the most important themes that Vasile Suciu develops in over 700 printed pages of the two volumes that make up his treatise of fundamental dogmatic theology.

³⁵ Vasile Suciu, *Teologia dogmatică specială, vol. I. Dzeu-Unul, S. Treime, Dzeu-Creatorul, Întruparea Dlui și Grația. Cu binecuvântarea Excelenței Sale Preasfințitului Domn Dr. Victor Mihályi de Apșa, arhiepiscop și mitropolit de Alba Iulia și Făgăraș*, [The special dogmatic theology, 1st volume: God, the Holy Trinity, God the Creator, The Incarnation of God and the Grace. With the blessing from his Excellency and Holy Dr. Victor Mihályi of Apșa, archbishop and metropolitan of Alba Iulia and Făgăraș] Tipografia Seminarului arhidiecezan, Blaj, 1908; *vol. II. Sacramentele în general, sacramentele în special și eshatologia. Cu binecuvântarea Excelenței Sale Preasfințitului Domn Dr. Victor Mihályi de Apșa, arhiepiscop și mitropolit de Alba Iulia și Făgăraș*, [vol. II: The sacraments in general, the sacraments particularly and eschatology. With the

the publication of the fundamental dogmatic theology work, Vasile Suciuc decided to also print the special dogmatic theology lectures which he taught to the seminarians. He used the same method he had used for the earlier treaty, highlighting the fact that he had written "a book of teaching" in which was tried to present "dogmatic truths, clearly, accurately and in detail." He frequently cited, in developing the topics, well-known authors, "and at the same time I looked for the sources themselves and I took into account our own church books," the prolific author confessed.³⁶

Vasile Suciuc also distinguished himself as the author of religion textbooks for secondary school education. Two such works that had his signature appeared in the autumn of 1909 at the request of the Archbishop Consistory. The first one,³⁷ with an introductory character in

bleasing from his Excellency and Holy Dr. Victor Mihályi of Apșa, archbishop and metropolitan of Alba Iulia and Făgăraș] Tipografia Seminarului arhidiecezan, Blaj, 1908.

³⁶ The first volume of special theology focuses on the following topics: demonstrating the existence of God by cosmological, teleological historical arguments; the essence or nature of God (the simplicity, perfection, goodness, immensity, or the immutability, eternity, unity); the inner workings of the divine nature; the understanding of God and the doctrine of faith about the three persons of the Holy Trinity, with a substantial chapter dedicated to the origin of the Divine Persons, especially the demonstration on the origin of the Holy Spirit from both the Father and the Son, the equality of the divine persons, the dogma on God-Father or Creator, including a short treaty of angelology; the origin of man and his primordial condition, the nature of the human soul (the spirituality, immortality, unity, divine origin), the fall of man and the nature of human into the sin, the dogma of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, the dogma of God-Son and the Redeemer (mystery of the Incarnation, the dual nature, divine and human, of the Savior, the perpetual virginity of the Mother of God, the unity of the person of Jesus Christ, including all the theological error occurred on the dogma over time, the mystery of the salvation, the intercession, worship and invocation of the saints, the veneration of icons and relics, the dogma about God-Holy Spirit or Sanctifier, with a particular emphasis on the concept and manifestations of the divine grace. the second volume is built around the sacraments (the existence and efficacy of the sacraments in the old law, the essence of the sacraments according to the new law), the matter and the form of the sacraments, the ceremonies or the sacramental rites, the effects of the sacraments, their conditions of acceptance, a detailed presentation of each of the seven great mysteries of the Church (the baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, penance, ordination, marriage and the last anointing), the final part being reserved for a detailed presentation of the Church`s teaching related to eschatology.

³⁷ Vasile Suciuc, *Principiile fundamentale sau generale ale religiei creștine pentru școlile medii și institutetele pedagogice*, [The fundamental or general principles of the

the fundamental issues of Christianity, was originally designed as a revitalized edition of the similar work of Ioan Ratiu³⁸ but as Vasile Suciu confessed, "as I relied on some long praxes I knew well the good parts and the weak ones of the edition, and I considered it would be suitable that instead of a new edition I give the students the present textbook". The work proposed by Vasile Suciu differed from the former theology professor's book by reducing the number of arguments that came to support the themes contained in the manual, wanting it "to ease the study of religion and to make sure that what is learned is done so learn with cause". The second handbook was one of Christian morality,³⁹ drafted at the request of the same church forum, and this time opting for an "accurate and easy" approach, for easier but certain understanding by students of the fundamental issues that were dealt with. "For this purpose I explained all the expressions whose understanding seemed to me that could bring difficulties, I always avoided too brief statements" were just two of the distinctive notes of the book that its author wished to mention. In addition, he dared to give all the learners who would use the manual a piece of advice, namely: "the principles of Christian morality developed in this book should not remain only theoretical (e.a.) and moral principles, but should turn in the students' hearts into practical (e.a.) principles of Christian morality."

Vasile Suciu's theological work has sparked numerous echoes immediately after its publication. The response it received from the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, which supported it, has been positive, as in Velehrad, in 1909, where he was sent to represent the Romanian Church at the Unionist congress which was organized there, Vasile Suciu was highly congratulated for his work by the Italian Orientalist Aurelio Palmieri, a renowned dogmatician at the time, concerned about the situation of the Russian Church and especially of examining the theology of the Eastern Churches in the light of the Catholic doctrine.⁴⁰ It seems that the author of the dogmatic treaties that

Christian religion for the medium schools and pedagogy institutes] Tipografia Seminarului teologic greco-catolic, Balászfalva, 1909.

³⁸ Ioan Rațiu, *Principiile fundamentale ale religiunii creștine*, [The fundamental principles of the Christian religion] Tipografia Seminarului arhidiecezan, Blaj, 1872.

³⁹ Vasile Suciu, *Principiile morale sau etice ale religiunii creștine pentru școalele medii și institutetele pedagogice*, [The moral and ethical principles of the Christian religion for the medium schools and pedagogy institutes] Tipografia Seminarului teologic greco-catolic, Balászfalva, 1909.

⁴⁰ The main works by Aurelio Palmieri were: *La Chiesa russa: le sue odierne condizioni e il suo riformismo dottrinale*, Firenze, 1908; *Dositeo, patriarca greco di Gerusalemme (1641-*

were printed in Blaj held hopes for receiving a distinction from the Romanian Academy.⁴¹ Besides the positive feedback there were analyses which have tried to balance the qualities and "drawbacks" of the two major treaties of dogmatic theology. One of those who had dared to look into the works of theology of the teacher from Blaj was Nicolae Brînzeu, then a newly graduate of theological studies in Vienna, where he had managed to get a doctorate.⁴² Intrigued, by his own confession, that a work so consistent as the young professor's from the seminary of Blaj did not draw more discussion within the Romanian ecclesial medias, except for the laudatory references in various Transylvanian journals, Nicolae Brînzeu made the decision to open a debate himself, around the Greek-Catholic theological literature, beginning of course, with the latest writings in the field. "With the boldness prior to the youth and with the confidence of a fresh doctor from Vienna I have decided to start a discussion," recalled the canon priest from Lugoj.⁴³ He even sent to the editorial office of "Unirea" an article entitled "Critical studies in dogmatic theology", which appeared in one of the following issues of the publication.⁴⁴ In that text Brînzeu, in addition to the remarks he made to the work signed by Vasile Suci, expressed his reservations towards the abuse of the method syllogistic which the argumentation of major topics of dogmatic theology was based on, reproaching the author that he had omitted the latest references in the field or even that the work lacked an alphabetical index. These observations were apparently not fully agreed by the ecclesiastical media from the capital of the Romanian Greek-Catholicism, the editors of the Blaj gazette refusing to edit the review written by Nicolae Brînzeu. The objections made by the latter did not remain without a reaction. It came from the author of the criticized work himself, through a personal letter to Nicolae Brînzeu, after he had taken note of the observations that the first part of the continuation of the already published material contained. The content of the letter of response is relevant not so much by its polemical nature, and especially because it reveals the ideas that led the writer to publish the two treaties.

1707): *contributo alla storia della teologia greco-ortodossa nel secolo XVII*, Firenze, 1909; *Il progresso dommatico nel concetto cattolico*, Firenze, 1910; *Theologia dogmatica orthodoxa (Ecclesiae Graeco-Russicae) ad lumen catholicae doctrinae examinata et discussa*, Florentiae, 1911.

⁴¹ Nicolae Brînzeu, *Memoriile unui preot bătrân*, [The Memoirs of an Old Priest] p. 185.

⁴² *Ibidem*.

⁴³ *Idem*, „Dr. Vasile Suci în literatura teologică”, [Dr. Vasile Suci in the theological literature] în *Blajul*, II, nr. 2/1935, p. 78.

⁴⁴ *Unirea*, XIX, nr. 9/1909, p. 3.

Vasile Suciu noted that dogmas were fixed and could be known from the sources that they have generated and any author of treaties of dogmatic theology was forced to appeal to them. "The authors of "Dogmatic" cannot add through their writings a new authority to the dogmas because their authority as well is based on the evidence that they appeal to." Regarding the absence of references of some recent works of some German authors, essential, in Nicolae Brînzeu's opinion in any treaty of dogmatic theology, Vasile Suciu believes that those writings, published mostly in journals abroad, were difficult to access, and they only nuanced ideas which were already known and accepted. Furthermore, Vasile Suciu believed, "they are useless to the provincial seminars, where the students must learn it, so do not you have time for any theological things". But not just building a clear theological discourse, to exclude the risk of appearing, among young people preparing for ministry, confusing ideas or even ideas contrary to the teachings of the faith of the Church was a motivation for creating the voluminous theological opuses. Vasile Suciu's original thought was the one to write a "Romanian Greek Catholic dogmatic, and so one should always regard to demonstrate the Catholic dogmas and to give them the shape on the beliefs and traditions of the Greek Church and especially the Romanian Church". Regarding the absence of an alphabetical index at the end of its work, Vasile Suciu admitted that he intended to introduce such an instrument, "but he could not". He introduced in exchange an analytic index "in order to facilitate students in revising the material", but also "because whoever would have liked to know how the author treated a certain topic would not have been compelled to read the whole thing but he/she should be able to reach his/her purposes only from reading index". Vasile Suciu also stressed that the main character of his books was a didactic one, which is why he resorted to some techniques, such as using templates to facilitate learning the content by seminarians. The two dogmatic theology treaties were re-edited by their author in a second edition, in the year 1927 the revision putting an emphasis on doctrinal differences between the Catholic and Orthodox.⁴⁵

The last important work developed by Vasile Suciu before being absorbed by the church administration is an analysis that is centered on

⁴⁵ *Unirea*, XXXIX, nr. 4/1929, p. 3. The periodical gives the review to the two works in *Orientalia Christiana*.

the religion-science-society triad.⁴⁶ Appeared at a time when the Romanian society began to slide down the slope of materialism and secularization, the volume in question was meant to be a replica in the Christian spirituality matrix to the aggressive currents of ideas questioning the place and role of faith and church in people's lives during those times. Vasile Suciú noted from the start that for the Romanian society this was a new problem considering the fact that the Romanian intellectual elite was mistaken for a long time with the representatives of the church, and when this did not happen anymore, the secular intellectuals continued to bear a special respect to the values promoted by the church and understand the social role which it had. What triggered the analysis of the author was a newspaper article entitled "The Anarchist" first appeared in "Gazeta Transilvaniei", later picked by other journals, in which a young graduate of the University of Budapest formulated a series of statements insulting the faith of the Romanians.⁴⁷ It was not the only example of "mental myopia" as the author of the reply book intransigently qualified it. Similar or even harsher speeches proliferated at that time in the Romanian Kingdom's academic environment, particularly in Iasi. Professors Thiron C. and A. C. Cuza had already launched attacks against the religious beliefs of their fellow countrymen advocating the total separation of the state from the Church, following the example of the French, or even to suppress the ecclesial institution. The premise from which Vasile Suciú proceeded to explain the "persecution" against the faith which had its place among the Romanian learned men began from the fact that they were bothered by "the moral and the teachings of Christianity" being most often tributary to atheistic beliefs. Based on this finding, the author opened the three major thematic discussions examining the relation between religion on the one hand and science, philosophy and society on the other. Regarding the first, Vasile Suciú presented the names of the clergymen who have made the most important discoveries in science or art, stating that the Church has encouraged at least since modern times, the development of science and increased the level of knowledge about the world in general. But no matter how much science would progress, there are still many areas which are impossible to cover through reason and

⁴⁶ Vasile Suciú, *Raportul dintre religie, știință și societate*, [The rapport between religion, science and society] Tipografia Seminarului teologic greco-catolic Printing Press, Blaj, 1910.

⁴⁷ Nicolae Brínzeu, Dr. Vasile Suciú în literatura teologică, [Dr. Vasile Suciú in the theological literature] p. 76.

technique developed by man, believed the author. These ultimate truths and their main cause fall in the religious sphere, which provides an understanding key complementary to that proposed by the various branches of science "in consistency, there are facts relating to the unseen world and especially to the prime cause that today we do not know and we cannot know. And we will never know them, no matter how advance the human mind is, because we will forever miss the mean to know them, the manifestation of the entire perfection of the prime cause, in creatures". Regarding the relationship with philosophy, religion was superior to it by the fact that, argued Vasile Suciu, only it could "satisfy the human desire to forever exist and to be happy. " This was not the only asset that religion had with systems of philosophical thought. It also had the privilege of fulfilling man's desire for justice ("to reward the good and punish the evil") or his inclination to obey a superior force ("the requirement to worship ") or to have a ceremony. But the supreme advantage which religion offered his followers was the possibility of obtaining redemption, which entitled the Vasile Suciu to say that "the religion, with its teachings and caresses is wanted by the human nature. It must be, and if it is not, it is made". Finally "the purpose of religion to society" is analyzed. The interrogation from which the author of the opuses starts is whether the state can exist without religion. After a thorough analysis of the dynamics of relations between religion and state power from ancient times to modernity, which highlighted the gradual reduction of the role of religion in society from one in which it was mixed with the temporal power, legitimizing it, to a simple reservoir of collective morality, Vasile Suciu concluded that "it is clear that the state cannot exist without religion, morality only the independent morality. Therefore, the free thinkers, by their desire to kill off religion are unconsciously the biggest and most dangerous enemies of the state because they are destroying its foundation".

Knowing the profile of metropolitan Vasile Suciu's theological work we can ask ourselves to what extent could Mircea Eliade find the answers to his questions by consulting it? In other words, was the Romanian high priest's theological work, meaning the volumes of fundamental dogmatic theology, namely those of dogmatic theology suited for knowing the dogmas and teaching of the Orthodox faith, as their requester expected? The answer to these questions tends to be a rather nuanced. I say this because, as it is clear from the content of the two works and from the response to the criticisms formulated by Nicolae Brinzeu on them, the author has chosen to present the "dogmatic truths" of the Catholic Church, but taking into account the "beliefs and traditions

of the Greek Church and especially of the Romanian Church". From this point of view, the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church was assuming the identity physiognomy that was specific to a church that resulted after a Florentine ecclesiastical union,⁴⁸ combining the Oriental tradition with elements from the inventory of the Catholic faith's pedagogy.⁴⁹ This combination of the two pillars identity of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church is faithfully reflected in the massive theological works published by the high hierarch from Blaj and redited two decades apart. One can most obviously observe the influence of the Catholic Church on the uniate Romanians' Oriental faith in a series of dogmatic points, which are all examples of divergent evolutions of the Western theological thought in relation to the Eastern one. Among these, those debated by Vasile Suciuc debated in his volumes are related to the concept of "true Church", the primacy of St. Peter's jurisdiction over the apostolic college and the Church; to the nature of the Pope's primacy and the dogma of papal infallibility; to the teaching about the Holy Spirit's origin from the Father and the Son (Filioque); to the dogma of Virgin Mary's immaculate conception, to the matter and form of the sacraments, to the Church's teaching related to eschatology etc.

