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# SETTLEMENTS FROM 8<sup>TH</sup> – 9<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES DISCOVERED WITHIN THE SOIL FORTRESS AT BIHAREA

*Florin SFRENGEU*

**Abstract:** *This article presents the settlements in the 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> centuries discovered at Biharea in 2004, near the southern wave of the soil fortress. Other settlements previously discovered in different locations near the fortress of Biharea are mentioned, as well as the analogies with the discoveries in other areas in Crișana dating back to the same period. These new discoveries correlated with the previous ones may bring new arguments to date the fortress built by the natives back to the 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> centuries.*

**Keywords:** *archaeological, research, fortress, Biharea, Crișana*

Archaeological research in 2004 developed within the soil fortress, in the southern area, near the soil wave thus continuing the 2001-2003 campaigns<sup>1</sup>. The research was coordinated all through this period by Professor Sever Dumitrascu as part of the field training carried out by the BA and doctoral students at the Faculty of History – Geography at the University of Oradea. I directly participated with him to the discovery of two settlements dated 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>2</sup>.

The research aimed at revealing a stone and brick with mortar building that had been noticed during the research carried out the previous year. It is supposed to be the remainders of a church. The foundation of the southern wall parallel with the soil wave of the fortress has 7.90 m in length, 0.65 m in width and 0.60 m in depth as compared to the current level. The foundation is made of river stones; tile and bricks were used for the elevation. The uncovered bricks, some of them in their initial position, and others in secondary position, have remains of mortar.

At the western end of the wall, at a depth of 0.60 m, there is a superficial foundation made of wile that goes deeper to 0.80 m. It has a quadrangle shape and

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<sup>1</sup> S. Dumitrașcu, F. Sfrengeu, *Biharea, com. Biharea, jud. Bihor*, în CCAR, 2001 campaign, Buziaș, 2002; Idem, *Biharea, com. Biharea, jud. Bihor*, în CCAR, 2002 campaign, Covasna, 2003; Idem, *Biharea, com. Biharea, jud. Bihor*, în CCAR, 2003 campaign, Cluj Napoca, 2004; F. Sfrengeu, *Săpăturile arheologice din anii 2001 – 2002 de la Biharea – Cetatea de pământ (zona de sud)*, in AUO, XIV, 2004, p. 11-18

<sup>2</sup> I would like to thank Professor Sever Dumitrascu once again for the opportunity to work under his careful coordination and for allowing the publication of this important archaeological discovery on which he has drawn our attention.

the size 2 x 1.80 m with a 0.15 m detachment, probably the entrance to the church or even the foundation of a belfry. At the eastern end, the wall has a 0.80 m detachment to the north whence an apse of a semi-diameter of 2.52 m opens. Only part of the foundation remained at a depth of 0.42 m. It was built of river stones, some tiles and only three bricks; it was destroyed by subsequent interventions. In the north, the apse could not be seen to the northern wall, as there were few traces, particularly river stones from the foundation. The level of the church at 0.40-0.50 m in depth seems to be superposed on the level of habitation, where there are fragments of clay buckets. Underneath, within the church, in the area where we found four traces of pillars separating the apse from the nave of the church (possibly a banister or a rood screen), a golden bronze bracket was discovered. Outside the apse, in the north wing, several iron pieces were discovered at a depth of 0.40-0.50 m: a fragment of a saw, the tip of a drill and a piece of a harness. Outside the same apse, to the south, the point of an arrow was discovered, and in the junction of the south wall with the apse, above the foundation stones, a fragment of an iron spur was discovered at 0.52 m in depth.

Under the north-eastern corner of the church, at 1.05 m in depth in the north and 1.25 m in the south as compared to the current level, a 4.55 x 3 m settlement oriented north-south was discovered. In the north-western corner of the settlement, a 1.30 x 1.20 m oven was unveiled from 1.02 m to 1.40 m in depth. The clay oven contained the following: a thick ash layer of about 0.20 m, stones, some ceramics fragments, burnt clay and the sharp top of an iron piece. In the centre of the settlement, at 1.10 m depth, a trodden clay hearth of 0.6 m was found. The ceramics in the settlements was made at the pottery wheel of degreased paste with sand, adorned with scratches, and simple and waved lines strips, dated back to 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> century. Under the settlement, there is directly the yellow clay with no trace of material culture.

Nearby, at 0.5 m westwards, another settlement was discovered at the same level. It was indicated by two pillar holes at 1.65-1.70 m in depth that was destroyed by subsequent habitations. No other details could be found.

After the research, three levels of sedimentations were outlined:

- I - settlement level dated back to 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> centuries;
- II – level of discoveries dating back to 11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> centuries with clay buckets and iron spurs;
- III – level of stone and brick construction with apse, considered to be a church.

The previous research (1998 – 2003) in the west and south of the fortress showed the existence of a level belonging to the 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> S Dumitraşcu, F. Sfrengu, M. Goman, *Săpăturile arheologice din vara anului 1998 la Biharea-„Cetatea de pământ”*, in *Crişana Antiqua et Mediaevalia*, I, Oradea, 2000, p. 63-73; S. Dumitraşcu, F. Sfrengu, *Biharea, com. Biharea, jud. Bihor*, in *CCAR*, 1999 campaign, Deva, 2000; Idem, *Biharea, com. Biharea, jud. Bihor*, in *CCAR*, 2000 campaign, Suceava, 2001; F.



In the central area of the soil fortress, the archaeological diggings in 1973 (section I) revealed, in a secondary position, ceramics pottery fragments of degreased paste and sand of a blackish colour, adorned with scratches and simple and waved lines strips. At the clogged base of the wave, at the end of section II (diggings 1975), some resembling fragments were revealed, as well as in the area of the graveyard within the fortress (section III; m. 6-9, diggings 1975), where an archaeological complex is supposed to have existed (settlement or hole). As the remains were disturbed, we could not get information on the stratigraphic relations between the early mediaeval cemetery and this level<sup>4</sup>.

At Biharea, in different places near the soil fortress, other settlements and artefacts dating back to the 7<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> centuries were discovered. At the point *Lutarie 1* (research 1973) lying at 50 m south from the south-eastern corner of the fortress, there were three control sections with corresponding cases; archaeological materials dating back to 7<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup>, and 11<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. From the 7<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> centuries was preserved in a secondary position in the perimeter of some completely destroyed settlements a great number of ceramic fragments coming from baking pots made on pottery wheel from degreased paste and sand, a rough aspect of black and brick-red colour, adorned with scratches, and simple and waved lines strips. There was also a settlement from which only the remains of a stone oven exist, some iron and ceramic pieces dating back to the 10<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. In 1974, research was made in the point *Lutarie 2*, in the southern ditch of the fortress and Livada street, where three sections were dug (30 x 1.20 m) oriented north-south, parallel with the three in the point *Lutarie 1*. There were also some ceramic fragments adorned with scratches, strips with simple lines and oblique rows of depths obtained by pressing with the comb dating back to 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. On a small area of an undisturbed pasture, near the Olt street, there is the *Lutarie 3* point, where six parallel sections oriented north-south were dug in 1974. On the habitation level from the 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, a settlement heated by a river stone oven was discovered. It was changed by a subsequent settlement; nearby, there were two bread ovens and a fireplace. Under the settlement, a north-south oriented child grave was discovered; it must be older than the settlement. Besides ceramics, the inventory of the house comprises the following: a grinder fragment, an iron bail for a bucket and a fragment of burnt clay weight. The ceramic fragments come from jar-pots made at pottery wheel made of degreased paste and sand of blackish and brick-red colour, adorned with points, scratches, simple line strips, waved line strips, simple and waved line strips. A settlement dating back to the 10<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> centuries was found under the vegetal layer. It had a stone oven that was subsequently destroyed, as well as ceramic fragments adorned with cells and scratches<sup>5</sup>.

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Sfrengeu, *Cercețările arheologice de la Biharea. Cetatea de pământ (zona de vest) din anii 1999-2000*, in *AUO*, XII, 2002, p. 19-23; see works at note 1.

<sup>4</sup> S. Dumitrașcu, *Biharea. Săpăturile arheologice din anii 1973-1980*, Oradea, 1994, p. 187

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 181-187

North from the soil fortress, at approximately 300 m, in the point *Grădină S.A.-Baraj* research was carried out in 1975-1976. Eleven settlements were discovered dating back to 7<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. From settlement no. 1 (1976) that was completely destroyed, ceramic fragments made at pottery wheel of degreased paste and sand, with an uneven aspect, of blackish colour, adorned with simple and waved line strips were recovered. Settlement no. 2 (1977) was also destroyed by subsequent habitations; its inventory counted the following: grinder fragment, clay slag, burnt clay weight fragment and pottery made of degreased paste and sand, an uneven aspect, of a blackish colour, adorned with scratches and waved strip, simple and waved strips. Settlement no. 3 (1977), which was destroyed, had a stone oven to which a grinder fragment was reused. The pottery wheel ceramics made of degreased paste and sand, with an uneven aspect, a blackish colour was adorned with simple and waved line strips, scratches and waved line strips. The hand-made ceramic, less numerous, has degreased paste with pounded shivers. Settlement no. 4 (1977) had in its central part a stone oven and above probably a clay oven. Besides ceramics, a grinder and a burnt clay weight were found. The ceramic fragments come from pots made at the pottery wheel of degreased paste and sand, with an uneven aspect, of a blackish colour, adorned with scratches and waved line strips, simple line strips, waved line strips. Settlement no. 5 was severely destroyed. Here were found the remains of a stone oven and a fragment of a grinder. The ceramic fragments were made at the pottery wheel of degreased paste and sand, with an uneven aspect, of a blackish colour, adorned with simple and waved line strips. Settlement no. 8 (7-1979) had a ruined stone oven and the inventory consists of a fragment of basalt grinder, the bottom of a pot and ceramic fragments made at the pottery wheel of degreased paste and sand, with an uneven aspect, of a brownish-blackish colour, adorned with simple and waved line strips. Settlement no. 9 (8-1979) had a river stone oven and a crumbled clay arch. The inventory is richer: two basalt grinder fragments, an iron bar, iron nails and iron slag. The ceramic fragments were made at the pottery wheel of degreased paste and sand, with an uneven aspect, of a brown-blackish, black and brick-red-yellowish colour, adorned with simple and waved line strips, scratches, waved line strips, simple line strips. In the settlement no. 10 (9-1980), under the vegetal layer, a destroyed stone oven was revealed and nearby a small clay oven. The ceramic fragments were made at the pottery wheel of degreased paste and sand, with an uneven aspect, of a brown-blackish and brick-red colour, adorned with scratches, waved line strips, simple line strips. Settlement no. 11 (1984) preserved a fragment of clay fire hearth. The ceramics was made at the pottery wheel of sandy paste, adorned with scratches and simple and waved strips<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, for these discoveries and others, see also: S. Dumitraşcu, *Raport asupra săpăturilor arheologice de la Biharea*, in *MCA*, Oradea, 1979, p. 297-309; Idem, *Săpăturile arheologice de la Biharea*, in *MCA*, Tulcea, 1980, p. 137-147; Idem, *Descoperiri arheologice din anul 1979 de la Biharea, datând din secolele VI-X*, in *Sargeția*, XV, Deva, 1981, p. 71-81; Idem, *Raport asupra săpăturilor arheologice de la Biharea*, in *MCA*, Braşov, 1981, p. 367-375; Idem,

Analogies for the discoveries in Biharea in point of ceramics can be found in several settlements in Crisana dating back to the same period classified in a series of works against the generous background of the beginning of the 1960s and developed by S. Dumitrascu. The settlements dated 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> centuries are present in all geographical areas. There has been a significant increase in the number of places where such developments have been made. Most archaeological discoveries are the result of surface research and accidental discoveries; few mapped areas have benefitted from systematic diggings. The repertoires show the situation of the archaeological research at the time and are completed as new archaeological sites are discovered<sup>7</sup>.

References to the density, location and geographical disposition of unfortified settlements in western and north-western Romania for 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> centuries have been recently made by C. Cosma, who has mapped 152 areas, out of which 22 settlements have benefitted from systematic diggings. In 18 settlements archaeological investigations have been carried out, while other 7 have been discovered after salvation diggings<sup>8</sup>.

Another statistics of the number of settlements dated 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> centuries on the territory of Crisana has been drawn up by I. Crisan, who has provided a number of 133 archaeological sites, out of which 128 are village-type and 5 are

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*Săpăturile arheologice de la Biharea*, in *MCA*, Vaslui, 1982, p. 194-203; Idem, *Biharea în cadrul unitar al civilizației feudale timpurii românești*, in *MN*, VI, 1982, p. 82-91; Idem, *Un cuptor dacic de meșteșugar descoperit la Biharea în anul 1984*, in *Satu Mare St. Com.*, 1988, p. 41-47; Idem; *Stațiunea Biharea*, in *MCA*, București, 1992, p. 195-205.

<sup>7</sup> Some of the works are as follows: *Repertoriul Monumentelor naturii, arheologice, istorice, etnografice, de arhitectură și artă din județul Bihor*, Oradea, 1974; S. Dumitrașcu, *Ceramica românească descoperită în Crișana sec. VIII-XI*, in *Crisia*, VIII, 1978, p. 52-110; Idem, *Descoperirile arheologice din valea Crișului Negru și semnificația lor istorică*, in *Crisia*, XV, Oradea, 1985, p. 53-61; M. Blăjan, E. Dörner, *Probleme de demografie istorică pe baza studiului căldărușelor de lut (sec. XI-XII), descoperite pe teritoriul județului Arad*, in *Ziridava*, X, 1978, p. 123-138; Al. V. Matei, *Repertoriul de așezări și descoperiri aparținând secolelor IV-IX de pe teritoriul jud. Sălaj*, in *AMP*, III, 1979, p. 475-477; E. D. Pădureanu, *Contribuții la repertoriul arheologic de pe valea Mureșului Inferior și a Crișului Alb*, in *Crisia*, XV, 1985, p. 27-29; Gh. Lazin, M. Hep, *Așezări și descoperiri din secolele V-IX în jud. Satu Mare*, in *ST*, 8, 1990, p. 79-86; I. Stanciu, *Vestigii medievale timpurii din jud. Satu Mare*, in *StCom. Satu Mare*, 13, 1996, p. 71-91; Nămeti J., *Repertoriul arheologic al zonei Careiului*, București, 1999; *Repertoriul arheologic al Mureșului Inferior*, Timișoara, 1999; I. Stanciu *Despre ceramica medievală timpurie de uz comun, lucrată la roata rapidă, în așezările de pe teritoriul României (secolele VIII-X)*, in *Arh Med*, III, 2000, p. 127-191; D. Băcuet-Crișan, *Contribuții la repertoriul arheologic al județului Sălaj. Descoperiri de suprafață din secolele VII-XIII d. Ch.*, in *AMP*, XXIII, vol. I, 2000, p. 521-575; Idem, *Așezările din secolele VII-IX de pe cursul superior și mijlociu al râurilor Barcău și Crasna*, Cluj-Napoca, Zalău, 2007.

<sup>8</sup> C. Cosma, *Vestul și nord-vestul României în secolele VIII-X d.H.*, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, p. 25 and annex no. 1 at p. 243. We mention that the geographical limits of the territory investigated by the author are the following: river Mureș to the south, Maramures Mountains in the north-east, the Western Carpathians to the east and the border between Romania and Hungary to the west.

caves. In the 9<sup>th</sup> – 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, the number of settlements was smaller, as only 61 villages and 3 caves have been mapped<sup>9</sup>.

Most settlements had fire equipments inside that were grouped in four types: 1. Simple fire hearths, made of a clay bond on the level of the floor, usually in its centre, but also in corners; 2. River stone ovens bonded with clay; 3. Portable clay hearths with edges; 4. Oven dug in a small clay block<sup>10</sup>.

Near the settlements, in certain places (Biharea-Lutarie 3, Biharea-S.A. Insula, Camin, Panic-La blocuri) household ovens for food and bread have been discovered. They were either ovoid or round, with a diameter varying from 0.40 to 1.20 m. Near the same settlements, a small number of supplies holes was discovered; they subsequently turned into cesspools of a circular or ovoid shape in plane and curved in section. Such holes have been found in settlements such as: Carei-Stația de epurare, Căpleni-Malul Crasnei, Ghenci-Lutărie, Lazuri-Lubi Tag, Panic-La blocuri, Săcuieni-Suro Domb, Sânnicolaul Român-Bereac. Four burned ceramic ovens dug in sterile clay were found in this last settlement<sup>11</sup>.

In conclusion, we may say that the discovery of settlements dated back to the 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> centuries within the fortress of Biharea near the southern soil wave, in an area only partly researched in direct correlation with other archaeological discoveries at Biharea and in Crisana, may bring new arguments to establish that this soil fortress was built in the interval 8<sup>th</sup> – 9<sup>th</sup> centuries by the natives that reached the voivodal type of organisation.

<sup>9</sup> I. Crișan, *Așezări rurale medievale din Crișana (secolele X-XIII)*, Oradea, 2006, p. 19-20 and annexes 1 at pp. 265-271 and 2 at p. 272. The territory concerned envisages the following geographical limits: river Mures to the south, river Somes to the north, the border with Hungary to the west and the Apuseni Mountains to the east, including here Sylvania that lies between the Plopiș Mountains and the Meses Mountains.

<sup>10</sup> C. Cosma, *op. cit.*, p. 30-31

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 34-35 and bibliography.

## SKETCH OF A PORTRAIT, THE LIFE OF AN ATYPICAL MONARCH: LADISLAU IV THE CUMAN (1272-1290)

*Adrian DUME*

**Abstract:** *The article shows the main factors contributing to outlining the Hungarian King Ladislau IV's (1271-1290) personality, one of the atypical monarchs of the dynasty of Arpad. The controversial king is shown in his un-Catholic entourage, as well as his relationship with the Hungarian nobility and the representatives of the Catholic clergy. The swinging of the monarch between the Papal and Golden Horde requirements is explained through the political situation and the internal structure of King Ladislau the Cuman's personality.*

**Keywords:** *Ladislau al IV-lea, Cumans, Hungary, church, portrait*

Amongst the kings of Hungary in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, fate crowned as king monarch Ladislau IV in 1272. It is vital to outline the personality of the king, in order to understand his internal and external policy through the years. But the personality of Ladislau the Cuman is hard to outline, as he was a complex character who lived at the time when the kingdom was subject to a structure crisis. This influenced the behaviour of the young monarch.

Born out of a marriage that was supposed to seal an enduring settlement between the Magyars and the Cumans, Ladislau was the fruit of the affair of Stephen V (1270-1272) and the daughter of the cumin leader Kuthan,<sup>1</sup> who was foully killed by the Hungarian noblemen during the Tatar-Mongol invasion in 1241-1242<sup>2</sup>.

The years preceding his early ascent to the throne were not peaceful for the young Ladislau. He was captured at an early age during the civil war between his father Stephen V and his father, King Bela IV (1235-1270). His captivity together with his mother, Queen Elizabeth, was interrupted by Stephen V's victory at Ilzuazeg in 1265, when the governor of Ponich from the Myskouch family managed to free "our beloved Queen, who was imprisoned with our son Duke Ladislau"<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Lendvai, *Ungurii. Timp de un mileniu învingătorii în înfrângeri*, București, 2001, p. 67

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 60

<sup>3</sup> *Documente privind istoria României, seria C, Transilvania*, veacurile XI, XII, XIII, vol. I, București, 1951, p. 134

Young Duke Ladislau was involved by his father Stephen V in the matrimonial alliances between the supporters of Arpad and Anjou. So, in 1269, when he was 7, Ladislau the Cuman was married to Charles I's eldest daughter, King of Naples. At the same time, the sister of the future monarch of Hungary, Maria, was married to Charles I's son, thus laying the bases of the future legal claims of the Anjous to the throne of Hungary<sup>4</sup>.

An important contribution of the features of young Ladislau's personality must have had the rivalry of his father and the King of Bohemia Ottokar Premysl II that acquired an acute character<sup>5</sup> in 1270-1272. The conflict between the two kingdoms would last during the first years of Ladislau the Cuman's reign until his definite victory upon the Bohemian monarch.

The year 1272 put an end to the relative "peace" established by Stephen V after the end of the hostilities with Ottokar II due to the beginning of the riot led by the governor of Slavonia, Joachim Gutkeled, who imprisoned crown prince Ladislau in his castle in Koprivnica<sup>6</sup>. The attempts of King Stephen to set the crown prince free were a failure and led to rushing the premature death of a monarch who ruled Hungary for only two years, in 1270-1272.

On 6 August, Stephen V's eldest son, the 10 years old Ladislau IV, also called the Cuman, got to the throne of Hungary. Being underage, the kingdom was ruled by the regency of the mother Queen. However, the country was in fact governed by the aristocratic parties belonging to different coalitions to get to power; they turned the young king into a mere tool providing legitimacy to their regimes.

Ladislau IV got to the throne of Hungary at a time when the relationships between the Apostolic See and the Magyar royalty were not very cordial and the origins of the tensions between the two institutions have to be seen in the events that took place during the reign of King Andrew II (1205-1235) and Bela IV (1235-1270). All this time, the element that was supposed to bring together the two powers, that is, the crusade against the heretics, the schismatic and the heathens in Eastern Europe, would become mostly a reason to divide the two institutions – the royal and the papal ones.

The kingdom devastated by the invasion of King Ottokar II of Bohemia<sup>7</sup>, the young monarch was in the middle of a fight for power between the two personalities of the time: Henrik Koszeczy and Matei Csak. The main noble clans of the kingdom were grouped around the two, and the almost ceaseless conflict between them brought about chaos in the kingdom.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary, 895-1526*, London – New York, 2001, p. 107

<sup>5</sup> Mihail P. Dan, *Cehi, slovaci și români în veacurile XIII-XIV*, Sibiu, 1994, p. 24

<sup>6</sup> Pál Engel, *op. cit.*, p. 107

<sup>7</sup> Mihail P. Dan, *op. cit.*, p. 24

<sup>8</sup> Pál Engel, *op. cit.*, p. 108

Ladislau IV was brought up in a heathen environment, if we believe the words of Bishop Bruno of Olmütz<sup>9</sup>. The king was surrounded by non-Catholic Cuman relatives and the moral example provided by his still young mother was not a positive one for the monarch. The relationship between the mother and the Royal Vice-Chancellor Benedict, well-known at the epoch, would be one of the reasons why the latter would be considered unworthy to become Archbishop of Strigoni<sup>10</sup>.

The fact that he was a crowned king would not spare young Ladislau IV of some physical “corrections” applied by the noblemen in the kingdom. Such a moment was revealed by the monarch on 23 February 1274, when he gave the voivode of Transylvania several estates near the Somes that used to belong to “Andrew, son of Jako from the Kapplyon family who, during our reign, savagely invading our majesty after our crowning, when we were crowned king, hitting us with the stick, and everybody considered to be disrespectful for a royal person to be offended with such base and hard kicks; the prelates, noblemen and barons decided that, for his haughty and unfaithful feat, the abovementioned Andrew should be sent away and amongst the unfaithful and sentenced him to be an outlaw”<sup>11</sup>. The fragment shows the treatment to which the King of Hungary was subject, as well as the decrease of the royal prestige. The royal authority was so low, that they needed the support of the prelates, noblemen and barons of the kingdom to consider the attacker as an outlaw. From this episode described by Ladislau IV, we should notice the courage of the noble that did not belong to the “notables” of the kingdom. If a nobleman such as Andrew from the Kapplyon family dared such a gesture, we can assume the attitude of the noblemen in the high aristocracy regarding the underage king. At the same time, due to this fragment, we can explain the distrust and hatred of the monarch towards part of the Magyar aristocracy. Ladislau the Cuman became a mere instrument in the hands of the oligarchies that justified their leadership of the kingdom as protecting the monarch. When the king got rid of their control, part of them, such as the barons that were around Henrik Koszegi, tried to dethrone Ladislau IV and to support Andrew – his younger brother that had been captured by the leader of that clan – to become a king<sup>12</sup>. The event was but an episode of the fight for power amongst the clans Csak and Koszegi. Matei Csak’s victory at Foveny kept Ladislau the Cuman on the throne, would

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<sup>9</sup> Șerban Papacostea, *României în secolul al XIII-lea. Între cruciadă și Imperiul Mongol*, București, 1993, p. 132-133

<sup>10</sup> Tudor Sălăgean, *1274-1277: Transilvania în sistemul politic al lui Matei Csák în V. Orga, I. Costea (coord.) Studii de istorie a Transilvaniei. Omagiu profesorului Pompiliu Teodor*, Cluj-Napoca, 2000, p. 321

<sup>11</sup> *Documente privind istoria României, veacul al XIII-lea*, vol. II, București, 1952, p. 167-168

<sup>12</sup> Gyula Kristó, *Az Arany Bullak Szazada (Secolul Bulelor de Aur)*, Budapesta, 1998, p. 132

set his brother free, would kill Henrik Koszegi<sup>13</sup> and would estrange the clan led by him from the rule of the kingdom for a while.

The victory of the Csak clan brought about a period of peace in the kingdom. On the Rakos Congregation on 23-30 May 1277, Ladislau IV effectively became the ruler of the kingdom<sup>14</sup>. The monarch was only 15 years old, but the situation in the kingdom imposed the action, in order to preserve the power of the Csak clan<sup>15</sup>.

Ladislau IV assumed the prerogatives at a time dominated by the conflict between Ottokar II and Rudolf of Habsburg. Together with Matei Csak, the monarch manages to convince an important part of the noblemen to fight with Rudolf of Habsburg. The year 1277 marked important internal torment against the king and the movement of the Saxons in Transylvania<sup>16</sup>. They rose against the Csak clan and against "our Majesty"<sup>17</sup>. Nicolaus Geregye, the former voivode of Transylvania, led a riot against royalty<sup>18</sup>, as they started to gather the army against Nicolaus' protector, Ottokar al II-lea<sup>19</sup>. Certain areas dependent on the Arpad's kingdom would take advantage of the internal riots, as well as of Hungary's involvement in the north-western external conflict; the riots led by Litovoi and Dorman are examples in point.

The young monarch proved to be able to cope with challenges. Together with the nobles' and Cumans' army, he managed to decisively contribute to Rudolf of Habsburg's victory over the army of Ottokar II at Durnkrutt, on 28 August 1278. Even if the victory led to the elimination of an extremely dangerous rival,<sup>20</sup> to the king it also meant a personal victory contributing to increasing his prestige. It was due to this victory that the monarch could eliminate the Koszegi clan from the fight for supremacy in the Kingdom of Hungary for a while. The years 1278-1279 brought other victories of the royal representatives against the rioters in the kingdom and outside it.

The situation became complicated for Ladislau the Cuman due to Filip de Fermo's apostolic legation sent by Pope Nicholas III with specific objectives in the Kingdom of Hungary.<sup>21</sup> The relationships between the monarch and the representative of the Holy See shows Ladislau's duplicity, particularly when it came to solving Cuman issues. Although officially supporting the action of the legacy to convert the Cumans to Catholicism, the king refused to provide an

<sup>13</sup> Tudor Sălăgean, *op. cit.*, p. 314

<sup>14</sup> Idem, *Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIII-lea*, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, p. 183

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>16</sup> Ștefan Pascu, *Voievodatul Transilvaniei*, vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, 1971, p. 177

<sup>17</sup> *Documente privind...*, vol. II, p. 242

<sup>18</sup> Liviu Borcea, *Satele din Bihor ale lui Gavrilăș Movilă și Constantin Șerban (Schiță monografică a cetății Șinteu) în Crisia*, 1977, p. 98

<sup>19</sup> Mihail P. Dan, *op. cit.*, p. 24

<sup>20</sup> Tudor Sălăgean, *Transilvania...*, p. 184

<sup>21</sup> Șerban Țurcuș, *Sfântul Scaun și românii în secolul al XIII-lea*, București, 2001, p. 122



example; he continued to behave without respecting the norms preached by the Roman Church.

The first Cuman law in 1279 has many question marks concerning the intentions of the king. First of all, he knew that Uzur and Tolon could not represent the seven Cuman tribes and that the absence of Alpar, the supreme leader of the Cumans<sup>22</sup>, of the noblemen belonging to his family could show that only part of the Turkish tribes agreed to the provisions of that law. The monarch probably tried to cheat the legacy by the promises made by the two Cuman leaders on behalf of all Cumans, as it is unlikely that Filip de Fermo could be satisfied with the oath of the less representative Cuman leaders. Irrespective of the King's intentions, the law turned into a preliminary discussion for a new law<sup>23</sup> that was to be issued by Ladislau IV in August. The span of time between the two laws was, undoubtedly, a time for negotiations between the elite of the Cumans and the apostolic legacy; according to the document, the king insisted to preserve certain customs. The negotiations were proved by the fact that the second document included provisions in which the Cumans had rights or exceptions from the Catholic dogma. The king dressed and behaved just like the Cumans, he had repudiated his wife and lived with a mistress called Edua<sup>24</sup> in a manner attractive to a teenager devoid of an example to follow and an appropriate education for a Catholic monarch. His presence amongst the Cumans can be perceived as a manner of attracting them to the royal military forces. The evolution of the kingdom in the past years had shown the importance of having a loyal army. How could the Cumans be easily attracted by a descendent of their aristocracy if not by adopting their customs and lifestyle? Besides, the monarch refused to impose the respect for the second agreement between the legacy and the Cumans by starting a conflict with Filip de Fermo and tried to prevent the General Synod in Buda in September 1279. The conflict would be prevented and the two would come to terms. But the king would never forget the defying attitude of the apostolic legacy and would seek to revenge when he had the opportunity. The imprisonment of Filip de Fermo by the Cumans<sup>25</sup> and the opportunity to kill him would lead to the action of part of the noblemen. In their turn, they would arrest the king through Fyntha Aba. The release of the legacy by the Cumans did not mean the revival of the connections with the monarch, as he had been isolated by the Aba clan, who wanted the implementation of the Cuman laws<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> András Pálóczi-Horváth, *Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians. Steppe Peoples in Medieval Hungary*, Budapest, 1989, p. 55

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 79-80

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 78

<sup>25</sup> Şerban Țurcuş, *op. cit.*, p. 126

<sup>26</sup> András Pálóczi-Horváth, *op. cit.*, p. 80

Ladislau IV would not forget the offence of the Aba clan. In 1282 he would set up a noblemen coalition against the clan and organised a military campaign against the fortresses of Patak and Zenlench that were controlled by Fyntha Aba<sup>27</sup>. The military campaign against the former voivode of Transylvania was interrupted by Oldamur's invasion and the rebellion of part of the Cumans in the kingdom. Through this coalition, the monarch had succeeded to set up a governing system base on the balance of aristocratic groups led by him<sup>28</sup>.

He was as determined in the fight near the Hood lake against the Cuman invasion and rebellion. The threat on his throne<sup>29</sup> made Ladislau the Cuman lead an army in an important victory that assured him the throne. The young king was lucky due to a strong storm during the hostilities, which made the Cumans' bows useless<sup>30</sup>. Fate was no longer gentle with the Hungarian king, as a year later Matei Csak, one of the pillars of the government system led by the king, died. The contestations coming from the Koszegi clan entailed the king's reaction. He led a military campaign against the clan, but the failure would bring about the revival of the Koszegi and Aba clans government system.<sup>31</sup> The failure of the government system and his exclusion from the rule of the kingdom by the Archbishop of Strigoni<sup>32</sup> and the noblemen made Ladislau seek refuge amongst the Cumans; he repudiated his wife and readopted their lifestyle and clothing.

Ladislau's desire to get back the power would be one of the several reasons of the Tatar-Cuman invasion in 1285. There were allegations incriminating him of a possible appeal of the invaders to the king. The allegations were justified by the subsequent evolution of the king's relationship with the Tartars, who wished Ladislau the Cuman got the power and put aside the forces externally supporting Papacy.