Despite such a content, between the Byzantine theological heritage and the Catholic doctrinal culture, Vasile Suciuc's works were rather placed, as we have seen, in the sphere of thought which was specific to the Eastern theological universe. Even so, getting them seems to have been crucial to Mircea Eliade, who, in order to achieve this goal did not hesitate to resort to a little trick, that of highlighting the behavior of other authors in similar circumstances: "For many years I am in correspondence with various Christians and experts in the history of Christianity in the West; they sent me their books and directed me towards the current Catholic-religious production" he wrote. To be even more persuasive and to underline even more the importance that the

⁴⁸ For the principles of the Florentine Union, see Josef Macha, *Ecclesiastical Unification. A Theoretical Framework together with Case Studies from the History of Latin-Byzantine Relations*, Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, Roma, 1974, p. 11-16. The author takes and adapts the conceptualizations made by Amitai Etzioni, *Political Unification. A Comparative Study of Leaders and Forces*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1965, applying them in the analysis of the inter-ecclesiastical rapports.

⁴⁹ About the identity of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church until the middle of the XIXth century see Ciprian Ghișa, *Biserica greco-catolică din Transilvania (1700-1850). Elaborarea discursului identitar*, [The Greek-Catholic Church from Transylvania (1700-1850). The elaboration of the identity discourse] Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2006.

volumes he had requested had in enriching his theological culture, Eliade concluded his brief epistle as a professional commitment, "for that matter, my life will be dedicated to the research of religions and deepening the Christian sources".

More than a month after Mircea Eliade wrote the letter, the metropolitan Vasile Suciu would answer him. We know this from the fact that on the letter received from Eliade, the high priest from Blaj had written the following resolution, with a purple pencil, often used in his pleadings: "I sent on 28/VII/928 a letter and all four volumes "for the mentioned reasons" in this letter". Without, unfortunately, having the content of the letter sent by the metropolitan Suciu, we surely know that the four volumes have been sent to young graduate of philosophy in Bucharest, as his name appears on the lists to whom copies of the second edition of the two works were donated.⁵⁰

We do know, fortunately, the response letter from Mircea Eliade to the gesture of munificence shown by the Greek-Catholic hierarch. Written at August 1st on a sheet of paper bearing the same header as the first, the letter surprises by the title of the addressee, even if not perfectly proper to the ecclesiastical dignity of the addressee, still more suitable than the previous one: "Most Holy Father". The sender is not reluctant to showing his satisfaction from the gift he had received: "Your Holiness' letter, and the books gave me a vivid and unspeakable joy. The gift is, indeed precious. "Having probably the time to look into them, Eliade added: "the four volumes will solve many of my theological enigmas." But the following mention can be considered not only as a genuine profession of faith, a proof of membership to his confession, but also a statement that betrayed the need to seek answers elsewhere: "although I, being and remaining Greek-Oriental, not all ... ". Revealing his working method he intended to use, Eliade added: "I will compel myself to read and meditate suitably with a book of thought and teaching. I have researched so far the clues, have worked thoroughly like any man of study". The letter ended this time with a formula that expresses the full gratitude of the writer, but also with his intention to address new messages to his illustrious correspondent "should a problem not be solved".

Thus ends a short but, as we could see, consistent ideational correspondence between Mircea Eliade and metropolitan Vasile Suciu. Without knowing, unfortunately, the letter from the high priest from Blaj to the young philosopher from Bucharest, we know that between the two

⁵⁰ AN SJ Cluj, personal fund *Vasile Suciu*, file no. 91/1907-1925, f. 21r, 22r.

there was a bond, albeit not a direct, personal one, but rather one of conjuncture, of circumstances. But the exchange of letters between the two assumes another significance, not at all negligible. It's about the respect from a distance, the esteem imposed by the recognition of authority that a young man, passionate about the history of religions and the dogmas of Christianity had towards his contemporary, whom he did not have the opportunity to know, to meet. Even so, what mattered more was that between them there was a bridge, created from the books written by the elder and the reading passion and thirst for knowledge of the younger.

The History of the Greek-Catholic Church as Reflected in the Post 1989 Romanian Historiography. Some Considerations

Cecilia Cârja, Ion Cârja

Babeş-Bolyai University

Abstract: *The History of the Greek-Catholic Church as Reflected in the Post 1989 Romanian Historiography. Some Considerations.* The study aims to present several considerations concerning a scientific research topic which was almost non-existent prior to 1989: the history of Romanian Greek-Catholic Church. The liberalisation of the historical writing in post-communist Romania has created a favourable climate for restarting the research concerning the history of the Church and of religious life. It is in this context that the Romanian United Church became once more an important subject in the Romanian historiography. The research of the history of the Greek-Catholic Church meant, for that period, going to primary sources (archives in and outside the country), as well as identifying main research topics such as: the Union of the Transylvanian Romanians with the Church of Rome, personalities and institutions, relations between the Greek-Catholic Church with the Holy See and with the Latin Catholic Church from Austria-Hungary in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the outlawry of this Church in 1948, the period of the communist persecution etc. When surveying the topic, we are dealing with three ways of connecting with the history of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church: academic history, a result of studies and research conducted by specialists, the official, encomiastic history automatically assumed by the United elites and clergy and a disputed history generated by a difficult dialogue and the tensed relations with the Orthodox Church following the post-communist transition.

Keywords: historiography, Greek-Catholic Church, identity, confession, transition

Rezumat: *Istoria Bisericii greco-catolice în preocupările istoriografiei românești după 1989. Câteva considerații.* Studiul își propune să prezinte câteva considerații pe marginea unui sector al cercetării științifice aproape inexistent înainte de 1989, istoria Bisericii Greco-Catolice românești. Liberalizarea scrisului istoric în România post-comunistă a creat un climat favorabil pentru relansarea cercetărilor de istoria bisericii și a vieții religioase și în acest context Biserica Română Unită a revenit ca o temă importantă pe agenda istoriografiei românești. Cercetarea istoriei Bisericii Greco-Catolice a presupus, în această perioadă, apelul la izvoare primare (fonduri de arhivă din țară și străinătate), precum și identificarea unor priorități tematice, cum ar fi: Unirea românilor din Transilvania cu Biserica Romei, personalități și instituții, relațiile Bisericii Greco-Catolice cu Sfântul Scaun și cu Biserica catolică de rit latin din Austro-Ungaria în a doua jumătate a secolului al

XIX-lea și la începutul secolului XX, interzicerea acestei Biserici în 1948, anii prigoanei comuniste etc. La o privire de ansamblu asupra subiectului, se poate spune că avem de-a face cu trei tipuri de raportare la istoria Bisericii Greco-Catolice române: istoria academică, rezultat al studiilor și cercetărilor făcute de specialiști, istoria oficială, encomiastică, autoasumată de elite și de mediile clericale unite, o istorie polemică generată de un dialog dificil și de relațiile tensionate cu Biserica Ortodoxă, în anii tranziției post-comuniste.

Cuvinte-cheie: istoriografie, Biserica Greco-Catolică, identitate, confesiune, tranziție

The history of the Church and of religious life are among the fields of research that have enjoyed a renewed interest after the fall of the Romanian totalitarian communist regime. Due to the preoccupation which honored it in the past and provided it with consistency, the history of the Church also enjoys a respectable precedence. Its roots can be traced back to the period of the Transylvanian School (see for this Gheoghe Șincai, *Istoria Bisericei Românilor*¹). During the 19th and 20th centuries, while the successive stages of Romanian historical writing developed, and especially during the romantic and positivist periods, the history of the Church matures into a separate segment of the Romanian national history. It will create its conceptual apparatus and its needed tools and will start having results scientifically proven. These results represent up to this day benchmarks for the Romanian historical writing. The research concerning the history of the Church has started based on the two Romanian ethnic confessions existing in Transylvania: the Orthodox one and respectively the Greek-Catholic Church. They had a double purpose from the onset: to reconstruct the past and last but not least to express and assert their own religious and spiritual identity. Thanks to Ioan Lupaș and Silviu Dragomir, respectively Augustin Bunea and Zenobie Pâclișanu, the two “choirs” of the Romanian nation from Transylvania have honored to the highest degree the fields of religious history and religious life. They have also established historiographic priorities such as the roots of Romanian Christianity, relations between Romanians and the Slav-Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the religious structures established by Romanians from Ardeal during the medieval period, the Union with Rome, the institutionalizing of the two Romanian confessions in Transylvania during the 18th-19th centuries etc. When

¹ Gheorghe Șincai, *Istoria Bisericei Românilor atât a cestor dincoace, precum și a celor dincolo de Dunăre*, University Publishing House, Buda, 1813.

viewing at a glance the Romanian historiography prior to 1918² and the one from the inter-war period, we can easily notice the professional approach towards religious history the militant and often contradictory character of this field of study and the creation of a research program which will be followed, up to a certain point, in between 1948-1989. This is especially true especially when viewing the research concerning the ecclesiastical historiography conducted by exiled Greek-Catholic elements.³

The totalitarian regimes have imposed their own historiographic agenda un Eastern Europe, they have subdued the historian and have largely instrumentalized the past. We know very well today that Romania's communist regime has had a most devastating effect on religious life and also on the historiography concerning this subject. The brutal cancellation of the dual system of religious life in Romanian society from Transylvania, due to the dissolution of the Romanian United Church in 1948, meant that the Greek-Catholic Romanians had to worship in secret. The history of this institution, this field of research, were disavowed and pushed aside by the ideological commandments and the propaganda of the communist regimes until it vanished from historiography entirely. The history of the Church could not represent in itself a field of study, in universities or the research institutes of the Romanian Academy in between 1958-1989. It was admitted as a field of study only in theological faculties. The themes and problems concerning the history of the Romanian Church from Transylvania could be included in historiography mostly only after 1965 and they had to be veiled in larger topics such as the history of the national movement or Romanian cultures in Transylvania. The two Churches greatly contributed to this topic. Typical for the manner in which official communist historiography imposed lies through omission is the textbook of Romanian history for the 8th grade published in the 1980s. The lesson entitled *Romanian culture in the 18th century* forgot to mention that the coryphaei of the Transylvanian School, Samuil Micu, Gheorghe Șincai and Petru Maior, belonged to the Greek-Catholic Church.⁴

² See for this Corina Teodor, *Coridoare istoriografice. O incursiune în universul scrisului ecleziastic românesc din Transilvania anilor 1850-1920*, Cluj University Press Printing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2003.

³ Another important work in view of the debated subject is the following (it was published by the Greek-Catholic exiles after World War II): Aloisie Ludovic Tăutu et al., *Biserica Român Unită: 250 de ani de istorie*, s.n., Madrid, 1952.

⁴ See Hadrian Daicoviciu, Pompiliu Teodor, Ioan Câmpeanu, *Istoria antică și medie a României. Manual pentru clasa a VIII-a*, The Didactical and Pedagogical Publishing

The fall of the communist regime in December 1989 had a positive impact on the Romanian historiography and the cultural climate. It meant the disappearance of the ideological commandments and of the propaganda that impeded the study of the past and shadowed the role of the historian. This reconsideration was possible given the new conditions. Freedom of conscience and of religion were fundamental gains for the Romanian post-communist public life. It allowed for the re-establishment of the two traditional Romanian religious confessions in Transylvania. We must mention however that after World War II the religious identity of Romanian from this province, and from the rest as well, became multiplied, given the proliferation of neo protestant cults. The post 1989 climate of religious freedom and the re-establishment of the two Transylvanian traditional religious components, made possible the resumption of the identity values of the historical writing promoted by the two Churches, the Orthodox, respectively the Greek-Catholic one. The two and a half decades of post-communist transition offered the United Church an ally in history. History helped it in its attempt to reactivate its own identity and to find its place in a Romanian society that differed from the inter-war period in terms of social and cultural aspects and mentality.

We must note that in the decades of post-communist transition there was a revival, partial at least, of the old research program of the Greek-Catholic Church as stated by the pre-communist historians such as Augustin Benea and Zenobie Pâclișanu. For the post-war period this program was maintained thanks to the exceptional commitment of Monseigneur Octavian Bârlea, who resided in Munich.⁵ The Union with Rome and the national and cultural importance of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church, alongside with obtaining its status as metropolis and the creation, in 1853, of the province of Alba Iulia and Făgăraș, are among the themes reiterated by the post 1989 Romanian historiography.

Thus, the Greek-Catholic Church can be found in the post 1989 Romanian historiography, given the obvious interest manifested by the Romanian historians of this period for themes and topics previously pushed aside, for example the history of the Church and of religious life. The focus of the historic research on this line of study can be reflected in

House, Bucharest, 1984, p. 224. In the 1984 textbook, and the following series we have used (1986, 1986, 1987 textbooks) the historical and linguistic works of the three great scholars and their role in the creation of the movement for political and national emancipation, are briefly presented.

⁵ Octavian Bârlea, *Metropolia Bisericii Române Unite proclamată în 1855 la Blaj*, în „Perspective”, 1987, nr. 37-38.

the historiography of the past 27 years as seen in the titles mentioned in the volumes VIII-XIII of the *Romanian Historical Bibliography* and in the work which follows in its path, *The Romanian Historiographical Yearbook*. They represent tools that provide a pertinent quantitative view for this topic in the above mentioned timeframe.⁶ In another train of thoughts, by going through the books dedicated to this topic, we must note that we are dealing with a certain “territorialisation” concerning the post 1989 study of the history of the Greek-Catholic Church. This means that the largest number of such research, both in terms of quantity and scope, visibility and relevance were conducted in the academic center Cluj-Napoca,⁷ although we can mention works published by authors from other university centers from Ardeal, Banat or Bucharest. The fact that the Romanian historiography which is interested in this topic after 1989 is mostly from Ardeal can be easily explained away by the Romanian United Church having an ecclesiastical structures generated by the complex evolutions of Transylvanian history from the start of the modern period and because it represented a mark of the identity of this province, just as it still does today. At the same time the fact that the largest number of research on the topic was conducted at Cluj-Napoca is due not only to the existence of a qualified human resource in the Faculty of History and Philosophy from Babeş-Bolyai University and in the Romanian Academy History Institute, renamed since 2004 “George Barițiu” but also because of earlier historians concerned with this topic. We refer to professor Pompiliu Teodor, an important name in the academic city located on the Someş. He was interested by those who illustrated the Transylvanian Enlightenment, such as Samuil Micu, who was favored by the academic from Cluj who touches,⁸ from the point of

⁶ It is interesting to note to this sense, the evolution of the number of titles and studies/articles discussing the history of the Church, which are numbered in the volumes 8-12 of the *Bibliografia Istorică a României (Romania's Historical Bibliography)* which counts the historiographic productions in between 1989-2010, followed for 2010-2012 by the work continuing the BIR series, *Anuarul Istoriografic al României (Romania's Historiographic Yearbook)*. The distribution of the titles concerning religious history, modern and contemporary history is as follows: 1989-1994 - 61 titles; 1994-1999 - 104 titles; 1999-2004 - 519 titles; 2004-2006 - 115 titles; 2007-2008 - 124 titles; 2009-2010 - 177 titles; 2011 - 143 titles; 2012 - 135 titles.

⁷ For the general presentation of the post 1989 historiography from Cluj see Ovidiu Pecican, *Poarta leilor. Istoriografia tânăra în Transilvania (1990-2005)*, I-II, Grinta Printing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2005.

⁸ Professor Pompiliu Teodor dealt with Samuil Micu in his doctoral thesis, publicly defended in 1969 at the Babeş-Bolyai University from Cluj-Napoca and returns to the

view of the history of culture and history of historiography, upon themes and topics of the history of the Greek-Catholic Church, lastly recommending them. Such topics are studied by young people even under the communist regime.

Last but not least we must note that the study of the Romanian Greek-Catholicism after 1989 did not become a "confessional" historiography. Thus it is not from inside the Greek-Catholic Church, which became legal once again after the revolution from December 1989, that the new research sites are created. They result from the academic environment which managed to generate a neutral historiography, separated from the religious partisanship and the polemical disputes. By rebuilding its institutional structures, the United Church created seminaries and faculties in Cluj-Napoca, Blaj, Oradea and Baia Mare and alongside them developed specialized magazines and personnel qualified and interested in studying the past. All of this prove interest and concern, visible as time goes by, for the historical aspect of their own spiritual and ecclesiastical identity. The consistent manner in which the history of the Greek-Catholic Church was discussed after 1989 - which is also important in terms of quantity and quality - , is due however to the academic environment, especially the topics developed in the Faculty of History from the Babeş-Bolyai University. This environment is not regimented nor confessionally involved. The fact that the academic environment from Cluj managed to generate a historical writing not attached to any confession, which is neutral and equally situated in discussing the topics of the history of the Greek-Catholic Church, is a positive sign. We do not hesitate in qualifying it as a sign of regaining normality and of modernization, a component of the undoubted positive evolution that the Romanian post-communist historiography enjoyed. A determining role in creating this climate in the University from Cluj must go to the late professor Nicolae Bocşan. He was the one who initiated and coordinated numerous researches into the modern history of the two Romanian Churches from Transylvania in a spirit of objectivity and confessional equidistance. The academic from Cluj offers such an example and is a model of best practice for many generations of young researchers interested in the history of Church and religious life.

Returning among the topics researched by historians this subject oriented the focus of the research unavoidably towards the primary sources meant to offer its needed base of information. Thus we must add

topic in his book *Sub semnul luminilor. Samuil Micu*, published in 2000 at Cluj University Press Printing House.

the study of the Greek-Catholic Church included going towards archive documents, which was possible in the new post-communist climate. In the post-communist Romania access to public archives is no longer a problem. Thus we must say that the first level of discussing the history of the Romanian United Church involved identifying information in archives and in introducing them in the scientific circuit. The attempt at the documentary refund, mandatory for a theme avoided until exclusion by the ideological exigence of the old regime, is in fact in touch with the general atmosphere from the current Romanian historiography. The publishing of sources is seriously behind other powerful Western historiographies which completely consumed the positive stage in their evolution by publishing many primary sources. The discussion of the history of the Greek-Catholic Church in post-communist Romania thus meant first of all going to archives, alongside with re-discussing the subject and launching it again in the historical debate. As anticipated by the previous research conducted by Monseigneur Aloisie Tăutu, respectively Ion Dumitriu Snagov,⁹ the return to the archives which took place after 1989 meant that the history of the Greek-Catholic Church appeared once more on the map of contemporary Romanian historiography. Thus, the historiography concerning the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church during the 18th-20th centuries has identified and harnessed precious information discovered in archives located inside and outside the country. Some of these sources were quoted for the first time in Romania. Studies which resulted in doctoral thesis or were written in projects with national or European funding, identified and capitalized upon a rich unedited documentation. Such trove of information could be found in places such as: the Hungarian National Archives from Budapest, the Esztergom Primatial Archives, the Ujgorod Bishop Archives, in Ukraine, the Archives of the Imperial Court (Hausshoff und Staatarchiv) from Wien, archives of the Holy See, such as the Vatican Secret Archive, the Propaganda Fide Congregation Archive, the Congregation for Oriental Churches Archive, the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs Archive and many others. They serve to complete the information found in internal

⁹ Ion Dumitriu-Snagov, *România în arhivele Romei. Romeni în arhivele Romanis. Secolul XVIII*, Romanian Book Publishing House, Bucharest 1973, republished in 1999 at Clusium Publishing House from Cluj-Napoca; Idem, *România în diplomația Vaticanului 1939-1944*, Garamond Publishing House, Bucharest, 1991, republished in 1999 at Nova Printing House in Bucharest; Idem, *Le Saint-Siège et la Roumanie moderne 1850-1866*, Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Roma, 1982; Idem, *Le Saint-Siège et la Roumanie moderne 1866-1914*, Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Roma, 1989.

archives, most of them located in county archives and at the National Archives Department. We refer to archives created by central and local structures of the Romanian United Church: parishes, deaneries, episcopates, metropolises, religious seminaries and academies. Such archives were transferred in the care of the state after the Greek-Catholic Church was outlawed in 1948. They are up to this date in the care of the state. Many precious documents concerning the external relations of the Church were also found in diplomatic archives. Information concerning this confession during the communist regime can be found in the well-known archives of the former political police, the Securitate. Such archives are well-known to the Romanian historians.

Besides amassing unedited information in many studies focused in reconstruction, historical analysis and interpretation this direction of research resulted in publishing many volumes containing documents that touch upon aspects of the history of the Romanian United Church in the 18th-20th centuries. Such documentary contributions are the result of efforts conducted by historians like Greta Monica Miron,¹⁰ Ana Victoria Sima,¹¹ Nicolae Bocșan,¹² Simion Retegan,¹³ Dumitru Suci, ¹⁴ Ion Cârja,¹⁵

¹⁰ Greta Monica Miron, *Biserica Greco-Catolică din comitatul Cluj în secolul al XVIII-lea*, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2007.

¹¹ Ana Victoria Sima, *Vizitele nunțiilor apostolici vienezi în Transilvania (1855-1868). Documente*, vol. II, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2003.

¹² *Memoriile unui ierarh uitat: Victor Mihályi de Apșa (1841-1918)*, edition, introductory study and notes by Nicolae Bocșan, Ion Cârja, Luminița Wallner-Bărbulescu, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2009; Ioan Boros, *Memorialistica*, edition, introductory study and notes by Valeriu Leu, Nicolae Bocșan, Ion Cârja, Costin Feneșan, Cristian Sabău, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2012.

¹³ Simion Retegan, *Parohii, biserici și preoți greco-catolici din Transilvania la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea: 1849-1875. Mărturii documentare*, Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2006; Idem, *În umbra clopotnițelor. Școlile confesionale greco-catolice din dieceza Gherlei între 1875-1885. Mărturii documentare*, Argonaut Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2008.

¹⁴ Dumitru Suci, *Războiul național din Transilvania de la 1848-1849. Date, realități și fapte reflectate în documente bisericești greco-catolice 1848-1852*, Argonaut Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2014; Idem, *Soldați fără uniformă ai Lansturmului românesc și starea protopopiatelor greco-catolice din Transilvania după Războiul Național din 1848-1849*, Argonaut Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2014.

¹⁵ *Episcopul Ioan Szabó și Sfântul Scaun. Corespondență (1874-1910)*, edition, introductory study and notes by Ion Cârja și Daniel Sularea, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2007; Ioan Vancea, *Corespondență cu Sfântul Scaun (1865-1890)*, edition, introductory study and notes by Ion Cârja și Daniel Sularea, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2007.

Daniela Deteșan,¹⁶ Ioana Bonda,¹⁷ Daniel Sularea,¹⁸ Cecilia Cârja,¹⁹ Petru Magdău,²⁰ Ioan Marius Bucur,²¹ Cristian Vasile.²²

The Union with Rome and the institutional organization of the Church created in Transylvania through adherence to Catholicism, which was signed by the metropolitan bishop Atanasie Anghel and his protopopes, represented the first major topic of study that fell under the microscope of the post 1989 historical research. The Union of a group of Romanians from Ardeal with the Rome Church and the new ecclesiastic structure thus created have been honored through studies and research conducted by Ovidiu Ghitta²³ and Greta Monica Miron²⁴ - their doctoral theses which discussed this topic have been published and thus became reference books for the historiography of the subject. Such works are highly relevant from the scientific point of view and also have potential when considering the identity of the United Church, once again legal after the fall of the communist regime. In order to properly tackle this subject, the researcher needs not just to fathom the unedited documents;

¹⁶ Daniela Deteșan, *Dosarul procesului lemenian*, vol. I-II, Napoca Star Publishing House, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2007-2012.

¹⁷ Alexandru Șterca Șuluțiu, *Scrieri teologice*, edition by Ioana Mihaela Bonda, introductory study: Ioana Mihaela Bonda and Cristian Barta, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2010.

¹⁸ Daniel Sularea, *Viața religioasă în dieceza greco-catolică de Gherla (1878-1891). Contribuții documentare*, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2008.

¹⁹ *Românii greco-catolici și Episcopia de Hajdúdorogh (1912). Contribuții documentare*, edition, introductory study and notes by Cecilia Cârja, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2009.

²⁰ Victor Szmigelski, *Liturgica*, edition and introductory study by de Petru Magdău, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2008; *Tipografia de la Blaj (1850-1918). Contribuții documentare*, edition by Petru Magdău, Ioana Bonda, Cecilia Cârja, Ciprian Ghișa, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2010.

²¹ Ioan Marius Bucur, Lavinia Stan, *Persecuția Bisericii Catolice din România. Documente din arhiva Europei libere 1948-1960*, Napoca Star Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, second edition revised and updated, Galaxia Gutenberg Publishing House, Târgu Lăpuș, 2005; Ioan Marius Bucur et al., *România-Vatican. Relații diplomatice*, I, Enciclopedica Publishing House, Bucharest, 2003.

²² Cristian Vasile, *Istoria Bisericii Greco-Catolice sub regimul comunist 1945-1989. Documente și mărturii*, Polirom Publishing House, Iași, 2003.

²³ Ovidiu Ghitta, *Nașterea unei biserici. Biserica Greco-Catolică din Sătmar în primul ei secol de existență (1667-1781)*, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2001.

²⁴ Greta Monica Miron, „...poruncește, scoale-te, du-te, propoveduește...” *Biserica Greco-catolică din Transilvania. Cler și enoriași (1697-1782)*, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2004; see also Idem, *Viață parohială și diversitate confesională în Transilvania secolului al XVIII-lea. Studiu de caz: uniți și ortodocși din comitatul Dăbâca*, Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2016.

the subject – which represented an object of inter-confessional and historiographical polemics – needs to be revisited.²⁵ After approximately a decade since these books were published we note the study signed by Radu Nedici, a historian from Bucharest. His work touches upon the creation of the Greek-Catholic confessional identity in Transylvania in the 18th century.²⁶ The Union of the Romanians from Ardeal with the Church of Rome was considered in the recent historiography not only as a topic to be studied and historically reconstituted but also as a topic of historiographical analysis – this is due to the work published by Remus Câmpeanu in 2003.²⁷

Among the subjects and themes connected with the history of the Romanian United Church tackled by the post-communist Romanian historiography a significant part is represented by those topics concerning the period between the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. We must also say that they have represented the expression of a research program initiated by professor Nicolea Bocșan at the Faculty of History and Philosophy from Cluj. They were institutionalized in the Institute of Ecclesiastic History in this university. An important theme of research concerning the ecclesiastic history of Greek-Catholic Church in the 19th century is treated in monographs that discuss the role of certain figure heads from the upper clergy of the United Church, mostly hierarchs but also canonists and professors. Thus, there exist monographs concerning most of the bishops and metropolitan bishops who have led the Greek-Catholic Church in the 19th century. The monographs are the result of younger generations which initially started these studies in doctoral theses. We would thus like to mention the work of Daniel Dumitran concerning the work of bishop Ioan Bob,²⁸ the monograph concerning the bishop Ioan Lemeni, signed by Ciprian Ghișă,²⁹ the paper signed by Ioana Mihaela Bonda discussing the first

²⁵ Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirei religioase a Românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*, vol. I, Publishing and Printing Archidiocese House, Sibiu, 1920; vol. II, Publishing and Printing Archidiocese House, Sibiu, 1930.

²⁶ Radu Nedici, *Formarea identității confesionale în Transilvania veacului al XVIII-lea. Biserica și comunitate*, Bucharest University Publishing House, Bucharest, 2013.

²⁷ Remus Câmpeanu, *Biserica Română Unită între istorie și istoriografie*, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2003.

²⁸ Daniel Dumitran, *Un timp al reformelor. Biserica Greco-Catolică din Transilvania sub conducerea episcopului Ioan Bob (1782/1830)*, Argonaut Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2007.

²⁹ Ciprian Ghișă, *Episcopia Greco-Catolică de Făgăraș în timpul păstoririi lui Ioan Lemeni 1832-1850*, vol. I-II, Argonaut Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2008.

metropolitan bishop of the Romanian United Church, Alexandru Sterca Șuluțiu,³⁰ the book written by Ion Cârja concerning the metropolitan bishop Ioan Vancea,³¹ the works of Luminița Wallner Bărbulescu³² and Diana Maria Covaci³³ about Victor Mihályi from Apșa, who served as bishop and metropolitan bishop, the doctoral research conducted by Lucian Turcu about the first Romanian metropolitan bishop of the United Church after Great Romania was formed, namely Vasile Suciu.³⁴ We can add to the above mentioned papers numerous studies, articles and conferences used by the historians to better understand the religious, political, national and cultural work conducted by these church leaders. The dictionary of personalities coordinated by Mirela Popa-Andrei, published in 2010, represents an excellent repertory of representative persons from the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century from the Romanian Greek-Catholic elite.³⁵

The organization and functioning of the different levels and institutional structures of the 19th century Greek-Catholic Church can also be found as a separate subject in the historiography concerning that period. The first work to be mentioned was written by Iudita Călușer and generally discussed the Greek-Catholic Episcopate from Oradea during the 19th century.³⁶ More applied studies have been latter written about: Ana Victoria Sima, they concern the institution of the chapter in the history of the Greek-Catholic Church,³⁷ other studies were written by Mirela Popa Andrei³⁸ and Camelia Vulea³⁹ concerning the apostolic

³⁰ Ioana Mihaela Bonda, *Mitropolia Română Unită în timpul păstoririi lui Alexandru Sterca Șuluțiu (1853-1867)*, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2008.

³¹ Ion Cârja, *Biserica și societate în Transilvania în perioada păstoririi mitropolitului Ioan Vancea (1869-1892)*, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2007.

³² Luminița Wallner Bărbulescu, *Zorile modernității. Episcopia Greco-Catolică de Lugoj în perioada ierarhului Victor Mihályi de Apșa*, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2007.

³³ Diana Maria Covaci, *Mitropolitul Victor Mihályi de Apșa și epoca sa (1895-1918)*, doctoral thesis, Cluj-Napoca, 2010.

³⁴ Lucian-Dorel Turcu, *Arhidieceza greco-catolică de Alba-Iulia și Făgăraș în timpul păstoririi lui Vasile Suciu (1920-1935)*, doctoral thesis, Cluj-Napoca, 2013.

³⁵ Mirela Popa-Andrei et al., *Canonici, profesori și vicari foranei din Biserica Română Unită (1853-1918). Dicționar*, Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2013.

³⁶ Iudita Călușer, *Episcopia Greco-Catolică de Oradea. Contribuții monografice*, Logos '94 Publishing House, Oradea, 2000.

³⁷ Ana Victoria Sima, *L'istituzione sinodale nella Chiesa Greco-Cattolica romana nella seconda metà del XIX secolo*, in Francesco Guida (edited by), *Etnia e confessione in Transilvania (secoli XVI-XX)*, Lithos Editrice, Roma, 2000, pp. 75-86.

³⁸ Mirela Andrei (married Popa), *La granița Imperiului. Vicariatul Greco-Catolic al Rodnei în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*, Argonaut Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2006.

vicariate, by Ciprian Rigman concerning the protopresbyterates, parishes and affiliates,⁴⁰ by Daniela Mârza concerning the schools from the Blaj archdioceses at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century,⁴¹ by Daniel Sularea concerning the confessional school from Gherla episcopate in the second half of the 19th century⁴² and by Silviu Sana concerning the confessional schools from the Oradea united eparchy in between 1850-1900.⁴³ The historian Simion Retegan published numerous volumes containing documents related to the Greek-Catholic religion in Ardeal in the 19th century as well as a series of studies about the Greek-Catholic clergy from the second half of that century (intellectual training, financial endowment, appointment in the office etc.) and about the religious schools belonging to this Church.⁴⁴ Simion Retegan, who is a researcher at the “George Barițiu” Institute of History of the Romanian Academy from Cluj Napoca, stand out as a reference in the Romanian historiography interested in the 19th century, particularly

³⁹ Camelia Elena Vulea, *Biserica Greco-Catolică din Vicariatul Hațegului (1850-1918)*, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2009.

⁴⁰ Ciprian Rigman, *Parohii, filii și preoți în Episcopia Greco-Catolică de Gherla la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea (1856-1868)*, Argonaut Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2016.

⁴¹ Daniela Mârza, *Învățăământ românesc în Transilvania. Școlile Arhidiecezei de Alba Iulia și Făgăraș la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului XX*, Romanian Academy/Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2011.

⁴² Daniel Sularea, *Școală și societate. Învățăământul elementar confesional în Episcopia Greco-Catolică de Gherla (1867-1918)*, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2008.

⁴³ Silviu Sana, „...pentru sufletele credincioșilor săi...”. *Structuri bisericești și școlare în Eparhia Greco-Catolică de Oradea Mare (1850-1918)*, Oradea University Publishing House, Oradea, 2011.