The Hungarian king saw the hypothetical victory of the Cuman invaders as an opportunity to impost his authority on the kingdom's barons. However, the evolution of the invasion would have the opposite effect, as the winners were the noblemen's armies and the armed free communities. The main loser of the invasion would be the king, who was considered as guilty for the beginning of the Tatar-Cuman attack<sup>33</sup> and who could not pride himself for chasing away the invaders. The victory belonged to the local political forces<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>27</sup> Tudor Sălăgean, *Transilvania...*, p. 188

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>29</sup> Petru Iambor, *Atacurile cumano-tătare asupra Transilvaniei în a doua jumătate a veacului al XIII-lea*, în *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie din Cluj*, 1974, p. 213

<sup>30</sup> András Pálóczi-Horváth, *op. cit.*, p. 80

<sup>31</sup> Tudor Sălăgean, *Transilvania...*, p. 202

<sup>32</sup> Pál Engel, *op. cit.*, p. 109

<sup>33</sup> Tudor Sălăgean, *Transilvania...*, p. 203

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 207

After the withdrawal of the invaders, Ladislau IV would choose a new policy of alliance with the Tatars. In fact, it was a desperate endeavour of the monarch to keep the throne and this initiative doubted the definite victory of the nobility upon the Tatars; this is how we should conceive the Tatar foray in Bulgaria<sup>35</sup>. From that moment on, the attitude and behaviour of the king would differ radically from the canons of the Roman Church, which was a clear hint that he would choose the Golden Horde requirements rather than the ones of the Papacy. But the monarch was aware of the fact that the military support of the Tatars and implicitly of the Cumans was not enough to defeat the Magyar oligarchy; therefore, he would make efforts to draw Transylvania as a supporter. This was mainly due to the role of the province in the previous years in the domination of the kingdom's internal political scene. The monarch's option for this province could have had other causes, too: Transylvania was a special area in Hungary from an ethnic and religious point of view; it was an area where Ladislau the Cuman's well-known tolerance was appreciated by the Orthodox majority. The skilful king in attracting Transylvania – a successful action – would be excommunicated by Lodomer, the Archbishop of Strigoni. However, this punishment would not diminish the support of the province to Ladislau IV. This was proved by the appeal of the Transylvanian noblemen to Archbishop Lodomer in the summer of 1288 urging them to no longer obey the king. The letter showed, in a manner worthy of a better cause<sup>36</sup>, the actions of the king leading to his excommunication: "this king has turned in a more worthy of punishment to the wrongdoings of the heathen, especially the Tatars, by turning back to the heathen rituals he had been used to and that, as they say, had become part of his nature, treading on the holy cult and putting aside the holy religion, the Catholic faith in his mind and ignoring the honour of the royal greatness; in other words and truthfully, he degraded himself by falling in danger, embracing again all the plagued rites of the abovementioned outlaws"<sup>37</sup>. The king of Hungary was blamed by the archbishop for returning to the heathen rites; the allegation was more serious as the monarch's attitude was presented as a manifestation of his character. Ladislau IV was accused by him as completely excluding the Catholic faith, which placed him outside the royal precepts according to the document. The letter continued in the same key: "By promoting against the believers the power of the Tatars, of the Saracens and all the heathen, he thought he would get the greatest slave, should the Catholics knees bend at the feet of the heathen, should the rightful fiancées be taken away from their Catholic men and given to the heathen hands of his Nogais, should the sainted and covered nuns are mixed in unlawful marriages forbidden by God's and man's law, as he broke the gates, should he force to use

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<sup>35</sup> Petru Iambor, *op. cit.*, p. 220

<sup>36</sup> Tudor Sălăgean, *Transilvania...*, p. 212

<sup>37</sup> *Documente privind...*, vol. II, p. 298-299

cursed marriages between blood and second degree relatives, as it happened with his own sister Elizabeth, who not only agreed to it, but who – through a strange and wondering insistence – wanted it very much, as we could all see these days”. There were also the allegations revealing the cooperation of the king with the Tatars. All their deeds were attributed to the king. It is interesting to see the perception of the Hungarian catholic leaders on the marriage between Ladislau IV’s sister and one of his Cuman relatives. Marriage between relatives was blamed by the Catholic Church; still this kind of marriage was common in the Middle Ages. Through this marriage, the Hungarian king strengthened his relationships with an important part of the Cuman tribes. Obviously, this policy was disapproved of by Archbishop Lodomer. The document written by the Archbishop of Strigoniú showed an apocalyptic situation of the churches in the kingdom “should the Saracens and Nogais or others in his suite suffice to be, the heathen ravish the widows, the girls and married women, they rape women in churches; should old and young men, children and little girls chained in the chains of slavery to Saracens and Nogais, are taken to their damned fortresses of their defiled relatives; should the places that used to be sacred to the holy churches meant for God’s sacrifices be filled with profaned and end up being homes to women”. Of course, in the context of the letter mentioned above, the deeds of the non-Christians were easy to be put at the expense of the monarch who was in disgrace in front of the Archbishop Lodomer. The king had to be discredited from a moral point of view too; therefore, the document mentioned the following: “Who does not know that few days after his well-known oaths, despising the anathema expressed before, taking from Mrs. Elizabeth not only her place as a wife, but all her rights, honour and income as a queen; he gave all these income and honours to a shameless whore, Edua, born from slave father and mother. He also confesses loudly that he has become a friend of the Tatars and he has become a Tatar. Is it possible that people have not heard how many messengers he sent to the Tatars after breaking his oaths? And he sent the ring to Nogai’s daughter as if she had been his fiancée telling her that due to this ring she would know that she was the queen of the whole Kingdom of Hungary”.

So the king was accused of returning to the heathen rites and customs, that he used the Tatars’ support disregarding the consequences of their presence in the kingdom. At the same time, he was blamed for his actions against the laws of God and man. This message should be analysed through the personal ambitions of Archbishop Lodomer<sup>38</sup>; undoubtedly, it was the image of Ladislau IV promoted by the representatives of the Church and the nobility hostile to the king.

The information presented in the document exposed the real issues in the Kingdom of Hungary; however, the manner in which the events were shown by the bishop was tendentious<sup>39</sup>. The allies of the king, the Tatars and the

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<sup>38</sup> Tudor Sălăgean, *Transilvania...*, p. 227

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 212

Cumans, were often acting against the Hungarian population and the blame was transferred to the monarch, who was in conflict with the Archbishop of Strigoniú. For instance, he was accused of being the main instigator of the invasion in 1285. The political aims undoubtedly contributed to Ladislau the Cuman's attitude towards his wife at a time when the king had military support mainly from the Tatars of the khan Nogai. He could not afford to return to better feelings towards the Angevin Isabel, which would have placed him against the Golden Horde alliance system<sup>40</sup> in which he was involved. We cannot omit from the equation the relationship with the Queen of Hungary or his hatred towards her.<sup>41</sup> The attitude of the king towards his Cuman mistress, Edua, may seem surprising. However, in the political context, such an attitude was convenient to his supporters. The image of the king as outlined by the Archbishop of Strigoniú did not differ much from the one presented by the Papacy. In a letter addressed to the Pope, Lodomer mentioned the threat of the king that: "to the whole gang, starting with the Archbishop of Esztergom (Strigoniú) and its bishops up to Rome, he would cut the heads off with the Tatars' swords"<sup>42</sup>.

At the same time, the same author mentioned that during a reunion of the royal council, that is in the presence of statesmen and the high clergy, Ladislau IV had a sexual intercourse with one of his Cuman mistresses<sup>43</sup>.

In 1287-1290, Ladislau the Cuman was perseverant in his fight against the kingdom oligarchy and in his endeavours to make up with Archbishop Lodomer as excommunication became more and more pressing. Once the punishment was cancelled, the king returned to the Cumans and Tatars and his other supporters and restarted the fight against his political enemies. This attitude was adopted by the monarch until the regicide tried to put an end to the endless civil war in the kingdom.

For the Arpad dynasty, Ladislau IV was an atypical monarch. First of all, he came from a relation seeking for a quick integration of the Cumans in the Kingdom of Hungary. Devoid of a paternal example that was supposed to make him a Catholic monarch at an early age, Ladislau the Cuman was more attracted to the non-Catholic relatives that became his models in life.

Being in the hands of oligarchs thirsty for power at a time of royal authority crisis, the young monarch expressed an exaggerated and ostentatious will for the company of the Cumans to the disadvantage of the noblemen whom he did not trust and who wanted to turn him into a simple puppet. When he

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<sup>40</sup> Thomas Tănase, *Le Khan Nogai et la Géopolitique de la Mer Noire en 1287*, în *Annuario dell' Instituto Romeno di cultura e ricerca Umanista di Venezia* VI-VII, no. 6-7/2004, p. 273-285

<sup>41</sup> Pál Engel, *op. cit.*, p. 109

<sup>42</sup> Paul Lendvai, *op. cit.*, p. 67

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*

became a sovereign, the young king got involved in the internal and external fights. Being supported by Matei Csak and the Cumans, the king would overcome the difficult moments of internal and external fights in 1278-1279 and had important victories. It was one of the few moments of his rule when he managed to gather important noblemen contingencies under the royal flag and to eliminate one of the main external rivals of the kingdom. The alliance with Rudolf of Habsburg helped Ladislau IV achieve what his predecessors had not managed to do, to defeat Ottokar II Premysl for good.

Diplomacy was not one of his qualities. The only attempt to achieve a matrimonial alliance by his brother's Andrei marriage to Klemencia, Rudolf of Habsburg's daughter failed when the groom died<sup>44</sup>. Refusing to have children with his legitimate wife<sup>45</sup>, the monarch had no one to make alliance through. The alliance of the king with the Tatars was less his merit; it was rather the fruit of a common interest with Khan Nogai, as the latter wanted a Hungarian kingdom out of the Papacy imperatives and the only one who could do that was Ladislau the Cuman. Ladislau IV did not know to be a diplomat with the clans fighting for supremacy in the kingdom. His obvious actions against families such as Koszegi and Aba led to their hatred and refuse to involve him in the rule of the kingdom when they had supremacy in Hungary.

What shocked his Catholic contemporaries was his lifestyle, as the company of the Cumans made him adopt theirs. Living amongst Cuman women, the young king did not avoid living with them; he neglected and imprisoned his wife and one of the women, Edua, received from him all rights and income belonging to the queen of Hungary<sup>46</sup>. Living such a life, we can easily understand the tolerant attitude of the monarch towards other faiths in the kingdom and his popularity amongst the Romanians. In their collective memory, he acquired the legendary features of a founding king turning to Orthodoxy<sup>47</sup>.

His swinging between the religions of his time has to be envisaged through his education and political context when he expressed as a heathen, Orthodox, or Catholic. The relationship of the monarch with the Catholic Church was influenced by the internal crisis of the royal authority and the political intents of the Archbishop of Strigoni, Lodomer. The king understood that a good relationship with the Holy See and a return to the Roman Church would turn him into a mere instrument at the mercy of the archbishop, who wanted a manageable king<sup>48</sup> on the throne of Hungary. Therefore, although excommunicated several times, Ladislau the Cuman would return to the

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<sup>44</sup> Gyula Kristó, *op. cit.*, p. 142

<sup>45</sup> Paul Lendvai, *op. cit.*, p. 67

<sup>46</sup> *Documente privind...*, vol. II, p. 299

<sup>47</sup> Tudor Sălăgean, *Transilvania...*, p. 223-226

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 227

Catholic faith only formally until the punishment was cancelled. He would then return to his old customs to avoid creating suspicions amongst his Tatar allies.

Ladislau IV can be accused in many of his actions. However, he undoubtedly was a fighting king. He fought to restore royal authority with the weapons he considered appropriate; he refused to be a tool in the hands of the oligarchs and high clergy by opposing with the forces that joined him for different reasons. The almost ceaseless fights resulting from these attitudes of the monarch made that epoch an uninterrupted row of bloody fights culminating with his assassination in Cheresig on 10 July 1290. Accused of being the main guilty in the ceaseless civil war, they thought that the regicide would bring back the peace to the Kingdom of Hungary. However, the subsequent events showed that the structure issues of the kingdom could not be easily solved and the objective of the king to restore royal authority was not wrong; it was the methods used to reach this objective that were wrong. Ladislau IV pursued this aim steadily, irrespective of the human and material loss. He was finally defeated with his own weapons – the Cumans, whom he loved so much. According to the chronicles, the killing is attributed to the Cumans Arbuz, Tortel and Kemenche<sup>49</sup>, but it was organised by the Borsa clan. We should not ignore the hypothesis according to which the assassination was approved of by the Pope<sup>50</sup>, who thought that the regicide was useful to the Angevin candidate to the throne of Hungary, Carol Martell.

We have to understand the fact that the assassination was attributed to the Cumans, or the Romanians (other sources include them as assassins), as an endeavour of the ecclesiastic institutions to give an example that those forces could not be trusted<sup>51</sup>.

As we can see, Ladislau IV the Cuman was one of the most controversial monarchs in the 13<sup>th</sup> century due to his non-canonical lifestyle, his preference for an un-Catholic company and the unconventional means to remain on the throne of Hungary.

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<sup>49</sup> András Pálóczi-Horvath, *op.cit.*, p. 55

<sup>50</sup> Tudor Sălăgean, *Transilvania...*, p. 288

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*



Ladislau IV ( the Cuman)  
Képes Krónika (Chronicon  
Pictum) I. Magyar Helikon,  
Budapest, 1964, p 128 (f.64'a).  
National Széchényi Library,  
Budapest



# FROM RÁKOS TO SUCEAVA: THE HUNGARIAN AND WALACHIAN ROADS OF THE HABSBURGS IN THE EARLY 1500'

Alexandru SIMION

**Abstract:** *The Eastern (Hungarian and Ottoman) connections of the House of Habsburg prior to the year 1526 and its consequences are still a major topic of research. Most of the data is still in the archives, a fact which consequently leads to several changes in perspective. In this respect, we draw the attention to relations between Maximilian I and the Walachians inside and outside of the Hungarian realm. Aimed namely against the 'East-Central European hegemony' of the Jagiellonians, these ties and the plans built around them played a significant part in the events which shaped regional power relations in the early 1500'.*

**Keywords:** *Crusade, Habsburgs, Moldavia, Diet, Matrimony*

Within the Polish, Russian and Western spheres from before the Roman speech (1514) of Jan Laski, archbishop of Gniezno, the Krakow (Kraków, Krakau) expert in *Hungarian* and *Walachian* issues, a notion had spread. The *Roman* ancestors of the *Walachians* had been settled in *Dacia* for the defense of *Pannonia*. The political message was obvious ever since (1496) the meticulous Venetian administration had established *Dacia*, together with Croatia, as defensive annex of Hungary, inside late medieval 'Jagellonian' East-Central Europe<sup>1</sup>.

The *Walachians* defended Hungary, *Christendom's bulwark*, on the verge of collapse in the early 1500'. Matthias (Matia, Mátyás) Corvinus' successor, Wladislaw (Władysław, Ulászló) II had lost control over Hungary and was constantly outmaneuvered by Bayezid II in Ottoman affairs. Domestic conflicts and dynastic rivalry, fueled from Vienna (Wien, Bécs) and Krakow, for the Buda (Ofen) throne had a direct impact on the kingdom's *Walachian* borders, as well on its royal Hungarian side, as on the side of the vassal states of Moldavia and Walachia<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> ASVe, S.S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 36-51; *Notes*, VI, no. 38, p. 46; see also Jan Krajcar, 'A Report on the Ruthenians and their Errors, prepared for the Fifth Lateran Council', *OCP*, XXIX (1963), 1, p. 79-94; see also Al. Simon, 'Massimiliano I, Venezia e il problema ottomano (1493-1503)', in *Rapporti*, p. 91-109

<sup>2</sup> E.g. ASVe, S.S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 38, cc. 2<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>v</sup>, 182<sup>r</sup>; reg. 39, c. 47<sup>r</sup>; reg. 40, cc. 21<sup>r-v</sup>, 186<sup>v</sup>-187<sup>r</sup> (10<sup>th</sup> of March 1500, 4<sup>th</sup> of December 1501, 21<sup>st</sup> of October 1502, 17<sup>th</sup> of May 1504, 6<sup>th</sup> of

Almost by definition, the ‘accomplished’ *Walachians* in the Hungarian kingdom were the king’s men. They owed the crown their career and fortune more than the *Magyars*. It was a hazardous fact to even imagine that these *Walachians* could rise against the king. However, in 1505, when the collapse of the ‘Jagiellonian regime’ was obvious, it was precisely this fact that they considered. In 1492, a part of northern Maramureş (Maramáros), otherwise tranquil under Matthias Corvinus, had already risen into a peculiar revolt, with aid from Moldavia too<sup>3</sup>.

### **The Walachian Defensive Systems of the Hungarian Kingdom**

Proud of their ‘Scythian origins’, the Hungarian nobles, gathered around the young John (János) Szapolyai, count of Zips, blamed the foreigners and all non-Magyar Hungarians for the situation of the kingdom. They called for the country’s revival making use even of John (Ioan/ Iancu, János) Hunyadi’s image, the father of the much hated *tyrant* of Roman origin, king Matthias, the *Valachorum regulus*. The issues brought up by Matthias’ succession and the ensuing conflicts (1490-1491) had not yet been settled, including the Walachian matter<sup>4</sup>.

According to Milanese reports, nobles of Walachian descent, ‘bread’ and promoted by Matthias, had been entrusted with the control of Buda and the crown jewels. The Milan of the Sforzas had a peculiar insight into the Hungarian affairs of the Hunyadis, prior to the reign of Matthias. John Hunyadi had served duke Filippo Maria Visconti as knight (1431-1433). Less than six decades later, Milan was to witness also the political downfall of the Hunyadi family<sup>5</sup>.

### **Hungarian Domestic and Foreign Challenges**

By the 1491 treaty of Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony), both Habsburgs (Maximilian I and Frederic (Friedrich) III) and Wladislaw II Jagiello were legally kings of Hungary, although only Wladislaw ruled it. The major provisions of 1463 treaty of Wiener Neustadt between Frederic and Matthias had survived. The capitulations of Farkashida (1490), much more restraining for a king, than those imposed to Matthias in 1458, and royal privileges, assured the acceptance of the

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October 1506); BNM, Cod. Lat. XIV-100 (=4279), f. 127<sup>r</sup>-133<sup>r</sup> (18<sup>th</sup> of September 1500); András Kubinyi, ‘Hungary’s Power Factions and the Turkish Threat in the Jagellonian Period (1490-1526)’, in *Fight*, p. 115-145

<sup>3</sup> Marius Diaconescu, ‘Răscoala nobililor maramureşeni din 1492’ [The 1492 Rebellion of the Nobles from Maramureş], in *Nobilimea*, p. 185-196; Ioan Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania, 1440-1514* [The Romanian Nobility of Transylvania, 1440-1514] (Bucharest 2000), p. 233-234, 289-290

<sup>4</sup> E.g. A. Kubinyi, ‘Az 1505-ös rákosi országgyűlés és a szittya ideológia’ [The Diet of Rákos (1505) and the Scythian Ideology], *Sz*, CXL, 2006, 2, pp. 361-374; Al. Simon, ‘Antonio Bonfini’s *Valachorum regulus*: Matthias Corvinus, Transylvania and Stephen the Great’, in *Between Worlds*, II, p. 207-226

<sup>5</sup> E.g. ASM, A.D.S., Potenze Estere, *Ungheria*, cart. 645, fasc. 3, nn (1<sup>st</sup> of June 1490; edited in MDE, IV, no. 145, pp. 208-209); cart. 650, fasc. 1, nn (28<sup>th</sup> of April 1446); MDE, IV, no. 129, p. 182; Pál Engel, ‘Hunyadi pályakezdése’ [The Beginnings of Hunyadi’s Career], in *Nobilimea*, p. 91-106 (in particular)

treaty by the Hungarian Diet, who feared the Habsburgs more than *Türk und Teufel*<sup>6</sup>.

The elite of the realm turned to their feuds and to the rewards promised by Wladislaw in return for their support. Stephen III of Moldavia too got what he wanted. He had abandoned the Hunyadi and Habsburgs and taken Wladislaw's side. His thus confirmed and received Transylvanian estates and finances, his Ottoman, Russian and Habsburg affairs, made him one of the major figures in Hungarian politics, in particular after his successes of 1497<sup>7</sup>.

In alliance with Maximilian, with Hungarian aid from the Hunyadi party and, in particular, from István (Stephen) Szapolyai's nationalist, Stephen had defeated Wladislaw and the royal party, led by Thomas (Tamás) Bakócz, archbishop of Esztergom, future Latin Patriarch of Constantinople. He had also crushed John (Jan) Albert, king of Poland, Wladislaw's brother, with aid from Istanbul and Târgoviște too. The Jagellonians had attempted a 'hostile takeover' of entire 'East-Central Europe' which had brought against them a coalition of old enemies<sup>8</sup>.

The Ottoman matter seemed of secondary importance. More than present in propaganda and diplomacy, as the crown still claimed and, in part, received, during the Ottoman-Venetian war (1499-1503), money from Venice and Rome, the power relation had evolved in Istanbul's favor, due to truces and Hungarian defeats, prior to the conclusion of the *general peace* of Buda (1503). The crown was less and less a match for Bayezid II. In spite of the Habsburg crusader calls, the sultan could rely also on his renewed truces, since 1497, with Maximilian<sup>9</sup>.

### **Buda, Istanbul, Vienna and the Walachian Border**

Walachia had never been a reliable buffer state, a shield to the kingdom, not even in the days of Sigismund (Zsigmond) of Luxemburg and Hunyadi. It had functioned rather well as a trench, as communication channel, via Transylvania,

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<sup>6</sup> In these matters, see *Beiträge*, no. 2, p. 411; no. 45, p. 441; no. 52, pp. 457-459; János M. Bak, *Königtum und Stände in Ungarn im 14.-16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 1973), p. 52-56. 63-66; P. Engel, *The Realm of Saint-Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary. 895-1526* (London 2001), p. 318-320

<sup>7</sup> E.g. ELTEK, Codices, *Kaprinai*, A, LI, no. 47, pp. 108-120 [Early 1498]; HHStA, R.H.K., *Fridericiana*, fasc. 8-2, f. 88<sup>r</sup> (25<sup>th</sup> of July 1490); *Frammenti*, p. 54; Al. Simon, 'The Hungarian Means of the Relations between the Habsburgs and Moldavia at the End of the 15<sup>th</sup> Century', *AIRCRU*, VIII (2006), p. 259-296

<sup>8</sup> E.g. SUAB, L-I, E.C.L., *Galgóci Hitbizományi*, Oklevélek, no. 108 [1498]; copy: MOL, DF 278383]. Johann-Christoph Engel, *Geschichte des Ungarischen Reiches* (Vienna 1813<sup>2</sup>), III-2, p. 69-73, 89-90

<sup>9</sup> E.g. HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 4a-2, f. 25<sup>r</sup> (13<sup>th</sup> of April 1497); 5a-1, f. 49<sup>r</sup> (4<sup>th</sup> of March 1499); fasc. 9a-3, f. 33<sup>r</sup> (6<sup>th</sup> of May 1505); *Regesten Maximilian*, II-1, no. 4914, p. 160; no. 5109, p. 185; in this respect, see Daniela Felicia Gheorghiu, 'Moldova în sistemul politic internațional. Extrase din Jurnalul cancelarului polon Cristofor Szydłowiecki din 1523' [Moldavia in the International Political System: Extracts from the Journal of Polish Chancellor Krzysztof Szydłowiecki. 1523]. *AIR*, NS, I (2004), 2, p. 308-326

between the *Turk* and Buda. This was not enough. Following Moldavia's crusader rise in the early 1470' and the re-establishment of a vassal-entente between Buda and Suceava, defensive tasks were entrusted to Suceava. As for his part of the deal, king Matthias could in fact not render any military aid to Moldavia by Transylvanian means (1476, 1484), due to his own domestic decisions too (1458, 1468)<sup>10</sup>.

Stephen responded to Transylvanian royal failures by direct and indirect blackmails and, at least in writing, by allowing the *Turks* to raid the kingdom through Moldavia. In 1479-1480, during his negotiations with Matthias, this worked rather satisfying but did not have any long term effects, namely due to the disaster of 1484. This had been the case too with Matthias's Ottoman threats and raids pushed through towards Vienna and Venice in the 1470'-1480'<sup>11</sup>.

A much better royal, in particular, and Transylvanian response to threats and claims was obtained after Stephen blocked an Ottoman attack on the kingdom from the East (1492). Immediately after Stephen's death, Bogdan III, previously regarded as unreliable by Buda, blackmailed Wladislaw II. The king thought that he was bluffing, but could not afford the risk of losing his support. Yet, due also to renewed quarrels caused the Transylvanian estates of Moldavian rulers, relations between Buda and Suceava remained tense until 1506-1507<sup>12</sup>.

Tension was added to the relation by Suceava's Habsburg ties. They had almost costed Wladislaw his rule in 1497. Since Matthias' reign, Vienna had a rather significant influence in Walachian affairs. After 1490, its influence grew rapidly. Maximilian also exploited, at least as well as Buda, in his anti-Ottomans calls too (1501-1502), the domestic division of southern Walachia between Muntenia and Oltenia (*Little Walachia*). Meanwhile, the relations between Târgoviște and Krakow intensified, due foremost to their common Moldavian adversary<sup>13</sup>.

## I. The Walachians and the Hungarian Holy Crown

In October 1504, the illegitimate son of Matthias, John, died, aged 31. In March 1505, the male line of Matthias Corvinus' direct descendants vanished along with John's only son, Christopher (Kristóf). Rumors concerning poisoning were unavoidable. From the Hungarian perspective, this was however not the only

<sup>10</sup> E.g. GVV, II, 1458 (8<sup>th</sup> of June), art. 2, p. 91; 1468, art. 3, p. 173-174; Al. Simon, 'The Arms of the Cross: Stephen the Great's and Matthias Corvinus' *Christian Policies*', in *Between Worlds*, II, p. 73-77

<sup>11</sup> *Documente Ștefan*, II, no. 157, p. 355; Al. Simon, 'The Use of the *Gate of Christendom*. Hungary's Mathias Corvinus and Moldavia's Stephen the Great Politics in the late 1400'', *QCR*, III (2004), p. 205-224

<sup>12</sup> MHS, I-2, no. 15, p. 137; *Hurmuzaki*, II-2, , II-2, no. 296, p. 332; no. 303, p. 341; no. 322, p. 365; no. 423, p. 525; VIII, nos. 32-33, p. 28; XV-1, no. 306, p. 166; no. 308, p. 169; *Actae*, nos. 58-62, p. 71-74; nos. 65-67, p. 81-85; *Regesten Maximilian*, IV-2, no. 21434, p. 1021; *Sanudo*, VI, cols. 34, 50

<sup>13</sup> E.g. HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, ff. 12<sup>r</sup>-13<sup>r</sup> [April-August 1499; abstracted in *Regesten Maximilian*, III-1, no. 9368, p. 87]; fasc. 34-III.12, ff. 23<sup>r</sup>-24<sup>v</sup>, 40<sup>r</sup>-41<sup>r</sup> [after the 14<sup>th</sup> of May 1501]; Notes, VI, no. 67, p. 96

problem, nor the only turning-point. In July 1504, Stephen of Moldavia, vassal of the Holy Crown and great Hungarian landowner, had died<sup>14</sup>.

The ties between Stephen and the Hunyadi party had grown stronger over the last years (1496/1497-1502), due also to the feudal conflict that opposed him to the wife of John's most important supporter Lawrence (Lörinc) Újlaki, duke of Bosnia. These gave reason for concern to all other Hungarian parties, Jagellonian, Habsburg or Szapolyai ('nationalist') party. John's and Stephen's deaths increased the concerns, as their followers were now without patrons<sup>15</sup>.

### 1. Between Threats and Costs

In the second half of 1504, Bayezid II, not willing to break the *general peace* of Buda (1503), had avoided, at the last minute, a direct Ottoman intervention, first in Moldavian, then in Hungarian affairs, following the two deaths. He was compelled to hope that indirect support rendered to his 'friends' was enough to ensure favorable results. In Hungary, he counted on John (János) Szapolyai, in Moldavia, in particular on chancellor John (Ioan) Tăutul, also after Bogdan III remained ruler. Moreover, the Christians too wanted no war with the High Porte<sup>16</sup>.

### Vassal Buffer States and Royal Provinces

More than a decade had passed since the royal elections following Matthias Corvinus' death. In 1490, like most Hungarian nobles, the elite of the Romanian (*Walachian*) nobility, as well as the smaller nobles, even those from the Hunyadi cradle, the county of Hunedoara, had not supported king Matthias' desired heir, John. In 1505, it would have been seemingly impossible for these Walachians to play a major part in domestic and regional politics<sup>17</sup>.

More than half a century had elapsed ever since John Hunyadi's attempt to win the Hungarian crown for Alphons of Aragon, with aid from 10000

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<sup>14</sup> E.g. *Sanudo*, VI, col. 290, Gyula Schönherr, *Hunyadi Corvin János 1473-1504* (Budapest 1894), p. 229-231; Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and Levant (1204-1571)*, III, *The Sixteenth Century to Julius III* (=MAPS, CLXI) (Philadelphia 1984), p. 37-39; Al. Simon, *Ștefan cel Mare și Matia Corvin. O coexistență medievală* [Stephen the Great and Matthias Corvinus a Medieval Coexistence] (Cluj-Napoca 2005), p. 218

<sup>15</sup> E.g. EA, no. 1037 (Ladula 78, fasc. 15, no. 1) (31<sup>st</sup> of May 1502); MOL, DL 20346 (8<sup>th</sup> of August 1495), 82056 (11<sup>th</sup> of May 1493); *Sanudo*, V, cols. 577, 579, 587, 619; Drăgan, *Nobilimea*, p. 247-254

<sup>16</sup> E.g. HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 9a-3, f. 33<sup>r</sup>; fasc. 9b-1, f. 195<sup>r</sup>; fasc. 10a-2, ff. 17<sup>r</sup>, 32<sup>r-v</sup> (6<sup>th</sup> of May, 25<sup>th</sup> of September 1505, 6<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> of June 1506); *Aus der Chronik des Oruç*, *Aus der Chronik des Hanivaldanus*, in *Bayezid*, p. 73-74, 198-201; *Sanudo*, VI, cols. 49-50; *Istvánffy* (1724), p. 33-34, 48-49

<sup>17</sup> E.g. CDH, IV, *Jajcza*, no. 55, p. 80-81; no. 58, p. 84-93; [Georgius de Sirmium] Szerémi György, *Magyorország Romlásáról 1484-1543* (=MHH, II, 1), edited by Gusztáv Wenzel (Pest 1857), p. 19-24, 32-39; János Mihály Brutus, *Magyar históriája 1490-1552* [*Ioannis Michaelis Bruti Ungricarum Rerum libri qui exstant*], I, II. *Ulászló király országlata* (=MHH, II, 12), edited by Ferenc Toldy (Pest 1863), p. 14-17

Walachians. At the same time (1447), the Habsburg authorities accused Hunyadi of attacking Austrian lands with *Turks and Walachians*. Hunyadi's plan eventually failed. Nevertheless, more attention was thus given to the Walachians and those named, as king Matthias and Stephen III of Moldavia, *Walachian king-pin* (*Valachorum regulus*). Yet, those days too seemed to have ended<sup>18</sup>.

Only a few years had passed since the events of 1497, since Stephen's and Maximilian I's anti-Jagellonian *conspiracy*. In 1498, the image of a realm torn between the *Hungarians*, loyal to the *cross*, and the *Hungarians who followed the Walachians* (i.e. primarily, Stephen's Moldavians), supporting the *Turks*, had reached the Iberian Peninsula. Similar royal images arrived in Milan. A *Walachian* Hungarian issue seemed still to exist, still in connection to the far greater Ottoman question, to the Hungarian-*Turkish* deals that caused the Diet's anger<sup>19</sup>.

In early 1505, Moldavia slowly emerged from the civil war following Stephen III's death. Unlike Matthias' desired heir, Stephen's successor was and remained his son Bogdan III. He continued the old conflicts with Poland and Walachia, ruled by the sick Radu IV, which had aided his rivals. The instability had a direct impact on Buda. Prior even to the Stephen's imminent death, Buda avoided punishing Szekler rebels. The royal court feared that, after Stephen's death, they, together with Walachians, could open the way for the *bloody Turk*<sup>20</sup>.