⁴⁴ Redăm selectiv câteva titluri: Simion Retegan, *Aspecte ale biconfesionalității românilor din Transilvania la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea (1850-1867)*, in „Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj-Napoca”, XXXV, 1996, pp. 177-183; Idem, *O tentativă din timpul absolutismului pentru întrunirea sinodului metropolitan la Blaj (1858)*, in Camil Mureșanu (edited by), *Transilvania între medieval și modern*, vol. I, Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 1996, pp. 83-95; Idem, *Formation scolaire du clergé uniate de Transylvanie à la moitié du XIXe siècle (1850-1870)*, „Transylvanian Review”, VI, 1997, nr. 1, pp. 148-155; Idem, *Înzestrarea materială a clerului greco-catolic din Transilvania la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea (1850-1867)*, in Gheorghe Gorun, Ovidiu Horea Pop (edited by), *300 de ani de la Unirea Bisericii românești din Transilvania cu Biserica Romei*, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2000, pp. 243-249; Idem, *Parohii și filii ale diecezei Blajului în timpul păstoririi lui Alexandru Sterca-Șuluțiu (1850-1867)*, in Pál Judit, Sipos Gábor (edited by), *Emlékkönyv Csetri Elek születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára*, Transylvanian Museum Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, pp. 401-406; Idem, *Parohiile protopopiatului Cluj în timpul păstoririi mitropolitului Alexandru Sterca Șuluțiu (1850-1867)*, in „Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Theologia Graeco-Catholica”, XLIX, 2004, nr. 1, pp. 137-144.

the area of Transylvania, the history of the Greek-Catholic Church being one of his favorite topics.

Another research topic which falls in the chronology of the 19th century and which was studied in the past 27 years concerns the external relations of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church. Ana Victoria Sima published documents from the archives concerning the relations with the Holy See; they were analyzed and referred to the visits of papal delegations in Transylvania in the 1850s, following the creation of the United Romanian Metropolis.⁴⁵ The same author furnished us with a doctoral thesis which is the most complete reenactment of the relations between the Romanian United Church and the Holy See in the second half of the 19th century. The thesis was published in English at Milano in 2013⁴⁶ and is a reference work for this topic, alongside numerous studies published in or outside the country. Due to the find of an important document – the journal kept by the metropolitan bishop Ioan Vancea who participated in 1869-1870 at the First Vatican Council – Nicolae Bocșan and Ion Cârja published an important paper concerning the participation and representation of the Romania United Church at this Council, the first to take place in modern times.⁴⁷ Numerous studies and articles were also dedicated to this research topic. We would like to mention in this context the collection of studies brought together in a volume edited by Ion Cârja. The topic is represented by the relations between Romanians and the Holy See from the Middle Ages until the present day. The volume was published in 2004.⁴⁸ With regards to the relations between the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church and the Hungarian Latin Church during the Austrian-Hungarian dualism we can mention several studies signed by Nicolae Bocșan⁴⁹ and Ion Cârja⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Ana Victoria Sima, *Vizitele nunțiilor apostolice vienezi în Transilvania (1855-1868)*, vol. II, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2003.

⁴⁶ Idem, *Affirming Identity. The Romanian Greek-Catholic Church at the Time of the First Vatican Council*, Vita e Pensiero, Milano, 2013.

⁴⁷ Nicolae Bocșan, Ion Cârja, *Biserica Română Unită la Conciliul Ecumenic Vatican I (1869-1870)*, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, published in German by Peter Lang Publishing House, Frankfurt, 2013.

⁴⁸ Ion Cârja (edited by), *I Romeni e la Santa Sede. Miscellanea di studi di storia ecclesiastica*, Scriptorium Publishing House, Bucarest-Roma, 2004.

⁴⁹ Nicolae Bocșan, *Alterități în relațiile interconfesionale din Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea (romano-catolic – greco-catolic)*, in Nicolae Bocșan, Valeriu Leu (edited by), *Identitate și alteritate. Studii de imagologie*, Reșița, 1996, pp. 96-110; Idem, *Imaginea bisericii romano-catolice la românii greco-catolici (Congresul autonomiei bisericii catolice din Ungaria)*, in „Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia”, 41, 1996, no. 1-2, pp. 49-68; Nicolae Bocșan, Ion Cârja, *Il metropolita Victor Mihályi de Apșa e i*

who have tackled a distinct topic in these relations: Catholic autonomy. The subject however has yet to be brought to its full potential. Following this train of thought we must mention the contributions signed by Cecilia Cârja which touched upon the relations between the Romanian Church and the Holy See and with the Hungarian governments of that time, given that, in 1912, the Hajdudorog episcopate for the Greek-Catholic Hungarians was created.⁵¹

A different research, which does not fall in the categories mentioned so far, is the one pursued by Lavinia Buda. She discussed in her doctoral thesis the cult of the Virgin Mary in the Greek-Catholic Church at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.⁵² It is a study about the history of the Greek-Catholic life which was partially published by the author. Few such studies have been conducted in the recent historiography.⁵³

The manner in which the past of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church was capitalized upon by the post 1989 historiography represents, directly and indirectly, a manner of proclaiming and expressing its ecclesiastic and spiritual identity. Among the studies and research focused on this topic, we can note contributions that wanted to analyze systematically the manner of building this confessional identity, its landmarks and its dynamics when related to the alterity with which Greek-Catholicism cohabitated until 1918 in the Danubian monarchy. Concerning this topic, we must mention the work of Ciprian Ghișa about the creation of the identity discourse in the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church from its creation and until the half of the 19th century.⁵⁴ The collective volume *Identități confesionale în Europa Central-Orientală (secolele XVII-XXI)/Confessional Identities in Eastern and Central Europe (the 17th-21st centuries)* – published in 2009, contains a series of studies that put

rapport tra la Chiesa Greco-Cattolica romana e l' "Autonomia Cattolica" ungherese, in Ion Cârja (edited by), *I Romeni e la Santa Sede. Miscellanea di studi di storia ecclesiastica*, Scriptorium Publishing House, Bucarest-Roma, 2004. pp. 162-188.

⁵⁰ I. Cârja, *Biserică și societate în Transilvania în perioada păstoririi mitropolitului Ioan Vancea*, pp. 171-222.

⁵¹ Cecilia Cârja, *Biserică și politică. Înființarea Episcopiei de Hajdúdorogh (1912)*, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2012.

⁵² Lavinia Buda, *Cultul Fecioarei Maria la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea. Imagini și simboluri*, doctoral thesis, Cluj-Napoca, 2011.

⁵³ Idem, *Uniunea Mariană a Femeilor Române Unite din Eparhia Greco-Catolică de Cluj-Gherla*, in vol. Constantin Bărbulescu et al. (edited by), *Identitate și alteritate 5. Studii de istorie politică și culturală*, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2010, pp. 130-139.

⁵⁴ Ciprian Ghișa, *Biserica Greco-Catolică din Transilvania (1700-1850). Elaborarea discursului identitar*, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2006.

forward interesting analyses concerning the components of the Greek-Catholic confessional identity.⁵⁵ With regards to the confessional identity of the United Romanians in recent history we would like to point out Ciprian Ghișa's excellent analysis in his study: *Aspecte ale identității confesionale la începutul mileniului trei. Studiu de caz: Biserica greco-catolică din România*.⁵⁶

The research concerning the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church from the interwar period is not so numerous compared to the historiography of this subject for the 18th-19th centuries. Still we want to mention among the works dedicated to this period the one signed by Ioan Marius Bucur, published in 2003⁵⁷ and the monograph signed by the younger historian Lucian Turcu who discussed the period when Vasile Suciuc served as metropolitan bishop for Blaj.⁵⁸

With regards to the history of the Romanian United Church in between 1948-1989, the subject was touched upon in the post-totalitarian historiography as a subject of Romania communist history. Contributions both relevant and important about this subject have been put forward, although the subject is far from depletion. We must mention here the valuable works signed by the historians Ovidiu Bozgan⁵⁹ and Cristian Vasile,⁶⁰ from Bucharest and the research signed by Ioan Marius Bucur and Lavinia Stan.⁶¹ When one considers this historiographical landscape one must bring forward the contributions signed by professor George Cipăianu who brought into the scientific network information taken from the French diplomatic archives. They

⁵⁵ Nicolae Bocșan, Ana Victoria Sima, Ion Cârja (edited by), *Identități confesionale în Europa Central-Orientală (secolele XVII-XXI)*, Cluj University Press, Cluj-Napoca, 2010. With regards to the confessional identity of the United Romanians see especially: N. Bocșan, A. V. Sima, I. Cârja, *Modele constituționale în Biserica Greco-Catolică din Transilvania (a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea)*, pp. 393-404; Ciprian Ghișa, Ioana Bonda, Petru Magdău, *Coordonate ale discursului identitar greco-catolic în secolul al XIX-lea*, pp. 453-467.

⁵⁶ Published in Constantin Bărbulescu et al. (edited by), *Identitate și alteritate 5. Studii de istorie politică și culturală*, pp. 156-172.

⁵⁷ Ioan Marius Bucur, *Din istoria Bisericii Greco-Catolice Române (1918-1953)*, Accent Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2003.

⁵⁸ See note 34.

⁵⁹ Ovidiu Bozgan, *Cronica unui eșec previzibil. România și Sfântul Scaun în epoca pontificatului lui Paul a VI-lea (1963-1978)*, „Curtea Veche” Publishing House, București, 2004.

⁶⁰ Cristian Vasile, *Între Vatican și Kremlin. Biserica Greco-Catolică în timpul regimului comunist*, „Curtea Veche” Publishing House, București, 2003.

⁶¹ See note 21.

were used to recreate the context in which the Romanian Greek-Catholic cult was abolished in 1948.⁶² The study of the 1948-1989 period presents the researcher with two additional options when compared to the previous timeframes from the history of Romanian Greek-Catholic Church. These options allow the researcher to create ampler, more nuanced reenactments; these options are the oral investigation respectively the free access one now enjoys in the archives of the former Securitate. We would like to point out from the multitude of research conducted with the instruments specific for oral history the considerations presented by Doru Radosav in his study from 2016,⁶³ alongside the doctoral research conducted by Maria Rițiu.⁶⁴ The CNSAS (National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives) archive fascinates the historian interested in the communist period, thus also those working on subjects touching the history of the Greek-Catholic Church. This fascination explains the frequent usage of these types of documents in the last years. As a result of this interest we see volumes and editions which introduce in the scientific network documents of the highest importance for the situation of Greek-Catholic personalities which were monitored by the former Securitate. Several examples are the works published by Sergiu Soica,⁶⁵ Silviu Sana,⁶⁶ Ioan Marius Bucur.⁶⁷ A very important contribution is the collective volume concerning the clandestine period of the Greek-Catholic Church, published in 2009 and coordinated by Nicolae Gudea and Dan Ruscu.⁶⁸ The “catacombs”

⁶² George Cipăianu, *Catholicisme et comunisme en Roumanie 1946-1955. Une perspective diplomatique française*, EFES, Cluj-Napoca, 2014.

⁶³ Doru Radosav, *Istoria din memorie. Încercări de istorie orală*, Argonaut Publishing House, Symphologic Publishing, Cluj-Napoca, Gatineau, 2016, pp. 219-224 (chapter *Biserica Română Unită în anii comunismului între istorie și memorie. Câteva considerații*).

⁶⁴ Maria Rițiu, *Biserica Greco-Catolică din Nord-Vestul Transilvaniei în anii comunismului în memoria colectivă*, doctoral thesis, Cluj-Napoca, 2009.

⁶⁵ Sergiu Soica, Gabriel Buboii, *Episcopul Ioan Bălan în dosarele Securității*, Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2015; Sergiu Soica, *Cardinalul Iuliu Hossu în dosarele Securității. Note informative*, Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2016; Idem, *Nicolae Brânzeu și dosarul din arhiva CNSAS. Povestea unui eroism discret*, Galaxia Gutenberg Publishing House, Târgu Lăpuș, 2013.

⁶⁶ Silviu Sana, *Rezistentul. Episcopul dr. Iuliu Hirțea în documentele Securității (1947-1979)*, Oradea University Publishing House, Oradea, 2014.

⁶⁷ Ioan Marius Bucur, *Culpa de a fi greco-catolic. Procesul episcopului Alexandru Rusu (1957)*, Argonaut Publishing House & Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2015.

⁶⁸ Nicolae Gudea, Dan Ruscu (edited by), *Biserica Română Unită (Greco-Catolică). 60 de ani de la desființare. Calvarul (1945-1948) / The Romanian Uniate (Greek-Catholic) Church. 60 years from the abolition. The way of the cross (1945-1948)*, Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2009.

period, 1948-1989, from the life of this Church was also researched internationally: for example, the Italian translation of the memoirs of bishop Ioan Ploscariu,⁶⁹ respectively, more recently, those written by the cardinal Iuliu Hossu.⁷⁰ We would also note some studies which touch upon the topics and which were published internationally in revues covering religious history. This is an expression of the need to externalize the research offered by this subject to the Romanian historiography. Such examples include the studies signed by and published in the volume *Fede e martirio. Le Chiese cattoliche orientali nell'Europa del Novecento*.⁷¹ We can add to this another volume, the result of an international colloquium, which took place in Rome on the 23rd of November 2013, *Fede e martirio. Testimonianza di fede della Chiesa greco-cattolica romana durante la persecuzione comunista* and which was focused on the subject of the canonization of the Greek-Catholic bishops arrested in 1948, given the outlawing of the Romanian United Church.⁷²

At the end of this short overview of the historiographical production dedicated to the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church, we believe we have to present several general considerations. Thus, it is obvious that the liberalization of historical writing, after the fall of the Romanian communist regime and the reactivation – in this context – of the Romanian United Church, naturally brought in the scope of historiography the Churches' past, be it recent or older. The historic writing concerning the Greek-Catholic confession presents itself today as a complex workshop, with multiple themes, with obvious progress which was meant to surpass the blockade imposed on it by the communist propaganda and ideology.

The research of the Greek-Catholic Church which falls in the timeframe of the 19th century, has a specific trait, a profile which makes it particular in the post 1989 historiography that dealt with this Church.

⁶⁹ Ioan Ploscaru, *Catene e terrore. Un vescovo clandestino greco-cattolico nella persecuzione comunista in Romania*, cura di Marco Dalla Torre, traduzione in lingua italiana di Mariana Ghergu e Giuseppe Munarini, Edizioni Dehoniane, Bologna, 2013.

⁷⁰ Iuliu Hossu, *La nostra fede è la nostra vita. Memorie*, a cura di Marco Dalla Torre, traduzione in lingua italiana di Giuseppe Munarini, Cristian Florin Sabău e Ioana Mărginean-Cociș, Edizioni Dehoniane, Bologna, 2016.

⁷¹ Aleksander Rebernik, Gianpaolo Rigotti, Michel Van Parys (edited by), *Fede e martirio. Le Chiese cattoliche orientali nell'Europa del Novecento*, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Città del Vaticano, 2003, pp. 103-118, 119-130, 347-351.

⁷² Vasile Man (edited by), *Fede e martirio. Testimonianza di fede della Chiesa greco-cattolica romana durante la persecuzione comunista. Presentazione degli Atti del convegno tenutosi a Roma il 23 novembre 2013 nella Basilica di San Bartolomeo Apostolo all'Isola Tiberina*, Editura Surorilor Lauretane, Baia Mare, 2015.

Thus it is obvious that the study of the “Greek-Catholic 19th century” along with the study of other confessions from Transylvania, became a research program, institutionalized in the Institute of Ecclesiastical History. The Institute was created by professor Nicolae Bocşan in 2005 in the Babeş-Bolyai University. In this research institute there took place a systematic demarche through the identification of priority themes and subjects and through the use of primary sources which could allow the bridging of the gap that was present in the 90s with regards to the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church. Besides recovering a territory of “forbidden” Romanian history, like the one generated by the Greek-Catholic structures, in a climate of equilibrium and objectivity, the Institute of Ecclesiastical History helped to create young researchers. The relation master-disciple has functioned in a manner rarely seen in the Romanian academic environment and has had positive consequences for the young students, masters and doctoral students interested in the history of the Church and religious life. The fundamental function served by professor Bocşan was to build an atmosphere of authentic academic study.