### The Guardians of the Kingdom

The Walachian Hungarian issue had been kept alive by the problems and costs of the defense of the realm. Its south-eastern protection implied also an 'external' defense system assured in particular by Moldavia. The latter system was, apparently, more cost effective for Buda. Only some 5000 florins a year, in tax-exemptions, for the Transylvanian estates of the Moldavian rulers, and subsidies, were sent to Suceava, whereas, in the South, in average, half of the at times not even 300000 florins high Jagellonian royal budget was spent<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> E.g. HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 34-III.12, ff. 2<sup>r</sup>-3<sup>r</sup> [December 1477-February 1478]; Lajos Thallóczy, Samu Barabás, *A Frangepán Család Oklélváltára. Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus*, I, 1133-1453 (= *MHH*, I, 35) (Budapest 1910), no. 344, p. 350; *Regesta*, no. 2232, p. 226; *Notes*, V, no. 73, p. 54; *Bonfini* (1936-1941), III, pp. 224, 243; IV, p. 89-92, 168-169, 211-212

<sup>19</sup> ASM, A.D.S., *Potenze estere, Illiria, Polonia, Russia, Slavonia*, cart. 640, fasc. 3, nn, fasc. 4, nn (4<sup>th</sup> of March, 27<sup>th</sup> of May 1498); *Regesten Maximilian*, II-1, no. 5898, p. 293; CJH, 1498, art. 72, p. 621 (see arts. 20-24, pp. 606-609 too, and 1490, arts. 8-13, p. 476; 1492, arts. 4-9, p. 484-486; 1514, art. 3, p. 708)

<sup>20</sup> *Hurmuzaki*, XV-1, no. 305, p. 165; *Sanudo*, VI, col. 33; I. Drăgan, 'Un model de ascensiune socială în Transilvania voievodală: Ciulanii' [A Model of Social Rise in Voievodal Transylvania; The Ciulas], *AG*, I (VI) (1994), 1-2, pp. 42-45; for Hungarian 'domestic/ foreign affairs': CJH, 1495, arts. 30-32, p. 580-581

<sup>21</sup> E.g. *Hurmuzaki*, II-3, no. 358, p. 510; XV-1, no. 395, p. 219; no. 419, p. 269; Ignác Ácsády, *Régi magyar birtokviszonyok 1494-1598* (extract from *ETTK*, XVI, 3) [Old Hungarian Feudal

Inside the kingdom, 40% of the Ottoman (-Walachian)-Hungarian border were defended by Walachian privileged communities and/ or, namely under king Matthias, by dignitaries, of Walachian origin. This fact was based on two major elements. The Walachians had gained a strong military reputation during the Sigismund's and Hunyadi's wars. Except for the Hunyadi cradle of Hătege, the other major political Walachian units of the kingdom basically 'encircled' Transylvania. Matthias tried to make use of these facts, namely after the rebellion of 1467<sup>22</sup>.

Until 1493, no Transylvanian congregation of the estates was called in by the king. After the uprising, Matthias had tried to cut off non-royal direct political communication between the estates. In return he had enforced separately the local ethnical communities, Saxon, Szekler, Walachian, and, seemingly less, those of the local *Magyar* nobles. The policy, alongside with the general royal measures, backfired in *Turkish affairs*. Except for the granted privileges, his attempted system was rejected by the Hungarian, Saxon and Szekler estates after 1490<sup>23</sup>.

In spite of the increasing propaganda of royal and/ or Hungarian loyalty, the defense had to rely on facts of personal profit. In comparison, to the Ottoman frontier dignitaries, the royal ones were rather paid less and had apparently also smaller local revenues. This explains too why twice, at least (1471, 1491-1492), Istanbul hoped to be handed in Belgrade (Beograd, Nándorfehérvár). In 1492, as well as during the final siege of 1521, Belgrade's keeper was a Hungarian of Walachian descent. The charges brought against him could not be proved<sup>24</sup>.

## 2. The Hungarian Crisis of 1505-1506

On the 13<sup>th</sup> of October 1505, the Rákos Diet decided that no foreigner would be elected in the future king of Hungary. As compared to what Wladislaw risked, the text, a manifest of *Scythian* and *Christian* pride of the Hungarian nobility, could be contemplated as a success from his perspective. Several voices at the Diet had called for Wladislaw's dethronement and the election of John Szapolyai as king. Wladislaw formally approved the Diet's decision and then, like during the 1497 crisis, fled to Prague (Prag, Praha), to his Kingdom of Bohemia<sup>25</sup>.

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Relations 1494-1598] (Budapest 1894), p. 24-25, 32, 38 Engel, *Geschichte* (Halle 1797<sup>1</sup>), I, p. 127-129, 138, 149, 160

<sup>22</sup> E.g. Bistra A. Cvetkova, *Les institutions ottomanes en Europe* (Wiesbaden 1978), pp. 11, 14; Peter Schreiner, 'Eine zweite Handschrift des *Ordo Portae* und der Wegbeschreibung in das Gebiet des Uzun Hasan. Mit einer Hypothese zur Verfasserfrage', *SOF*, XLI (1982), p. 18; Drăgan, *Nobilimea*, p. 149, 157

<sup>23</sup> For instance: CDH, IV, *Jajcza*, no. 49, p. 65; no. 67, p. 116; Al. Simon, 'Acceptance and Rejection in Medieval Transylvania. Romanians and Hungarians before 1600', *TR*, XIV (2005), 1, p. 55-68

<sup>24</sup> CDH, II, *Szerbia*, no. 402, p. 288; *Sanudo*, XXIII, cols. 348-354; *Frammenti*, p. 55; *Szydlowiecki*, p. 324; Drăgan, 'Model', p. 45; Engel, *Realm* p. 324; Simon, *Ștefan cel Mare și Matia Corvin*, p. 218-219

<sup>25</sup> For instance, see Bak, *Königtum*, Appendix, no. 16, pp. 158-159; Al. Simon, 'Valahii și Dieta de la Rákos (1505). Considerații asupra sfârșitului epocii huniade' [The Valachs and the the

### The Great Houses and the Walachian Option

The decision of the Diet was a direct attack on Jagellonian (Wladislaw II was still without male heir, but his wife Anne of Candale was pregnant), as well as Habsburg interests. It thus seemed almost certain that Maximilian, still only *king of the Romans*, would enter the realm in order to defend his rights to throne. In July 1505 already, at the Reichstag of Worms, he had stated that 5000 soldiers from the empire would be enough for him to take Buda. It was not just Habsburg speech. It thus caused great concern to the Jagellonian heart of Krakow<sup>26</sup>.

Following John Albert's Moldavia failure (1497), the freedoms he (1496) and later (1505) his successor and brother, Alexander, had to grant to the Polish Diet, the Seim, Polish royal power was at a low and depended increasingly on the Hungarian faith of Wladislaw too. The Rákos Diet could not have come at a more difficult time. In the South-East, Bogdan III and his Tartars threatened the kingdom as the old Polish-Moldavian conflict for Pocuția raged on<sup>27</sup>.

In November, Jan Laski was terrified at the prospect that the *Walachians* (of Hungary namely), even as allies of Maximilian I, could contribute to the downfall of Jagellonian rule in Buda. For the time being however, Szapolyai, not Maximilian, was Wladislaw major Hungarian competition. In an address to the influential Lucas Watzenrode, Bishop of Warmia (Ermland), Laski asked him that the *Walachians* were to be used by the Jagiellonian House too against the *Hungarians* (i.e. John Szápolya's 'nationalist party') who hated and despised them<sup>28</sup>.

*In Regno exnunc gubernatorem constituunt, et pro statu suo tributa magna communia decernunt, pro M.R<sup>ia</sup>, ut feliciter et in tranquillo statu regnet, alia sed forsán maiora. Rex tulit modeste iniqua decreta se forsán versus Bohemiam accingit. Gubernator fit natus olim Stephani natu maior, contra quem Maximillianus vires et animum excitat. Walachi statu indigno Hungarorum perpenso sunt solliciti, ut se adunent nobis, forsán enim estate futura Maximilliani suppellex Hungaro[s] cinget et presertim gubernatorem ingenuum, con[tra quem i]lla M<sup>ias</sup> Romanorum plebeum esse*

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Diet of Rákos (1505). Considerations on the End of the Age of the Hunyadis], *Apulum*, XLIII (2006), p. 99-121

<sup>26</sup> HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 9b-2, f. 160<sup>r</sup> (17<sup>th</sup> of November 1505); *Acta Alexandri*, no. 298, pp. 505; *Zimmerische Chronik*, edited by Karl August Barack, I (Freiburg-Tübingen 1881<sup>2</sup>), p. 501-503

<sup>27</sup> E.g. *Materialy*, nos. 39-48, p. 119-151 (1504-1507); [Bernard Wapowski], *Chronicorum Bernardii Vapovii partem posteriorem 1480-1535*, edited by J[ózef]. Szujki, in *SRPol*, II (1874), p. 32-39, 48-53, 66

<sup>28</sup> *Acta Alexandri*, no. 305, pp. 514-515 (in the 1920', the original document was in the Archive of the Bishopric of Frauenburg, Ms. 65, f. 89<sup>r-v</sup>); F[ryderik]. Papée, 'Imperial Expansion and the Supremacy of the Gentry, 1466-1506', in *The Cambridge History of Poland*, edited by W.F. Reddaway, J.H. Penson, O. Halecki, R. Dyboski, I, *From the Origins to Sobieski (to 1696)* (Cambridge 1950), p. 261-262, 269-271



*velit. Nobis cum Tartaris labor est, etenim Radomiense decretum non erat executum, egritudine obstante domini. Sic iterum pro cezare deliberandum.*

Watzenrode was a creator of designs and opinions. He had authored the plan to transfer the Teuton Knights from the Baltic area to the Podolia and Moldavia (1495). The plan, though formally approved by Alexander VI, had been undermined by Maximilian, with the help of the cardinals loyal to him. In fact, after the events of 1497, the Jagellonians could rely neither in Hungarian, nor in Walachian affairs, on Rome. The papacy could not risk of loosing Vienna or Suceava. In 1505, Julius II officially avoided taking any side during the Hungarian conflict<sup>29</sup>.

### Old Feuds and Recent Developments

The Hungarian kingdom was under pressure from all sides. The Ottomans too moved in on the border. Like in 1490, in spite of the talks between Bayezid and Maximilian, they were unwilling to accept a Habsburg king in Buda. Meanwhile, the same year, the *three Transylvanian nations* wanted to create a regency council to lead the Transylvanian *regnum*, as the voivode Peter (Péter) Bozyn of Szént-György was usually absent, since he was also judge of the royal court. The influence of the Szapolyais over Transylvania had grown constantly<sup>30</sup>.

None of the parties involved in the Hungarian conflict attempted a decisive blow. Only Maximilian seemed to be eager to go to war. His troops crossed the Hungarian border, but no further action was taken. Everybody expected the birth of Wladislaw's child to decide the next move. Maximilian was equally focused on fortifying his 1504 alliance with Rome and Paris. Like the treaty between the Houses of Valois and Jagiello, directed against the Habsburgs (1500), it too had been concluded in view of a crusade, but, in fact, aimed against Venice<sup>31</sup>.

In March 1506, king Wladislaw's son Louis (Lajos) was born. Maximilian was named his guardian and tutor, in case the aging father died. The old Habsburg plans had been ruined. New ones had to take their place. The same applied for Szapolyai. He partially succeeded in legally annulling Maximilian's status of tutor and already planned of becoming voivode of Transylvania (in 1510, his plan

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<sup>29</sup> HHStA, R.R.B., reg. JJ, ff. 265<sup>r</sup>-266<sup>r</sup> [March-May 1495; abstract: *Regesten Maximilian*, I-1, no. 1481, p. 159]; see also Karól Górski, 'Les idées politiques de Lucas Watzenrode, évêque de Warmie (1447-1512)', in Idem, *Communitas-Princeps-Coroana Regni. Studia selecta* (Warsaw 1976), p. 92-116

<sup>30</sup> HHStA, R.H.K. *Maximiliana*, fasc. 9a-3, f. 148<sup>r</sup>; fasc. 9b-1, ff. 170<sup>r</sup>, 194<sup>r</sup> (30<sup>th</sup> of June, 8<sup>th</sup>, 25<sup>th</sup> of September 1505); MOL, DL 21567 (15<sup>th</sup> of May 1506); *Székely Oklevéltár*, edited by Károly Szábo, I, 1211-1519 (Koložsvár 1872), no. 242, p. 309; III, 1270-1571 (1877), no. 500, p. 122; no. 711, p. 237

<sup>31</sup> AGAD, M.K., *Libri Legationum*, reg. I, f. 92<sup>r</sup>-94<sup>v</sup> [February 1502; copy: MOL, DF 290310-290312], ATom, I (1852), nos. 1-3, p. 5-8; *Acta Alexandri*, no. 154, p. 255; *Sanudo*, V, cols. 755, 766-771, 781, 858

succeeded). After being compelled to rely on Maximilian at the beginning of 1506, Wladislaw too wanted to diminish the Habsburg influence over Buda<sup>32</sup>.

As nothing had happened, the Walachian question was passed under silence. Though John had never forgiven the Walachian nobles for not supporting him in 1505, with his death and the end of the Hunyadi male line sunk in, there was nobody left in Hungary to gather the already mostly weakened Walachian nobles and communities around him, except for a king. In 1515, Wladislaw still had to negotiate with the Maramureş 'union' of Walachian nobles, but the matters and the circumstances were completely different than at the time Laski's letter<sup>33</sup>.

## II. Lands of Great Designs and Conflicts

In the summer of 1506, Alexander I of Poland died. Sigismund, former contender to the Moldavian throne in 1497, was crowned king. He concluded a treaty with brother Wladislaw. The alliance was directed against Maximilian. Buda had to make use of her influence, given the matter of the Transylvanian estates, over Suceava to prevent any attacks from Bogdan, eager to revenge his defeat of 1505, on Poland. In return, Moldavia was to remain a vassal state of Buda, not of Krakow, as long as Sigismund's and Wladislaw II's descendants ruled<sup>34</sup>.

The Moldavian-Polish conflict continued. Though he lost the support of Thomas Bakócz, Maximilian kept pressuring Buda, whether with matrimonial propositions or with prospects of common anti-Ottoman actions (August 1506-November 1507). Still, both Buda and Vienna were more interested, at the time, by Venice. Buda wanted the yearly subsidies Venice had promised her since 1503. Maximilian had long been waiting for an opportunity to make war on the republic. The succession crisis of the Gorizia (Görz) countship crisis gave him that<sup>35</sup>.

### 1. From Cambrai to Krakow

By the 'League of Cambrai', Rome and Vienna wanted to solve the Italian crisis, by taking Venice off the great political stage (1508-1509). The plan seemed to

<sup>32</sup> HHStA, U.A., A.U.R., 1506, III.20, 27 (20<sup>th</sup>, 27<sup>th</sup> of March 1506); R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 10a-1, ff. 12<sup>r</sup>, 66<sup>r</sup>, 178<sup>r</sup>; fasc. 10a-2, ff. 12<sup>r-v</sup>, 31<sup>r</sup> (5<sup>th</sup> of March, 7<sup>th</sup> of May, 8<sup>th</sup>, 29<sup>th</sup> of June 1506); *Sanudo*, VI, col. 291

<sup>33</sup> E.g. *Acta Alexandri*, no. 304, p. 514; *Hurmuzaki*, II-3, no.292, p. 423; *Monumenta 1514*, no. 252, p. 353; Drăgan, *Nobilimea*, pp. 269-270; see also CJH, 1498, arts. 20-24, p. 606-609; 1514, art. 3, p. 708

<sup>34</sup> *Acta Alexandri*, no. 295, p. 499; no. 298, p. 505; no. 303, p. 512; Ludwig Finkel, *Elekey Zygmunt* [Sigismund's Election], I (Krakow 1910), p. 153-160; Krzysztof Baczkowski, 'Przselienie polityczne na Węgrzech w latach 1505-1507 natle stosunków habsbursko-jagiellońskich' [The Hungarian Political Strife of 1505-1507 in the context of the Jagellonian-Habsburg Rivalry], *ASLH*, XCI (1987), p. 7-30

<sup>35</sup> EA, no. 11176 (Ladula 65, fasc. 2, no. 13) (2<sup>nd</sup> of Aprilie 1506); HHStA, U.A., A.U.R., 1507, X.11-12, XI.12 (11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> of October, 12<sup>th</sup> of November); M.E.A., *Reichstagakten*, reg. 3a, f. 461<sup>r-v</sup> (14<sup>th</sup> of May 1507); R.H.K. *Maximiliana*, fasc. 11-1, ff. 11<sup>r</sup>, 194<sup>r</sup> (14<sup>th</sup> of January, 11<sup>th</sup> of March 1507); *Sanudo*, VII, col. 344

work, as the republic found support against the Habsburg neither in Central Europe, nor in Istanbul. In July 1509, Moldavians and Ottomans defeated the Poles. Most likely, the Ottomans had attacked without Bayezid's consent who did not want to break the Polish-Ottoman treaty. He had started losing control over his empire (1508-1510). A new Ottoman civil war was close<sup>36</sup>.

### **Regional Competition and Strife**

Already in conflict with Radu IV of Walachia and without having a solution to his Polish matrimonial problem, Bogdan III wrote to Wladislaw II that Bayezid was ready to attack him and that Radu IV had left for Istanbul. He urged Wladislaw to prepare troops in Transylvania for battle. The king did not believe him. He thought that it was a scheme meant to relieve from Polish pressure on Moscow, Suceava's ally. Yet, at the same time (summer of 1507), Buda and Suceava sent together envoys to Persia, to Shah Ismael, Bayezid II's great enemy<sup>37</sup>.

Within a few months, things returned to 'normal'. A direct confrontation between Bogdan and Radu was avoided at the last moment. The monk Maxim [George (Đurađ)] Branković, sent by Wladislaw as mediator, reconciled the enemies (late 1507). In case mediation failed, Hungarian troops had been instructed to attack Radu. A few months earlier, Radu's envoys had complained about Bogdan's 'behavior' as far as Venice and Rome. The republic and the papacy were viewed by Radu's messengers as the only powers able to calm Bogdan down<sup>38</sup>.

In order to fortify his regional and domestic positions, Bogdan had planned as early as mid 1505 to marry the youngest sister of the Jagellonian brothers, Elisabeth. He counted on Venice's and namely Rome's support. They had refused to support a general Christian action against him, in late 1504, when he was still fighting for the throne. He thus turned to Julius II for support in view of his Polish

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<sup>36</sup> For instance: BMC, *Manoscritti*, Mss. 310, f. 39<sup>v</sup> [Late 1510]; HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 34-III.10, f. 213<sup>r</sup> [Fall 1508]; *Sanudo*, VII, cols. 375, 380, 465; IX, col. 99; *Istvánffy* (1724), p. 59-65

<sup>37</sup> AGAD, D.P., *Hungaria*, nos. 5595-5596, 5621 (28<sup>th</sup> of May 1507; copies: MOL, DF 289016-289017, 289021); *Hurmuzaki*, XV-1, no. 327, p. 177-179; *Actae*, no. 68, p. 85; *Turcica*, I, no. 32, p. 34-35; *Materialy*, no. 48, p. 151-153; Matei Cazacu, 'Poziția internațională a Țării Românești și implicațiile ei poloneze la începutul secolului al XVI-lea. Pe marginea unui document' [Walachia's International Position and its Polish Implications in the early 1500'. On a Document], *BBRF*, XI (XV) (1984), p. 299-316

<sup>38</sup> ELTEK, Codices, *Diplomatarium Autographum*, O8, ff. 94<sup>r</sup>-95<sup>v</sup> [early 1508; copy: MOL, DF 283446]; *Actae*, nos. 65-72, p. 83-97; *Materialy*, nos. 48-50, p. 148-163; nos. 53-54, p. 165-166; *Letopisețul anonim*, p. 23-24. *Sanudo*, VII, cols. 8, 120, 232, 301; *Macarie*, p. 91-92; *Wapowski*, p. 66-68, 82-83

marriage. The pope backed him up. Krakow issued a formal approval of the marriage (1506-1507), disliked in essence by both Istanbul and Vienna<sup>39</sup>.

Still, though Julius II repeatedly intervened in his favor, Bogdan was not allowed to marry Elisabeth for he was viewed by Krakow as a schismatic. Krakow was worried about Bogdan's potential influence over Jagellonian affairs in all their kingdoms. A union, in the fashion of the Polish-Lithuanian union, with Suceava was eventually refused by all sides. By 1509, Moldavia and Poland were back at war. In July, Moldavians and *Turks* defeated the Poles. Bayezid did not want to break his treaty with Sigismund but feared an entente between the two rivals<sup>40</sup>.

### **Political Turmoil North of the Danube**

In February 1510, peace was concluded between Sigismund and Bogdan. Buda and Rome had made great efforts to see the conflict ended. The settlement favored neither side, which was an advantage for Bogdan given his political failures of recent year. Eventually, he had exploited the enduring Moldavian diplomatic wish and threat to Poland-Lithuania (1493-1523): *May God give that Christendom will not fall in Your days*. However, except, partially, for Buda, none of Bogdan's relations to his neighbors was to his satisfaction (1510-1511)<sup>41</sup>.

As Radu's death neared, Buda, Suceava too, had tried to get a grip of Walachian affairs, by placing Mihnea, the son of Vlad III *Țepeș* (the Impaler), on the throne in Târgoviște (1507-1508). The Walachian elite however desired another Hungarian candidate. Szapolyai too was interfering more and more in Walachian affairs, in the name of the cross. Until mid 1512, Walachia re-became a battlefield for domestic factions, *Turks*, Hungarians and Moldavians<sup>42</sup>.

As Maximilian's ally, Bogdan seemingly stirred things up in the East, not allowing Krakow and Buda to focus on Venetian propositions made in return for their anti-Habsburg support. This was not too difficult. After Buda abandoned him, Mihnea had gained the throne with Ot toman support. He then switched sides once again (1508-1510). His family lost the throne. His successor, installed by the

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<sup>39</sup> MOL, DL 21783 (21<sup>st</sup> of November 1507; edited under September 25, 1508, in *Actae*, no. 71, p. 94); *Hurmuzaki*, II-2, nos. 432-433, p. 534-541; no. 448 p. 557; nos. 465-467, p. 583-586; no. 459, p. 578

<sup>40</sup> In these matters: *Hurmuzaki*, II-2, no. 459, p. 578; *Actae*, nos. 63-64, pp. 75-81; *Materialy*, no. 43, p. 128; nos. 46-47, p. 148-150, nos. 49-51, pp. 153-163; no. 54, p. 166-168; *Sanudo*, IX, cols. 99-100

<sup>41</sup> For instance: AGAD, D.P., *Moldavia*, nos. 5409-5411 (23<sup>rd</sup> of January 1510; copies in MOL, DF 288973-288975); M.K., *Libri legationum*, IV, ff. 12<sup>r</sup>-14<sup>r</sup> (20<sup>th</sup> of March 1512; copy: DF 290338); *Hurmuzaki*, II-2, no. 481, p. 613; no. 488, p. 624; II-3, no. 193, p. 246; no. 310, p. 444; nos. 333-334, p. 477-483; no. 341, p. 489; nos. 457-458, p. 708, 719; suppl. II-1, no. 1, p. 1, 6; *Documente Ștefan*, II, no. 171, p. 384

<sup>42</sup> For instance: *Hurmuzaki*, II-2, nos. 453-460, pp. 572-579; *Diarii Udinesi dall'anno 1508 al 1541 di Leonardo e Gregorio Amaseo e Gio. Antonio Azio* (=MSV, III, 9), edited by A.Ceruti (Venice 1884), p. 153

Turks, Vlad V was executed by the pro-Bayezid Walachian faction. The young ruler had sided with the reconciled Selim and Bogdan III (1511-1512)<sup>43</sup>.

The Walachian turmoil had Ottoman origins too. Yet, it brought no anti-Ottoman profits, even as fragile as those of the 1400'. Unlike during the Djem crisis, which seemed smaller than the full-scale Ottoman civil war of the 1510', no major plans were drafted, no important advantages were looked up, in order to bring the Ottoman Empire, at least to its European fall. Maximilian had crowned himself emperor (1508) without a *Romzug* or a *Türkenzug*<sup>44</sup>.

## 2. Between Italian and Ottoman Wars

Since 1504, the Muslim world was at war. The former adversaries, the Ottoman Empire and Mamluk Egypt, allied themselves, until 1511, against Safavid Persia, to which most of the European 'crusader style' contacts were being directed. The Italian wars, in particular the conflict between Maximilian and the Venetian republic, started in 1508, had shown however that in terms of diplomacy, the Porte could always rely on the Western political short-comings<sup>45</sup>.

### From Venice to the Crimean Peninsula

In spring-summer 1510, in order to further distance Hungary from the league of Cambrai, Venice promised her to pay yearly up to 60000 ducats. The Diet refused and decided that it was time to retake Dalmatia from the republic. Little attention was given to Ottoman affairs, other than in propaganda words, though the context seemed favorable. Istanbul had been almost completely destroyed in September 1509 by an earthquake. Yet, Hungary had been hit by the plague and her finances were exhausted. Still, Buda played her part of *bulwark*<sup>46</sup>.

Maximilian took up contact with Bayezid in late fall 1509. He asked him to attack Venice. Bayezid II was very friendly, but made no promises. Venice was outraged by Maximilian's audacity. The emperor responded that the Venetians were responsible that the *Turk* had not been chased away from *Graecia* and even Europe. They had also provided the pope with Ottomans for his wars. According to

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<sup>43</sup>The context: Ștefan Andreescu, 'Marea Neagră în lupta pentru succesiunea la tronul otoman din anii 1510-1512 [The Black Sea in the Ottoman Succession Fight. 1510-1512], *SMIM*, XXV (2007), p. 29-46

<sup>44</sup> For comparative perspectives, see also Al. Simon, 'Lumea lui Djem. Suceava, Buda și Istanbul în anii 1480' [Djem's World. Suceava, Buda and Istanbul in the 1480's], *AIIC*, XLVIII (2005), p. 38-42

<sup>45</sup> E.g. [Girolamo Priuli], *I diarii di Girolamo Priuli [AA. 1494-1512]* (= *RIS*, NS, XXIV, 3), edited by Arturo Segre, IV, [1509-1512] (Città di Castello 1912 [1921]; reprint Bologna 1938), col. 331; *Sanudo*, VIII, col. 340; Fisher, *Foreign Policy*, p. 94-99; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, III, p. 104-108, 121-122

<sup>46</sup> For instance: HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 14a-3, ff. 38<sup>r</sup>-41<sup>r</sup>; fasc. 14b-1, ff. 37<sup>r</sup>-39<sup>r</sup>; fasc. 14b-3, ff. 27<sup>r</sup>-31<sup>r</sup>; fasc. 15b-2, ff. 52<sup>r</sup>, 109<sup>r</sup>-114<sup>r</sup> (10<sup>th</sup> of June, 21<sup>st</sup> of July, 31<sup>st</sup> of October 1509, 13<sup>th</sup>, 29<sup>th</sup> of July 1510); fasc. 36-V.1, f. 10<sup>r</sup> [May-June 1510]; *Sanudo*, VII, cols. 344, 346, 465; IX, cols. 563-565

Julius II, this was nothing new, while Maximilian kept on calling for a crusade. In fact, he wanted the Jubilee revenues, for an anti-Jagellonian action<sup>47</sup>.

Maximilian initiated new talks with Bogdan III. Krakow was scared (July 1510). Only a few months earlier, by Wladislaw's offices, the peace treaty between Sigismund and Bogdan had been signed, putting an end to a conflict that *had done no little damage to the whole of Christendom*. Sigismund was menaced also by Moscow, the Tartars and the Teutons. Buda tried to gain aid by opening new negotiations with Istanbul and Venice (August-September). The development of the recent Ottoman dynastic conflict however changed the situation<sup>48</sup>.

The conflict gave more reasons to worry than opportunities to *Christian* powers. Aided by Tartars, Selim, one of Bayezid's rebellious sons, gained control over Crimea, the Danube and Dniestr Mounds, causing fear in Suceava, Buda and Krakow. In late 1510, the Walachias were about to become Ottoman battlefields or fiefs, namely Moldavia, for Selim in view of a settlement of the conflict. The situation did not calm down until a year later. Bogdan attacked Selim's troops, defeated by his father, and forced Selim to reach an agreement with him<sup>49</sup>.

### Ottoman Rivals and Crusader Partners

When he still seemed capable of winning the conflict, Bayezid II had used as Radu IV as an example in his speech to the angry mob of Janissaries. Though he could barely move for seven years, prior to his death (1508), none of his subjects thought of deposing him and he had also come, at least twice, in his condition to Istanbul. Bayezid's example had a great effect on the mob. The Muslims too used *Infidel* examples in order to convince their pairs<sup>50</sup>.

Such aspects had however a Roman dis-advantage. The Walachian, namely Moldavian, involvement in the Ottoman crisis, had displeased Rome. Based on Polish and Hungarian data, the Walachias were labeled as *schismatic* lands (1511-1512). Following Maximilian I's and Bakócz's pressures, Moldavia was re-listed by

<sup>47</sup> ASVe, S.S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 43, cc. 156<sup>r</sup>-157<sup>v</sup> (23<sup>rd</sup>, 30<sup>th</sup> of September 1509); HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 12-3, f. 144<sup>r</sup>; fasc. 15a-1, f. 29<sup>r-v</sup>; fasc. 15b-1, ff. 79<sup>r</sup>-81<sup>v</sup>; fasc. 15b-3, ff. 4<sup>r</sup>-14<sup>r</sup>, 51<sup>r</sup>-58<sup>v</sup>; fasc. 15b-4, f. 58<sup>r</sup>; fasc. 17-2, ff. 6<sup>r</sup>-11<sup>r</sup>; fasc. 19a-1, ff. 106<sup>r</sup>-113<sup>r</sup> (20<sup>th</sup> of April 1508, 1<sup>st</sup> of September 1509, 7<sup>th</sup> of April, 25<sup>th</sup> of June, 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> of August 1510, 5<sup>th</sup> of February, 15<sup>th</sup> of April, 27<sup>th</sup> of July 1511)

<sup>48</sup> E.g. HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 15b-3, ff. 4<sup>r</sup>-14<sup>r</sup>, 15<sup>r</sup>-25<sup>r</sup> (5 august, 21 septembrie 1510); ATom, I (1852), no. 74, p. 96; *Relazioni*, p. 15; XI, *Sanudo*, IX, cols. 573-574; *Istvánffy*, p. 55-59; Ezechiel Zivier, *Neuere Geschichte Polens*, I, *Die zwei letzten Jagiellonen* (Gotha 1915), p. 61, 63

<sup>49</sup> HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 17-2, f. 160<sup>r-v</sup> (27<sup>th</sup> of February 1511); ATom, I (1852), no. 83, p. 96; no. 232, p. 181; no. 242, p. 194; no. 301, p. 227; II, no. 218, p. 183; *Hurmuzaki*, II-2, no. 481, p. 613; suppl. II-1, no. 1, p. 1-10; *Sanudo*, XII, col. 508; XIV, col. 50; *Historia*, p. 271; *Hanivaldanus*, p. 258-260

<sup>50</sup> *Historia*, p. 268-271; *Oruç*, pp. 83, 90, 96; *Hanivaldanus*, p. 198-201, 212-222, 267; see also Dorothy M. Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk: A Pattern of Alliances. 1350-1700* (Liverpool 1954), p. 93-99

Rome as a main crusader force (1513). It seemed as if the Christendom had increasing difficulties in interpreting the Ottoman context<sup>51</sup>.

In the summer of 1511, the Hungarian Diet approved a 4 year prolongation of the truce with the Porte, which included also Venice. After his victory over Selim, Bayezid II seemingly did not want further troubles but failed to control the situation north of the Danube. Selim's entente with Bogdan allowed the sultan's son to start his victorious comeback of early 1512. In return, for his support, Bogdan probably hoped to be entrusted the harbors taken in 1484<sup>52</sup>.

In May 1512, Bogdan's envoys, eager to exploit the conflict for the throne of Walachia, attended the *Reichstag* of Trier. The general idea was to make ready for a crusade. Bayezid had lost the civil war and had been forced to abdicate. The victorious Selim was not expected to rule long. Over the next months, the crusader plans multiplied. In April 1513, at Yenişehir, Ahmed, Selim's brother and last major contender to the throne, was defeated. Regardless of their previous stands, the Christian states had to reconsider their relations with Selim<sup>53</sup>.

### III. Matrimony and Crusade

By 1513, Moldavia had almost run out of crusader memories and advantages. Because of its alliance with Maximilian, Suceava could count, within the Catholic world, only on Vienna and partially Buda and Rome. Within the Orthodox world, where, since 1505, he was at odds with the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople which had not endorsed his succession, Bogdan III had no other ally than the very distant, yet effective at times, Vasili III of Moscow<sup>54</sup>.

#### I. The Wedding

Bogdan had no legitimate male heir and he was a widower since 1512. After his Polish failure, he had married Anastasia, a Moldavian lady. He could not do the same once more. It would have meant both marrying below his rank and favoring one boyar clan, in a time when most his father's councilors, his oligarchs, had died and he was in conflict with the Moldavian Orthodox Church because of

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<sup>51</sup> For instance: *Hurmuzaki*, II-3, no. 63, p. 57; no. 121, p. 120; no. 122, p. 131; *Monumenta 1514*, no. 2, p. 33; no. 7, p. 54, no. 19, p. 6; see *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum a F. Ioanne de Komorowo compilatum*, edited by Xawery Liske, Antoni Lorkiewicz, in *MPH*, V (1888), p. 305; *Wapowski*, p. 77-84

<sup>52</sup> HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 19a-1, f. 87<sup>r</sup> (25<sup>th</sup> of July 1511); *Hurmuzaki*, XV-1, nos. 391-392, p. 217-218; *Sanudo*, XII, col. 240; XIII, cols. 221, 480, 521; Andreescu, 'Marea Neagră', p. 38-43

<sup>53</sup> E.g. ASVe, S.S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 46, c. 3r. (18<sup>th</sup> of August 1513); ATom, II (1854), no. 253, p. 205; nos. 279-270, p. 217-218; nos. 296-298, p. 226-227; *Hurmuzaki*, XV-1, no. 391, p. 217; Christoph Scheurl, 'Geschichtsbuch der Christenheit von 1511-1521', *JDRDK*, I (1872), p. 31-32 (the envoys of Trier)

<sup>54</sup> Al. Simon, 'Fata de la nemți. Maximilian I de Habsburg, Bogdan III și o căsătorie din 1513' [The German Girl: Maximilian I of Habsburg, Bogdan III and a Marriage of 1513], *AȘD*, II (2006), p. 108-109

his Roman ties and authoritarian policies. Plus, there were not many dynastic options left after 1453 for a *Greek* rite ruler in search of a prestigious wife<sup>55</sup>.

### **Provocation and Penitence**

Prior to the conclusion of the papal elections, Maximilian I had already drafted his own crusader plan, likewise an anti-Jagellonian, namely anti-Polish plan. With Russian, Teuton and Moldavian, Tartar if possible, aid he wanted to strike Istanbul and to coerce Krakow. He overlooked that the Crimean Tartars were one of Selim's most trusted armies. He equally seemed to be overconfident, a year later too, in the settlement of the Walachian matter<sup>56</sup>.

A major Hungarian and Moldavian, for other reasons, concern in view of a massive anti-Ottoman action, as Selim already attacked the realm's borders, was Neagoe Basarab. He had become ruler against Selim's will, but had won his approval. He was also the favorite of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Orthodox monastical and secular elites around it. He had rapidly gained domestic support (1512-1513). Eliminating him had become a priority. Neagoe was turning into a direct challenge to Moldavia's Walachian and Athonite prestige<sup>57</sup>.

Prior to mid 1513, patriarch Pachomios came to Walachia and Moldavia. Pressured also by the spreading *Greek* 'millennarist' fears (1512 should have marked the end of the world), by the discontent caused by the natural catastrophes of last year, Bogdan reconciled with the patriarch. He made penitence in front of him and of Moldavian metropolite Theoctist II, who seemingly should have supported him, but did not, for (his anti-*Greek* and pro-*Latin*) deeds<sup>58</sup>.

Pachomios' timing was precise. Julius II, Bogdan's protector had died. Bogdan wanted to remarry and was in close relations to emperor Maximilian. The Ottomans were moving in on Hungary to prevent any attack on Selim. Wladislaw and Bogdan thought of dethroning Neagoe, Pachomios' favorite. Bogdan's

<sup>55</sup> For instance: [Manuel Malaxos], *Patria/rcikh kwnstantinoipo/lewj istoria a)pŌ toà v)und/ toà vfoh/ e)/touj Cpistoà. Historia politica constantinopoleos a 1454 usque ad 1578 annum Christi*, in *Historia PPC*, pp. 140-141; *Letopisețul de la Putna I* [The Chronicle from Putna I], *Cronica sârbo-moldovenească* [The Serbian-Moldavian Chronicle], *Macarie*, in *Cronicile*, p. 51-52, 91-92, 192-193

<sup>56</sup> Erich Joachim, Walter Hubatsch, *Regesta historico-diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198-1525*, I-1, *Urkunden 1198-1525* (Göttingen 1948), no. 74, p. 229; no. 82, p. 237; *Sanudo*, XIX, col. 87

<sup>57</sup> In these matters, see also Nicolae Iorga, 'Românii și Muntele Athos' [The Romanians and Mount Athos], *AARMSI*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series, XXXVI (1914), pp. 231-232; Mustafa A. Mehmet, Două documente turcești despre Neagoe Basarab [Two Turkish Documents on Neagoe Basarab], *Studii*, XXI (1968), 5, p. 923-928

<sup>58</sup> *Viața sfântului Nifon* [The Life of St. Niphon] (Bucharest), edited by Vasile Grecu (Bucharest 1944), p. 94-95; Malaxos, p. 140; Dan-Ioan Mureșan, *Le Patriarcat œcuménique et les Principautés roumaines. Droit nomocanonique et idéologie politique (XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, PhD Thesis (Paris 2005), p. 582-588



authority was faced with major domestic and foreign challenges. The ecumenical patriarch therefore had every reason to intervene in Moldavia<sup>59</sup>.

### **An Imperial Gift**

In spite of the unfavorable circumstances, Bogdan quickly found a wife after Anastasia's death. Invitations were sent out in spring 1513. The wedding was scheduled for July. It was twice post-poned because of the Tartars which ravaged Moldavia. Eventually, it should have taken place in early September. At the end of August, the Tartars attacked again. The Poles, who had not left for Suceava to attend the wedding, some because Bogdan did not want them, were very pleased for not having been thus enslaved during the new Tartar raid<sup>60</sup>.

In early August, nobody however could predict that the Tartars would strike again after having been repelled by Bogdan. He was awaiting the return of his ambassadors sent in June to Innsbruck. They had to come with his bride. As revealed by the correspondence between Zyprian von Serntein with Lorenz Saurer, Maximilian's 'right' and 'left' hands, the bride was his personal gift and token of imperial greatness sent to the Moldavian ruler (27<sup>th</sup> of August)<sup>61</sup>.

*Erstlich, so schreibt mir E<ure> G <naden> in seinem brief des dato stet zu Innsprugg am VIII-ten tag Augusti der Walacheyschen botschaft halber wie die durch Kay <serliche> May<estät> widerumb an Haim zu Irem Herren zu ziehen abgefertigt, unnd das I-hre> Kay <serliche> May <estät> Fridrichen Harber mit bestimbten walachen in die Walachey zu ziehen verordnet den ich also auf Kay<serliche> May<estät> bevelh wol unnd statlich abgefertigt also an Heut Dato hir zu Wienn weggezogen. Bin sonnder Zweifel der Weida in der Walachey werde ab der Verordnung seiner Braut die Kay<serliche> May<estät> mit dem Harber hinein schickht gut gevallen tragen. Muessen manigerley nation der welt bei Kay <serliche> May<estät> erkennen lernen etc.*

The name of the bride to be or as well as her future fate are unknown. If she arrived in Suceava, she probably was married to Bogdan III, as we know also nothing of other Tartar raids. She could have been one of the daughters or nieces of Constantine Arianiti Comnen, Maximilian's Italian diplomat and advisor.

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<sup>59</sup> E.g. Vilmos Fraknói, *Ungarn und die Liga von Cambray* (Budapest 1883), p. 50-58, 61-64; Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, III, p. 138-142; Simon, 'Fata', p. 103-105 (Julius II died on February 21<sup>st</sup>).

<sup>60</sup> ATom, II (1854), no. 253, p. 205; nos. 269-270, p. 217-218; nos. 296-298, p. 226-227; *Hurmuzaki*, II-3, nos. 94-96, p. 87-89; nos. 100-101, p. 92-93; nos. 103-106, p. 94-96; *Relațiile*, I, no. 11, p. 73

<sup>61</sup> HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 23a-1, f. 133<sup>r</sup> (27<sup>th</sup> of August 1513); other data on the mission (unfortunately still unavailable to us) in LRAT, *Maximiliana*, fasc. XIII-256, ff. 49<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>r</sup> (9<sup>th</sup> of July 1513)

Maximilian addressed him as *Prince Constantine, Duke of Thessaly, Archaia, Macedonia, Our most-beloved blood-relative and captain-general* (1498). Such titles and such origins would have truly made Bogdan's bride an imperial gift<sup>62</sup>.

Probably related to some the most important Byzantine and Serbian families, brought up certainly in a pro-Catholic environment, the girl was a challenge for Selim, for the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Moldavian Metropoly. Whether or not, Bogdan got Pachomios (unlikely) approval of his marriage, his later actions showed that he was unwilling to give up crusader plans or an attack on Neagoe, perhaps also because for the Patriarchate he was just one of *the rulers* of Moldavia not *the ruler*. Moldavian domestic relations were already tense<sup>63</sup>.

## 2. The Conflict

Bogdan's troubles had not ended with the Tartar raids. In January 1514, he had to face an unnamed contender to the throne, so powerful, that not even Buda gave him a chance. Bogdan defeated the contender, probably supported by both the Ottomans, namely, and the Poles. It seemed as if hell had broken loose at the news of Bogdan III's planned marriage<sup>64</sup>.

### Muslim Interests and Christian Choices

In May 1513, the Ottoman threatened Hungary and Croatia, while Selim was still in Asia Minor chasing his opponents. Moreover, the Tartars were preparing to attack. Maximilian too took defensive measures against the *Turk*. Rhodes was menaced by Selim and called for help. It seemed as if the Ottoman actions of 1480 or 1484, in particular, were being repeated. Warfare in the Italian Peninsula continued, whereas in Rome a new pope had to be elected<sup>65</sup>.

Julius II had died. At the conclave, Bakócz, supported by Venice, came close to being elected pope (June). Bakócz got nothing but a crusade, a dream joined by Maximilian too. He began talking about liberating the Empire of Constantinople (September). At that time, Buda had given in to the Ottoman pressures and prolonged the truce. Counting on Szapolyai's support, who seemed

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<sup>62</sup> See Franz Babinger, 'Arianiti Comneno, Schwiegervater Skanderbegs', *SA*, I (1964), p. 139-147; Idem, *Das Ende der Arianiten* (=SBAW, NS, X, 4) (Munich 1960), p. 38 (note 2), 86 (note 4); Marianna Mur, *Die Ostpolitik Kaiser Maximilians I. in den Jahren 1506-1519*, PhD Thesis (Graz 1977), p. 111, 131

<sup>63</sup> *Ecthesis Chronica (Ecthesis Chronica and Chronicon Athenarum)*, edited by Spyridon P. Lambros (London 1902), p. 67, *Malaxos*, p. 140, 150. *Istoria 1290-1690*, p. 21; Mureșan, *Patriarcat*, p. 584-585

<sup>64</sup> E.g. DJAN-Brașov, A.S.K., *Fronius*, I, no. 121 (28<sup>th</sup> of January 1514; copy: MOL, DF 246560; edited under 1505 in *Hurmuzaki*, XV-1, no. 314, p. 170); Constantin Cihodaru, Pretendenți la tronul Moldovei între anii 1504 și 1538' [Contenders to the Moldavian Throne. 1504-1538], *AIHAI*, XIV (1977), p. 107, 112-114

<sup>65</sup> ASM, A.D.S., Potenze Estere, *Turchia*, cart. 646, fasc. 8, nn [January 1514]; *Ungheria*, cart. 645, fasc. 6, nn (15<sup>th</sup> of June 1514), HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 23a-1, ff. 38<sup>r</sup>, 49<sup>r</sup> (21<sup>st</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup> of May 1513)

to have promised Belgrade to Selim, the Ottomans had ravaged the southern parts of the kingdom (June-August). Political and social tension grew in Hungary<sup>66</sup>.

After long talks, the Ottoman-Venetian peace treaty was renewed in late October 1513. Selim had completed the preparations for his Persian campaign of 1514. He had prolonged his Hungarian truce and also drawn an alliance with Egypt, against which he had already received, in secret, Venice's future aid. Selim I seemed to have outmaneuvered his Christian counterparts in a manner that combined the strengths of both Mehmed II and Bayezid II<sup>67</sup>.

Selim, very tolerant towards Christians, dealt some of the hardest blows to his northern neighbors. This could hardly be viewed as a surprise. In 1514, Buda did not even have 8000 soldiers in paid service. In fact, in the first decades, the rulers of Hungary, Poland-Lithuania and their Walachian auxiliaries could gather, in revenue, only a third (800000 ducats) of the sultan's yearly budget. In return, yet at best, their combined 'professional' military troops could have been a match for the 70000-80000 strong sultanial armies. But this never happened<sup>68</sup>.

### **Ottoman Pressure and Moldavian Hopes**

After he had very respectfully addressed Bogdan III, as ruler from God's grace (1512), Selim sent his loyal Tartars to raid Moldavia in the summer of 1513. Even if Bogdan had not joined the various anti-Ottoman talks of the time and tried to fortify his position with Habsburg aid, Selim would have probably attacked him. His tribute doubled up to 8000 ducats (1514)<sup>69</sup>.

Still, in 1514, on his estate of Cetatea de Baltă (Küküllővár), Bogdan sheltered Mircea, former ruler of Walachia. Mircea, supported also by Szapolyai, claimed that he was ready to fight the *Turks*, Neagoe's supporters. In 1512, Mircea had failed to retake the throne. Likewise unsuccessful had been the attempt of 1508. Instigated by pope Julius II, Wladislaw and Bogdan had tried to enthrone Danciu, son of Basarab IV Țepeluș (the Little Impaler), sheltered by Szapolyai on his estates. Their old favorite Mihnea had sided with the *Turk*<sup>70</sup>.

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<sup>66</sup> E.g. HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 23a-1, ff. 73<sup>r</sup>-78<sup>r</sup>, 93<sup>r</sup>-94<sup>r</sup>; 114<sup>r</sup>-116<sup>v</sup>; fasc. 23a-2, f. 102<sup>r-v</sup>; fasc. 23a-3, ff. 55<sup>r</sup>-58<sup>r</sup>, 86<sup>r</sup>, 88<sup>r</sup>-89<sup>r</sup> (29<sup>th</sup> of May, 1<sup>st</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> of June, 14<sup>th</sup> of August, 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup>, 21<sup>st</sup> of September 1513); fasc. 23b-2, f. 74<sup>r</sup> [January-February 1514]; see also Bak, *Königtum*, p. 111 (note 5)

<sup>67</sup> E.g. ASVe, S.S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 46, cc. 3<sup>r</sup>, 29<sup>r-v</sup> (18<sup>th</sup> of August, 7<sup>th</sup> of December 1513); HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 25b-2, ff. 70<sup>r</sup>-71<sup>r</sup> (2<sup>nd</sup> of December 1514); Vaughan, *Pattern*, p. 100-101

<sup>68</sup> A. Kubinyi, 'Politika és honvédelem a Jagellók Magyarorszáგában' [Politics and Army in Jagellonian Hungary], *HK*, CXIII (2000), 2 p. 397-416; Simon, *Ștefan cel Mare și Matia Corvin*, p. 125-126, 433.

<sup>69</sup> Theodor Holban, *Documente românești din arhive polone și franceze* [Romanian Documents from Polish and French Archives], *AIPI*, XIII (1976), no. 3, p. 282; *Hurmuzaki*, II-3, no. 99, p. 91; no. 104, p. 93; no. 106, p. 97; no. 157, p. 171; *Monumenta 1514*, no. 2, p. 33; *Spandugino*, p. 179-180

<sup>70</sup> For instance: *Hurmuzaki*, II-2, nos. 453-455, p. 472-473; nos. 459-460, p. 577-579; II-3; no. 224, p. 307-309; XV-1, no. 401, p. 220; *Actae*, no. 84, p. 109; *Documente 1346-1603*, no. 230, p. 222

Due to Habsburg promises and the events of late 1513, the, against all odds, victorious, Bogdan was unwilling to completely abandon the very costly anti-Ottoman action. He hoped to profit from the Hungarian crusade, not yet a rebellion. His attitude stood in connection too, via Vienna, with the last Teuton attempts to make a regional impact. In this respect, after 1514, Moldavian deals and plans were thus more successful to the North than to the South<sup>71</sup>.

Hungary grew weaker and Poland more and more friendly with the *Turk*, Walachian options were rather limited, on a practical level, in particular for Moldavia and Bogdan III, who had a very different background than Walachia and Neagoe. Able to negotiate with and to profit from all sides, without engaging major conflicts, Neagoe's importance had by 1517 exceed that of Bogdan, who had his probably last major political opportunity in 1513-1514<sup>72</sup>.

### **Crusader Plans and Ottoman Facts**

Shortly before his death, Maximilian offered his crusade great design (1517-1518), which had to complete the Roman plans drawn by the Lateran V Council and pope Leon X. He was counting on all three Walachias (Muntenia, Oltenia and Moldavia) for his success. They were no longer labeled as lands from the Black Sea area that had to been liberated by king Henry VIII of England's crusader call, as suggested by the Hospitallers (1511). Paradoxically the events of 1513 and 1514 had fortified the written crusader position of the Walachians<sup>73</sup>.

Moldavia, ruled since 1517 by young Stephen IV, Bogdan III's son, wanted to retake the lost harbors. As no major anti-Ottoman action came together, Suceava focused on Tartar and Polish strifes (1519-1524). She witnessed the execution of the Polish Jagiellonian local party (1523), action which, due to the ensuing Moldavian rebellion and Hungarian distress, only came to Vienna's regional advantages. Stephen also aided retransforming Walachia, which he claimed to be his vassal state too, into a battlefield (1519-1525). Mohács war very near<sup>74</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> E.g. HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc. 24a-3, f. 91<sup>r-v</sup> (18<sup>th</sup> of March 1514); *Regesta historico-diplomatica*, I-1, no. 74, p. 229; no. 82, p. 237; I-3, *1511-1525* (1973), no. 22588, p. 187; no. 23264, p. 224

<sup>72</sup> E.g. *Hurmuzaki*, VIII, no. 55, p. 45; *Istvánffy* (1724), p. 89-93; Manole Neagoe, 'Despre politica externă a lui Neagoe Basarab' [On Neagoe Basarab's Foreign Policy], *Studii*, XIX (1966), 3, p. 745-764

<sup>73</sup> HHStA, R.H.K., *Maximiliana*, fasc.30b-2, ff. 130<sup>r</sup>-140<sup>v</sup> [Late 1517-Early 1518]; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, edited by John Sherren Brewer, I, *1509-1514* (London 1860), no. 766, p. 411; *Notes*, V, no. 75, p. 45; VI, no. 67, p. 96; *Hurmuzaki*, II-3, no. 63, p. 57; no. 121, p. 120; no. 122, p. 131; *Sanudo*, XXIV, cols. 473, 481; XXV, cols. 95-106; XXVI, cols. 265, 274, 415, 507

<sup>74</sup> E.g. ASVe, S.S., *Deliberazioni*, reg. 47, c. 86<sup>r-v</sup>; reg. 50, cc. 5<sup>r</sup>, 86<sup>r</sup> (5<sup>th</sup> of November 1517, 28<sup>th</sup> of March 1523, 23<sup>rd</sup> of July 1524); *Sanudo*, XXVI, col. 507; XXVII, cols. 80, 381, 405, 651; XXVIII, col. 162; XXIX, cols. 208; XXX, cols. 377, 397; XXXI, cols. 352; XXXII, col. 14; XXXIII, col. 116; XXXVI, col. 338

### **Diplomatic Prospects and Military Actions**

In 1516, *these provinces* [Walachia, Moldavia] *are placed as walls to both Our kingdoms* [Hungary, Poland] was a normal statement. Likewise normal was a later definition (1523). *Moldavia is like a bulwark to the Kingdom of Hungary, as well as to <the Kingdom> of Poland*. Moldavia had become the bulwark of a kingdom that, at Rákos (1505) and by Werbőczy's code (1517) had made the defense of Christendom one of its legal reasons of being<sup>75</sup>.

Though Walachian crusader glory lay in the past, such images and memories were vivid also in the West. They were fueled by kingdoms that had either outlived their crusader time (Hungary) or had never actually lived on (Poland). In 1514, as the Hungarian crusade turned into disaster, Sigismund wrote, in view of an even greater crusade, to Leon X on Stephen III's victories over Mehmed II and even Bayezid II, over John Albert and Matthias Corvinus<sup>76</sup>.

In 1519, Rome accepted Neagoe Basarab of Walachia and Stephen IV (Ștefăniță) of Moldavia, allies, both for Rome and Venice, but also rivals, in both places, as equal partners in the planned crusade and promised them lands that were to be retaken from the *Turk*. In 1521, when Belgrade fell, Stephen IV was advising both the *Christians* and the *Porte*. The sick Neagoe participated in the Ottoman attack on Hungary. The realm still claimed that could contribute 60000 soldiers to the crusade, but such claims now had negative effects (1524)<sup>77</sup>.

In summer 1526, Szapolyai's troops did not come to Mohács. Transylvania lay as a block between the realm's eastern vassals and its central parts, under Ottoman attack. Walachian and Moldavian troops were prevented too from aiding Louis II. Stephen IV was pressured by Ottoman and Tartars, as well as by Radu V of Walachia, who, in spite of the promises made to Louis II and Ferdinand I of Habsburg, decided to join the Ottomans, his former enemies<sup>78</sup>.

### **Political and Personal Survival**

As in the late 1490' and early 1500', Suceava still controlled its Transylvanian estates and received yearly subsidies from Buda. Still as in the previous decades, the estates were viewed as great threats to the realm's health.

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<sup>75</sup> *Hurmuzaki*, II-3, no. 193, p. 246; no. 310, p. 444; Bak, *Königstum*, Appendix, no. I-16, p. 158-159; *Sanudo*, XVIII, cols. 190, 329, 348; *Werbőczy* (1897), I, tit. 3, arts. 1-7, p. 57-59; *Szydlowiecki*, p. 318

<sup>76</sup> Károly Pekár, *I. Miksa császár három Magyar vonatkozású levelek* [Four Unknown Documents of Emperor Maximilian I. regarding Hungary], *TT*, XXVIII (1905), 2, no. 1, p. 301 (18<sup>th</sup> of January 1518); *Hurmuzaki*, II-3, no. 157, p. 171; II-4, no. 411, p. 554; VIII, nos. 56-57, p. 45-46; *Spandugino*, p. 18.

<sup>77</sup> E.g. HHStA, S.A., A.D.S., *Turcica*, I-1, fasc. 1-A, f. 12<sup>r</sup> (27<sup>th</sup> of April 1523; *Hurmuzaki*, II-3, no. 224, p. 308; no. 255, p. 362; no. 298, p. 433; VIII, no. 56, p. 45; *Documente turcești*, I, nos. 10-13, p. 11-15

<sup>78</sup> HHStA, S.A. A.D.S., *Hungarica*, I-2, fasc. 4, f. 18<sup>r</sup> (9<sup>th</sup> of August 1526); *Polonica*, I-1, fasc. 1-C, f. 1<sup>r</sup> (1<sup>st</sup> of January 1527); *Turcica*, I-1, fasc. 1-B, ff. 3<sup>r</sup>, 6<sup>r</sup>-9<sup>r</sup> (14<sup>th</sup>, 27<sup>th</sup> of February 1527); *Sanudo*, XLI, col. 119

The Moldavians, like other clans of Jagellonian Hungary, raided the neighboring lands. Moreover, in alliance with the *Turk*, they could have used their Transylvanian positions in order to attack the Hungarian kingdom from within<sup>79</sup>.

Though the problems caused by the estates were common knowledge, Buda could not avoid giving similar, yet smaller and southern, Transylvanian lands to Radu IV (1507-1508) and Neagoe (1517-1519). They had made great pressures and (Ottoman) threats in order to receive them. The crown thought, as in Moldavia's case, to be able to control them also by the contenders (and hostages), she, like the Porte, bread in Buda since the early 1400<sup>80</sup>.

Venetian reports of 1519 stated that the envoys of Walachia and Moldavia came to Buda on a monthly basis, for information and orders. Although, Radu IV had stated that *this kingdom* [Walachia] *exists as a member of the Kingdom of Walachia* (1507), the Walachias were not listed as such in Hungarian official records. Their voivodes were registered as barons of the realm, as John Szapolyai, voivode of the Transylvanian *regnum*. After emperor Maximilian had died too, Szapoyai was in fact the true master of the Hungarian kingdom<sup>81</sup>.

In 1521, *Iani*, probably the son of former Moldavian contender, Alexander, Stephen III's first legitimate son, asked Venice for her support. He had been in Maximilian's service and wanted take the Moldavian throne. Venice's, on good terms with Stephen IV, politely refuse. She did not want to interfere with affairs that were in the hands of Buda, Vienna or Istanbul. The republic took her distance from such Walachian matters which she knew quite well<sup>82</sup>.

## Abridgements

## Archives and Libraries

AGAD\*                      Archiwum Głowne Akt Dawnych [Central Archives of Historical Records], Warsaw (Warszawa, Warschau)

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<sup>79</sup> StAN, F.B.A., *Brandenburger Literalien*, no. 1056.1 (14<sup>th</sup> of March 1499; copy: MOL, DF 267261); *Hurmuzaki*, II-2, no. 322, p. 364; II-3, no. 358, p. 510; XV-1, no. 283, p. 155; no. 395, p. 219; no. 419, p. 269; *Actae*, no. 90, p. 122; *Konvent*, II, no. 3004, p. 151; no. 3010, p. 153; *Szydlowiecki*, p. 310, 312, 318

<sup>80</sup> MOL, DL 29023 (18<sup>th</sup> of February 1503), 30065 [1498?]; *Actae*, nos. 86-87, p. 112-119; Ferenc Forgach, *Rerum Hungaricarum sui temporis commentarii libri XXII* (Bratislava-Kosice 1788), p. 275

<sup>81</sup> *Hurmuzaki*, II-2, no. 401, p. 503; II-3, no. 224, p. 308; nos. 251-255, p. 357-362; XV-1, no. 327, p. 178; *Sanudo*, X, col. 849; XXVII, col. 497; CJH, 1514, art. 3, p. 708; *Werböczy* (1897), I, tit. 1, art. 4, p. 52

<sup>82</sup> For instance: *Hurmuzaki*, VIII, nos. 60-62; pp. 49-50; *Sanudo*, XXXI, col. 435; Al. Simon, 'Quello ch'e apresso el Turcho. About A Son of Stephen the Great', *AIRCRU*, VI-VII (2004-2005), p. 164-166

- Dokumente Pergaminowe (D.P.) *Hungaria*, nos. 5595-5596, 5621 (copy: MOL); *Moldavia*, nos. 5409-5411 (copy: MOL, DF, section U 1196)
- Metrika koronna [Crown Records] (M.K.), *Libri Legationum*, reg. I, ff. 92<sup>r</sup>-94<sup>v</sup>; reg. IV, IV, ff. 12<sup>r</sup>-14<sup>r</sup> (copies: MOL, DF, section U 1220).
- ASM Archivio di Stato di Milano, Milan
- Archivio Ducale Sforzesco (A.D.S.), Potenze estere, *Illiria, Polonia, Russia, Slavonia*, cart. 640 [1450-1531] (fasc. [1], *Illiria*, [2], *Ragusa*, [3], *Polonia*, [4] *Ragusa-Ungheria*); *Turchia*, cart. 646 (fasc. [1], 1460-1461, [2], 1470, [3], 1471, [4], 1481-1490, [5], 1491-1492; [6], 1497, [7], 1494-1499, [8], *Turchia, Grecia e altre terre, Rodi*); *Ungheria*, cart. 645, 1491-1536 (fasc. [1], 1491, [2], 1492, [3], 1493, [4], 1494, [5], 1495-1497, 1499, [6], 1513-1514, 1524, 1530, 1533-1536, [7], 1491-1497, 1499, 1513-1514, 1524, 1530, 1533-1536); cart. 650, 1452-1490 [1441] (fasc. [1], 1452-1457, [2], 1458-1466, [3], 1467-1490)
- ASVe Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Venice
- Senato Secreto [Senato Secreti] (S.S.), *Deliberazioni*, reg. 36, 1496-1497 [MV 1498], reg. 37, 1498-1499 [MV 1500], reg. 38, 1500-1501, reg. 39, 1502-1503, reg. 40, 1504-1506, reg. 41, 1506-1507, reg. 42, 1508-1509 [MV 1510], reg. 43, 1510, reg. 44, 1510 [MV 1511]-1512; reg. 45, 1512-1513, reg. 46, 1513-1515, reg. 47, 1516-1518, reg. 48, 1519-1521, reg. 49, 1522 [MV 1523], reg. 50, 1523-1525, reg. 51, 1526 [MV 1527]
- BMC Biblioteca Museo Correr, Venice
- Manoscritti*, Mss. 310 (Archivio Morosini e Grimani, no. 124)
- BNM Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice
- Ufficio Manoscritti/ Codices: Codici Latini (Cod. Lat). XIV, *Miscellanea*, no. 100 (=4279)
- DJAN-Braşov\* Direcția Județeană a Arhivelor Naționale, filiala Braşov [Romanian National Archives- Braşov County Branch], Braşov (Kronstadt, Brassó)
- Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt/ Arhiva Oraşului Braşov [The Archive of the City of Braşov] (A.S.K.), *Arhiva familiei Fronius/ Fronius Familiennachlaß (Fronius)*, I, no. 121 (copy: MOL, DF, section U 445)
- EA Erdödy Archiv, Vienna (deposited in HHStA, in the *Familien Archive* collection)