At the end of the 27 years since the Greek-Catholic workshop was recreated in the Romanian historiography we can note, in a short account, that we are dealing with several approaches to the history of this Church, with more than 3 centuries passed from its creation. More exactly, we are dealing with the 3 “histories” of the Romanian Greek-Catholicism from Ardeal and we can notice its contours upon an overall analysis. The first one would be the academic history, from afar the most visible and the most consistent, which recommends itself through finalized research, through the editorial projects, through numerous monographs, volumes of documents, studies and articles, periodicals and collective volumes that at some point touched upon the subject. It is a history written by professionals, academics or researchers employed in the institutes of the Romanian Academy, without any explicit confessional affiliation, or in any case by persons whose spirituals and religious options did not interfere and did not modify the balanced approach towards a past they chose to study. Secondly, we are dealing with a history serving as a manifest of identity, an “official” history – if we can call it thus -, created by the elites of the Church, by the clerics, a discourse meant to promote its own past, often operating with superlative categories and constantly bringing forward the exceptional role played by the structures and personalities of this confession, the role it played at the political, national and cultural level in the modern Romanian history or the traumatizing experience it endured in between

1948-1989. It is the type of laudatory history, typical for the public expression of the identity of a Church, present in the official discourse of the elites. Often it is also present in controversial contexts, especially when relating with the representatives and opinions coming from the Orthodox Church. We now consider that we can identify a third level when relating to the past, a partisan and polemic level, which is present in the disputes between the two traditional Romanian Churches from Ardeal: the Orthodox, respectively the Greek-Catholic one. It is a level that reactivates many of the multiple themes disputed between the two confessions, for example the Union from 1700. The "confessional" reading of this Union, as given by the two Churches, generated in the past and even now a polemic and different visions, often contrasting. There are aspects, fewer in number, over which the confessional historical speech agrees, such as the collaboration between the two Churches in decisive moments from national existence of the Romanians from the Habsburg/Austrian-Hungarian Empire (Andrei Şaguna present alongside Ioan Lemeni at the Great National Meeting from Câmpia Libertăţii, at Blaj, on the 3rd-5th of May 1848; the presence of Miron Cristea alongside Iuliu Hossu in Alba Iulia at the Great Union, 1st of December 1918 - they are moments when the representatives of these two Churches knew how to go beyond the separate confessions in the name of the national interest). Another subject, which deals this time with contemporary history, which is treated from completely opposite angles by the two Churches in their official discourse is connected to the events from 1948. This moment represents for Greek-Catholics an outlawry and the beginning of a long martyrdom for the bishops, clergy, believers when they faced the communist universe. The Orthodox Church maintains even today that what happened in 1948 was the "religious re-unification", the return of the Greek-Catholics in the embrace of the "ancient Church".⁷³ The inter-confessional dispute based on subjects of common history, which are "delicate" as far as identity is concerned, fall on the rather general context of relation between the Greek-Catholic and the Orthodox Church. Disputes and litigations are present, particularly when the patrimony is concerned, and have often been taken in front of the judges.

The past of the Greek-Catholic Church can thus be found today in the writings of the historians, in the discourse of the clergy and the

⁷³ For the Orthodox opinion on this matter see *Relațiile actuale dintre ortodocși și greco-catolici în România*, 3rd edition revised and updated, Renașterea Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2011, pp. 12-14.

bishops, in the life experience of believers, especially those who consider clandestine the “totalitarian night”. For them their role as “members” of the Church of Rome has represented a fundamental landmark in their identity. This present article is not meant to completely analyze all the contributions that make up the post-communist historiography of the Romanian Greek-Catholicism which stands out through its richness and variety in terms of quantity and scientific relevance. Our intention is limited to only pointing out the main tendencies, directions and themes, more obvious when writing the history of the United Church after 1989, the contributors and the more visible works that have touched upon this topic.

Book Reviews

The Infants' Bread. A Post-Tridentine Catechism from the Beginnings of Habsburg Transylvania.

By *Ovidiu Ghitta*.

Paris: L'Harmattan, 2012.

The movement of religious union between the Transylvanian Romanians and the Church of Rome and, hence, the founding of the Greek-Catholic Church in Transylvania was a prime topic of research in the Romanians' modern history. This should come as no surprise, given that the event in question was made responsible by placing the Romanians in a new spiritual-cultural matrix, more strongly connected to the civilization values of Western Europe. But the unanimity of opinions is far from prevailing among specialists in that chronological and thematic cut in history of the Principality of Transylvania. As any moment that generated so profound consequences in the long term, the entry of the Transylvanian Romanians under the authority of the Supreme Pontiff as well has raised countless historiographical controversies and disputes, many of them impregnated with religious partisanship or submitted to other political imperative not at all honorable.

Not all the historiographical constructs bear the burden of such a serious fault. After 1990, the renewing breath visible in some parts of historical writing took effect in the fields of ecclesiastical historiography as well. Such an impulse was needed, given that for four decades the veil of historiography silence has been placed over the Greek-Catholic Church, but not on the unfettered consciousness in the ideological commandments of the era. In the new context, the university city of Cluj became the research center of the Romanian Uniate Church's past, an institution that was reviving at the time, full of hope and ideals, after decades of clandestinity and suffering. In the "shadow" of some illustrious visionaries, a new generation of historians of the Church was appearing back then. No in any way, but driven by a daring enthusiasm, very appropriate for helping them to overcome prejudices and immobility of a society which was still adrift. Expanding their knowledge horizon as beneficiaries of internship documentation in the most representative European libraries and archives, the new generation of post December historiography representatives were quick to give their measure of their value. Personalities, institutions, cultural trends, the anthropological side of the religious life, relationships with confessional otherness, the essential moments less valued or even unknown, repression, the catacomb-like life after the Second World War, editing manuscripts – all these have been the subject of monographic research or of specific studies on the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church's past. By choosing to specialize in a historiographical field that apparently did not belong to anyone, the Greek-Catholic communities outside Transylvania, Professor Ghitta became

an excellent interpreter of the religious history of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the next. Thematically diverse, his work is distinguished in the contemporary historiography through a high capacity of permeating into the subjects that he approached, through a pronounced analytical dimension, focusing on multi-factor explanations, through nuances and scientific rigor, by treating the context the covered topics, and not at all unimportant for a historian, by the ease of attending multilingual sources and bibliographies. Considering that these qualities of the researcher are intertwined with the verbal elegance and intellectual refinement of an educator, we have the full portrait of Professor Ovidiu Ghitta, about whom we can say that he convincingly marked the Romanian historiography in the last quarter century.

The author's latest work fits the coordinates of the professional fields mentioned above. The topic is the exegesis on the catechism "The Infants' Bread", a text with a special profile in the catechetical literary landscape of the time. Appeared at the famous L'Harmattan publishing house, the book signed by Professor Ovidiu Ghitta brings again to attention controversial catechetical text authored by the Jesuit Barany László Pál which came to be used only by the newly founded Greek-Catholic community in Transylvania. We say "brings again" as the rare manuscript was found sporadically before in the attention of researchers and philologists particularly, who were interested in studying the Romanian language peculiarities, as they appear in the interpretation made at the beginning of the eighteenth century by Duma Ianăș. Even if it was not avoided by some historians, until now the text has not enjoyed such a thorough examination that explores the depths of its historical and theological meanings, as it happens in the work that we have in attention. It is Professor Ovidiu Ghitta's merit to propose the reinterpretation of this important text, designed to become a cultural good consumed within the young Greek-Catholic community in the Principality. Surpassing the phase of launching new hypotheses on the text, the author offers us a fascinating insight into the world of ideas, which he explores in all its main joints.

Structurally, the work consists of an introduction, eight chapters and an extensive summary in French. The introduction explains the interest that the Hungarian Jesuit's catechism has generated among researchers over time. We note the observation made by the author that only in the fifth decade of the last century the literary work began to capture the interest of historians, who were concerned by the respective cultural product more from the perspective of the history of the book and printing, which made a lot of the interpretative valences that the work allows to be neglected. The author aims to benefit from this possibility by submitting the text of the catechism to a new hermeneutic.

The first chapter deals with the attention given by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities directly involved in attracting the Romanians into the religious union with the Roman Church to the problem of spreading a catechetical work for the benefit of newly appeared Greek-Catholic community in the Principality. And the work signed by László Baranyi was neither the first nor the only work of its kind at the time. Professor Ovidiu Ghitta extensively comments upon the

motivation and significance of its publication precisely in the middle of the negotiations held by the Romanian clergy with the representatives of the Catholic Church of Bucovina, analyzing the filiation of ideas of the work, the ecclesiological subtleties found in its content, but also the physiognomy of identity that it had to impart to its readers or listeners. The short life that this instrument of religious education had at the time is understandable, the author considers, because of the professed doctrines of faith that were far from meeting the new requirements imposed by the dogmatic obedience of the Romanian Church to the Pope's authority. This was the main reason for which a new editorial project was initialized, to faithfully reflect, including the means of spreading the faith, the new assignation of the Romanian ecclesiastic members to the spiritual universe of the Catholic Church. The new cultural-religious product was to be consonant with the position of ecclesiological superiority that the Church, led by the Pope, arrogated in relation to the religious communities that wanted to enter into communion with it, which should have translate into abandoning all errors professed and adopting the Orthodoxy Roman faith. For the young denomination from Transylvania, this attitude of the Romanian side risked to encroach directly to the identity heritage of the Romanian Church, which contravened to the principles from which the religious dialogue between the two parties had begun in order to create an ecclesiastical union. The author analyzes with accuracy and competence the great changes of the Romanian ecclesiology that gave the Church led by the pontiff the status of "the true Church of Jesus Christ," the only one able to open the way of redemption for its believers, and how this redefinition of identity left its mark on the inter-ecclezial dialogue. The participation into the logic of confessionalisation one the confessional Churches appeared, namely those religious communities based on a profession of faith, meant for the Roman Church not only placing itself in a fierce competitive relationship, but also an effort to adapt, the rethink the strategy to transmit its own doctrines of faith. From this perspective, the catechism was to be the instrument in the service of building a solid religious education and forming a well defined religious identity. Hence the importance given, from the "birth certificate" of the Greek-Catholic Church of Transylvania, providing it with such an instrument, which should have separated it permanently from the "sins" of the past.

The second thematic unit focuses on the author of the catechism, the pater Baranyi László Pál. Professor Ovidiu Ghitta stops on his biography, on his formative path, and on the missions he had carried out in the Principality of Transylvania, in a time of rebirth for Catholicism in the region. The familiarity of the Hungarian Jesuit with the Romanian ecclesiastical elements, the Metropolitan court of Alba Iulia in particular, has made him prone to assuming the role of intermediary in the negotiation of religious union, as well as that of counselor of the Romanian Metropolitans, being the first to have the role of theologian, of supervisor and corrector of the Greek Catholic bishop's actions. Knowing all Baranyi's attributes, the more significant the opus written by him becomes, Professor Ghitta believes, for at least two reasons: first, by entering the

substrates of the work, in its articulations of ideas, one can explore the mental and spiritual universe of its creator; secondly, the analysis reveals the content of the profile of the “good Christian” that the Hungarian Jesuit wanted to instil through systematic religious education delivered from his catechism. Also in this chapter, Professor Ghitta questions the identity of the catechism’s translator, Duma Ianăș from Bărabanț. Without the possibility of recomposing his biography in detail, according to the author, what remains essential is the collaboration between the catechism’s author and its translator, which resulted in the arrival, in early 1702, of a new cultural product in the category of religious literature, into an altogether particular linguistic cut, as revealed by philological studies.

With the third chapter, the author enters in the analysis of the catechism’s text, beginning with the preface. We are witnessing an operation of dissecting each formula and phrase in their core meanings, after which the author insists upon explaining the double metaphor from the title of the catechism. It is envisaged that the bread is considered a word-image that refers, of course, to the Savior’s body, but also to denote the Christian teaching, vital to the faithful. The author slides toward decoding other food metaphors to describe the spiritual food needed by the faithful in connection with the age of their spiritual lives, metaphors found in the Pauline writings, in the decrees of the Council of Trent or in the mission program of the Jesuit order. The instrument of *nourishment* (m.i.) with the truths of faith was none other than the catechism. Professor Ovidiu Ghitta stresses the importance of this means of systematic religious education in the post-Trent period, indicating that the place for adopting the religious norm was the sacred space of the church, the priest assuming the role of repeatedly transmitting orally the content of the articles of faith. It is worth mentioning the remark that the author makes, analyzing the same preamble of the catechism, in terms of the polemical valences of the Hungarian Jesuit’s work, specifically the anti-Protestant connotations, anti heretical from a Catholic perspective.

The next chapter discusses the question of possible models that László Baranyi used to compose his catechism, and also the distinctive features which particularizes his work. The author believes that there is a direct, formal lineage, between the catechism of Petrus Canisius and the one written by the Hungarian Jesuit, particularly regarding the subdivision of the text, but, as well, there can be seen many aspects that makes Baranyi László’s work move away from the one written in the sixteenth century by the Dutch Jesuit, which give it both originality and personality. Professor Ovidiu Ghitta warns us that we are not dealing with a mere imitation of the famous catechism of Canisius, but a work that stands out in language, writing, the emphasis on certain themes from the inventory of religious pedagogy, of analogies upon which he calls for creating powerful images that help to better fit the teachings of faith which were set. In addition to the style of each author, Professor Ovidiu Ghitta warns that a specific element of a catechetical work should also be the way it reflects the “spirit of the time” the broader context (cultural, religious, social and even political) in which

it can be framed. From this perspective, the Baranyi's catechism makes no mention the Transylvanian Romanians' religious union with the Church of Rome and the adaptation of the teachings of faith to the identity heritage with which the Romanians had conditioned the entry under the authority of the Pope is totally absent. From this point of view, Baranyi's work differs significantly from the catechism written at the time by Joseph de Camillis, the Greek-Catholic bishop from Upper Hungary, to whom Professor Ovidiu Ghitta has dedicated a thorough analysis in a distinct work.

The next thematic unit explores the fundamental qualities which the author of the book of Christian teaching attributes to the Church, the faith and the Pope. Professor Ghitta's analysis reveals that, when speaking about the Church, the Hungarian Jesuit relates simply to the coordinates defining the Roman Church without making the slightest allusion to any other ecclesial identity inside it. Regarding the Pope's responsibilities, the list may vex through its brevity. Things are not fundamentally any different in terms enumeration of the main attributes of faith, the author of the catechism having little interest in the specificity of the faith in the Catholic Church compared to other churches. All these features lead Professor Ghitta to the conclusion that the Hungarian Jesuit has folded his work exclusively on the identity profile of the Roman Catholic faithfuls, without taking into any account the particularities of the newcomers into the fold of the Pope's parishioners.

The sixth chapter enters more deeply into the ideas of the catechism, commenting firstly on the importance that its author gives to the awareness of the value of the Church's Tradition as a complementary source of divine revelation. Professor Ghitta emphasizes the anti-Protestant character of this recommendation, after which he begins commenting on the issues concerning the rites, to which the Hungarian pater attaches a major importance, focusing on the delimitation between those considered licit and illicit, from the perspective of the Church of course. In total, in four large sections of the catechism the author discusses such habits: in the one regarding the Decalogue, in the one in which he discusses the Sacraments, in the one concerning the Church's commandments and, finally, in the one dedicated to the sacramentals. Each practice of the two categories (allowed and disallowed) is widely commented by Professor Ovidiu Ghitta, the arguments brought by the catechism's author being dissected in theological, social or cultural substrates.

The analysis of the moral portrait made by pater Baranyi to the religious otherness and not only represents the topic of the seventh chapter of the book. Professor Ovidiu Ghitta makes an inventory accompanied by extensive comments of those social and religious categories which fall within the notion of sin, as stated by the moral rigors of the Hungarian Jesuit's catechism. They are the pagans, the Jews and bad people, the latter consisting of all those who have distanced themselves from the only communion which could bring them salvation, the communion with the Roman Church. In other words, this latter category covered the broad segments of heretics, whose moral fault is vehemently criticized in the catechism's page. The abundance of negative

examples that Baranyi's work offers is aimed at, Professor Ghitta believes, shaping by contrast the profile of the genuine Christian. Noteworthy in this case also is the silence of the catechetical speech towards the schismatics' category and the errors of their faith, in which we do not have to necessarily see a subtle strategy to spare that religious otherness, but the evidence of the strong anti-heretical colorations that the catechism assumes, believes his interpreter.

The last chapter of the book is a rather conclusive. The first finding is considering the model of religious education that the catechism proposed to disseminate among its users. From this perspective, we are dealing with a text that the perfectly fits the coordinates of the post-Trent religious pedagogy, Professor Ghitta believes, and judging by the emphasis on the moralizing side and the ritual aspects, one can assume that the people that Jesuit Baranyi's work was addressed to, were the beneficiaries of a rather rudimentary spiritual baggage, rooted in mimetic traditions and practices, generating in turn a religious and cultural identity. The second observation concerns the spiritual identity of Baranyi's book recipients. From this point of view, there is no doubt that the Hungarian Jesuit has designed his work for the use of Roman Catholic believers, which transpires in detail from its examination. A third and last observation refers to the way in which a work with such an identity profile could be recommended for the benefit of the faithful of the Greek-Catholic Church in Transylvania. The assumptions initiated by the author of the volume that I have presented are mainly two: either it was desired that, by the circulation of this catechism in the Greek-Catholic community the shaping of its identity coordinates meaning the approach as much as possible to the Roman Catholic paradigm, either the publication of the catechism was evidence of the author's pragmatic opportunism, which found the opportunity, who take advantage of Cardinal Kollonich's generosity who financed its printing.

Regardless of the reasons that were behind the emergence of the catechism authored by Baranyi László Pál, what is important is the resulting cultural product. The exegesis proposed by Professor Ovidiu Ghitta regarding it, offers very convincingly the demonstration of the generosity of ideas that it contains, but it is also an example of the high degree of complexity that its deep analysis implies. The comment proposed by Professor Ghitta makes the dense fog that enveloped the Hungarian Jesuit's work so far to dispel, a work that has received for the first time an interdisciplinary hermeneutic, both historical and theological, which fully potentiate its meanings. If we add to all this that Professor Ghitta's work takes the form of a writing of rare elegance and a high power of transmitting ideas, we are not wrong to say that we have a book which sets new standards in the historiography of the field.

LUCIAN TURCU
Babeş-Bolyai University

Vecchie e nuove élites nell'area danubiano-balcanica del XIX secolo.

By *Rita Tolomeo* (ed).

Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2011.

The present volume was published in 2011 at Rubbettino Publishing House, in Italian, under the direction of the historian Rita Tolomeo, Ph.D., a distinguished specialist in the modern history of Europe, professor at the Sapienza University in Rome, interested especially in the diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Russia. This book contains nine studies dedicated to the history of the elites in Central and South-Eastern Europe, which analyze the development of the intelligentsia in the Czech, Hungarian, Croatian, Romanian, Serbian, Macedonian and Albanian societies, from the fourth decade of the XIXth century until the beginning of the First World War. The historian Andrea Ciampani, Ph.D., professor at Libera Università Maria Ss Assunta (LUMSA) in Rome, wrote in the foreword of the volume that many Italian historians became interested in the history of the elites since 2009, which led to several international conferences and seminars dedicated to this field, organized in 2009 and 2010. The understanding of the interaction between social, economic and political factors in the modern age is considered to have a crucial role in understanding the history of the elites from Central and South-Eastern Europe, which also sheds a new light on the history of the many peoples who interacted in this region.

The first study was written by the historian Francesco Caccamo, Ph.D., professor at the Gabriele d'Annunzio University of Chieti, who studied the development of the Czech intellectual and political elites from the XVIIIth century to the outbreak of the First World War. The Czech national revival was stimulated by the reforms of empress Maria Theresa (1740-1780) and emperor Joseph II (1780-1790), that led to the development of manufacturing in Bohemia and to the emergence of a Czech bourgeoisie, out of which clerks were recruited for the administration. Influenced by Romanticism and the Enlightenment, this bourgeoisie gained interest in the Czech language and their national features, which led to the elaboration of important writings and linguistic works, to the emergence of the Czech press and of the cultural associations, described in detail by the author. The study presents, in a synthetic manner, the formation of the Czech political elite and its development, from 1860 (when the Czech National Party was founded) to 1914.

In the second research, the historian Andrea Carteny, Ph.D., from Sapienza University, studied the supreme counts (*főispánok*) of Transylvania, from the point of view of their ethnicity, confession, education and social status. The paper is worthy due to the information offered about the institutional changes that occurred in Transylvania after the creation of Austria-Hungary in 1867, the administrative reforms and also about the social profile of these highly important clerks of the Dual Monarchy.

The third study, belonging to Egidio Ivetic, Ph.D., professor at the University of Padua, analyses the Croatian elites from Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia and Istria, focusing on their formation and also on their relationship with the

Hungarian authorities between 1867 and 1914. The author presented in a detailed way the connections which the elites had with politics, the cultural societies founded and the combat against the magyarization, which led to violent clashes like those of 1895 and 1903.

The next paper, written by the historian Ion Cârja, Ph.D., from the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj-Napoca, is dedicated to the Romanian ecclesiastical elites of Transylvania during the XIXth century, whose history, despite certain works that solve a few problems, is largely unknown. The author revealed that the ecclesiastical elites represented the Romanian nation during the XVIIIth century, fighting for its rights, and even though after the 1848 Revolution the laymen had taken control over certain aspects of the cultural and political life, the clergy and their leaders had an important role in the Romanian society of Transylvania. To prove these allegations, the historian presented the main events in the history of the two Romanian confessions during the XIXth century, the role of the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Church in the education of the Transylvanian Romanians through the confessional schools and the religious press, and also the connections of the ecclesiastical elite with the Hungarian and Austrian authorities.

In the fifth study of the book, Antonio d'Alessandri, Ph.D., professor at the Roma Tre University, analyzed the formation of the liberal elite in Serbia in the second half of the XIXth century. After presenting the foreign influences on the political culture in Serbia, especially the French influence, the author concluded that although the liberals gained power in Serbia, they couldn't apply their ideas. In the long term, we can see that the liberals build the main institutions of the country and succeeded to legitimate the nation-state as a unique holder of the public-power.

The following paper was written by the historian and orientalist Giuseppe Cossuto, Ph.D., a researcher at the Turkish Studies institutes from Cluj-Napoca and Bucureşti, who presented a few aspects about the influence of the Western civilization on the Ottoman elites in the XIXth century, from a legislative (as proven by the numerous cultural contacts) and educational point of view, thus analyzing the way in which the modern education of the Western Europe was implemented in several educational institutions of the Ottoman Empire.

In the next article, Giacomo Brucciani, Ph.D., professor at the Sapienza University, presented a very detailed analysis on the morphology of the Bulgarian elites between 1879 and 1915. The author classified the Bulgarian political elite according to their political doctrines but also according their family economic condition, the education they received or the jobs they practiced. The cultural elite were analysed in a similar way and the author presented a few case studies about the main intellectuals that influenced the Bulgarian literature and critics.

The eighth study of this volume, written by Tatjana Krizman Malev, Ph.D., from the University of Trieste, presents the genesis of the national identity of the Macedonians, during the XIXth and XXth centuries, focusing both on the political

and ideological context and on the intellectuals that contributed to the development of this new identity.

The last paper, belonging to the philologist Blerina Suta, Ph.D., from the University of Elbasan (Albania), is a synthesis of Albanian history which focuses on the national movement, analyzing the role of the political and cultural elites in the fight for independence, but also their final failure in building a parliamentary democracy.

In the end of the book professor Rita Tolomeo made a few considerations regarding the history of the European elites in this part of the continent, emphasizing three common traits: they all made huge efforts to modernize their native societies and to rediscover the historical roots of their peoples; most of them have studied at important European universities, like those of Paris and Vienna and all of them developed policies in order to form citizens, based on the public schools and the national army. We consider that the studies presented here are very well documented from the scientific point of view, as the authors have a good knowledge of the languages needed to study the history of the peoples from this part of Europe. We hope that this book will be soon translated in Romanian, because many studies held in here shed a new light on the history of the Romanians, both from Transylvania and from the Romanian Principalities.

ANDREI FAUR
Babeş-Bolyai University

„Deznădăjduită muiere n-au fost ca mine”.

Femei, onoare și păcat în Valahia secolului al XIX-lea.

By Nicoleta Roman.

București: Humanitas, 2016.

Nicoleta Roman's book is a more than welcome study in the small field of Romanian gender studies. This is the fifth volume published in the collection *History–Society–Civilization*, edited by Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu at the Humanitas Publishing House. Even though in the western academic field gender studies are almost half a century old, in the autochthonous space of academic research these concerns are somehow asymmetric and at border with feminism with whom they are often unpleasantly mistaken in Romanian academic field. The author is concerned to make a methodological framing of her own scientific approach right from the beginning of the book.

I wish I have had this book twenty years ago when I started to work on a gender topic, more precisely on the couple relation in the rural environment in Transylvania in 20th century. Consequently I had to resign myself to foreign bibliography partly mentioned by Nicoleta Roman in this volume for methodology and the framing of my own research.

Even if my concerns, as ethnologist are reserved to 20th century and contemporary period, a detailed research upon „what meant to be a woman in the Romanian 19th century: a mother, wife, a woman that astonishes community by sinning“ (p. 21) is useful both to an historian but also to a researcher of the present time for the simple reason – if there is a need for one – that we can discover the continuity or on the contrary the discontinuity of some aspects linked to the role and the image of the woman in Romanian society, through a comparative survey. Seeing things metonymically, it is all about our great-grandmothers and grandmothers! Their experiences, Nicoleta Roman’s book is proving have a power of a model, and the way they are presented and „built’ in the four parts of the book and one chapter of conclusions offers them a penetrating power in the environment of the readers interested in gender studies.

But what is this book talking about?

Obviously, about...women. And in fact not about all women but only about those that the author finds in the archive material represented by the juridical files. Thus the woman/women’s image starts form or we may say that is built around a *conflictual knot*: for their stories to be in those files, they must have had problems caused by the diverse situations well exemplified in the book: rape, divorce, inheritances, witchcraft, infanticide etc.

I will choose to talk only about few things picked up from the four parts of the book leaving to the readers to discover the rest of the micro-histories so well exposed in the book.

The first part, as the author tells us is presenting the woman starting from a macro-level using the sources of the epoch: „legislation, literature, folk calendars, *catagrafile* (old form of census) and travel stories“ (p. 25) thus giving shape to the frame of interpreting the archival material. In this part of the book we find that the woman’s „place“ in the society of the epoch is „built“ through different ways, we find that the church contribute fully to creating a negative image associated with sin, through her(woman’s) very own nature, transforming the man into a victim. In the subchapter „Law, Judgement and Judges“ we find that the judging of a woman is made of a complex of characters that continuously pendulate between the domestic, community and official spaces. They all bring their contribution: family, neighbors, or the priest: „the elected villagers, the priest of the slum, *epistatul* (non-commissioned police officer), the teachers or all that were invested with responsibilities towards the community they were overseeing.“ (p. 57).

In the second part of the book the researchers’ lenses go even more towards detail by circumscribing the situations of orphan, widow or married woman and part of a local community in the spaces that represent her.

I find interesting the author’s choice to start this second part of her book with the two aspects somehow extra-ordinary of femininity: the widow and the orphan. Undoubtedly they are the ones more exposed to all sorts of problems and obviously they are in the state of transgressing the general customary laws: a woman should be: a daughter, a wife and a mother.

We have than rich references to a situation that today is just a „ritual“ or a „scene“ in the wedding ritual that during that time it was as real as it could be, with surprising results: the stealing of the bride in the wedding ritual today, a form of playing with the participants in the ceremony, it was one century ago a true stealing of bride with or without her consent, involving male or female seducers.

The pages referring to the couple reveal the problematic status of the newly wed inside the community that is its „melting“ in the „mass“ of community. The young woman moves in the in-laws' house and this change is bringing an alteration of her status: she becomes the subordinate of all members of her new family.

In the third part, Nicoleta Roman takes her research to a different level of analysis, the one of „Searching for women respectability“ (p. 25) and of the means she could get it: having a job be it of a midwife, nurse or servant, fact that is practically just an extension in the public space of a „natural destiny“ ascribed by society.

I like the subchapter referring to the midwife. We have here small fragments that build a real portrait of a midwife generally speaking with qualities and faults. We can also see how the midwives schools were founded and the characters involved in the process.

The stories of the real cases of midwifery show the degree of professionalism or on the contrary the „weaknesses“ of the midwives be they empirical or the ones who already got a diploma for it. But most of all we see how efforts are made to take the empirical midwife out of the picture of delivery in a Romania that is progressively medicalized.

The last part of the book entitled *The Wished Sin, The Paid Sin* is drawing up the multiple facets that compose the image of a generic feminine sin as a destabilizing social element: stealing, prostitution, witchcraft and the worst of all: infanticide.

I will stop only to the chapter „Come to Old Hag to Look After You, to Charm You Away“ where we see the involvement of church and the tolerance it has had towards the empirical healers, especially in the rural areas, proven by the ubiquitous formula ending the charms: „from me the charm, from God, the cure“ (p. 303). We can see also the continuity till nowadays of the idea that the cause of the illness has supernatural origin, an evil thought or an evil deed of the envious people around. We also learn that this magical medicine is of no interest to authorities if it does not produce victims. And we also see that there is a correlation between feminine and witchcraft pushing towards the idea that woman makes use of her negative side through magic.

The author's conclusions very nice and suggestively entitled *Women regarding Towards Another Half of a Century* compose a dense synthesis of a link of causality of the position and image between the women of this century with those of the following generations by pointing out the essential: „From the family towards the public space, this is the direction followed by a woman in getting a better place in society“ (p. 385).

We have through this book a great puzzle of the 19th century that composes the image of the woman of that time, where each piece is a small „gem” that has a beautiful story to tell.

The writing is clear, very careful to keep the local color of the epoch, that comes naturally through maintaining of terms as: *clucer* (*Court Victualler*), *jupân* (*master*), *vopsea* (*the old for districts of Bucharest*), *patalama* (*certificate*), words that discretely hold us in the atmosphere of the past century.

With a beautifully romantic cover, as a summary of the idea of „desperation” in the title, the book is mainly addressing to the scholars accustomed with the field of gender studies, students, professors, teachers and researchers, but also to researchers from border disciplines: ethnology, sociology, anthropology. It is definitely a book that fills a gap in the gender researches in Romanian historiography, and adds up successfully to those mentioned by the author in the *Argument*: „Ștefan Lemny, Șarolta Solcan, Violeta Barbu, Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, Alin Ciupală și Ionela Băluță”(p. 19).

ELENA BĂRBULESCU
Archive of Folklore Institute, Cluj

Junimismul și pasiunea moderației.

By Ioan Stanomir.

București: Humanitas, 2013.

Ioan Stanomir, one of the most important political scientists of Romania, is a well-known professor at the Faculty of Political Science, Bucharest University. His research interests focus on the history of the communist regime in Romania, the constitutional law, Romanian constitutional history and the conservative ideology. Until now, he wrote about the last mentioned subject several books: *Reacțiune și conservatorism: eseul asupra imaginarului politic eminescian* (Nemira, 2000), *A fi conservator* (with Laurențiu Vlad, Meridiane, 2002), *Conștiința conservatoare: preliminarii la un profil intelectual* (Nemira, 2004), *Spiritul conservator: de la Barbu Catargiu la Nicolae Iorga* (Curtea Veche, 2008).

The present volume, published in 2013 at the one of the most important Romanian publishing houses, is the last book written by professor Stanomir about the conservative ideology. It is dedicated to one of the most important cultural societies of XIXth century Romania, Junimea, founded in 1864 by Titu Maiorescu, Petre P. Carp, Theodor Rosetti, Vasile Pogor and Iacob Negruzzi, which marked the Romanian modern culture and also the Romanian politics. The author mentioned that he didn't want to write a political history of the Junimea society, but only to present its political ideology. He assumed in his essay a liberal-conservative position for his interpretation (pp. 9-10).