- Nos. 1037 (Ladula 78, fasc. 15, no. 1), 11176 (Ladula 65, fasc. 2, no. 13)
- ELTEK Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Könyvtár [The Library of the “Eötvös Loránd” University, Budapest  
Kézirattár (Codices), *Diplomatarium Autographum*, O8 (copy: MOL, DF, section U 1008); *Kaprinai*, A (in folio), [toms] LI
- HHStA Haus-, Hofs- und Saatsarchiv, Vienna (Wien, Bécs)  
Mainzer Erzkanzlerarchiv (M.E.A.), *Reichstagakten*, [Karton] 3a, 1442-1551, 1480-1512 (= fasc. [reg.] 1, 1480, 1486, 1487, 1488, 1489, 1491, 1497, 1498, 1500, 1505, 1507, 1510, 1512)  
Reichshofkanzlei (R.H.K.), *Fridericiana* (1442-1493), [Karton] 7, 1488-1490 (fasc. 7[-2, 1488], fasc. 8[-1, 1489, 2, 1490]), R.H.K. *Maximiliana* (1447-1519), [Karton] 7, 1497 April-Oktober (fasc. 4a[-2, 1497 April-Mai, 3, 1497 Juni-Juli], fasc. 4b[-1, 1497 August, 2, 1497 September-Oktober]), [Karton] 14, 1504 April-1505 März (fasc. 8b[-1, 1504 April-Mai, 2, 1504 Juni-August, 3, 1504 September-Dezember], fasc. 9a[-1, 1505 Januar-März]); [Karton] 15, 1505 April-September (fasc. 9a [-2, April 1505, 3, Mai-Juni 1505], 9b [-1, Juli-September 1505]); [Karton] 16, 1505 Oktober-1506 Juni, fasc. 9b [-2, Oktober-Dezember 1505], fasc. 10a [-1, Januar-Mai 1506, 2, Juni-Juli 1506]; [Karton] 17, 1506 Juli-1507 Mai (fasc. 10b [-1, Juli-September 1506, 2, Oktober-Dezember 1506], fasc. 11 [-1, Januar-Mai 1507]); [Karton] 18, 1507 Juni-1508 Februar (fasc. 11 [-2, Juni-September 1507, 3, Oktober-November 1507, 4, Dezember 1507-Januar 1508], fasc. 12 [-1, Februar 1508]; [Karton] 19, 1508 März-November, fasc. 12 [-2, März 1508, 3, April 1508], fasc. 13 [-1, Mai 1508, 2, Juni-November 1508]; [Karton] 20, 1508 Dezember-1509 Juni (fasc. 13 [-3, Dezember 1508], fasc. 14a [-1, Januar-März 1509, 2, April-Mai 1509, 3, Juni 1509]), [Karton] 21, 1509 Juli-1510 März (fasc. 14b [-1, Juli 1509, 2, August-September 1509, 3, Oktober-Dezember 1509], fasc. 15a [-1, Januar-März 1510]), [Karton] 22, 1510 April-September (fasc. 15a [-2, April-Mai 1510], fasc. 15b [-1, Juni 1510, 2, Juli 1510, 3, August 1510, 4, September 1510]), [Karton] 23, 1510 Oktober-1511 Februar (fasc. 16 [-1, Oktober 1510, 2, November-Dezember 1510, 3, 1510 o.T], fasc. 17 [-1, Januar 1511, 2, Februar 1511]); [Karton] 24, 1510 [corect 1511]



- März-Juni* [/ *Juli*], fasc. 17 [-3, *März 1511*], fasc. 18 -1, *April 1511*, 2, *Mai 1511*, 3, *Juni/ Juli 1511*]; [Karton] 25, *1511 Juli-Oktober*, fasc. 19a [-1, *Juli 1511*, 2, *August 1511*, 3, *September 1511*], fasc. 19b [-1, *Oktober 1511*], [Karton] 29, *1513 März-September* (fasc. 22 [-3, *März-April 1513*], fasc. 23a-[1, *1513 Mai-Juni*, 2, *1513 Juli-August*, 3, *1513 September*]); [Karton] 30, *1513 Oktober-1514 Februar*, fasc. 23b [-1, *Oktober 1513*, 2, *November-Dezember 1513*], fasc. 24a [-1, *Januar-Februar 1514*]; [Karton] 31, *1514 März-Juni*, fasc. 24a [-2, *März 1514*], fasc. 24b [-1, *April-Mai 1514*, 2, *Juni 1514*]; [Karton] 33, *1514 November-1515 Juni*, fasc. 25b [-2, *November-Dezember 1514*], fasc. 26 [-1, *Januar-Februar 1515*, 2, *März-April 1515*, 3, *Mai-Juni 1515*]; [Karton] 37, *1517 Juli-1518 Juni* (fasc. 30b [-1, *Juli-August 1517*, 2, *September-Dezember 1517*], fasc. 31a [-1, *Januar-Juni 1518*]), [Karton] 41, *Undatiert. II.28–III.12* (fasc. 33b-II. *Reichsakten* [-28, *Kurfürsten*], fasc. 34-III. *Auswärtigen Staaten* [-1, *Aragonien und Castilien*, 2, *England*, 3, *Frankreich*, 4-11, *Italien*, 12, *Türken*)).  
Reichsregisterbücher (R.R.B.), reg. *JJ*  
Staatenabteilungen (S.A.), Ausserdeutsche Staaten (A.D.S.), *Hungarica* (*Ungarische Akten*), *Allgemeine Akten* (A.A.), I, [Karton] 2 (I-2), *1526* [*1525-1527*] (fasc. 1, *1526 Januar-Juni*, fasc. 2, *1526 Juli-September*, fasc. 3, *1526 Oktober-Dezember*, fasc. 4, *1526 Ohne Datum*, fasc. 5, *1526 Nachtrag*); *Polonica*, [Abteilung] I, [Karton] 1, (*1257*) *1468-1530* (fasc. 1[-A, *1257-1529*, B, *1468-1526*, C, *1527-1528*, D, *1529*, E, *1530*]); *Turcica*, [Abteilung] I, [Karton] 1, *1521-1530* (fasc. 1 [A], *1521-1526*, fasc. 2 [B], *1527*, fasc. 3 [C], *1528*, fasc. 4 [D], *1529*, fasc. 5 [E], *1530*)  
Urkundenabteilung (U.A.), Allgemeine Urkundenreihe-Abschriftensammlung (A.U.R.), [ad annum] *1506*, III.20, 27; *1507*, X.11-12, XI. 12
- LRAT Landes- und Regierungsarchiv von Tirol/ Tiroler Landesarchiv, Innsbruck
- MOL *Maximiliana*, I, fasc. 40-41 (XXIII-256[-IX])  
Magyar Országos Levéltár [The National Hungarian Archives], Budapest  
*Antemohacsiana* [Medieval Documents prior to 1526] (Q section) *Diplomatikai Levéltár* [Diplomatic Archive] (DL), 20346 (Q 311; *Kincstári levéltár* [The Archive of the Treasury] (E); MKA, *Neo-regestrata*

- Acta*), 21567 (Q 343; Erdélyi Országos kormányhátósági levéltár [The Government Archive of Transylvania] (F), *Erdélyi Kincstári Levéltár. Erdélyi Fiscalis Levéltár* [The Archive of the Transylvanian Treasury), 21783 (Q 311; Kincstári levéltár [The Archive of the Treasury] (E); MKA, *Neo-regestrata Acta*), 29023 (Q 325; Erdélyi Országos kormányhátósági levéltár The Government Archive of Transylvania] (F), KKOL, *Miscellanea*), 30065 (Q 327; Erdélyi Országos kormányhátósági levéltár The Government Archive of Transylvania] (F), GYKOL, *Cista comitatum: Szolnok Interior-Szatmár*) (U section) Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény [Diplomatic Collection of Copies] (DF) 246560 (U 445, DJAN-Braşov, A.S.K., *Fronius*, I), 267261 (U 659; StAN, F.B.A., *Brandenburger Literalien*), 278383 (U 863, SUAB, L-I, E.C.L., *Galgóci Hitbizományi*, Oklevelek), 283446 (U 1008; ELTEK, Kézirattár, *Diplomatium Autographum*), 288973-288975, 289016-289017, 289021 (U 1196; AGAD, D.P., *Moldavia, Hungaria*), 290310-290312, 290338 (U 1220; AGAD, M.K., *Libri Legationum*)
- StAN Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Nürnberg  
Fürstentum Brandenburg-Ansbach (F.B.A.),  
*Brandenburger Literalien*, no. 1056.1 (copy: MOL, DF, section U 659)
- SUAB Státny Ústredný Archív [The <Slovakian> State Archives], Bratislava (Pressburg, Pozsony)  
[Section] L, Rody i panstavá [Families and Domains], I. Rody [Families] (L-I), Erdödy Ústredný Archív/ Erdődi család levéltára [Archive of the Edrödy Family] (E.C.L.). *Galgóci Hitbizományi Archív/ Galgóci Hitbizományi levéltár* [Archive of the Galgóci-Hitbizomány Family], Oklevelek [Documents and Letters], no. 108 (copy: MOL, DF, section U 873)

## Journals, Reviews and Collections (Series)

- AARMSI Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Sectiunii Istorice [The Annals of the Romanian Academy. The Memoirs of the Historical Section], Bucharest, 1880-

AG	Arhiva Genealogică [The Genealogical Archive], Iași, 1912-1913, (1989) 1994-
AIIAI	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie (și Arheologie, from 1972) "A.D. Xenopol" [Yearbook of the "A.D. Xenopol" Institute for History <and Archaeology>], Iași, 1964-1989
AII(A)C	Anuarul Institutului de Istorie (și Arheologie, 1971-1990) din Cluj- Napoca [Yearbook of the Institute for History <and Archaeology> of Cluj-Napoca], Cluj<-Napoca> (Klausenburg, Kolozsvár), 1958-
AIR	[B. Petriceicu-Hăjdêu] Archiva istorică a României. Collecțiune critică de documente asupra trecutului român, începând de la timpuri cele mai depărtate și până la anul 1800 [The Historical Archive of Romania: Critical Collection of Documents regarding the Romanian Past, from the Oldest Times up to the year 1800], Bucharest, [1864-] 1865-1867, 2004-
AIRCRU	Annuario del Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica di Venezia, Venice, 1999-
Apulum	Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis, Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Weissenburg), 1939-
ArchT	Archeografo triestino, Trieste, 1829-
ASLH	Universitas Iagiellonica. Acta Scientiarum Litterarumque. Schedae Historicae, Kraków, 1902-
AŞD	Anuarul Şcolii Doctorale "Istorie. Civilizație. Cultură" [Yearbook of the Doctoral School "History. Civilization. Culture"], Cluj-Napoca (Klausenburg, Kolozsvár), 2005-
ATom	<i>Acta Tomiciana</i> , Krakow, Wrocław, Poznań, 1850-1946
BBRF	Buletinul Bibliotecii Române din Freiburg. Studii și documente românești [The Bulletin of the Romanian Library of Freiburg. Romanian Studies and Documents], Freiburg, 1949-
CJH	Corpus Juris Hungarici. Magyar Törvénytár, Budapest, 1896-1945
ETTK	Értekezések a történeti tudományok köréből [Memoirs of the Historical Scientific Section <of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences>], Budapest, 1867-1917
FRT	Fontes Rerum Transylvanicarum. Erdélyi történelmi források, Budapest-Kolozsvár (Cluj, Klausenburg), 1911-1921
JDRDK	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Reiches und der Deutschen Kirche, Leipzig, 1872-1916
MAPS	Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1933
MHG	Mélanges d'Histoire Générale, Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg), [1922] 1927-1938, NS, [2004] 2007-

MHH	Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Magyar történelemi emlékek, I, Diplomataria; II, Scriptorum; IV, Acta Extera, Pest, Budapest, 1857-1917
MMP	Monumenta Medii aevi res gestas Poloniae illustrantia, Krakow (Kraków, Krakau) 1861-1938
MPH	<i>Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Pomniki Dziejowe Polski</i> , Leipzig, Lwów, Krakow, Warsaw, 1864-1893; new series, 1946-
MSV	Monumenti Storici Publicati dalla Deputazione Veneta di Storia patria, Venice, 1876-
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica, Rome, 1935-
OGS	Osmanische Geschichtsschreiber, Graz-Vienna-Cologne, 1955-1981, NS, 1982-
QCR	Quaderni della Casa Romana di Venezia, Venice, 2001-
RIS	[Lodovico Antonio Muratori], <i>Rerum Italicarum Scriptorum</i> . Raccolta degli storici italiani dal cinquecento al Millecinquecento, Mediolani (Milan), 1723-1751; Città di Castello-Bologna, 1900- (new extended edition, under the direction of Giosue Carducci, Vittorio Fiorini)
SA	Studia Albanica, Tirana, 1964-
SBAW	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, München, 1 <sup>st</sup> series, 1871-1928; 2 <sup>nd</sup> series, 1929-1944; 3 <sup>rd</sup> (new) series, 1944/1946-
SMIM	Studii și materiale de istorie medie [Studies and Materials in Medieval History], Bucharest, Brăila, 1956-
SOF	Südost-Forschungen: internationale Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Kultur und Landeskunde Südosteuropas, Munich, 1936-
SRPol	Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum, Krakow (Kraków, Krakau), 1872-1917
Studii 1948-1973	Studii. Revistă de istorie [Studies. Historical Review], Bucharest, 1948-1973
Sz	Századok [Centuries], Budapest, 1867-
TR	Transylvanian Review/ Revue de Transylvanie, Cluj-Napoca, 1992-
(M)TT	(Magyar) Történelmi Tár [(Hungarian) Historical Archive] (1878-1911), Buda(pest), 1855-1934

## Sources, Chronicles and Histories

<i>Acta Alexandri</i>	<i>Acta Alexandri Regis Poloniae, magni ducis Lithuaniae, etc. (1501-1506)</i> (= MMP, XIX), edited by Fryderik Papée (Krakow 1927)
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- Actae* *Actae et epistolae relationum Transylvaniae Hungariaeque cum Moldavia et Valachia* (=FRT, IV, VI), edited by Endre Veress (Budapest 1914-1921); 2 volumes.  
I, 1468-1540 (1914)
- Bayezid* *Der fromme Sultan Bayezid. Die Geschichte seiner Herrschaft (1481-1512) nach den altosmanischen Chroniken des Oruç und des Anonymus Hanivaldanus* (=OGS, IX), edited by Richard F. Kreutel (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1978)
- Bonfini* (1936-1941) [Antonio Bonfini] Antonius de Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, edited by József Fögel, László Juhász, Béla Iványi (Leipzig 1936-1941); 4 volumes.
- CDH *Codex Diplomaticus Partium Regno Hungariae Adnexarum. Magyarország Melléktartományainak Oklevéltára* (=MMH, I, 31, 33, 36, 40) (Budapest 1903-1915); 4 volumes  
II, Lajos Thallóczy, Antal Aldásy, *A Magyarország és Szerbia közti összeköttetések ok-levéltára. 1198-1526* [Documents regarding the Relations at the Meeting-Point between Hungary and Serbia. 1198-1526] (1907) (*Szerbia*), IV, Lajos Thallóczy, Sándor Horváth, *Jajcza (Bánság, vár és város) története 1450-1527* [The History of the Banate, Fortress and Town of Jajce. 1459-1527] (1915) (*Jajcza*)
- CJH *1000-1526. évi törvényczikkek* [The Law Articles <issued> between 1000 and 1526] (=CJH, [V]), edited by Gyula Nagy, Sándor Kolosvári, Kelemen Óvári Kelemen, Dezső Márkus (Budapest 1899) [we use the conventional abridgement, although it stands also for the name of the series]
- Cronicile* *Cronicile slavo-române din secolele XV-XVI publicate de Ioan Bogdan* [The Slavic-Romanian Chronicles of the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> Centuries edited by Ioan Bogdan], edited by P[etre]. P[etre]. Panaitescu (Bucharest 1959)
- Documente 1346-1603* Grigore Tocilescu, *534 documente slavo-române din Țara Românească și Moldova privitoare la legăturile cu Ardealul. 1346-1603. Din arhivele orașelor Brașov și Bistrița* [534 Slavic-Romanian Documents from Walachia and Moldavia regarding the Relations to Transylvania. 1346-1603. From the Archives of the Cities Brașov (Kronstadt, Brassó) and Bistrița (Bistriz, Besztrece)] (Bucharest 1931 [Vienna 1905])
- Documente Ștefan* Ioan Bogdan, *Documentele lui Ștefan cel Mare* [The Documents of Stephen the Great] (Bucharest 1913); 2 volumes  
II, *Hrisoave și cărți domnești 1493-1503. Tractate, acte omagiale, solii, privilegii comerciale, salv-conducte. Scrisori 1457-1503* [Princely Charters and Documents. 1493-1503.

- Treaties, Homages, Commercial Privileges, Safe-conducts, Letter 1457-1503] (1913)
- Documente turcești* *Documente turcești privind istoria României* [Turkish Documents on the History of Romania] (Bucharest 1976-1986); 3 volumes
- I, 1417-1774, edited by Mustafa Ali Mehmet
- Frammenti* Lajos de Thallóczy, *Frammenti relativi alla storia dei paesi situati all'Adria* (offprint *ArchT*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, VII, 1913, 1) (Trieste 1913)
- Grèce* C[onstantin]. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Âge* (Paris 1880-1890); 9 volumes/ 1 series IX (1890)
- GVU *Decreta Regni Hungariae. Gesetze und Verordnungen Ungarns*, edited by Ferenc Döry, György Bónis, Géza Érszegi, Zsuzsa Teke, Vera Bácskai (Budapest 1976-1989); 2 volumes [II], 1458-1490 (1989)
- Historia* [Giovanni Maria Angiolello] Donado Da Lezze, *Historia Turchesca*, edited by I[oa]n. Ursu (Bucharest 1910)
- Historia PPC* *Historia Politica et Patriarchica Constantinopoleos. Epirotica* (= *CSHB*, III), edited by Immanuel Bekker (Bonn 1849).
- Hurmuzaki* Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* [Documents regarding the History of the Romanians] (Bucharest-Cernăuți (Czernovits) 1887-1942); 15 (17) toms/ 45 volumes
- II-2, 1451-1510, editor Nicolae Densușianu (1891); II-3, 1510-1530, editor Nicolae Densușianu (1893); VIII, 1376-1650 [editor Ioan Slavici?] (1894); XV-1, *Acte și scrisori din arhivele orașelor ardelene Bistrița, Brașov, Sibiu, 1358-1600* [Documents and Letters from the Archives of the Transylvanian Cities Bistrița (Bistritz, Besztrece), Brașov (Kronstadt, Brassó), Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Szeben), editor Nicolae Iorga (1911). supl. II-1, *Documente culese din archive și biblioteci polone 1510-1600* [Documents Collected from Polish Archives and Libraries], editor Ioan Bogdan (1893)
- Istoria 1290-1690* *Istoria Țării Românești 1290-1690. Letopisețul Cantacuzinesc* [The History of Walachia. 1290-1690. The Kantakuzenos Chronicle], edited by Constantin Grecescu, Dan Simionescu (Bucharest 1960)
- Istvánffy* (1724) [Miklós Istvánffy/ Istvánfi] Nicolaus Isthvánffy, *Regni Hungarici historia post obitum gloriosissimi Mathiae Corvini Regis libris XXXIV, ab anno 1490 exacte descripta* (Coloniae Agrippinae [Köln] 1724)

<i>Materialy</i>	<i>Materialy do dziejów dyplomacji polskiej z lat 1486-1516 (Kodeks Zagrzebski)</i> [Documents for the History of the Polish Diplomacy in the Years 1486-1516 (The Zagreb Codex)], edited by József Garbacik, Wrocław-Warsaw-Krakow, 1966
MDE	Iván Nagy, Albert B. Nyáry, <i>Magyar diplomáciai emlékek. Mátyás király korából 1458-1490</i> [Souvenirs of the Hungarian Diplomacy: The Age of King Matthias. 1458-1490] (= <i>MHH</i> , IV, 1-4) (Budapest 1875-1878); 4 volumes IV, [1489-1490; 1458-1490] (1878)
MHS	Viaceslav Makusev, <i>Monumenta Historica Slavorum Meridionalum vicinorumque populorum e tabularis et bibliothecis italicis derompta</i> (Warsaw (Warszawa), Belgrade (Beograd, Nándorfehérvár) 1874-1882); 1 tom/ 2 volumes I-1, <i>Ancona-Bononia-Florentia</i> (1874), I-2, <i>Genua, Mantua, Mediolanum, Panormus et Taurinum</i> (1882)
<i>Monumenta 1514</i>	<i>Monumenta rusticorum in Hungaria rebellium anno MDXIV</i> , edited by Antál Fekete Nagy, Victor Kenéz, László Solymosi, Géza Érszegi (Budapest 1979)
<i>Notes</i>	Nicolae Iorga, <i>Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle</i> (Bucharest 1899-1916); 6 volumes V, 1476-1500 (1915); VI, 1500-1547 (1916)
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# THE PLACE OF VENICE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN IN THE VISION OF FERNAND BRAUDEL

*Florina CIURE*

**Abstract:** *In this survey, we have tried to present Fernand Braudel's vision on Venice in the context of the political and economic events in the 15<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries that he analysed in his synthesis entitled *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Epoque de Philippe II*. In this synthesis, the French historian provided a general framework of the Venetian society in the period mentioned above, bringing to the foreground the role this republic played in the universal history. At the end, Braudel expressed his conviction that, despite the many difficulties, Venice managed to preserve its domination in the Mediterranean Sea. They managed to do it through a skilful diplomacy ending in a series of treaties with the great powers of the time (Spain, Portugal, the Ottoman Empire) through which the Venetian republic preserved its commercial privileges.*

**Keywords:** Venice, Braudel, Mediterranean, commerce, piracy

Amongst the cities of the world, Venice has a special place. Who has not wished to see its wonders mirrored in the translucent waters of the lagoon? But of course, the Venetian lagoon originally differed from the quiet and populated city of today. Throughout thousands of years, the Adriatic tides and the rivers have moulded the seaside by creating lagoons and swamps interrupted by distanced, or close, small isles separated by muddy creeks. Little by little, a Roman origin population settled here; they were mainly concerned with fishing and salt exploitations. Here, at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D., found shelter those running away from the migrating peoples. Amongst the lacustrine houses and huts made of bulrush and reed, the exiled established stabile and autonomous settlements digging channels, building moles and draining the moors. As they could not take what they needed from the continent, the Venetians became sailors and merchants, thus orienting their life and culture towards the sea<sup>1</sup>.

If at the beginning they ventured in their boats to Ravenna and Trieste to exchange salt for wine and wheat, in time they managed to cross all the Adriatic Sea in small ships taking goods of any kind up to the far Byzantium<sup>2</sup>. For centuries, Venice was in fact the central point of exchange with the Orient: the most varied products brought by caravans from Asia and India, from the Far

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<sup>1</sup> Maurizio Vittoria, *Breve storia di Venezia, Dalle origini ai giorni nostri*, Roma, 1997, p. 7

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 8

East to the coasts of the Mediterranean found Venetian ships and merchants to bring them to Italy and spread them on the most important markets in Europe. Venetian colonies were established in the great centres in the Mediterranean area, in Constantinople, Trebizond, Tanah, Thessaloniki, Adrianople, Beirut, Alep, Jerusalem, Damascus, Alexandria, and Cairo<sup>3</sup>.

Fernand Braudel's synthesis on *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Epoque de Philippe II* presented the events in the 15<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, thus providing a general framework for the Venetian society, bringing to the foreground the role this republic played in universal history. It was possible due to the detailed research of the Venetian sources. Braudel collected the information at the Museo Correr, the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana and particularly at the National Archives in Venice.

Obviously, there were several cities in such areas, but they did not have the fate Venice had. The great historian Nicolae Iorga wondered why of all such cities, only one, Venice, was able to conquest so many territories and could have so many ships and dominate such large territories. The answer – according to Iorga – has to be found at the beginnings of Venice's history. "Besides its special location at the sheltered end of a wide open sea both on the western and the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, there was a need for certain race traditional qualities and certain political connections, on the other side. The Venetians are a sort of amphibians in lifestyle; but they had to be amphibians in their political connections, too; for a politician, it is abhorring to be an amphibian, but for a state it is very good to be one in certain circumstances to be able to live in two different environments"<sup>4</sup>.

Their political skills were determining in preserving the sovereignty of the state for such a long time, as Venice had to face the pressure of the great European powers: Spain, France, Portugal, and the Ottoman Empire. They managed to sign several treaties with them granting them commercial privileges. The Venice policy concerning the Ottomans was determined by their economic and commercial interests, as it depended to a large extent on the Balkans wheat in the north of the Black Sea and even Syria. It could only be purchased on the basis of some licences granted by the Turks and due to the military weakness of the Venetian possessions spread in the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea<sup>5</sup>.

Analysing the Venetian limes, Fernand Braudel reached the conclusion that the defence line lasted precisely due to its weakness. In front of the Turks, the Seniority spread its forts and surveillance points on the coasts of Istria, Dalmatia and Albania to the Ionic isles and beyond them to meet Candia and Cyprus. Venice has often been compared to the British Empire; then, Venice at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century would be just like the British Empire without

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 36

<sup>4</sup> Nicolae Iorga, *Scrieri istorice*, vol. II, București, 1971, p. 172

<sup>5</sup> Eugen Denize, *Veneția și Țările Române, Relații politice 1440-1541*, București, 1995, p. 180

reaching India. However, Venice's border possessions were made up of minuscule elements, of often archaic fortresses, of cities and isles barely counting some thousands of inhabitants. This empire counting 400,000 inhabitants was practically nothing demographically as compared to Venice and Terraferma, who had a global population of about 1,500,000 inhabitants. So, it is a miracle that the barrier lasted near the Turks. The uncanny Venetian solidity – concluded Braudel – was a triumph of adaptation, the result of repeated balanced measures: detailed maintenance of positions, the watch of the Arsenal, this powerful plant, the ceaseless circulation of ships and galleys<sup>6</sup>.

At the other end of the chain, in the north, at the borders of Istria and Friuli, Venice neighboured the Habsburg lands. The burning issue between Venice and the Habsburgs was represented by the sovereignty in the Adriatic Sea. Claiming the tradition according to which Pope Alexander III acknowledged in 1177 the domination over the Adriatic that he called the Bay of Venice and the duty to fight against the pirates as early as the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the Seniority assumed the right to forbid the access of all armed ships to this sea. They imposed determined routes for merchant ships and duties, and even to unload the goods in Venice<sup>7</sup>. Braudel gave the example of a decision of the Seniority in 1518 imposing the carters to be able to leave Candia, Naples, Romagna, Corfu and Dalmatia only if they deposited capital, thus guaranteeing that their goods would be brought to Venice<sup>8</sup>.

An important issue for the Republic was ensuring the security of transports in the Adriatic Sea, as they had a diffuse and ceaseless war against piracy. If the 15<sup>th</sup> century was favourable to Catalan piracy, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Turkish piracy developed; as all the piracy world at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century – said Braudel – had something to do with the Republic of San Marco and lives at its expense. In vain do the galleys of the Serenissim guard. There are several means – should there be only the tax from its merchants in Taranto – to determine the Seniority to weaken the grasp. Indeed, it gets bans against pirates from Naples and Sicily from Philip II<sup>9</sup>. But, as Fernand Braudel noticed, before the former half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Uskoci from Segna and Fuime would give much trouble to the Serrenisim to their final annihilation in 1617<sup>10</sup>. In the memory of the important campaign against pirates in

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<sup>6</sup> Fernand Braudel, *Mediterrana și lumea mediteraneană în epoca lui Filip al II-lea* (hereinafter: F. Braudel, *Mediterrana ...*), vol. IV, București, 1986, p. 241-242

<sup>7</sup> M. Vittoria, *op. cit.*, p. 45-46

<sup>8</sup> F. Braudel, *Mediterrana ...*, vol. IV, p. 227

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 297

<sup>10</sup> F. Braudel, *Mediterrana ...*, vol. I, p. 230; the Uskoci were Slavic populations seeking refuge from the Ottomans on the Dalmatian coasts that were controlled by the Habsburgs (see Kálmán Benda, *Les uscoques entre Venise, la Porte ottomane et la Hongrie*, în *Venezia e Ungheria nel contesto del barocco europeo*, volume coordinated by Vittore Branca, Florence, 1979, p. 399-408; Paolo Morachiello, Giovanni Scarabello, *Venezia, declino e ricordo della Serenissima*, (Venice), 2000, p. 10-11

999, they instituted the holiday that would be celebrated for centuries as the “marriage to the sea”, the symbolic union of Venice and the finally free sea, a celebration mentioned by Fernad Braudel. In “Bucentaure”, the great ship adorned with all the doge signs is followed by a procession of adorned boats, and the Doge made for the opening of the San Nicolo de Lido harbour and threw a golden ring in the water saying: “We marry you, sea, as a sign a true and perpetual domination”<sup>11</sup>.

“National holidays” were so often in the conquering and rich Venice that the people had plenty of them. Even when a ship arrived was a kind of national holiday! At peace, ships were coming with the wealth of the world, the bells were tolling in San Marco and everybody was running to see Riva degli Schiavoni: it was a universal joy that transports escaped storms and enemies and were there to make each of them rich. Then, even the poorest of them all, the beggar living from the goodness of those coming with a silver coin back home, was proud to be part of the political body of the “Venetian nation”. Even the last porter helping to unload on the Riva degli Schiavoni carrying the wealth brought by the Venetian ships was aware of the significance of Venice and had the sense of the duty on him, the poor, the humble, the disdained; this significance was another proof – as Iorga put it – “that peoples raise only through their moral value, live only through this moral value and, no matter how much and what they want, they cease being respected creatures and independent bodies when this moral value has vanished”<sup>12</sup>.

“In Venice, where I have analysed things closely – confessed Braudel –, I was impressed by the importance of the buildings and of making the city beautiful starting with 1450, of the change of wooden bridges over the channels in stone bridges, of digging such a large fountain near the Santa Maria de Broglio church in August 1459, of building a new loggia *in loco Rivolati* in May 1459, where they eliminated the weavers’ shops to continue the works at the Doges’ Palace.”<sup>13</sup>

The centuries between wars and commerce made Venice a real jewel. Groups of artists and artisans devoutly and passionately worked on islands once covered with bulrush and reed. Thus, instead of wooden and straw huts, there were churches and palaces, gardens and parks. Precious golden mosaics were shining in the sun, other palaces were mirrored in the Canal Grande; art and nature were intertwined in an unreal fantastic beauty. Precious glass objects were made in ovens and gondolas tastefully embellished were crossing the channels; all this made the Venetians love their country represented as a very beautiful and flourishing lady. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, there were 150,000 inhabitants in Venice and hundreds of tourists were coming from all over the world to see the city with “water instead of pavement” and the “gondola as a

<sup>11</sup> M. Vittoria, *op. cit.*, p. 43

<sup>12</sup> N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 204

<sup>13</sup> F. Braudel, *Mediterranean ...*, vol. IV, p. 325

horse”, as a Spanish traveller at the epoch wrote<sup>14</sup>. Those visiting Venice were impressed not only by its beauty, but also by the wealth of everything in the city markets. Braudel gave the example of Commynes and Bandello, the latter being blinded by “the great wealth of all good things to eat”<sup>15</sup>.

Venice lived from the sea it was born from. The river systematisation and deviation threatening the navigation in the lagoon was subject to thorough surveys and difficult works and the Government would not hesitate to face a war to fulfil the hydraulic works they considered necessary to prevent harm and to make sure that even big ships could be anchored in the San Marco basin and unload their goods in the Rialto square.

As a matter of fact, there was no winter when the rivers did not break through the dams, or when the cities could escape the flood disasters. Venice was the best example in point; for instance, in November 1493, the damage was huge; on 18 December 1600, in an identical catastrophe, the dimes, houses, private shops on the ground floor and the public shops for salt, wheat, and spices had great losses<sup>16</sup>. In 1525, the transit of commercial ships in the harbour of San Nicolo, which was far from San Marco, was interrupted<sup>17</sup>. Fernand Braudel made a detailed description of the measures taken by the Seniority that saved half of the Venetian lagoons amongst which the sewerage of the Brenta river, or the change of the Po course. Relevant were also the improvements of the Venetian field; these improvement processes were executed by private entities with the support of the Venetian administration.

Becoming experts in deviating rivers and altering the morphology of the places when unfavourable, the Venetians conceived a first project to cut the Suez isthmus to connect the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea. However, the project was soon abandoned because of the great difficulties to achieve<sup>18</sup>. This project was conceived after the discovery of America and Vasco da Gama’s travel to India determined the secular commercial mutation from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic.

Although the 16<sup>th</sup> century was in general a century of maximum prosperity for Venice, it was not at the peak of world economy in its former half. At the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Venice was less shining and more burdened than during the rest of the century. Until 1559-1560, it had great financial and economic difficulties. Of course, it was the first market of the world, but the area it dominated was limited to the Mediterranean and the West. Its size

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<sup>14</sup> M. Vittoria, *op. cit.*, p. 41

<sup>15</sup> F. Braudel, *Mediterranea ...*, vol. II, p. 21

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 8

<sup>17</sup> Gaetano Cozzi, Michael Knapton, G. Scarabello, *La Repubblica di Venezia nell’eta moderna, Dal 1517 alla fine della Repubblica*, Torino, 1995, p. 272

<sup>18</sup> M. Vittoria, *op. cit.*, p. 37

altered, as the Mediterranean itself had new dimensions to the people and their political, economic and cultural constructions<sup>19</sup>.

There was an important decrease of the Venetian fleet in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It was one of the elements entailing the unreserved talks on its decadence: Domenico Sella settled it in 1608, while Albert Tenenti noticed the first signs in 1592<sup>20</sup>. But Braudel thought that their pessimism was excessive as, in fact, the traffic in the harbour was the same in volume until 1625, as the documents showed. This was due to the increasing number of northern ships coming to Venice either from Ponant – or returning there – or from Levant that were engaged in Levantine traffic, as the decadence of the Venetian marine was obvious. The great investors withdrew their commerce capital and invested them in acquiring agricultural lands on the continent or in manufacturing.

The latest research established that the discovery of America had no influence upon the Venetian economy and generally upon the Mediterranean economy in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The only influence was the flow of gold and silver that was more considerable only in the latter half of the century. The discovery of a shortcut to the Indies was much more important. The consequences of these events were serious, as they had a direct influence on the Venetian commerce; however, they did not totally destroy the trade with products from the Indies. Besides, the political-economic strengthening of the great western powers and their aggressive mercantile policy had a great influence over Venice and other Italian states. Other causes were of military origin, as wars in Italy negatively influenced the situation of Venice; after 1550, there was a time of rest, and the economic life of Venice and the peninsula took back its course. There were also moral causes. The Venetian patrician, considerably rich and drawn to a lofty and comfortable life, gave up trade. This became manifest in Venice two centuries later, particularly in the 18<sup>th</sup> century; therefore, Gino Luzzatto considered that the economic recoil in 1500 was premature<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>19</sup> E. Denize, *op. cit.*, p. 178; see also Frederic C. Lane, *Storia di Venezia*, Torino, 2001, p. 463-465; Gino Luzzatto, *La decadenza di Venezia dopo le scoperte geografiche nella tradizione e nella realtà*, in *Archivio Storico*, series V, LIV-LV, 1954 (G. Luzzatto, *La decadenza di Venezia ...*), p. 162-181; Aldo Stella, *La crisi economica veneziana nella seconda metà del secolo XVI*, in *Archivio Veneto*, series V, no. 58, 1956, p. 37-69; F. C. Lane, *Mediterranean Spice Trade*, in *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, volume coordinated by Brian Pullan, London, 1968, p. 38; F. Braudel, *La vita economica di Venezia nel secolo XVI*, in *La civiltà veneziana del Rinascimento*, Venezia, 1958, p. 81-102; G. Luzzatto, *L'economia veneziana nel sec. XVI*, in *Rinascimento europeo e rinascimento veneziano*, volume coordinated by Vittore Branca, Venezia, 1967 (hereinafter: G. Luzzatto, *L'economia veneziana nel sec. XVI ...*), p. 345-355; Idem, *L'economia veneziana dopo l'acquisto della terraferma*, in *Bergomun*, no. 58, 1964, p. 57-71; F. C. Lane, *I mercanti di Venezia*, Torino, 1982, p. 195-203

<sup>20</sup> G. Luzzatto, *L'economia veneziana nel sec. XVI ...*, p. 347

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 348



We consider that the economic decadence of Venice was relative, not absolute. The city economy did not record any evident decadence in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It was only felt concerning Venice's position in international trade and the productivity of its major industrial branches<sup>22</sup>. Industrial competition was the main factor of Venetian economic regress. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Venice lost its industrial-manufacturing supremacy, too<sup>23</sup>. Venice's harbour did not regress as a consequence of the economic difficulties in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but its role changed passing from the centre of world trade to that of a regional harbour<sup>24</sup>. Recent surveys on the Venetian economic history proved that the decadence of the Rialto emporium in the 16<sup>th</sup> century was not general and even less continuous as they thought for a long time. The difficulties of the Mediterranean and Atlantic trade were at least partly compensated by the development of wool, silk, glass and printing industry<sup>25</sup>. This situation radically changed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century; Fernand Braudel and Rugiero Romano agreed on the fact that the Venetian economic decline was obvious especially starting with 1620; Domenico Sella instead drew the conclusion that there were evident signs of slow recession as early as 1610. Gino Luzzato showed that there were alternative crisis and straightening periods in the Venetian economy in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the first decades of the following century<sup>26</sup>.

In conclusion, at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> synthesis volume on the Mediterranean, Braudel expressed its conviction that, despite different difficulties, Venice managed to preserve its domination in the Mediterranean: "I effectively believe that Venice managed its agricultural conversion – wheat, maize, rice, mulberry, raw silk, animal breeding, that Terraferma developed between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries and through industry preserved the easy life of Venice, that the high prices of the Seniority markets facilitated commercial exchange, that navigation on the Mediterranean, although assumed by foreign ships, made Venice the first Mediterranean harbour even in the 17<sup>th</sup> century"<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> Richard Tilden Rapp, *Industria e decadenza economica a Venezia nel XVII secolo*, Roma, 1986, p. 20; see also F. Braudel, Pierre Jeannin, Jean Meuvret, Rugiero Romano, *Le déclin de Venise au XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle*, in *Aspetti e cause della decadenza economica veneziana nel secolo XVII*, Venice–Rome, 1961, p. 82

<sup>23</sup> R. T. Rapp, *op. cit.*, p. 27

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 133

<sup>25</sup> Alberto Bin, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la questione adriatica, 1600-1620*, Roma, 1992, p. 33

<sup>26</sup> G. Luzzatto, *La decadenza di Venezia ...*, p. 174

<sup>27</sup> F. Braudel, *Mediterranea ...*, vol. VI, p. 290



# THE ESTATES IN BIHOR AFTER THE THERESA URBAN REGULATIONS. CASE STUDY: THE ESTATE OF HOLOD

**BODO Edith**

**Abstract:** *After the urban regulations in 1770-1772, there was an increasing number of rent contracts signed by the landowner and the community, or by the landowner and individual peasants. In the county of Bihor, on the Oradea domain, there were 27 estates, 16 on the Beliu domain, only one on the Beius domain and none on the Vascau domain. This survey is based on three rent contracts on the Holod estate. The first rent contract dates back to 18 January 1793, the second to 1 January 1808, while the third to 1 January 1814; they were all signed in Beius.*

**Keywords:** *rent, allodial, domain, Holod, Vașcău*

In the registers in 1715, 1720, 1728, as well as in the estate ones and the acts of urban regulations, the recorders mentioned the estates used by localities. After the urban regulation in 1770 – 1772, the number of rent contracts signed by the landowner and the community, or the landowner and individual peasants, significantly increased<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless, it is obvious that these contracts were signed only by village communities with sufficient financial means and they were often renewed only in so far as the domain interests did not compel the landowners to use them with another aim<sup>2</sup>.

In the county of Bihor, on the Oradea domain, there were 27 estates; there were 16 in Beliu, one in Beius, and none in Vascau<sup>3</sup>.

Holod, the only estate of the Beius domain was registered as uninhabited in 1778 with an agricultural field of 117 yokes and a hay field of 126 yokes (scythe)<sup>4</sup>. For a long time, until 1776, most of the agricultural and hay fields were temporarily rented to the domain of Vascau by the bishops of Oradea for a very small amount. But after 1776, Camara, the new landowner at the time when there was no bishop,

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<sup>1</sup> Barbu Ștefănescu, *Tehnică agricolă și ritm de muncă în gospodăria țărănească din Crișana (sec. al XVIII-lea și începutul sec. al XIX-lea)*, vol. I, Oradea, 1995, p. 147

<sup>2</sup> Papp Klára, *Biharország jobbágynépe. A magánbirtok és jobbágysága a XVIII. Században*, Debrecen, 1998, p. 19

<sup>3</sup> *Urbáriumok és összeírások a Magyar Országos Levéltárban (Urbaria et conscriptiones)* (hereinafter: *Urbáriumok és összeírások...*), on CD-ROM, Editura Arcanum, Budapest, 2004, UC 125:1 (c) - 1778

<sup>4</sup> Ana Ilea, Iudita Călușer, *Conscrierea domeniului Beiuș din anul 1778*, in *Crisia XVI*, Oradea, 1995, p. 189

did no longer rent it temporarily; he organised a tender, thus getting a rent paid twice the amount of the temporary one<sup>5</sup>. Thus, most of the area was rented to the community in Mizies with 203 florins/year; part of it was for the landowner<sup>6</sup>, while a small area was granted to the inner, who was also the customs officer in the area, as a completion<sup>7</sup>. There was also an oak-tree forest used for wood and usually rented for acorns<sup>8</sup>.

It is interesting to see the evolution of the estate from the point of view of some rent contracts showing fragments of its past, man's endeavours to "tame" nature, as well as the conflicts triggered around the rental. The first rent contract dates back to 18 January 1793, the second to 1 January 1808, and the third to 1 January 1814; they were all signed in Beius.

The leitmotif of each contract that always starts with a "humble request" sent to bishop Ignatie Darabant or Samuil Vulcan, as it was the case, to renew the contract, is the proof of appurtenance to the Greek-Catholic confession, as "His Holiness knowing... that we all are, have been and wish to be his faithful sheep for life"<sup>9</sup>. Even if he could get a greater amount, Bishop Samuil Vulcan prolonged the contract "considering the fact that the last renters have been loyal to the Holy Union and His Holiness"<sup>10</sup>.

The deadline of the first contract was 1 November 1792 until "Good Lord keeps the Holy Bishop alive". At the same time, the contract could be void should the "renters intend to leave the Holy Union". In this case, the landowner could consider the land free<sup>11</sup>. The second contract was valid from 1 January 1808 to the end of 1813, that is, for six years, under the same conditions as the first. So, the core condition to renew the contract was to preserve the confession of the landowner, though for a smaller rent.

The rent amount was generally increasing. If at the beginning the amount was 225 fl.R/year<sup>12</sup> and 350 fl.R for the second contract<sup>13</sup>, for the third contract the amount reached 500 fl.R<sup>14</sup> for half an.

According to the contracts, they paid 1 fl. census and 18 days of manual labour<sup>15</sup>. From this last aspect, we may see that the renters were homeowner serfs. In fact, in 1812, there were 56 serfs on the estate that were not paying royal tithe<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> *Urbáriumok és összeírások...*, UC 125:1 (c) - 1778

<sup>6</sup> Ana Ilea, Iudita Călușer, *op.cit.*, p. 189

<sup>7</sup> *Urbáriumok és összeírások...*, UC 125:1 (c) - 1778

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>9</sup> National Archives – Bihor County Directorate, *fund Episcopia greco-catolică Oradea, inv. 883*, dos. 479 (hereinafter: A.N.-D.J.Bh, *fund Episcopia greco-catolică...*), f. 2

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 100

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 2v

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 2

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 100

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 105

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 2, f. 100, f. 110v

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 98

Then, there were specifications concerning the allodial lands and hay fields that the landowner kept for himself: Fanatul Mare, the mowing places Ratu Kurgyi and Ratu Lupului, Fanatul Lung, that used to belong to the inner, the Csonkas hay field, the agricultural lands called Dealu' lui Danila, Dealul Furtunii, Dealul lui Gyuri and the lands neighbouring them; after 1808, the lands belonging to Bondar Urs given to the church and called as "parish lands" in 1814, were added<sup>17</sup>. The forest was the property of the landowner. The inhabitants were allowed to cut dry wood for fire; the second contract mentioned their number, that is, 100. However, if there was an acorn, the "forest will be at the disposal of the landowner". Thus, the forest could become another income source by renting the acorns. There was also a fee for the palinka bucket (s fl.R/year). Although renting all the estate, together with the foot, the landowner, the span and the inner in Holod, should they have cattle and pigs, "they should be allowed to graze"<sup>18</sup>.

In the contracts signed at Samuil Vulcan's time, a new requirement was introduced: "no one should guarantee for anyone's lands, under any circumstance"<sup>19</sup>.

As a matter of fact, due to the rent price, the judges and locals in Holod "not as inhabitants of Holod, but as inhabitants of the Holod estate", would address the bishop; they said they were on the estate for 100 or more years, with the permission of the landowner, "our forefathers cleaned it with blood". The agreement signed at the time settled a rent of 225 fl.R and they were promised that, if they left the Greek-not-United confession for the Uniate one, their rent should not increase and they would be given all the estate; "and indeed, turning to the right Uniate belief, he gave us all the estate"<sup>20</sup>.

The royal chamber that administered the domain of Beius during the transition of the domain of Beius to the property of the Greek-Catholic Bishopric, passed only in 1871, although the decision in 1780<sup>21</sup>, sanctioned (the Chamber) "for good" the rent by "giving a letter on it in which the future master should not dare take neither more, nor less". This decision was respected during the first two bishops "deceased to God, the Holy Bishops, their Excellencies Dragos and Darabant did not ask for more... they took as much as the High Chamber requested"<sup>22</sup>, they said in the complaint. However, it appears that in fact the master's officials were the ones that tendered the part of the estate used by the locals "we do not know if His Holiness is aware of it, or they did it themselves", they said in doubt, as they tended to believe that the officials were the guilty ones, and not without reason. "They tendered our steppe without the part of the owner, they tendered between themselves rising its price; seeing that no one wanted it but us and thinking that we could not exist without

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 105

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 2, f. 100

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 100, f. 105v

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 107

<sup>21</sup> Ana Ilea, Iudita Călușer, *op.cit.*, p. 178

<sup>22</sup> A.N.-D.J.Bh, *fond Episcopia greco-catolică...*, f. 107 v

it and that we would thus be compelled to rent it not for 521 fl.R, but for the amount tendered by the officials, that is 1263 fl.R”<sup>23</sup>. The amount reached 521 fl.R as, beside the 225 fl.R “given for good, as settled by the High Chamber”, they were compelled to pay for part of their land previously belonging to the landowner.

The result of the complaint was the signature of a new contract on 1 January 1814; it was signed for three years for the amount of 500 fl./year “we received the merciful order on 16-17 November from the Holy Bishop Samuil Vulcan referring to the rent of half of the Holod estate for three years in a row”<sup>24</sup>. At the beginning, the landowner wanted to no longer rent the estate and to use it himself, “as it was too late and looking for lands elsewhere in vain, in order to avoid remaining without land, he allowed them to keep half of the estate for 500 florins, but only for one year” (3 November 1813)<sup>25</sup>. However, it seems that he changed his mind and rented it for three years.

This time another issue came up, the division of the estate. What part should the landowner and the locals have? Of course, the agricultural and hay fields previously excluded from division were presented again. As the locals stated they would ex-rent that half of the estate, the administrator allowed them to choose: “either to split amongst themselves and I choose one part of the landowner, or I divide it and they choose themselves”<sup>26</sup>. They chose the second choice. There is then the detailed description: “I allowed them to freely choose what to keep for themselves, either the part near the river of Holod, or the part near the forest”, adding to the latter the agricultural and mowing lands near Lupoia (Farkas Pataka) and Dumbravita Mica (Kis Dombrovitza), as “part of the lands here may be poor”<sup>27</sup>. The locals chose the part near the forest along with the agricultural and mowing lands under the conditions stipulated in the two contracts.

In conclusion, we may state that the rented lands, in our case the estate of Holod, were highly important. The use of rented estates was more efficient than the serf lands, as it assumed a free use of the land and there were fewer duties. In many places, they resorted to renting the estates as they were either small or infertile. The renters, mainly serfs or even homeowner serfs, had a more advantageous situation than the ones working according to the urban regulations.

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 105

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 109

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 105

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 105v

# ASPECTS ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE ORTHODOX CLERGY IN THE FIELD OF POPULATION STATISTICS (END OF 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY – FIRST DECADES OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY)

*Cristian APATI*

**Abstract:** *This survey is an analysis on the involvement of the Orthodox Church in certain activities relating to population statistics at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the following century. We began this endeavour by introducing the imperial norms and their dissemination on the territory, showing in the footnotes the distance they covered until they reached the Romanian rural world. By using new and old sources, form letters, statistic charts, or the voluntary notes of the priests on the civil status records, we pursued the enforcement of law.*

*The conclusion induced by the testimonies preserved is that the Orthodox Church played the role of an administrative office of the State, while priests responding to the official requirements can be considered as imperial bureaucrats.*

**Keywords:** *Orthodox, Church, reform, population, statistics*

The evolution of the population has always been a concern for the leaders of the states. This concern has become more and more complex, as it has been favoured by the opinion according to which the population is the most important element of public wealth<sup>1</sup>.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the population policy became the main element of the enlightened reformism promoted by the Habsburgs. From the pragmatic perspective of Joseph II, it involved an increasing number of subjects, their stabilisation and an increasing intellectual level through instruction, religious feelings and morality through education, improvement of social assistance, of settlement, food, clothes, individual or social hygiene<sup>2</sup>: “it is certain that the growth of the population entails the growth of wealth and prestige of the country; such growth can only be obtained through good measures in all

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<sup>1</sup> Ștefan Pascu, *Demografia istorică*, in *Populație și societate. Studii de demografie istorică* (edited by Ștefan Pascu), vol. I, Cluj, 1972, p. 17-18

<sup>2</sup> Nicoale Bocșan, *Populaționismul în politica reformistă a habsburgilor în Banat în secolul al XVIII-lea*, in Sabin Manuilă, *Istorie și demografie. Studii privind societatea românească între secolele XVI-XX* (coordinators: Sorina Bolovan, Ioan Bolovan), Cluj-Napoca, 1995, p. 81

branches of administration; but one cannot estimate the effect of laws and measures taken with this aim unless we are aware of the real number of inhabitants of the country and unless we are ceaselessly informed on its growth or decrease” – the emperor used to say in 1784 <sup>3</sup>.

Being in the service of the reforming programme of the Vienna Court, the population statistics had to take some important steps towards modernisation: the number and frequency of censuses increased, the objectives envisaged increased<sup>4</sup>, the need for continuous census was materialised in the civil status parish records called parish protocols or rolls at the time<sup>5</sup>, and periodical reports, or during crises. Carried out by the priests on the basis of the data in the rolls, the reports had to be handed in to the administrative offices of the state either directly, or through the archpriests, or even to the archbishops. To a certain extent, the Orthodox clergy was also involved in censuses of civil authorities.

One of the first situations when Orthodox priests were requested to help the imperial statistics with their notes in the civil status records and not only was the census organised in 1784-1787<sup>6</sup>. In the form letter no. 1462 dated 3 March 1785, the gubernia asked Bishop Ghedeon Nichitici to order the clergy

<sup>3</sup> Liviu Moldovan, *Instrucțiunile în limba română date în anul 1785 pentru înregistrarea populației din Transilvania*, in vol. *Din istoria statisticii românești*, București, 1969, p. 189

<sup>4</sup> There is a review of the conscriptions in Transylvania in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Costin Feneșan, *Izvoare de demografie istorică, vol. I, Secolul al XVIII-lea, Transilvania*, București, 1986, p. 5-21. For this period, we have published several conscriptions concerning the Orthodox Church in Bihor: Cristian Apati, *Reformarea numerică a clerului ortodox din Bihor. Conscrierile realizate în 1786 și 1791*, in *Analele Universității din Oradea, Seria Istorie-Arheologie*, 2005, pp. 55-93; Idem, *Reformarea numerică a clerului ortodox între normă și realitate. Consemnarea districtului ortodox Oradea din anul 1811*, in *Revista Bihoreană de istorie*, 2006, no. 6-7, p. 67-95; Idem, *Conscrierea din anul 1819 a parohiilor ortodoxe din Bihor*, in *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 2007, no. 5-6, p. 33-59; Idem, *Date privind clerul ortodox bihorean. Conscrierea realizată în anul 1815*, in *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 2007, no. 7-8, p. 1-28; Idem, *Date privind Biserica ortodoxă din Bihor. Conscrierea anului 1825*, in *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 2007, no. 9-10, p. 23-47; Idem, *Conscrierea parohiilor ortodoxe din Bihor realizată în anul 1769*, in *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 2007, no. 11-12, p. 21-33; Idem, *Un fragment de conscriere privind Biserica ortodoxă din Bihor din anul 1811*, in *Revista Bihoreană de istorie*, 2007, no. 8-9 (hereinafter: Cristian Apati, *Un fragment...*), p. 23-32

<sup>5</sup> For Partium and Banat, *Regulamentul Iliric* of the year 1777 stipulated “keeping parish protocols”, while *Rescriptul Declarator* of 1779, requested that “parish protocols... should be kept in all parishes”, cf.: I. D. Suci, R. Constantinescu, *Documente privitoare la istoria Mitropoliei Banatului*, vol. I, Timișoara, 1980, p. 331, 429; they were imposed in Transylvania in 1778, cf. Aurel Răduțiu, Ladislau Gyémánt, *Repertoriul actelor oficiale privind Transilvania tipărite în limba română 1701-1847*, București, 1981, p. 152-153. For a history of the civil status records in Transylvania, see Liviu Moldovan, *Registrele confesionale de stare civilă din Transilvania*, in *Revista Arhivelor*, 1958, no. 1, p. 159-185; Idem, *Registrele parohiale din Transilvania*, in *Revista de statistică*, 1968, no. 11, p. 52-60

<sup>6</sup> For general information on the manner it was carried out, see Costin Feneșan, *op. cit.*, p. 13-18



under his authority to be at the disposal of the census commissioners<sup>7</sup>. In Partium, archpriests in the counties of Arad and Bihor confirmed to Bishop Pavel Avacumovici the receipt of the census forms: “we have received the books for the imperial census”<sup>8</sup> – Archpriest Atanasie Rosu of Ineu; Archpriest Gavril of Buteni accounted to the bishop that he had received the orders for counting but that, unfortunately, “there is no achievement with the priests” unless – he said – each priest would go on census at the bishopric, “as I have trouble with them, as they see and say that many have come and gone and these will go, too”<sup>9</sup>. It was the same disappointing note in the respondent no. 8353 dated 12 September 1785 and issued by the gubernia. The representatives of the state drew the conclusion that the priests did not use to fill in the records, thus preventing them from completing the census: “the un-Uniate priests did not use to keep rolls, that is, protocols... because of this habit and their laziness, the research on the number of people that we have to do according to the order might be late”<sup>10</sup>. There were also exceptions. The protocol of the deceased in the parish of Gepiu had the following volunteer notes of the priest: “so far, I have written in the letter” – near the name of an individual with number 132, in the month of April, 1787<sup>11</sup> and “so far census takers – near number 135, month of April, 1787”<sup>12</sup>. Of course, such proof is present in records from other areas, although the vicars were not compelled to do so. Therefore, it is worth mentioning them.

The Orthodox clergy in Partium was asked to put the protocols at the disposal of the census takers when the Hungarian Diet decided on the census in the second article, in 1802. It was published under no. 26203 on 29 November of the same year: “the protocols on the baptised and the married should be ready... to help if needed” – as Bishop Pavel Avacumovici told the priests from Arad and Bihor<sup>13</sup>. In 1818, the Orthodox Bishop of Transylvania, Vasile Moga, relayed the instructions of the gubernia on the beggars’ census in the territory. The priests had once again the duty to support the lay clerks on the “lay

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<sup>7</sup> Matei Voileanu, *Momente din viața bisericească a românilor ortodocși din Transilvania 1780-1787*, Sibiu, 1902, p. 44 (Guberniu, no. 1462, 3 III 1785; Bishop Ghedeon Nichitici, Sibiu, 27 II 1785, [no. 104])

<sup>8</sup> I. Găvănescu, *Mărturii românești din Eparhia Aradului în veacul al XVIII-lea*, Arad, 1940, p. 105

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 108

<sup>10</sup> Matei Voileanu, *op. cit.*, p. 46

<sup>11</sup> National Archives – Bihor County Directorate (hereinafter: A.N.-D.J.Bh.), *fund Colecția registrelor de stare civilă*, dos. 459 (Gepiu Orthodox Parish, Deceased Record, 1779-1826), f. 22v

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 23

<sup>13</sup> A.N.-D.J.Bh., *fund Parohia ortodoxă Buteni*, dos. 1 (hereinafter: *Registrul Buteni...*), f. 186-187

leaders”<sup>14</sup>. Unfortunately, we have no further details revealing the involvement of the priests in bringing the census to an end.

We only assume that there were other censuses involving the Orthodox priests, since they were suggested by a series of marginal notes in the Orthodox civil status records in Bihor kept in the Bihor County Directorate of the National Archives. For instance, in the record of the baptised in the parish of Toboliu, the priest wrote as follows: “in the month of September, on the first day, in the year 1820, I reported the number of souls to the census takers”<sup>15</sup>. The same record, near the name of Puscas Nicolae, registered under no. 222, born on 16 October 1826, read: “this child is not recorded in the county”<sup>16</sup>. The year 1820, which was mentioned by the priest from Toboliu, was also found in the rolls at Tamasda: “Mr. Biber, the census was carried out until now, on 25 July 1820”<sup>17</sup>. It was a reality: the lay clerks were making censuses with the support of the priests, who put the records at their disposal.

Due to the organisational and financial endeavours they involved, the general statistic records could be made only seldom. In order to always have a clear database, Joseph II tried to implement “the population records of the localities”. For the same reasons, he gave them up after two or three years<sup>18</sup>. Under the circumstances, the parish records came to the foreground. They decided that, between the censuses, or in other special cases (war, epidemics, famine), the priests should be compelled to elaborate periodical reports using the notes in the records. This intention was materialised in the conscription regulation issued in 1773 that was only enforced in 1784. It provisioned that the priests had the task to inform on the increase, or decrease, of the population each term<sup>19</sup>.

The clergy was informed on need to draw up reports on the evolution of the population several times at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and during the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. On 26 February 1790, Bishop Gherasim Adamovici asked the Archpriest of Brasov to send the number of the baptised, married and deceased in the

<sup>14</sup> *Catalogul documentelor românești din arhivele statului Brașov*, vol. II (1800-1825), București, 1975 (hereinafter: *Catalogul documentelor românești...*, vol. II), p. 561 (Guberniu, no. 3214; Bishop Vasile Moga, Sibiu, 16 Jan. 1818)

<sup>15</sup> A.N.-D.J.Bh., *fund Colecția registrelor de stare civilă*, dos. 1322 (Toboliu Orthodox Parish, Baptised Records, 1819-1828), f. 6v

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 37

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 1225 (Tămașda Orthodox Parish, Baptised Record, 1805-1853), f. 42. Other examples: *Ibidem*, f. 37; *Ibidem*, dos. 1229 (Tămașda Orthodox Parish, Deceased Record, 1808-1841), f. 71v

<sup>18</sup> Costin Feneșan, *op. cit.*, p. 16

<sup>19</sup> Liviu Moldovan, *Înregistrarea de către biserici a botezătorilor, cununătorilor și înmormântătorilor în țările române în secolele XVIII-XIX*, in *Populație și societate. Izvoare de demografie istorică*, vol. III, Cluj-Napoca, 1980, p. 137

area for the year 1789 within 30 days<sup>20</sup>. A few months later, the gubernia requested in the same manner a resembling report for the years 1788 and 1789 within five weeks<sup>21</sup>. It was the same gubernia that wanted reports every three months through order no. 5948 in 1796<sup>22</sup>. In 1817, Bishop Vasile Moga asked the archpriests to send each year tables with the married, the baptised, the vaccinated, and the deceased<sup>23</sup>. In Arad and Bihor, the Court sent through Archbishop of Karlowitz to Bishop Iosif Putnic a "high order" provisioning that "priests in all villages, in every year, at the end of the month of December, will have the duty to give you an excerpt on the baptised, married and dead of the year, according to the form"<sup>24</sup>. In 1836, the priests in the archpriest district of Lunca, received the following order from the archpriest: "you will bring the extracts on the baptised twice a year on a regular basis... so that I may give them in July"<sup>25</sup>. In 1831, in Transylvania, the Statistic Office of the gubernia had to receive from the priests the tables comprising the newborn, the married and the deceased. The figures were presented comparatively with the previous year, in order to show the increase, or decrease, of the inhabitants<sup>26</sup>.

Such bureaucratic products of the Orthodox priests were mentioned in the *Catalogul documentelor românești din arhivele statului Brașov*. It was made up of tables that the magistrate received from the priests in the area in 1807<sup>27</sup>. The figures were accompanied by details on the decrease in the number of newborn and couples, and the increase in the number of deceased<sup>28</sup>. Archpriest Haines provided the magistrate with the following explanation: the conception and birth of children, as well as death, are more the *wish and mercy of God rather than the power of the people* (a.s.o.)... when God wants and nature helps, then more children are born and less people die; when there is famine, less children are born and more people die... marriage depends on the people and *enlistment often prevents marriage* (a.s.o.); finally, he added: "there is no hidden disease in the parish"<sup>29</sup>. The same archpriest justified the small

<sup>20</sup> *Catalogul documentelor românești din arhivele statului de la orașul Stalin*, vol. I (1521-1799), București, 1955 (hereinafter: *Catalogul documentelor românești...*, vol. I), p. 353 (no. 2173: Bishop Gherasim Adamovici, Sibiu, 26 II 1790)

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 359 (no. 2209: Guberniul; Bishop Gherasim Adamovici, Sibiu, 12 V 1790)

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 535 (no. 3354: Guberniul, no. 5948; bishopric vicar Ioan Popovici, Sibiu, 26 XII 1796)

<sup>23</sup> *Catalogul documentelor românești...*, vol. II, p. 550 (no. 3147: Bishop Vasile Moga, Sibiu, 4 XI 1817)

<sup>24</sup> *Registrul Buteni...*, p. 441-442 (Bishop Iosif Putnic, Arad, 1 X 1823); Idem, *fund Parohia Ortodoxă Ineu*, dos. 1, f. 116-118

<sup>25</sup> A.N.-D.J.Bh., *fund Episcopia ortodoxă Oradea*, dos. 4, f. 8 (administration of the Lunca archpriest district, George Haios, Diosig, 4 May 1836)

<sup>26</sup> Liviu Moldovan, *op. cit.*, p. 141

<sup>27</sup> *Catalogul documentelor românești...*, vol. II, p. 177 (no. 912: Archpriest Haineș, din Brașov, 17 III 1807); *Ibidem*, p. 178 (no. 915: Archpriest Haineș, [?], 27 III 1807)

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 268 (no. 1414: vicar Nicolae Huțovici from Sibiu, 26 V 1809)

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 176 (no. 903: Archpriest Haineș, Brașov, 26 II 1807)

number of married people caused by the “battle with the French” and the reorganisation of the district, whence many villages were taken away<sup>30</sup>. It was the same with the numeric list elaborated in 1811 by the Oradea-Velenta Orthodox Consistory. The table made reference to three out of the seven archpriest districts in the District of Great Oradea, providing figures on the births and deceases in point of sex and married couples<sup>31</sup>.

Other testimonies on the activity of the priests in the field of population statistics are the connected notes in the civil status records. Some priests added the data from a year for each category and wrote that sum in the protocols at the end of the twelve months. The most representative example is priest Zaharia Popovici from Sanicolaul Roman. He wrote in the deceased roll for 1812-1843. When checked in 1815, they “very well found”<sup>32</sup> the amount of deceased for each year separately, from 1812 to 1824: “the amount for the year 1812, 24, the amount 18 [year 1813]”, the amount 5, 1814”, “the amount 18, 1815”, “the amount 26, 1816”, “the amount 61, 1817”, “the amount 24, 1818”, “the amount 9, 1819”, “the amount 13, 1820”, “the amount 41, 1821”, “the amount 15, 1822”, “the amount 28, 1823”, “the amount of this year, 1824, 17”<sup>33</sup>. After that year, the vicar was replaced with Petru Porumb. The priest from Rabagani was seldom writing the amount of baptised in point of sex: “this year [1807], I baptised male [?], female [?]”, “this year, 1808, [5] males were born”, “in the year 1835, I baptised [12] children”<sup>34</sup>. The vicar from Tulca made notes on the amount of baptised: “since 1808 until the year [...], were born”<sup>35</sup>. The number of unmarried persons was written by the vicar of Tamasda: “the amount of 275 unmarried in 1827”<sup>36</sup>. The vicar of Baita wrote: “in the year 1836, 39 were born, out of which 31 were males and 8 were females”<sup>37</sup>.