In the introduction of the book, professor Stanomir pleaded for a new understanding of conservatism, not only as an ideology focused on defending the interests of the ancient aristocracy, but as a vision on the human nature that is based on values opposite to 1789 radicalism. The ideology promoted by Junimea was liberal-conservative, which the author defined as an “ethos of equilibrium and caution” (p. 8).

In the first chapter the author commented several objectives of this society that derive not from its legal status, but from its history. The society was later considered by Titu Maiorescu, one of its founders, a “dream of a free intelligence” (p. 21). Its purpose was to discourage mediocrity and imposture and to cultivate instead a “pedagogy of measure and equilibrium”(p. 13). These objectives derived both from the education of the leaders, which studied abroad and possessed a cult for rigor, and also from their nostalgia after the political role of Moldavia, which was lost after the union of 1859.

The second chapter deals with the connection between Junimea, conservatism and moderation. As there are no systematic ideological texts written by the members of this society, we have to reconstruct their political ideas from others writings or from political speeches. An important political feature of the Junimea members was their obsession (clearly seen at Petre P. Carp and Titu Maiorescu) for a peaceful modernization of Romania that might avoid a bloody revolution, like in 1789. Following an idea of the political scientist Sanford Lakoff, Ioan Stanomir argues that these intellectuals are liberal-conservatives, along with an intellectual tradition that include Edmund Burke, François Guizot, Robert Peel and Alexis de Tocqueville. The liberal-conservatives accept civil liberties but refuse equality, are opened to reforms but reject unjustified innovation and agree with personal autonomy but stimulate organic solidarity. The Junimea members didn't trust the government to solve the most important problems of the Romanian society and considered that gradual evolution was better than a violent revolution. In the defense of the autonomy of a person, these intellectuals supported administrative decentralization. Ioan Stanomir considered that, from the point of view of their ideology, the Junimea society rejected the programs of the 1848 Revolution and focused on 1857, the year when, through the “Ad hoc” assemblies, the social classes came together and made a compromise.

In the third chapter professor Stanomir analyzed one of the most influential of Junimea's ideological legacies: the “theory of the forms without content”, a formula launched by Maiorescu in 1868, when he published a very important article about the condition of the Romanian culture. The important literary critic wanted to prove that imitating the institutions of the Western World won't bring automatically the western civilization to Romania. He was determined to fight against this illusion and sustained that modernization can last only if the evolution is gradual and “organic”, responding to the needs of the society. In a speech held in 1876, Maiorescu criticized the absence of a Romanian independent middle class. The Romanian bourgeoisie consisted of clerks, who strictly depended on the state and were preoccupied to multiply its institutions. A solution to this problem could come only from an educational reform, that

would give the young Romanians the possibility to obtain practical jobs. This view was shared by Petre P. Carp, an important Romanian statesman, who didn't accept democracy and criticized the desire of many Romanians to become state clerks. Other members of Junimea, like Theodor Rosetti and Mihai Eminescu, rejected the rapid modernization in the name of a romantic conservatism, considering that the country started to ignore its tradition and the statesmen separated from the real nation.

In the fourth chapter two important concepts of Junimea's ideology were analyzed: gradualism and particularity. The intellectuals who were part of this society considered that modernization should be gradual, cautious and must pay attention to the particularities of each nation. Their model was the English political regime and they were profoundly influenced by Henry Thomas Buckle's *History of Civilization in England*. Vasile Pogor considered that the role of the government is to maintain order and prevent oppression. Titu Maiorescu and Petre P. Carp pleaded several times for decentralization and local government, because only this way the society will be truly modernized. Local autonomy was seen as a school which prepares citizens to implicate in the country's affairs. The universal vote was rejected because they considered it an instrument through which the government could gain a bigger influence on the population, because the peasants, who in that time represented 80% of Romania's population, were unprepared to assume a political role.

The last chapter of this essay is dedicated to Junimea's ideological heritage. Ioan Stanomir reaffirmed the similarities between the discourse of Carp, Maiorescu and the more renowned Edmund Burke, François Guizot and Alexis de Tocqueville. As a liberal-conservative himself, the author tried to explain the importance nowadays of an ideology which appeared in the XIXth century. Stanomir considers that Junimea promoted freedom, reason and moderation against other political religions and "after a century of wandering, the ideology of Junimea is part of a Romanian tradition of freedom which we can claim" (p. 133). Written from a liberal-conservative perspective, this essay tried to argue that the ideology promoted by Junimea, with its passion for moderation, could today help the Romanian intellectuals rediscover the true liberty and the path for a gradual and lasting modernization.

ANDREI FAUR
Babeş-Bolyai University

Ideea de superioritate națională în Imperiul Austro-Ungar. 1880-1918

By *Marius Turda*.

Cluj-Napoca: Argonaut, 2016.

Written by Marius Turda, *Ideea de superioritate națională în Imperiul Austro-Ungar 1880-1918* [*The Idea of National Superiority in the Austro-Hungarian Empire 1880-*

1918] can be considered, as most books belonging to the author, a referential work for researchers interested in Central European nationalism. The book represents the extended Romanian version of the first edition, entitled *The Idea of National Superiority in Central Europe 1880-1918*, published in 2005 by the prestigious American publishing house The Edwin Mellen Press Ltd, and this second edition demonstrates that the researcher is mature and completely seduced by his line of research.

The author, professor of biomedicine history at Oxford Brookes University, has had an exceptional career path so far: graduate of the University of Bucharest, he completed his studies at Central European University, whose cosmopolitan atmosphere and competitive ambiance have definitely left their mark on him, and then he further developed his career in the Anglo-Saxon space. Moreover, given that he has intensively published articles and books at some of the most prestigious international journals and publishing houses, Marius Turda is today an established name in the international specialised literature, being at the same time one of the most renowned Romanian historians from abroad.

Ideea de superioritate națională în Imperiul Austro-Ungar 1880-1918 distinguishes itself through its originality, visible in terms of theme, as well as of methodology or structure. Thematically, the book is constructed by gradually reducing the analytical perspective in terms of geography: after reviewing the writings of nationalists from Western Europe, Turda goes on to present the opinions of Central European nationalists, namely the Hungarian and Romanian ones, the centre of gravity of his analysis. As a matter of fact, the project was conceived reversely, being initially narrower, but it was extended, as the author confesses, because of the impossibility of isolating the sources. Actually, the fact that ideas of national superiority cannot be isolated from the place, time and society that produced them has also had effects from a methodological viewpoint, as the author thus relied on an applied approach, namely contextual-intellectual history. Structurally, the book exceptionally combines what it suggests at a thematic and methodological level and, as a result, the author proves, throughout four consistent chapters, that both Hungarian and Romanian nationalisms cannot be fully understood without the perspectives of racial theories and of social Darwinism. Undoubtedly, by the variety of his sources and the way they are combined (at this level there is a substantial revision as compared to the first edition of the book), but also by the extraordinary effort put in detecting the way in which ideas elaborated in Occidental Europe have inspired Hungarian and Romanian nationalists, while emphasising how these ideas were critically perceived and adapted, Marius Turda innovates in what concerns the historiographical discourse and he concomitantly provides a complete bibliography of the subject and/or of complementary topics.

The first chapter of the book focuses on theories: racial ones, those of social Darwinism, but also theories of nationalism, the purpose being that of achieving "a racial investigation of national identity", as the author declares (p. 19). This type of analysis highlights the metamorphoses of the concept of race: although

this concept was initially perceived as a phenomenon completely non-malignant, as a category belonging to natural sciences and anthropology, gradually it started being incorporated into biological theories of national identity. Therefore, the key distinction, that between race and nation, which are complementary, but not synonymous terms, as the author points out, is needed in order to illustrate the central role that race played in formulating the idea of nation in the nineteenth century. The author's argument is that both terms, namely race and nation, are appropriate when discussing the concept of national superiority between 1880 and 1918 (p. 25). Specifically, the first chapter is devoted to the presentation of social-Darwinist and nationalist theories starting from the slogan of social Darwinism essentialised in the expression "survival of the fittest" (p. 38) and it highlights their influences both on nationalist vocabulary and on the definitions given to "nation" and "national identity".

The second chapter of the book revolves around the sociological theories of two of the thinkers with major contributions to the subject of race supremacy in history: Ludwig Gumplowicz and Houston Stewart Chamberlain. The two authors have defined the concepts of racial superiority and inferiority. The theory of Gumplowicz postulated, on the one hand, that the state can be created as a result of a racial conflict in which the superior race is victorious and, on the other hand, that national superiority is the inherent property of the superior race. Chamberlain brought three main arguments for the idea of national superiority: preeminence of the race, the concept of Teutonic racial superiority and the idea of the racial soul of the nation (p. 60). Affirming the idea of national superiority, Chamberlain considered that the superior race is embodied by the Teutons, the Aryan myth thus representing the central theme of his thinking, while he also developed a form of anti-Semitism, one dimension of his philosophy being the Manichean one, namely explaining the world in terms of the Hebrew - German opposition.

In an effort to investigate the ways in which racial thinking was adopted by Central European nationalists, the third chapter of the book focuses on cultural and historical theories of national superiority developed by Hungarian nationalism. Turda detects the genesis of these theories in the major transformations that occurred in Hungary at the beginning of the twentieth century: political instability and the intensification of the nationalist message (p. 74). By emphasizing the redefinition of *Natio Hungarica*, the medieval ideal of a Hungarian political nation, by the Generation of the Millennium (around the year 1900) as "liberalism of the people from the Lords", Turda reveals how racial thinking and social Darwinism gradually became sources of inspiration for promoting policies of assimilation and Magyarization. Moreover, by tracing the emergence of the idea of Hungarian national superiority, Turda highlights the various historical, legal, linguistic, ethnographic and literary arguments that formed its bases, consequently demonstrating the interdisciplinarity on which it was founded. Historical arguments, as for example the idea of state, came from such authors as Ágost Pulszky and Győző Concha whose theories are analyzed in detail in the book, while the ethnological ones, which had language at their

core, pertained to such authors as Pál Hunfalvy and Ármin Vámbéry, both postulating the need of linguistic and cultural revival. Literary arguments stemmed from literary critic Zsolt Beoth, whose work is also extensively analysed by Turda. All the above-mentioned authors have substantially contributed to the emergence of the idea of Hungarian national superiority and, concomitantly, to the birth of a new kind of Darwinian nationalism in Central Europe.

The fourth and last chapter of the book reviews several other Hungarian nationalists, analysing, in the end, nationalism and the idea of national superiority in the Romanian area, which occasions a thorough discussion of the work of a referential author in the field, namely A. C. Popovici. With regard to Hungarian nationalism, within this chapter the author mentions Ernő Balogh's theories, according to which the Hungarian race's superiority derived from its superior qualities, its most important feature in this respect being the fact that it was a "historic nation"; consequently non-Hungarians were inferior because they represented non-historic nations (p. 116). Gustav Beksics defined Hungarian national identity on biological bases and he "has enriched with two theories the discourse about the idea of national superiority in Central Europe between 1880 and 1918" (p. 126). The first of these theories is based on constitutional history, while the second reflects his ideas on the question of nationality in Hungary. Beksics considered that two elements were primary in race preservation: religion and the national concept; however, he also emphasised the contribution of women in preserving the purity of the race. Mihály Réz propounded three main ideas about Hungarian racial politics: 1. the exclusion of force in imposing superiority (Hungarian superiority should not be imposed by force), 2. the right to national self-preservation of both Hungarians and non-Hungarians (Hungarians and non-Hungarians alike had to defend their right to national existence), and 3. the superiority of the race which was stronger in competitions (in the struggle for existence the strongest race has always survived) (p. 132).

In what regards Romanian nationalism, A. C. Popovici developed a theory about national superiority partly in response to Hungarian theories (and thus implicitly rejecting the superiority of Hungarian culture and the need for assimilation and Magyarization) and partly as a demonstration of Romanian superiority. What Turda coins as amazing about this author is the critical transformation of ideas taken from other sources and their interpretation and adaptation to the Romanian area. In building his theory on Romanian national superiority, Popovici combined three types of arguments: the Dacian-Roman continuity theory, the assumption that the race with the strongest qualities (in his view the North-Germanic race) had the right to rule the world and craniology, Popovici claiming that Romanians belonged to the Northern European superior race. (p. 154).

Turda emphasises another very interesting phenomenon, namely that, in effect, in the two areas had in view two conflicting principles were emerging: the Hungarian idea of superiority, as it was outlined at the end of the nineteenth

century, was totally opposed to Romanian arguments that led to independence and to Transylvania's union with Romania in 1918.

The book's conclusions are drawn by making a series of comparisons with the interwar period, thus illustrating the mutations suffered by racial and Darwinist thinking. The author reveals the most significant differences between the two periods, the first of which being that in prewar years "the idea of superiority was based on the idea of nation and not on that of race" and that "racial thinking and social Darwinism have not functioned independently but in cooperation with nationalism" (p. 157). However, the situation changed dramatically after 1918, when national superiority was identified with race and the nation was regarded as a subordinate element of race. A second distinction is related to racial purity, given that, unlike the interwar period, the authors analyzed in this book have not supported this principle. What Turda highlights in the conclusions, consequently opening new registers of interpretation that go beyond the current historiographical paradigm, is that Romanians' desire to be separated from Austria-Hungary in 1918 was not a spontaneous idea, occurring in 1918 or 1914, but an event that had deeper roots and was merely unfolding at that time. Moreover, Turda also emphasises that the development of ethnic nationalism and national superiority theories that had taken place in a competitive manner between Romanian and Hungarian nationalisms has had a definite contribution to the Dual Monarchy's dissolution.

Marius Turda's book has several strengths: the theme's novelty, clarity of ideas, a logical train of thought, a coherent and rigorous analysis, the use of diverse and multiple sources, refinement of writing. Without any doubt, the book raises a series of questions, innovates with regard to historical discourse and, as already pointed out, surpasses the current historiographical paradigm. Nevertheless, we can mention a sensitive point, namely that the book does not address a wide audience, but, given its complexity, it is most definitely relevant only to a specialised public.

The author proves, once again, his propensity toward themes unexplored by Romanian researchers: the theme of national superiority was an outcast, at least in Romanian historiography, given that after the Second World War the term "race" and the associated analyses were compromised. Until the appearance of this book, the subject of national superiority represented a white spot in Romanian historiography, due to the degree of difficulty involved by the analysis and to other factors as well, apparently not being noteworthy of interest in researchers' eyes. Therefore, the author's option to publish his book in Cluj-Napoca at Argonaut publishing house is admirable, as in this way his work has become accessible to all Romanian specialists interested in this topic or in complementary ones.

LUMINIȚA IGNAT-COMAN
Babeș-Bolyai University

Fascism, Aviation and Mythical Modernity.

By *Fernando Esposito.*

New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

For more than three quarters of a century conflicting paradigms, contradictory interpretations and mutually exclusive theoretical models have separately evolved, actively confronted or abruptly succeeded one other in the vibrant historiographical field of fascist studies, with common ground rarely to be reached. However, in spite of a long-standing tradition of intellectual debate in the course of which even the most basic definitions of the phenomenon could not be agreed upon by any significant margin in the scientific community, the academic landscape appears to have undergone yet another redefining shift in recent years, this time coming closer than ever before to what is commonly referred to nowadays as a “new consensus”.

While a considerable degree of ambiguity surrounds some of the basic assumptions on which this far-reaching view on fascism is founded and its epistemological, methodological and conceptual frameworks are still being perfected and refined, several of its fundamental assertions are now widely acknowledged as valid and productive. Among those, mostly (but not exclusively) inspired by Roger Griffin’s body of work, special attention has been given to fascism’s ideological focus on the projected national and anthropological revolution, to the palingenetic myth that lies at its core, as well as to its convoluted relation to modernity.

The last one of these major tenets gradually established by the new consensus as essential guidelines for present and future study is also the main focus of the hereby reviewed book, a compelling analysis set on exploring the controversial affinity between fascism and modernity, standing out as one of the most substantial additions to the field since Griffin’s seminal *Modernism and Fascism: A Sense of Beginning Under Mussolini and Hitler* was published a decade earlier. The author, Fernando Esposito, Lecturer at the Eberhard Karls University of Tübingen, is a noticeable figure in the dynamic environment of contemporary fascist studies whose valuable contributions offer a profound insight into the deepest layers of fascist ideology as they set to systematically uncover the phenomenon’s intellectual roots.