The use of rolls was shown in a communiqué of one of the archpriests in Brasov, where he said that the required information could not be handed in on time, as the priests had sent the records to be checked and the calculations could

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, p.177 (no. 912: Archpriest Haineş, Braşov, 17 III 1807)

<sup>31</sup> Cristian Apati, *Un fragment...*, p. 24, 29-32. Tables of the kind were also made by Orthodox priests in the county of Arad, cf. Eugen Ghiţă, *Izvoare de demografie istorică din secolul al XVIII-lea, în Eparhia Aradului, în Biserica şi societate. Studii istorice* (coordinators: Corneliu Pădurean, Mihai Săşăujan), Arad, 2005, p. 200

<sup>32</sup> A.N.-D.J.Bh., dos. 1116 (Sânicolaul Român Orthodox Paris, Deceased Record, 1812-1843), f. 8

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 4v., 8, 8v., 11v., 16, 26, 30, 31v, 32v, 34, 40v, 42, 43, 48, 50v

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 938 (Răbăgani Orthodox Parish, Newborn Record, 1789-1843), f. 14v-15, 16, 43

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 1335 (Tulca Orthodox Parish, Newborn Record, 1805-1823), f. 32

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 1229 (Tămaşda Orthodox Paris, Married Record, 1804-1853, and deceased, 1808-1841), f. 60v

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 79 (Băiţa Orthodox Paris, Newborn Record, 1814-1845), f. 107v

not be made without them<sup>38</sup>. On the other hand, the periodical information sent by the priests did not always show the content of the protocols; the bishops were compelled to criticise the distortion of the information<sup>39</sup>.

As part of the process, special attention was given to those belonging to the “vague militia”, an irregular militia whose soldiers were allowed to go back home at peace. The priests had the duty to keep the evidence of the Romanian Orthodox military. A form letter issued by Bishop Vasile Moga in 1815 stipulated that the archpriests had to send the tables comprising the list of those baptised in families whose members belonged to the irregular militia<sup>40</sup>; some sources said that they had to be paid by the priests<sup>41</sup> and that the forms were printed. The *Catalog* quoted above registered the reports of the king in the documents of the magistrate from Brasov. For example, in 1819, Archpriest Bratu Baiu informed the magistrate that in the past three years, except for the marriage of Ioan Selariu from Zarnesti, the protocols indicated no other events amongst the militia, the soldiers with passport<sup>42</sup>. Three years later, the same archpriest informed on an illegal marriage amongst the soldiers: Radu Ioan from Zarnesti married in Wallachia, as back home he did not have the permission of the regiment<sup>43</sup>.

The reports on the military as shown in a statement of Archpriest Bratu Baiu in 1822, were sent each term: “there have been no baptisms, marriages and deaths in the third term”<sup>44</sup>. As far as the circuit of the data was concerned, at a first stage, the data were centralised in parishes<sup>45</sup>, then on the level of the archpriest district to finally reach the lay or military authority requiring them, in this case the magistrate from Brasov, and they could even get to the Bishop of Sibiu.

State institutions granted special attention during epidemics, famine, or any other moment when there was some increase in the number of deceases. Thus, in 1788, the clerks in the county of Caras claimed that the vicars should send them each week the number of deaths and the nature of their disease<sup>46</sup>;

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<sup>38</sup> *Catalogul documentelor românești...*, vol. II, p. 117 (no. 554: second archpriest of Brașov, Bran, 8 X 1804, for the years [1802-1804]); *Ibidem*, p. 174 (no. 894: second archpriest of Brașov, Brașov, 1 I 1807, for the years 1804-1806)

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 386 (no. 2111: Bishop Vasile Moga, Sibiu, 23 X 1812)

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 541 (no. 3089: Bishop Vasile Moga, Sibiu, 5 VIII 1815)

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 665 (no. 3892: Bishop Vasile Moga, Sibiu, [1819])

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 639 (no. 3724: Archpriest Bratu Baiu, Zărnești, 14 V 1819)

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 762 (no. 4487: Archpriest Bratu Baiu, Zărnești, 7 VIII 1822)

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 752 (no. 4429: Archpriest Bratu Baiu, Brașov, 29 IV 1822)

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 735 (no. 4329: on 30 November 1821, vicar Gh. Ilea, Codlea, informed on the name of the newborn amongst the *vague militia* in 1821); *Ibidem*, pp. 735-736 (no. 4330: on 30 November 1821, priests from Vlădeni and Codlea said that, in 1820-1821, *the illegitimate child* Toma was born on 9 June 1820 in Vlădeni, son of Ioan David, ordinary soldier in the Maxilian Joseph no. 31 regiment, and Ilinca, daughter of Ioan Solomon, a wood cutter)

<sup>46</sup> Nicoale Bocșan, *op. cit.*, p. 87

there was a plague epidemic in Crisana and Maramures that year<sup>47</sup>. In mid-90s, they were confronted with a crisis, a bad crop, an epidemic influencing cereal trade by enforcing quarantine at the border. The vicars in the Bran area drew up a “host note” that each sent to the chaplain hoping for support with cereals<sup>48</sup>.

The second decade of the following century brought to the foreground one of the apocalypse knights: “famine”<sup>49</sup>. At that time, when people died more than at war, the Arad county officials asked from the administrator of the Orthodox Bishopric to provide a centraliser to write down the deceases recorded every month of the year 1816 divided into sexes: “the first count of the great county of Arad, Ioan de Covaci, wants to know the number of dead this year, 1816; therefore he asked me to send him a general report on the deceased for each month of the year 1816, for both males and females”<sup>50</sup>. Priests also had the duty to write down “only the general number and not the names of the deceased... to take them out of the records”<sup>51</sup>. In 1817, the request was renewed: “to give the information on the deceased for each month of the year 1817”<sup>52</sup>. At that time, the Greek-Catholic Bishop of Oradea, Samuil Vulcan, asked the priests under his jurisdiction to make a census of the population at the end of the year<sup>53</sup>.

In 1827, in order to make the clergy improve the notes in the records and to have a double report, the Hungarian Diet decided that the clergy, irrespective of their confession, “should write the records of the baptised, married, and dead in two copies: one printed and the other to give to the praetorian of the place; after writing down his name, the latter should give them to the High County, where they should be kept and guarded”<sup>54</sup>. The decision was adopted in Ardeal through law 23 of the same year<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> Florian Dudaş, *Catastrofe naturale în Transilvania*, Oradea, 1999, p. 71

<sup>48</sup> *Catalogul documentelor româneşti ...*, vol. I, p. 501 (no. 3135: vicar from Cheia, 16 VI 1795; no. 3136: vicar from Şirnea, 17 VI 1795), 502 (no. 3138: vicar from Moeciu de Jos, 20 VI 1795; no. 3139, vicar from Peştera, 20 VI 1795), 503 (no. 3144, vicar from Fundata, 10 VII 1795; no. 3149: vicar from Moeciu de Sus, 18 VII 1795)

<sup>49</sup> Ioan Ciorba, *Marea foamete din Transilvania dintre anii 1813-1817*, Oradea, 2007, p. 51-60 (title *Creşterea populaţiei şi implicaţiile acesteia*, in chapter *Factori agravanţi/declanşatori ai marii foamete*), 186-205 (*Efectele demografice ale marii foamete*)

<sup>50</sup> *Registrul Buteni...*, p. 324 (county of Arad; administrator of the Bishopric of Arad, Procopie Bolici, Arad, 28 XII 1816)

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>52</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 328 (administrator of the Bishopric of Arad, Procopie Bolici, Arad, 6 II 1817)

<sup>53</sup> Ioan Ciorba, *Aspecte ale politicii populaţioniste habsburgice în Transilvania la cumpăna secolelor XVIII-XIX (cu privire specială asupra regiunii Bihorului)*, in *Crisia*, 2005, p. 96

<sup>54</sup> *Registrul Buteni...*, p. 479 (Bishop Iosif Putnic, Arad, 3 III 1828)

<sup>55</sup> Liviu Moldovan, *op.cit.*, pp. 137, 139; Haralambie Chirca, *Registrele de stare civilă privind scaunul Sibiu (secolele XVII-XVIII)*, in *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, Historia*, 2, 1977, p. 26

Leaving room to interpretations, the norm made no mention on the language<sup>56</sup> in which the papers had to be conceived. Trying to take advantage from this omission of the law, the count of the county of Arad suggested Bishop Iosif Putnic to order the clergy under his jurisdiction that “the reports should be written into Hungarian or Latin”. Bishop Iosif Putnic proved to be a defender of the Orthodox privileges: “all church books and records are printed in the mother tongue, particularly as the *rights and privileges of our law and from His Highness who reinforced them with mercy, would decrease*” (s.n. C.A.). As a last argument, the bishop drew attention that by translating them, the original could be damaged: “those extracts or copies are more real if they are copied word for word after the original in the same language as the original”<sup>57</sup>. In a subsequent letter, the viscount showed that the priests “not only send the copies of the protocols, the reports are disordered and illegal in form”<sup>58</sup>. The new bishop, Nestor Ioanovici, was compelled to order once again to the priests to have two copies of the records at the same time. He also requested not to write “copy” on the records sent to the county, as it was an original too: “whenever they have to write in the church records, they should write in the county records too; in this way, by writing them at the same time, they would both be clean, original”<sup>59</sup>.

In 1835, the authorities of the Bihor county turned to the bishop to take the necessary steps to enforce the decision of 1827: “concerning the meaning of *law no.23 of 1827*, noticing that the Orthodox confession priests in the county do not hand in the records to the county archives, do not fill them in regularly, and the ones they fill in are full of wants and beating about the bush; therefore, we officially turn to the honourable bishop to settle order and to respect the sense of the law in his county in the future, not to hesitate in making efficient decisions, so that the records needed in the county archives from each locality to be handed in by the vicar to an appointed person each year and send them to the closest rural mayor to sign and send them together with the new ones to the county archives each year”<sup>60</sup>. The notice was debated during a consistory meeting held in Oradea-Velenta “as a consequence of the form letter sent by the bishop of Arad, Gherasim Rat, that he kindly made a decision regarding the annual records for the county archives as follows: “our priests should hand them in to a person appointed by the county. In today’s session, we ordered each archpriest that everybody should hand in the records we have already

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<sup>56</sup> From an ethnical point of view, the Orthodox were Romanians, Serbians, or Greeks; each had the right to write their own record in their own language.

<sup>57</sup> *Registrul Buteni...*, p. 479-480 (Bishop Iosif Putnic, Arad, 3 III 1828)

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 496 (viscount of Arad, no. 707, 30 XI 1829; Bishop Nestor Ioanovici, Arad, 15 XII 1829; Buteni, 29 XII 1829)

<sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 497 (viscount of Arad, no. 707, 30 XI 1829; Bishop Nestor Ioanovici, Arad, 15 XII 1829; Buteni, 29 XII 1829)

<sup>60</sup> A.N.-D.J.Bh., *fund Episcopia Ortodoxă Oradea*, dos. 22, f. 9 (county of Bihor, Oradea-Olosig, no. 2653, 14 XII 1835)

received to the rural mayor; as far as the others are concerned, each should order the priests under his authority to hand them in to the county envoy”<sup>61</sup>. The decision was sent to the vicars through a form letter: “as the high order has urged several times, according to their form, each priest should respectfully hand the records in to the magistrate in due time”<sup>62</sup>. Through its representatives, the county of Bihor reiterated the request and in 1843: “the enclosed under % copy to the high letter of the county of Biharia, you will fully understand how ignorant are some of our priests belonging to our high county in writing and handing in the records to the archives of the high county..., the lacking rules, to give them, so that the county should no longer be compelled to send such letters; to confide in archpriests so that the ignoring priests who do not write the records appropriately..... to be in connection from time to time, so that they obey the punishment, and the records to be filled in by others from their income”<sup>63</sup>.

We consider that some marginal notes mentioning that the information was handed in to the county are in tight connection with this decision; they were written after that year. The deceased record in the parish of Nimaesti had the following notes: so far have been handed in” – no. 147, 25 September 1833; “so far have been handed in to the high county” – no. 232, 24 December 1838<sup>64</sup>. The newborn records in the parish mentioned: “so far have been handed in – no. 290, 3 October 1834; “so far have been handed in to the high county in the year 1836” – no. 355, 29 November 1836; “so far have been handed in” – no. 381, 18 January 1838; “so far have been handed in to the high county” – no. 416, 17 December 1838<sup>65</sup>. In the protocol of the baptised in the parish of Baita, we see the note: “so far have been handed in the baptised records”<sup>66</sup>, written at the beginning of the year 1836. There is a special mention by the vicar of Tarian: “*according to the high imperial order*, they have been handed in to the praetor”<sup>67</sup>. We will provide no more examples, although they are numerous<sup>68</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 7 (county of Bihor, 14 XII 1835; Bishop of Arad; Orthodox Consistory, Oradea-Velenta, 4/16 II 1836)

<sup>62</sup> *Idem*, *fond Parohia Ortodoxă Parhia*, dos. 4, f. 10 (administrator of the Lunca archpriest district, George Haios, Diosig, 23 IV [1836])

<sup>63</sup> Archives of the Romanian Orthodox Bishopric of Oradea, packet year 1843 (Bishop Gherasim Raț, Arad, 18/30 III 1843)

<sup>64</sup> A.N.-D.J.Bh., *fund Colecția registrelor de stare civilă*, dos. 650 (Nimăiești Orthodox Parish, Deceased Record, 1825-1844), f. 27, 29v, 41v

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 644 (Nimăiești Orthodox Parish, Newborn Record, 1825-1842), f. 57, 68, 72, 78

<sup>66</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 79 (Băița Orthodox Parish, Newborn Record, 1814-1845), f. 101v

<sup>67</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 1249 (Tărian Orthodox Parish, Newborn Record, 1819-1844, and Deceased, 1832-1844), f. 128v

<sup>68</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 1064 (Săldăbagiul Mic Orthodox Parish, Newborn Record, 1779-1843), f. 82; *Ibidem*, file 884a (Păușa Orthodox Parish, Newborn Record, 1832-1844), f. 7, 16v; *Ibidem*, dos. 1323 (Păușa Orthodox Parish, Newborn and Deceased Record 1828-1844), f. 31; *Ibidem*, dos. 1249 (Tărian, Orthodox Parish Newborn Record, 1819-1844, and Deceased, 1832-1844), f. 125v



When analysing these aspects of the life of the Orthodox clergy in the field of population statistics, we can reach several conclusions. Starting with the requirements of the authorities, we can notice the great need for information concerning the population. We see a certain unsteadiness concerning the span of time between the reports; leaving aside the crises and military reports, there were situations when they were required every three or six months, unlike most cases, when they were required every year.

As far as the Orthodox Church and clergy are concerned, whether they referred to providing support in censuses, or to elaborating centralisers, or elaborating two copies of the civil status records, these norms made this ecclesiastic institution a means of disseminating reform in the field of population statistics, while some vicars became genuine bureaucrats of the Empire – as confirmed by their notes on the records. However, it is true that, despite the insistences of their superiors, most vicars did not respect the requirements, as it was shown in form letters several times. Without these periodical reports, the population statistics did not reach its aim. It was a reality of the time that characterised not only the Orthodox priests<sup>69</sup>.

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<sup>69</sup> Costin Feneşan, *Izvoare de demografie istorică, vol. II, Secolul al XIX-lea – 1914, Transilvania*, Bucureşti, 1987, p. 56, 112-113, 115



# THE RELIGIOUS SONG IN CHURCHES IN CRISANA (18<sup>TH</sup> – 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES)

*Emilia-Adina GALE*

**Abstract:** *The religious song, an expression of devoutness practised during the weekly liturgy, is a proof of the collective religious fervour uniting in mind and feeling ordinary believers. Brought together by the exercise of singing, people, both adults and young, are more careful about the divine service. It is also a pleasant way to be trained in religious matters and particularly it is a reason not to miss from church. The song does not only support the usual Sunday liturgy, it can be imposed by the ecclesiastic authorities with a scope; they also give instructions (what, how, and when to sing). An important role for the religious song is played by the church singer, the spiritual leader of the community that elects him.*

**Keywords:** religious, song, church, devoutness, community

The religious song, an expression of piety practised during the weekly mass, opens interesting perspectives on the religious passion animating ordinary believers. It is true that the documents at the epoch are not very rich in this respect; however, we can get a glimpse on what the religious song means to the simple individual. The religious mass on Sundays and holidays is the most important event of the religious rural life, including the liturgy and the sermon, when the believer has to turn his eyes to God and forget about his problems for a moment<sup>1</sup>. It is a first form of “community aggregation on religious, spiritual, and civil levels”<sup>2</sup>. However, the liturgy is celebrated with insufficient rigour; even the quality of the sermons is doubtful, if they are held; there is a “relative disorder”<sup>3</sup> in churches and in fulfilling the sacred duties by the priests.

Some of the books and manuscripts circulating in the rural world contain “appropriate learning on listening to the holy liturgy in humbleness in

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<sup>1</sup> Marc R. Foster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages. Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560-1720*, Cornell University Press, New York, 1992, p. 28-31; Paul Evdokimov, *Orthodoxia*, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 1996, p. 276-284

<sup>2</sup> Doru Radosav, *Sentimentul religios la români. O perspectivă istorică (sec. XVIII – XX)*, Editura Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p. 212

<sup>3</sup> Toader Nicoară, *Transilvania la începuturile timpurilor moderne (1680 - 1800) – societate rurală și mentalități colective*, Editura Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, p. 96

the church”<sup>4</sup>. People have to think to, ponder on, and talk about the facts exposed: “hear with passion, listen with pain, and get with heart broken”<sup>5</sup>. According to the description provided by the priest in 1858, the Greek-Catholic believers in Ciumesti (Satu-Mare County) are a model of devoutness; in church, they “listen piously the Holy Liturgy and the Teaching, some of them sing, especially the youth”<sup>6</sup>. Music is a spiritual asset provided to the consumption of the whole group of people coming to the Sunday mass that is meant to stimulate religious sensitivity<sup>7</sup>. Through religious songs all attending the sermon are involved; thus, they avoid the risk of getting bored and get to other activities that might disturb the divine service. The songs that are short and easy to remember praising the divinity are important, such as the hymn sung in honour of a saint or a religious event. Thus, on the Elevation of the Holy Cross, they sing: “Your birth, our Lord, rose the light of understanding, what served the stars should bow as a star to the sun of the right and will see You beneath the sunrise, blessed is our God” and “Deliver your people and bless your land, our Lord, give our emperor the victory against the heathen and defend your people with Your cross”<sup>8</sup>. On the 300<sup>th</sup> celebration since the crowning of “to be forever remembered” emperor Ferdinand I, Samuil Vulcan orders his priests through a memo dated 17 October 1827, to celebrate the event through singing and to explain to the parishioners the importance of the moment and the “charity” of the House of Austria towards their subjects from Hungary: “we decide as follows: on the Sunday mentioned above, that is, on 4 November according to the new calendar this year, all churches in our Eparchy, for this reason and for the healthy and peacefully reign of His Highness to praise and thank God by singing: *Mărire întru cei de sus (Praise to the Holy)* and the hymns *Mântuiește Doamne Poporul tău (God Deliver Your People)*” and the prays for the king. All these aimed at arouse feelings of “gratitude, piousness [...] to His Highness” amongst the believers<sup>9</sup>. If necessary, some words can be replaced: in 1842, Ioan Corneli, the Greek-Catholic chancellor vicar, required the believers in the eparchy of Oradea to participate to three liturgies, to pray and sing for the

<sup>4</sup> Mihai Moraru, Cătălina Velculescu, *Bibliografia analitică a cărților populare laice*, vol. I, Editura Academiei R.S.R., București, 1976, p. 123

<sup>5</sup> *Strastnic*, Blaj, 1753 in Ioan Bianu, Dan Simionescu, *Bibliografia românească veche 1508-1830*, tom IV, Adăogiri și îndreptări, Atelierele grafice SOCEC & Co. Soc. Anonimă Română, 1944 (hereinafter: *Bibliografia românească veche*, IV), p. 246

<sup>6</sup> National Archives – Bihor County Directorate (hereinafter: AN-DJBh), *fond Episcopia Greco-Catolică de Oradea (Fund Oradea Greek-Catholic Bishopric)*, inv. 881 (hereinafter: *fond Episcopia Greco-Catolică...*), dos. 1368, f. 61

<sup>7</sup> John Bossy, *Creștinismul în Occident. 1400-1700*, Editura Humanitas, București, 1998, p. 216-217

<sup>8</sup> These are shown in an abridged *Miinei* written by teacher Pavel from the Muncaciu borough in the village of Josani (Bihor County) in 1732 that circulated in the region of Crisana (M. P., *Un manuscris din anul 1733*, in *Biserica și școala*, 1914, nr. 8, p. 58).

<sup>9</sup> AN-DJBh, *fond Parohia greco-catolică Vășad*, , inv. 519, dos. 1, f. 1

“brothers in Spain” who have been at war for eight years: “During the Holy Liturgy, they should sing the hymn ‘God Deliver Your People’ by replacing the words ‘Victory of our Emperor’ with ‘Victory of Your Church over the foes, give’ and so on”<sup>10</sup>.

The simple believer loves the song, both adults and youth sing together in church with pleasure. “As soon as they get to the church, they all want songs, katavasias and more”<sup>11</sup>. In Sanislau (Satu-Mare County), “people celebrate the Holy Sundays and Holidays with the appropriate zeal”, in the morning “at Holy Liturgy and vespers, they all come together and praise Our Lord in melodious songs sung by the pupils in all prescribed answers” – confessed the Greek-Catholic priest Demeter Hossu in 1858<sup>12</sup>. It was the same six years earlier, when the priest was deeply touched seeing the church full of people (“though the church is pretty big, I seldom have enough room to kneel because of the people gathered here”) and hearing “the sweet songs of the choir in harmony with the voice of the youth”, “and God knows that I do not lie or exaggerate, I only tell the truth, hearing them I shed a tear”<sup>13</sup>. The teacher is the one having the duty to teach children “the usual answers to prayers during the sermon, the lecterns”: *God have mercy, Give us Lord, To You our Lord*, “the usual songs sung during the liturgy, according to the rules” by dividing the pupils in “voices” and explained to them<sup>14</sup>. Ioan Pak, the Greek-Catholic bishopric vicar, issues a memo in 1858 to require all schools that on Sundays and holidays, half an hour should use “for religious songs and royal song, sometimes the Romanian popular round dance with the approval of the local priest, as he is responsible that the round dance should not be against morality”<sup>15</sup>. In Busag (Maramures County), children learn the religious songs during the catechetical teachings: “the youth have developed pretty well in Catechism and Songs” – reported the local priest in 1852<sup>16</sup>. The “usefulness of the songs” for children is great, as they make them “more pious and humble to God, and they will have their own thoughts at the time of God’s sermon on the words of the usual religious songs and the ones they have to sing”<sup>17</sup>; the good example of the children should be followed by adults, too.

The music sung by the choir is a model of integrating multiplicity to uniqueness by intertwining several voices. It is a divine gift just a bit lower than

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<sup>10</sup> Blaga Mihoc, *Justiție și moralitate*, Editura Logos ’94, Oradea, 2000, p. 184-186

<sup>11</sup> *Psaltire*, Râmnic, 1779 în *Bibliografia românească veche*, IV, p. 258

<sup>12</sup> AN-DJBh, *fond Episcopia Greco-Catolică...*, dos. 1368, f. 125

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 28

<sup>14</sup> *Cartea trebuinciosă pentru dascălii școalelor de jos românești neunite*, Viena, 1785, în Florea Fugariu (editor), *Școala ardeleană*, vol. I, Editura Minerva, București, 1983 (hereinafter: *Cartea trebuinciosă pentru dascăli...*), p. 106-107

<sup>15</sup> Blaga Mihoc, *op. cit.*, p. 253

<sup>16</sup> AN-DJBh, *fond Episcopia Greco-Catolică...*, dos. 1368, f. 4

<sup>17</sup> *Cartea trebuinciosă pentru dascăli...*, p. 106-107

the word. The Council of Trent was also concerned about music by making a clear-cut dissociation between sacred and secular music. The presence of the sacred in music is textual by excellence, as the sacred music accompanies sacred texts. It is supposed to subordinate to the text and the liturgical function in general<sup>18</sup>. It is the master of feelings, the conciliator of discords and conflicts, as “the soul is made up of harmony”; it “has the urge and connection with the harmony of the voices” and “the sweetness of the song is combined with the dogmata, so that through the sweetness of listening” people should easily get “the usefulness in the words, just as the wise doctors do by mixing the hardest medicines with honey”<sup>19</sup>. “The true scope of the song is to praise God and His wisdom even more vividly with thanks and to be able to wipe painfully our need, and to ask Him for gifts and the absolution of our sins [...]”. When we want to praise God through our songs and to thank Him, our heart should fit the words of the song, just like the verses match the tone” – reads the *Cartea de trebuinta pentru dascalii* (*The Handy Book for Teachers*) when advising on how to teach children to sing during liturgy<sup>20</sup>. At the same time, the high clergy is aware that the beauty of the lectern song may draw ordinary believers to steadily come to church.

They also sing psalms in church, highly appreciated by ordinary believers (this is proved by the considerable number of *Psalms* in Orthodox churches in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>21</sup> and the fact that they are spread through calendars<sup>22</sup>). As David the Prophet was not only a poet, he was also a singer, the psalms were sung on a certain music, “the oldest Romanian musical creation known so far”<sup>23</sup>. Singing the psalms is “uniting the separated, conciliating the foes”; “the song gives away goodness”; “the song is chasing the devils”<sup>24</sup>. “The Holy Psalm Book,/Is sung in beautiful verses/ With a moderate voice,/ As singing the psalms/ Is given by Holy Ghost,/ A great prophecy/ And the word of God./ So if from the psalms/ And the body sing/ We earn sweetness/ [...] Sonorous body/ The chords match” – says Ioan Barac at the

<sup>18</sup> John Bossy, *op. cit.*, p. 218

<sup>19</sup> *Psaltire*, Râmnic, 1779 în *Bibliografia românească veche*, IV, p. 258; Mihai Mitu, *Oameni și fapte din secolul al XVIII-lea românesc*, Editura ATOS, București, 1999, p. 138-139

<sup>20</sup> *Cartea trebuinciosă pentru dascăli...*, p. 106

<sup>21</sup> AN-DJBh, *Fond Episcopia Otodoxă de Oradea*, inv. 538 (hereinafter: *Fond Episcopia Otodoxă...*), dos. 39, f. 71-121

<sup>22</sup> In *Calendariu pe anul comun de la Christos 1880 și 1881* are published the Psalms 8 and 46 from the 1673*Psaltirea* in verses by mitropolit Dositei of Moldavia; from the same *Psaltire*, *Călindariul bunului eonom* publishes Psalm 54 in 1880 (Elena Dunăreanu, *Calendarele românești sibieni (1793-1970)*, Biblioteca „Astra”, Sibiu, 1970, p. 74-75, 216)

<sup>23</sup> Mihai Mitu, *op. cit.*, p. 131-132

<sup>24</sup> *Psaltire*, Râmnic, 1779 în *Bibliografia românească veche*, IV, p. 258

beginning of his poetry *Psalms Book*<sup>25</sup>. If the psalms are not sung appropriately, with the suitable intonation, those listening to them will not understand a word: “and should someone read it in a rush, [...] it is useless, as they cannot understand because of the haste”<sup>26</sup>. In order to do that, the *Psalms* usually begin with “teachings on how to read the psalms” and the “appropriate reading of the psalms in particular” meant especially for the priests<sup>27</sup>.

Another important religious songs book that is present in the Romanian churches is *Triodul* (at least, in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, it is present in almost all Orthodox churches in the Bihor)<sup>28</sup>. *Triodul* is “the handy book during preparations for Christian repent preceding the Resurrection” – reads a manuscript of the church in Brusturi (Arad County)<sup>29</sup>. Such a book was bought “at the expense of the Saint Nicolas Church in Satmariu Nimetiu” in 1768. “And I and the devout singer Vasile Zima from Budesti, the singer of the abovementioned church, started to sing in the year of the Lord 1798, February 15”<sup>30</sup>. In Potau (Satu-Mare County), for instance, “in the year 1837, they started to sing the Holy Triod in the 10<sup>th</sup> day of February”<sup>31</sup>.

Schoolmaster Ioan Tincovici edits a small volume of *Cantari dumnezeesti* (*Holy Songs*) (Buda, 1815), as he sees that people use to sing in church in several places “when giving wafer to the people on great holidays” and some people “use to cheer up with holy songs during meals”<sup>32</sup>, “lest those who want to sing should not sing whore-like or devilish songs”; they should sing these ones that are in the *Catavasies*<sup>33</sup>. Mihail Bene, schoolmaster and church singer in Giorocuta (Satu-Mare County) writes some religious verses, as he confesses in a note on an *Octoih* in 1890: “In the three years while I was a church singer and schoolmaster here in Giorocuta I composed a collection of moral religious verses, ‘Cununa’ (The Wreath) and I wrote some verses in the church books, so that the church singers and schoolmasters after me may sing on some holidays as they are meant to”<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>25</sup> Ioan Barac, *Psaltirea fericitului proroc și împărat David cu molitvele la toate kathisme, cu cântările lui Moisi, cu psalmii cei aleși, și cu pripeala lor*, Brașov, 1820, in Florea Fugariu, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 525

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>27</sup> Mihai Mitu, *op. cit.*, p. 136-137

<sup>28</sup> AN-DJBh, *Fond Episcopia Otodoxă ...*, dos. 39, f. 71-121

<sup>29</sup> Gheorghe Ciuhandu, *Vechi urme de cultură românească din Bihor. III. Triodul – manuscris din Bihor*, în *Cele Trei Crișuri*, no. 1-2, 1921, p. 46

<sup>30</sup> Elena Bărnăuțiu, *Carte românească veche în colecții sătmărene*, Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, Satu Mare, 1998, p. 43

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 178

<sup>32</sup> Ion Bianu, Nerva Hodoș, Dan Simionescu, *Bibliografia românească veche. 1503 – 1830*, tome III 1809-1830, Atelierele Grafice SOCEC & Co., Soc. Anonimă, București, 1912-1936 (hereinafter: *Bibliografia românească veche*, III), p. 130-131

<sup>33</sup> *Catavesier*, Târgoviște, 1713 in *Bibliografia românească veche*, IV, p. 40

<sup>34</sup> Elena Bărnăuțiu, *op. cit.*, p. 39

The importance of the song for believers may be seen in the following situation that degenerated in verbal violence: in Spinus (Bihor County), in the year 1783, the bailiff Husiriu Iogi told the deacon Nica Ion, “in the holy church” to shut up and stop singing; as a consequence, the deacon got upset and replied “let him sing himself then and he left angry”. It is certain that the quarrel culminated in swearing from the bailiff: “he did worse, as he cursed me; and he said that I was a thief and *dulcos*; and he works to do me wrong with God” – confesses Nica Ion in the complaint sent to the Greek-Catholic Bishopric in Oradea<sup>35</sup>.