That is precisely the purpose of *Fascism, Aviation and Mythical Modernity*, the most recent work through which Esposito engages in the challenging task of elaborating a conceptual nexus meant to serve as a deciphering mechanism for fascist thought, one that would implicitly shed new light on its origins. By bringing together the three distinct components mentioned in the title and by assembling them into a unique theoretical framework, the book presents itself as an engrossing, impressively documented and ultimately successful attempt at mapping out “the fascist blueprint for modernity”, with aviation discourse keenly utilized as the interpretative key, a symbolic epitome to be translated into

the physical embodiment of the monumental fascist ideal concerned with rechanneling the forces of history.

While conceiving the innovative schematic approach and the intricate conceptual network later employed in the course of the analysis, Esposito uses the opening section of the volume for a brief but well-informed critical presentation of the historiographical background of fascist studies from their earlier days to their most recent evolutions, thereby not only demonstrating an extensive knowledge of the complex dynamics of an ever changing academic field but also consolidating the premises of his work by placing them into proper academic context. Here the author relies on the consistent chronological taxonomy of German historian Sven Reichardt, who identifies a third period of comparative fascist studies still in progress. According to Reichardt's classification, this phase approximately began with the rising theoretical wave of the early 1990's, best illustrated through the emerging theories of Roger Griffin, which gained considerable momentum in the atmosphere of ideological realignment following the collapse of communism and the end of the Cold War. Esposito envisions his own text as a product of this third stage proceeding to present day and now finding itself arguably reconfigured in the shape of the new consensus. It is a historiographical development for which, he rightly argues, the common denominators might not yet be fully formed, but their foundations—the turn towards cultural studies, the break with essentialist definitions, the growing contextualization and overcoming of national narratives, and, most importantly, the significant emphasis on reevaluating modernity as a way to understand fascism – are without a doubt already in place.

As far as the structure of the book is concerned, it is only natural, given the conceptual orientation of the approach, that its seemingly eclectic eight chapters (not including the introduction) are divided into three distinctive parts based on the significance attributed in each separate case to a particularly important term recurrent throughout the analysis – the notion of “order”. Esposito uses it in a sense closely related to that ascribed to the concept of *nomos* by ancient Greek philosophy, therefore associating it both with historical reality and mythical thought. Order is deemed as especially important when it comes to fascism's relation to modernity since the latter is claimed to have been perceived by the former as both an age of order-dissolution and one of order-generation, with this conviction having fueled the “need for meaning” connected to the worldview embraced by most fascists.

Here Esposito's research is visibly influenced by Griffin's framework (in turn inspired by theories derived from cultural anthropology, such as those formulated by Arnold van Gennep or Victor Turner) which weaves together the notions of fascism, modernity and modernism and reaches valuable ideological explanations through the meticulous study of their mutual interactions. Significantly, Griffin also makes extensive use of the concept of *nomos* and its counterpart – *anomie* – for the purpose of explaining the gradual radicalization process taking place within fascism. Drawing extensively on Griffin's

conclusions, Esposito convincingly formulates his own functional definition of fascism, one that emphasizes the “metapolitical” nature of the phenomenon, its transcendental aspirations, its anticipated metamorphosis of the nation, the people and ultimately human nature in its entirety, as well as its quest for establishing a mythical new order in the realm of social and political reality. Coming back to the structure of the book, it is precisely the interpretations given to this arduously desired order that determine its alignment, with each of the three main segments following autonomous but closely connected paths.

Part one, titled “Longing for Order”, comprises of two chapters in the course of which the myths that would later provide fascism with purpose are adequately contextualized and the lens of aviation discourse is firmly focused in order for it to provide an accurate image of modernity.

Firstly, the intellectual crisis of the *fin de siècle* and the prewar years is witnessed through the works of German art historian Aby Warburg, whose refined observations on the troubling transformation of the world around him and the bleak prospect of the decaying liberal thought allow Esposito to draw a clearer picture of the threats modernity brought along and fascism eventually came to acknowledge in its own interpretation of it.

Secondly, a vivid representation of the “suprahistorical” mission fascism would assume for itself, directly inspired by the fascinating impact of conquering the horizon through technical advancement, is revealed in the thought and actions of Gabrielle d’Annunzio, one of the most influential predecessors of Italian Fascism and an aviator himself, for whom flying was the ultimate means of overcoming the rigid constraints imposed on the individual, as well as on the national community.

Part two, “Fractured Order”, encompasses three chapters dealing mostly with the impact of the First World War, seen as a catalyst for the radical views that would later define fascist ideology as well as a mold for the most powerful modern myths of fascism, with aviation analyzed at length as an illustrative example. The experience of warfare and its shattering consequences metaphorically referred to in the title are interpreted both as a violent destruction and a belligerent reconstruction of *nomos*, perceived as such by the fascist vanguards themselves. The analysis then traces the socially constructed reevaluation of the individual in the aftermath of brutal physical confrontation through the portrayal of the hero-figure, epitomized by the aviator as one of the most remarkable protagonists of the war and the supreme “achiever of myth”. Afterwards, the focus turns towards the reimagining of the community and the emergence of the concomitantly inclusive and exclusive *Volksgemeinschaft* as the essential pillar of the world fascism planned to build with the tools of modernity.

Part three, “Eternal Order”, consists of two chapters offering a fitting closure to the account as a whole and reinforcing Esposito’s innovative conceptual nexus. The uncompromising implications of the palingenetic myth rising amidst the physical and metaphysical uncertainty of postwar *anomie* are revisited through the popular memoirs of Ernst Jünger, whose glorification of war as the

greatest of epiphanies as well as the essential impulse allowing the instatement of a regenerative order were received by most fascists as truthful testimonies announcing a new dawn. Finally, in the last chapter, the author delves farthest into the past by linking the perception of modernity within the substance of fascism, as reflected in the aviation discourse invoked throughout the book, to the most profound roots of fascist mythical thinking, going as back as the first rejections of “the Enlightenment project” (clearly distinguished, as suggested by Zygmunt Bauman, from “the project of modernity” itself) and the utopian aspirations of early Romanticism.

Insofar as it wishes to improve the historiographical perception of the fascist *Weltanschauung*, mainly but not exclusively in regard to myth and modernity, through the systematic exploration of the novel and previously insufficiently documented angle of aviation discourse, *Fascism, Aviation and Mythical Modernity* definitely sets an ambitious purpose for itself. However, by taking full advantage of the concept inventory and methodological instruments brought forward with the developing new consensus in fascist studies and by adding to them in the process of forging an original analytical framework, Esposito manages to achieve his goals in a compelling manner. To the extent that it further clarifies and expands the academic understanding of what one might dare to call “fascist modernity”, the hereby reviewed book can undoubtedly be considered a remarkable reference in the matter and an essential read.

RĂZVAN CIOBANU
Babeş-Bolyai University

Not I. Memoirs of a German Childhood.

By *Joachim Fest*.

New York: Other Press, 2013.

In an essay published in 1999 concerning the complex relationship between historical and autobiographical writing, Jeremy D. Popkin convincingly argued, throughout the course of a thorough exploration of what he called the “autobiographical frontier”, that engaging in the challenging act of writing a memoir should be regarded as a necessary experience for every historian interested in viewing the past from a different, more intimate angle – through the lens of his own consciousness¹. Popkin’s statement is of particular significance when one comes across the hereby reviewed book, a memoir

¹ Jeremy D. Popkin, “Historians on the Autobiographical Frontier”, in *The American Historical Review*, June 1999, pp. 725-748.

accurately described by Herbert A. Arnold in the foreword to the American edition as “quite unusual [...] in several respects, yet [...] a memoir all the same”².

The author, a renowned name in Western historiography, hardly needs any proper introduction. Joachim Fest was one of the leading intellectual figures of the Federal Republic of Germany, who also enjoyed a remarkable career as a journalist in the post-war era. After initially working as broadcaster for the RIAS (Radio in the American Sector of Berlin), a position involving the extensive research and public presentation of different aspects of the National Socialist past of the country, Fest was eventually named chief editor of the North German Broadcasting Network. Later on, he briefly led an important political journal, *Panorama*, and afterwards became, for no less than two decades, the editor of the cultural section of the prestigious publication *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. A publicly engaged conservative critic of the cultural left, he found himself on the forefront of the *Historikerstreit* when the debate ensued, the strong stance he assumed being a faithful reflection of his long acquired beliefs, intellectual inclinations and firmly defined worldview. As a historian, he counted among the pioneers of National Socialism studies, proving a profound understanding of the phenomenon that had developed early on in his life, as he witnessed firsthand (and suffered on account of) both the tragic rise and the catastrophic demise of the Third Reich. The extensive research carried during his lengthy career covered a wide thematic spectrum and focused on issues such as the ideological foundations, functioning mechanisms, internal dynamics and competing power structures of National Socialism. Furthermore, his well-documented biographical accounts of key Nazi figures, including a highly acclaimed biography of Hitler (an international bestseller translated into more than twenty languages), provided a revelatory look behind the curtains of the infamous regime whose nature Fest unabatedly tried to comprehend and expose.

The captivating memoir hereby reviewed, an integral, albeit unique part of Fest’s impressive body of work, manages to bridge the gaps between his remarkable lifelong research and the early personal experiences that stood behind them. However, as mentioned before, the way in which this connection is drawn is rather atypical as far the autobiographical genre is concerned. Firstly, as the significant title of the book suggests – “Not I. Memoirs of a German Childhood” – the given time frame, mainly encompassing the author’s childhood, youth and early adulthood, is an unusual option for a man of Fest’s intellectual stature, whose choice to keep silent about his academic and public achievements as well as his active and productive involvement in the cultural life of postwar Germany certainly appears intriguing. Secondly, and perhaps even more surprisingly, one can make a compelling case about the author not being the main character of his own autobiography, with the narrative being consistently dominated by the uncompromising yet sensitive, wise yet troubled,

² Herbert A. Arnold, “Introduction”, in Joachim Fest, *Not I. Memoirs of a German Childhood*, Other Press, New York, 2013, p. xi.

stern yet affectionate figure of his father. Thirdly, as the author himself admits in the preface, his account rarely engages in “abstract reflections”, while at the same time not dispensing, either involuntarily or by choice, with the analytical style of the researcher, insofar as the vast majority of the chronologically presented and orderly depicted recollections might appear to the reader as logically rather than emotionally recomposed. Thus, even though Fest formally claims to sacrifice the method of the historian in favor of the freedom provided by the approach of the memoirist, for the most part the shadow of the former is more perceivable than the presence of the latter.

With that being said, none of the aforementioned aspects has a diminishing effect on the overall quality of the book. Quite the contrary, the author’s neat self-portrayal, the refined representations of the most important figures of his upbringing, the systematic description, with an implicit personal touch added to it, of the intricate sequence of events that defined the final half of the interwar years and then the war itself, as well as the constant shift between a comprehensive view on the historical forces involved in the violent molding of a disruptive new order and the valuable insight into their tremendous impact on the lives of regular people are all guarantees of a fascinating and instructive read.

From a structural standpoint the memoir is divided into eleven chapters (the preface and postscript not included) out of which only the last one, a brief retrospective overview of the previous ten, is set in the postwar era. Therefore, the most consistent part of the story deals almost exclusively with the time of the National Socialist rule, as the journey begins in the final years of the Weimar Republic, with the *Machtergreifung* (the Nazi seizure of power) in sight, and ends in the aftermath of Germany’s calamitous collapse at the end of the Second World War. From the very first pages of the book the reader is accustomed to the dark sense of anxious anticipation prevailing throughout the entire development of the narrative. The heavy atmosphere surrounding the gradual unraveling of events thus comes across as one of the most distinctive aspects of the memoir, easily detectable both in regard to the falling apart of the Weimar Republic under the blows of soaring political radicalism, profound economic dysfunctions, rising paramilitary violence and general state of social unrest throughout the country, as well as in relation to the strains brought on by the changing shape of the outer world to the quiet life of a conservative middle-class family, whose peaceful early years the author nostalgically recalls.

As Germany quickly becomes tragically unrecognizable and its citizens begin to look for strategies that would allow them to adapt to the unforeseeable circumstances they are confronted with under the iron rule of a new regime, the inquisitive Fest (only seven years old at the time of Hitler’s coming into power) finds a valuable moral compass in the figure of his father, who offers him a clear perspective, founded on strong democratic convictions, on the apparently confusing transition the nation undergoes. A conservative spirit, devoted to the Republic and unwilling to compromise with the new order, which he firmly rejects first and foremost on the basis of it being morally corrupt, Fest the elder,

deeply concerned with sheltering his family from the insidious ideological mechanisms of National Socialism, manages to provide his children with the appropriate tools in order for them to resist, at least in the realm of ethics, to the relentless assault of the malignant forces they are confronted with on a daily basis. It is he, a pious Catholic strongly relying on his faith even in his darkest hours, who one day asks young Joachim and his older brother to remember, and consider as a personal credo, an aphorism extracted from the Gospel of Matthew: "*Etiam si omnes, ego non*" – "Even if all others do, not I". The powerful effect these words proved to have on the author is easily discernible when one considers the title of his memoir.

However, the price to pay for the numerous acts of passive resistance this assertion inspired was definitely a heavy one. The entire progression of the narrative revolves around a succession of key episodes mostly connected, in one way or another, to different instances of persecution, varying from mundane incidents, like those related to the social rejection the children experienced during their school years for refusing to be integrated into the networks and structures of the regime, to more serious matters, such as Fest's father dismissal as headmaster of the school where he was teaching, as a direct result of his unwillingness to comply with certain constraints dictated from above. The tragic culmination of a long string of hardships and misfortunes came, as for millions of other Germans, with the final years of the war, when both Fest and his older brother Wolfgang were drafted and sent to fight the Allies on the Western Front. While the author himself was taken prisoner and spent several months in American captivity, his brother ended up dying in combat, his life having been absurdly sacrificed in the name of a cause he always dissociated himself from. As Fest admits, it was a loss his family was never able to recover from, a wound that could not be healed by the eventual end of the war and long expected demise of totalitarianism, nor by the troubled years of reconstruction or the reinstatement of democracy in Western Germany.

Amidst the "struggle for normalcy" that followed the literal ruin brought upon the German people by National Socialism, Fest began his prodigious career, even though there is scarcely any mention of his later work as a historian since the memoir abruptly ends in the uncertain atmosphere of the early postwar era. Only a couple of additional considerations are added in the final pages in regard to the fate of Germany half a century later, in the context of the country's reunification. As he proceeds to conclude the impressive recollection of a tumultuous past, Fest significantly and appropriately avoids to conjure a moment of spectacular revelation in retrospect. Undoubtedly, he draws the main tenets of his entire worldview from the lessons of the past, yet his perspective remains a very grounded one, dominated by what is cautiously referred to throughout the memoir as "skepticism", even though some may perceive it as outright pessimism.

Leaving the indications on the author's philosophical outlook on life aside, "Not I" is an important book, as well as a fascinating read, not just because it provides a remarkable instance of a reputed scholar successfully turning the

focus of his historical insight towards himself; instead, its higher value lies elsewhere. In the process of recomposing his own past, the remembrance of which is inseparable from the reconstruction of the greater historical context, Joachim Fest does not merely come forward with answers and explanations, findings and theories, but also raises, directly or implicitly, several meaningful questions. And while some are perhaps not meant to be answered, it is essential for them to be asked nonetheless.

RĂZVAN CIOBANU
Babeş-Bolyai University

Contributors

CONSTANTIN BĂRBULESCU is associate professor at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj.

ELENA BĂRBULESCU is researcher at the Archive of Folklore Institute, Cluj.

PHILIPPE HENRI BLASEN is Ph.D. student at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj.

CECILIA CĂRJA is researcher at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj.

ION CĂRJA is associate professor at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj.

RĂZVAN CIOBANU is Ph.D. student at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj.

ANDREI FAUR is Ph.D. student at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj.

LUMINIȚA IGNAT-COMAN is researcher at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj.

CORNEL-DĂNUȚ MĂRCUȘ is Ph.D. student at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj.

SORIN MITU is professor at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj.

VLAD POPOVICI is lecturer at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj.

ANA-MARIA STAN is researcher at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj.

LUCIAN TURCU is assistant professor at the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj.

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