Hence, we can see that in the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic churches in Crisana there is the habit to sing. However, this good habit that the church authorities support and encourage as a proof of true devoutness does not seem to be spread all over the region. In the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they complained the fact that there are no singers in churches to accompany the priest and the schoolmaster (who often acts out as a church singer in the Romanian churches) during sermons. They admit the lack of education amongst the believers and their inability to buy religious songs books. However, they consider that “if a man can read a little and stands beside the priest and the schoolmaster, once they ask him to sing once, then twice, you see that the man [...] does not find peace until he manages to get a brand new church book”. When a member of the family in the village can sing the doxology or the “Happiness” during liturgy, he finds himself proud to know the verses and to be able to turn the oily pages of the books. Those who sing during sermons do not do it for money; they do it out of piety, as the “moral capital” is much more important: “it defends the church from those who shout, you confine the church to faith and love”<sup>36</sup>. The church singer, a spiritual leader of the community, has to have his “knowledge rooted” in “church songs” and a “strong and pleasant” voice<sup>37</sup>. The church singer from Suplac has a “moral” behaviour and a “melodious voice” being able to sing on all tones<sup>38</sup>. This position may be inherited from father to son: in Vintere, Teodor Toma is the church singer and also has the “schoolmaster position”; his son is 19 years old and is a church singer, too<sup>39</sup>. Church singers and other church servants have to have a behaviour strictly conforming the church and moral norms, as bad “habits are avoided”. They are elected by the parishioners whom they represent and to whom they are role-models – as mentioned in a memo in 1844 by Vasile

<sup>35</sup> AN-DJBh, *fond Episcopia Greco-Catolică...*, dos. 1348, f. 132

<sup>36</sup> Petru Popa, *Stranele în Bihor*, în *Biserica și școala*, 1905, no. 14, p. 109-110

<sup>37</sup> AN-DJBh, *fond Episcopia Greco-Catolică...*, dos. 1368, f. 129

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 100

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 299



Erdely. Those not behaving according to their social and religious status should be dismissed from their positions<sup>40</sup>.

Through lectern singing, estrangement from church influencing more and more the rural world may be abated. “In the area of Bihor – with few exceptions, the lecterns are solely the responsibility of schoolmasters. He sings until he exhaust themselves, then you hear him say: “God, the lectern exhausts me”, as he has a “dry throat by singing all by himself for two hours”. Should there be more singers, “the services would no longer be monotonous or the churches so empty. The one that can sing would not stay at home without a definite reason; he takes his wife and children to church. As he passed by his neighbour, he calls him to join them; thus, a healthy spirit enters the village”<sup>41</sup>.

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<sup>40</sup> Idem, *fond Parohia greco-catolică Vășad...*, dos. 1, f. 61v

<sup>41</sup> Petru Popa, *op. cit.*, p. 109-110



# AGRICULTURAL SYSTEMS IN THE APUSENI MOUNTAINS (18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY – FORMER HALF OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY) (I)<sup>\*</sup>

Cristian CABĂU

**Abstract:** *The article aims at studying the dynamics of crop systems in the Apuseni Mountains in a period covering 250 years by using a multidisciplinary methodology (historical, ethnological, agronomical, and geographical). The knowledge on the crop system from this perspective favours two methodological perspectives: one going from the present to the past, while the other goes back to the history of the Apuseni Mountains.*

*As far as the factors influencing crop systems are concerned, they can be grouped in two categories: physical-geographical factors (geomorphologic structure, pedological and hydrological conditions) and socio-historical and cultural factors (demography, interdependence of the elements of the traditional occupational system, degree of agricultural technical system, culture plants, habitat, or tradition).*

**Keywords:** *crop, system, Apuseni, subsistence, multidisciplinary*

## I. PRELIMINARIES

At present, the issue of cultural systems and their influence on the peasant society is investigated and thus our knowledge on their aspects has developed. From a historic point of view, we can state that the Romanian historical, ethnologic, geographic, agricultural or sociological literature concerning the evolution and dissemination on the agricultural systems is rich<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>\*</sup> For objective reasons, we will only approach aspects relating to the terminology and methodology of crop systems, followed by the enumeration and individualisation of factors influencing their dynamics. In the second (future) part, we will make a detailed analysis of each crop system in the Apuseni Mountains.

<sup>1</sup> Here is a list of works, without claiming to be an exhaustive one: P. S. Aurelian, *Sistemele de cultură și raporturile lor cu starea socială*, București, 1891; George Maior, *Politica agrară la români*, 1906; Henri H. Stahl, *Contribuții la studiul satelor devălmașe românești*, București, I, 1958; Victor Tufescu, *Evoluția tipurilor de agricultură din România*, în *Natura*, seria geografie-geologie, XVIII, 1966, nr. 6, p. 6-14; Romulus Vulcănescu, *Agricultura de munte în vestul Carpaților meridionali*, în *REF*, 2, 1967, p. 89-100; Ilie Corfuz, *Agricultura Țării Românești în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*, București, 1969; Eugen Sănduleac, *Compendiul istoriei «sistemelor agricole» din România*, în *Terra Nostra*, II, București, 1971; p. 178-185; Nicolae Dunăre (sub redacția), *Țara Bârsei*, București, I, 1972; Ion Vlăduțiu, *Etnografie românească*, București, 1973; Valeriu Butură, *Etnografia poporului român*, Cluj-

However, just like other fields of popular civilisation, the study on agricultural techniques has certain obstacles relating to what the ethnographic science calls “controlled language” considering the lack of a terminological clarification and unification. The study of agricultural systems is an edifying example in point, as research “is complicated through the lack of consensus concerning their distribution in time and space within the Romanian agrarian civilisation for lack of complete and systematic information referring to different historical epochs circumscribed to different areas in the country”<sup>2</sup>.

Returning to the geographic area of the Apuseni, we can notice that there was a certain interest from those in charge with the issue of crop systems; the number of surveys and articles approaching these aspects is relatively great. Most works are elaborated and approach from unilateral perspectives the agricultural systems here, thus leading to a great diversity of opinions<sup>3</sup>. Most works do not envisage the evolution of crop systems on the level of the whole region from several points of view (historically, ethnologically, agriculturally, sociologically, etc.) diachronically. It is precisely from this perspective that our initiative intends to harmonize the research carried out so far to have a better picture of the “geography of crop rotation”<sup>4</sup>, of their dissemination and dynamics.

## II. TERMINOLOGY AND METHODOLOGY

In our opinion, the debates relating to the knowledge on crop systems in the Apuseni Mountains have to start from a clear-cut delimitation of the studied geographical region.

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Napoca, 1978; Georgeta Moraru Popa, *Probleme preliminare ale clasificării în etnologia agrară*, (II), în *Atlasul etnografic al României. Buletin*, 1980; Romulus Vuia, *Studii de etnografie și folclor*, I, II, București, 1975, 1980; Ioan Toșa, *Contribuții la studiul agriculturii tradiționale românești*, în *Crisia*, XIV, Oradea, 1984, p. 359-381; Gheorghe Iordache, *Ocupații tradiționale pe teritoriul României*, I, Craiova, 1985; Barbu Ștefănescu, *Tehnică agricolă și ritm de muncă în gospodăria țărănească din Crișana (sec. al XVIII-lea și începutul sec. al XIX)*, Oradea, I, II, 1995 (hereinafter: Barbu Ștefănescu, *Tehnică agricolă...*)

<sup>2</sup> Barbu Ștefănescu, *Considerații asupra tehnicii agricole din Bihor în secolul al XVIII-lea. Sistemele de agricultură*, în *Crisia*, XIV, 1984 (hereinafter: Barbu Ștefănescu, *Sistemele de agricultură...*), p. 383

<sup>3</sup> Lucia Apolzan, *Cercetări etnografice în Munții Apuseni*, în *Apulum*, 1942, p. 257-269; Lucia Apolzan, *Observații asupra ocupațiilor agricole în Munții Apuseni*, în *Apulum*, 1945, p. 284-311; Valeriu Butură, *Sisteme de cultură din Munții Apuseni*, în *Apulum*, VIII, Alba Iulia, 1971 (hereinafter: Valeriu Butură, *Sisteme de cultură...*), p. 509-523; Nicolae Dunăre, *Mijloace tradiționale în agricultura Munților Apuseni în prima jumătate a secolului XX*, în *Apulum*, 1973, p. 575-632; Ioan Toșa, *Contribuții etnografice la studiul sistemelor de agricultură transilvănene*, în *A.M.E.T. pe anii 1974-1975*, Cluj-Napoca, 1975, p. 105-119; Barbu Ștefănescu, *Sistemele de agricultură...*, p. 383-437.

<sup>4</sup> Fernand Braudel, *L'Identité de la France*, Paris, 1986 (hereinafter: Fernand Braudel, *L'Identité...*), p. 732

Thus, in the **north**, the area is delimited by the Crisul Repede valley from Alesd to Izvoru Crisului whence it goes eastwards to the Capus valley, then to Floresti. We included to the region the depression Vad-Borod from Lugasu de Sus to Pestis and then to Luncsoara and Cornitel. To the **west**, the limit is from Alesd through an anfractuous line relating Alesd to Copacel, then to Dragesti, Sambata, and Soimi towards Hasmas (on the western slope of the Codru Moma Mountains) to Plescuta, then rimming the northern limit of the Zarand Mountains to the Tauti lake, down to the valley of Almas continuing to the valley opposite to Milova. The **southern** limit is the Mures corridor, respectively the southern limit of the Zarand Mountains and the Metaliferi Mountains to Geoagiu. To the **east**, the delimitation starts in Geoagiu to Galda de Jos, then to the north up to Moldovenesti, then on the Hasdate valley to Floresti.

If we consider this area as compact and unitary does not involve the existence of identical realities from the point of view of our analysis. This does not mean the diminishing of this mountainous region, as within the crop systems in the area, within the thaw system, they all had an extensive character.

Romanian science has approached the issue of crop systems from the perspective of particular fields, such as history, ethnography, agronomy, sociology, or geography; only seldom have there been multi- or interdisciplinary approaches. With few exceptions<sup>5</sup>, the opinions on the issue depend only on particular scientific approaches.

Out of the great number of definitions granted to crop systems, we will present only three. The first is conceived from an ethnological point of view and defines crop system as “all means of labour and agrarian process applied according to the natural conditions and the social organisation characteristic of the agrarian communities at a certain historical time”<sup>6</sup>.

From the point of view of the agronomical science, the definition of the agricultural system needs the specification of those features outlining it, that is: a) technological (the means of using the land: “land utilisation”, machines, chemicals, crop rotation, etc.); b) conceptual (character of production and productivity providing the degree of intensity); c) socio-economic (form of property, allotment, systematisation and use of land, etc.). Consequently, the agricultural system is “the totality of technological measures, such as organisational-economic activities, applied at a certain historical time, according to the natural conditions aiming at getting an increasing vegetal and animal production”<sup>7</sup>.

We have to mention the fact that the issue of crop systems cannot be perceived only unilaterally. We need to combine several scientific perspectives

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<sup>5</sup> Gheorghe Iordache, *op. cit.*; Barbu Ștefănescu, *Sistemele de agricultură...*

<sup>6</sup> Georgeta Moraru Popa, *op. cit.*, p. 166-167

<sup>7</sup> Eugen Sănduleac, *op. cit.*, p. 179-180

and the final endeavour would be multidisciplinary. Starting with this premise, we conceive the crop systems as “the groups of technical measures (crop techniques, animal breeding techniques, techniques for the complex use of the woods, etc.), organisational and legal measures of economic branches established to use the life area of a community according to the natural and cultural-historical conditions”<sup>8</sup>.

In our survey, the terminological clarifications are needed to establish some terms, such as “system” and “crop rotation”, as we often encounter expressions such as “biennial system”, “biennial crop rotation”, “triennial system”, “triennial crop rotation”. The correct perception of the meanings is facilitated if we consider the crop system as a “system” made up in its turn of subsystems: technical, organisational, legal, social, etc. Considering that the technical subsystem is the most important, it is made up of all agricultural techniques: cropping techniques, a.s.o. Within the techniques to prepare lands for sowing, a first category is represented by the techniques to remake the fertility of the soil; within these techniques, together with the fertilising techniques, there are the techniques for crop rotation. Under the circumstances, we have to make a clear-cut difference between the crop system – defined through one of its technical components, the crop rotation technique – and the technique from which it takes its name<sup>9</sup>, as there is a subordination relation between crop rotation and the system. So it is obvious that through crop rotation we can understand the organisation within the village of homogenous lands, of “groups” where all lots were used in the same manner, sowed or left as thaws<sup>10</sup>, while the crop rotation technique was the “technique to remake soil fertility referring to the ways of distribution in time and space of agricultural crops within the boundaries of a community, the crops succession on a given area aiming at providing the best productivity of the crops”<sup>11</sup>.

The research of the crop systems over two centuries and a half needs different insight and knowledge. Thus, for the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the documents we use belong to the archives (records, land records, official investigations, estates records, etc.). Since from an ethnological point of view, resorting exclusively to contemporary reality and collective memory is not enough, the need for archive research is fully perceived in both the 18<sup>th</sup> century and most of the following one. It was only in the last two decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century that the information on this aspect acquired a scientific quality, thus enabling us to use them as sources of information<sup>12</sup>. The

<sup>8</sup> Barbu Ștefănescu, *Sistemele de agricultură...*, p. 386

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 385

<sup>10</sup> George Duby, *L'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes dans l'Occident médiéval*, Paris, 1962, I, p. 172

<sup>11</sup> Barbu Ștefănescu, *Sistemele de agricultură...*, p. 386

<sup>12</sup> Teofil Frâncu, George Cândrea, *Munții Apuseni*, București, 1888

realities written down by several investigators of the researched mountainous area, by ethnographic research, sociological investigations, or field investigations of some specialists in the field provide useful information.

The crop systems on the level of the Apuseni Mountains is characterised by a great stability in time, through routine techniques, practices and means of expression hard to reveal and hence the need for different ways of information. Our endeavour aims at being interdisciplinary, considering that the “issues of a growing traditional society through the limits this growth inevitably has, needs a multiple approach, an appeal to very diverse documents and series”<sup>13</sup>. Depending on requirements, we will be geographers, historians, or ethnologists.

The research on the crop systems at a certain long historical epoch contingent to present, favours two methodological perspectives.

The first consists of approaching the past from the perspective of the present, going back in time and preferably pursuing the signs of progress preparing in advance the changes happening in front of our eyes. Referring to the ways of researching crop systems in France, Marc Bloch proposed a regressive model of investigation, where the first step consists of establishing, fixing the existent situation at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, so that, starting from this landmark, a regressive investigation may be carried out, since the realities subject to investigation alter slowly without being completely distorted<sup>14</sup>. In the Apuseni, the regressive method may start from the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as there were several elements of the previous centuries. The second method researches the peasant society from the perspective of the previous centuries and stressing the resemblances between yesterday and today.

The solution to the “dilemma” is provided by Fernand Braudel, who was urging “to pursue these and those accepting that the past is prolonged and that a certain future is to come at the same time”<sup>15</sup>.

At present, ecology has underlined the negative effects intensive agriculture has upon the environment; hence, the need to adapt it to the ecological requirements<sup>16</sup>. Thus, if we consider the rural area (ecological reality and human creation) as an ecosystem and if we are aware of the fact that the agro-system is an “altered” ecosystem, we can consider agro-system as

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<sup>13</sup> Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Les paysans de Languedoc*, I, Paris, 1966, p. 10

<sup>14</sup> Fernand Braudel, *L'Identité...*, p. 745

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 793 („Rural civilisation is the product of history... This history is stratigraphic: the specific contribution it acquires from each century or group of centuries and from each millennium; it is not annulled, it is covered, or eroded, and “chopped” by the subsequent periods’ contribution. The sum of these relations.... has to be read as a geological section, from down upwards, if we are historians, and the other way around, if we are geographers or ethnologists”. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Le territoire de l'historien*, III, Paris, 1973, p. 142-143)

<sup>16</sup> Werner, Rösener, *Țăranii în istoria Europei*, Iași, 2003, p. 14; Barbu Ștefănescu, *Implicațiile ecologice ale agriculturii tradiționale de munte*, în *Crisia*, XV, Oradea, 1985, p. 367-373

corresponding to an unstructured natural balance and its replacement through secondary unstable balances directly related to the type of use, the exploitation of the agricultural area. Thus, the crop system becomes the key to understanding the issue supposed by the existence of the ecological system, as any agricultural mutation turns into an ecological mutation<sup>17</sup>.

In our analysis, we start from the premise that the crop systems in the Apuseni may be considered as “structures” (in the sense established by Braudel) of peasant society in the area<sup>18</sup>. Such an option is not a hazardous one, as we have to deal with an ensemble, an architecture, a reality that „le temps use mal et vehicule tres longument”. Certain long lasting structures become steady elements for several generations: “they embrace history embarrassing it and impose its way. Others disappear. However, they all are supporters and obstacles, depending on the circumstances”<sup>19</sup>.

If we consider crop systems as structures, then we have to consider them through their mobility, when they (the systems) are elements that do not exist or travel by themselves; they are caught within an economy, in the framework of the rural civilisation<sup>20</sup>. Nevertheless, we have to resist the temptation to underline only what is permanent and to avoid using some “dangerous phrases: ‘almost immobile history’ (Fernand Braudel), or ‘immobile history’ (Fernand Braudel)”. If “history moves” (l’histoire bouge)”<sup>21</sup>, we cannot keep the discourse on the level of permanence or traditions.

We cannot deny the fact that the village, this world of traditions, is presented in the traditionalist agricultural society of the Apuseni, a strong stability in both external forms of life and the social and economic background. Stability is translated as agelessness of economic manners through an accentuated continuity of social hierarchy from one generation to another, etc. “What is inherited is more important than what is created from either point of view; changes are long lasting”<sup>22</sup>.

It is obvious the fact that throughout 250 years, the area has undergone several evolutions concerning the agricultural systems. However, these new realities have not been able to determine the adoption of intensive systems. All

<sup>17</sup> George Duby, Armand Wallon (sous la direction de:), *Histoire de la France rurale*, tome I, Paris, 1975, p. 64-65

<sup>18</sup> An example of historian treating the issue of crop systems in Europe is Pierre Toubert. Framing the crops systems in the agrarian structure region of the Italian Latium, he proved that its stability confers stability to the other components, including agricultural systems. For further details, see Krzysztof Pomian, *L’histoire des structures*, in *La nouvelle histoire* (sous la direction de Jaques Le Goff), Brussels, 1988, p. 110-112

<sup>19</sup> Fernand Braudel, *Histoire et sciences sociales: la longue durée*, in *A.E.S.C.*, 4/1958, p. 731

<sup>20</sup> Idem, *L’Identité...*, p. 739

<sup>21</sup> Jaques Le Goff, *L’histoire nouvelle*, in *La nouvelle histoire* (sous la direction de Jaques Le Goff), Brussels, 1988, p. 55

<sup>22</sup> Simion Retegan, *Mutații economice în satul românesc din Transilvania la mijlocul veacului al XIX-lea (1848-1867)*, in *A.I.I.C.*, 1978, p. 189



systems practised in the Apuseni have preserved their extensive character, as well as the existence of the thaw.

### III. FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DYNAMICS OF CROP SYSTEMS

The appearance, preservation, or evolution of crop cultures in the Apuseni Mountains was conditioned at the time we have approached, by a complex of general factors that embarrassed the dynamics of the systems through the relations between them on the level of the whole mountain area and all through the period – together with other particular factors connected with only one area or span of time.

#### PHYSICAL-GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS

The study of agriculture (including crop systems) cannot begin without first solving the issue of general factors conditioning its development. The first endeavour should follow the direction of framing the existence of human society in a defined geographical environment. In agriculture, the fight of man with nature is ceaseless. The less knowledge and techniques, the more dependence on the climate, soil, water resources, or vegetation<sup>23</sup>. Thus, we will be able to see “a quasi-mobile history, that of man and his relationship with the environment; a flowing history changing slowly, made up of insistent recurrences of the always restarted cycles”<sup>24</sup>.

We consider it necessary to turn to geography as it is essential, since “the geographic factor is one of the chain rings and nothing more”, while “geography does not help us see everything, but helps us see better”<sup>25</sup>.

The role played by the physical-geographic factors is highly important, since we are tempted “to often forget the considerable influence of the environment in the past that cannot be neglected. The man farming his land, fighting with nature, cannot be studied independently of the relief, soil, climate”<sup>26</sup>. Crop systems are part and parcel of the rural area; it cannot exist outside natural conditions and represent an ecological reality. By definition, it comprises to a certain extent the natural elements or those directly derived from the natural framework: relief, climate, soil, water, vegetations, and animals<sup>27</sup>.

If we analyse the realities in the Apuseni area from the point of view of the physical-geographic factors, we can easily notice their massive impact over

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<sup>23</sup> B. H. Slicher van Bath, *Storia agraria dell'Europa Occidentale (500-1850)*, Torino, 1972, p. 12

<sup>24</sup> Fernand Braudel, *Mediterranean and the World in the Time of Philip II*, I, București, 1986, p. 41

<sup>25</sup> Idem, *Les ambitions de l'histoire*, Paris, 1997, p. 84

<sup>26</sup> Ștefan Imreh, *Unele probleme și metode noi în cercetarea istoriei agriculturii feudale*, in *Terra Nostra*, II, 1971, p. 365

<sup>27</sup> George Duby, Armand Wallon (sous la direction de), *op. cit.*, p. 45

the life of the human communities in the area. Thus, in the seventh decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the inhabitants in the superior area of Zlatna were complaining to the administration of the Thesaurus of Sibiu on their precarious conditions of living<sup>28</sup>.

Half a century later, on the czirakian conscription, the tone of peasants' statements was still almost the same. Out of the numerous examples, we will show the statements of the inhabitants in Vidra de Sus: "The ploughing lands do not bear fruit, they are stony and elevated in high areas and hills, they are difficult to fertilise and farm and what is worse is that since they are stony, we only have a small lot; we can only sow oat and barley; because of the rain, the water takes them away... in our area, we can only use the twelfth part, the tenth part in the middle"<sup>29</sup>.

Over a century later, in the years 1920 and 1921, the situation was almost the same in the mountainous areas of the Apuseni. In the villages belonging to the counties of Alba and Hunedoara, the cereal crops were utterly unsatisfactory and the recommendations were to stop cereal crops in the area in the future. The boroughs of Abrud, Brad, Baia de Cris insistently requested the support of the Government, as the inhabitants "are starving, the wheat is very expensive..., and if the issue of feeding will not be solved as soon as possible.... the population may starve to death"<sup>30</sup>. Of course, we deal with extreme situations, when the existence of these communities is under the sign of an obvious precariousness and insecurity.

Together with the general features, we will try to individualise certain particular aspects of the Apuseni geographic area as involved by the geomorphologic structure, climate, pedology, hydrology, etc.

### **1. Geomorphologic structure**

The geomorphologic structure of the lands is an essential factor for the analysis as expressed through the degree of relief fragmentation, exposure of the slopes, existence of a relief discontinuity, etc. The Apuseni area has certain particularities from this point of view. Thus, in the high area corresponding to

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<sup>28</sup> "As we have been living in these mountainous and stony places for such a long time and we cultivate this unfruitful land differing by its situation from other lands, we cannot use the plough to plough, we have to use other unusual means in other places, which brings about so many expenses and exhausting work... But even this is often useless, as it happens that the serf, after so much trouble, because of pouring rains, white frost and cold weather, sees his toil piped and all his hopes collapse..."<sup>28</sup> (Alexandru Neamțu, *Din antecedentele răscoalei lui Horea*, în *A.I.I.C.*, IX, Cluj, 1966, p. 259)

<sup>29</sup> Ștefan Meteș, *Vieața agrară, economică a românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria (1508-1820)*, I, București, 1921, p. 186-187

<sup>30</sup> Marcel Știrban, *Aspecte din situația social-economică și lupta pentru pământ a țăranilor din județele Alba și Hunedoara între anii 1919-1922*, în *A.I.I.C.*, XII, Cluj, 1969, p. 183-184

the superior area of the Aries<sup>31</sup>, the geomorphologic structure prevented the division of the land in fields due to the dispersion of the ploughing area, unlike the depression areas (Beius, Zarand, etc.), where the existence of relatively plane areas favoured the existence of compact rotating fields.

## 2. Climate

If we analyse the impact of the climate on crop systems, we have to underline the important role played by it, as “climate is the main artisan of the physical unit, but implies a homogeneity of life; the rhythm of seasons moulds social time”<sup>32</sup>. From a meteorological point of view, the average annual temperature is getting lower from the peripheral depression areas (Gurahont 9.9° C, Stei 9.8°C, Borod 9.2° C, Huedin 7.9°C) to the higher ground (Campeni 7.3°C, Baisoara 4.8°C, Stana de Vale 3.9°C)<sup>33</sup>.

In the Apuseni area (but this holds true only on the level of all massifs), from the point of view of the climate, “the greatest shortcoming is the short duration (“la brieveté”) of summer”<sup>34</sup>. The reduced duration of the hot season prevents the maturation of crops “in these mountains where snow and ice last from mid-October to 24, 25 June, so that wheat, barley and oat are sowed late, only on 30 September, 15 October can be reaped to provide. As early as 18 September, the unripe cereals are destroyed by white frost, cold weather, so that instead of the cleanly sowed wheat, there is only cornockle, weeds, vetch, or smut”<sup>35</sup>. All these aspects were dangers they had to overcome; they could entail vicious circles: belated snow melting, belated growth and reap of the plants, early autumn, endless winters, poor crops reduced to bare necessity, etc<sup>36</sup>.

Now, the “relationship between history of the climate and history of the people are no longer that important, the same emergency character they used to have in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the essentially agricultural societies dominated by the difficult issue of providing subsistence”<sup>37</sup>; however, they help us determine the place of the climate in the history of traditional societies; they are neither the first, nor the last<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> The following statement of the inhabitants in the area is edifying: “The land is so steep in many places that one can only work and sow with the hoe. Where they plough, five people have to be beside the plough, one to lead the oxen, two to push laterally, the fourth to lead the plough, and the fifth comes behind the plough to straighten the plough” (David Prodan, *Răscoala lui Horea*, I, București, 1989 (hereinafter: David Prodan, *Răscoala...*), p. 119)

<sup>32</sup> Claude Lefort, *Histoire et sociologie dans l'oeuvre de Fernand Braudel*, în *Fernand Braudel et l'histoire* (sous la direction du Jaques Revel), Paris, 1999, p. 36

<sup>33</sup> Ovidiu Gaceu, *Clima și riscurile climatice din Munții Bihor și Vlădeasa*, Oradea, 2005, p. 53

<sup>34</sup> Jacques Debelmas, *L'homme et la montagne*, Lyon, 1993, p. 57

<sup>35</sup> David Prodan, *Răscoala...*, I, p. 127

<sup>36</sup> Jules Blache, *L'homme et la montagne*, Paris, 1933, p. 172

<sup>37</sup> Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Le territoire de l'historien*, I, Paris, 1973, p. 424

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 455

## **2. Pedological conditions**

First of all, we have to underline the poor quality of mountain soils<sup>39</sup>. Another element also influences in a negative manner these aspects: the fact that these soils are too small as compared to other types of lands<sup>40</sup>.

In the mountainous area, due to the inclination of the slopes, the soil is thin and has a skeleton character. The low temperatures do not favour the alteration of the vegetal remains and rocks and the humus percentage is very low. Under the circumstances, the thaw is a need relating to the reduced fertility of the lands; it is indispensable to practise agriculture in the area.

## **3. Hydrological conditions**

The high density of the hydrographical network is one of the best-known features of the Apuseni. The manner in which this feature conditions crop systems is reflected from two points of view. The first is the one represented by the floods particularly in the river meadow areas, while the second influences through the flow of the water on the slopes, which has fatal influences over agriculture<sup>41</sup>.

Discussing and underlining the fundamental role played by the physical-geographic factors, we do not have to fall to a prejudicial determinism by granting them an exclusive role<sup>42</sup>. It is obvious that the factors mentioned above contribute to the explanation of the forms of human activities. However, they sometimes leave aside and do not provide solutions to the several adaptations of man. For that reason, we will have a clear picture of the realities only by combining their action with the socio-historical and cultural factors.

## **SOCIO-HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS**

### **1. General economic evolution of society**

The Transylvanian society passed from feudal relations (in the “second serfdom phase” in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and part of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) to the capitalist model. Under the circumstances, it is obvious that the implications of these changes in the economic fields influenced the dynamics of the crop systems in the Apuseni area.

### **2. Demographic factor**

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<sup>39</sup> „The arable lands are poor, steep, rocky, they can be ploughed only with 4 and even 6 oxen” (Ștefan Meteș, *op. cit.*, p. 151); „Our unfruitful arable lands are rocky and elevated in high places and hills and it is difficult to fertilise and cultivate” (*Ibidem*, p. 186)

<sup>40</sup> Jules Blache, *op. cit.*, p. 57

<sup>41</sup> „Three parts of our lands... are often washed by the rains” (Ștefan Meteș, *op. cit.*, p. 190); „But the hills were washed by the rain and therefore the land is pretty poor” (*Ibidem*, p. 86); „Our land is very bad, with many big hills, rocky and difficult to fertilise and the water destroys it” (*Ibidem*, p. 75)

<sup>42</sup> Lucien, Febvre, Lionel, Batalion, *La Terre et l'évolution humaine*, Paris, 1922

The role of the demographic factors may be better seized if we start with the theory according to which any agrarian society is a self-regulating system made up of a certain territory and a certain population acting upon it through the production techniques. Since it is a self-regulating system, any alteration of its components brings about changes of the others, in order to reach balance. Thus, the growth of population automatically involves the growth of the need for agricultural products. This growth can be supported in three ways: growth of own productions by extending the arable land to the maximum; growth of agricultural production by perfecting the techniques, should the lands surface not change<sup>43</sup>; resorting to the resources in the neighbouring areas. In the special conditions of the Apuseni area, the most widely-used was the growth of the farming lands surface, as intensive option could not be used. Speaking of the peasant society in the Apuseni area and the implications of the demographic factors, we have to stress the “frailty of the economic system on a rural basis. In any dominant rural and artisanal production region, they find themselves unable to feed the population, once they surpass a certain density of population”<sup>44</sup>.

The demographic evolution in the area is very interesting. In the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the current stage of investigation does not allow us establish the exact number of inhabitants. The information after 1784 allows making an approximation. Thus, in 1784-1910, the demographic growth in the area was relatively steady. Before WWI, there was the highest demographic growth in the area (about 600,000 inhabitants). The following interval, 1910-1956, was characterised by stagnation that turned into a demographic decline in the 1960s.

### **3. Interdependence of traditional occupational system elements**

The influences upon crop systems have to be considered through two particular aspects. The first is represented by the “conflict” within the traditional occupational system between agriculture and animal breeding, since the expansion of the arable lands involved a diminishing of the grazing lands, considering the conditions specific to the Apuseni region, where crop fields (used either for agriculture, or for animals) was pretty reduced.

The second aspect is represented by the tight interdependence between the essential branches of the occupational system. “Mountain agriculture has developed in a tight interdependence relationship with animal breeding. Their preservation was adapted to the requirements for improvement of lands meant for basic feeding plants, which has led to establishing the grazing cycles in

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<sup>43</sup> Henri H. Stahl, *Teorii și ipoteze privind sociologia orânduirii tributale*, București, 1980, p. 90-92

<sup>44</sup> Fernand Braudel, *L'Identité...*, p. 774

different village economic areas and to the appearance of different crop systems”<sup>45</sup>.

#### **4. Agricultural technical system degree of development**

The dynamics of some agricultural technical system components influenced to a great extent the crop systems in the Apuseni Mountains. Out of them, a great importance was granted to fertilisation techniques, as any agricultural area tends to lose fertility; the main measures to prevent it is fertilisation, the periodical rest of the land, and the alternation of crops<sup>46</sup>.

In this area, the limit of many villages prevented the division of the areas with agricultural use in regulated lots, due to specific features (represented by pedological, climate, and relief conditions); the thaw was present everywhere. Under the circumstances, the quantity of fertiliser meant for a certain land greatly influenced the number of years for crops or thaws of the area.

#### **5. Crop plants**

Due to the established relations, crop plants were one of the most important factors that often had a decisive influence concerning crop systems. From a strictly historical viewpoint, the evolution of crop systems on the territory of our country can be divided into two distinct periods: the stalky cereals exclusive crop and a second period starting when they introduced maize, followed by other weeding plants<sup>47</sup>.

Focusing on the spreading and evolution of different plants in the Apuseni area allows us to individualise two distinct periods from this point of view. The first lasted until the 17<sup>th</sup> century and was represented by the crop of stalky cereals (wheat, white rye, rye, oat, and barley) and a second period, when they planted maize and potatoes. When they sowed maize and potatoes, there were important mutations in crop systems. The cultivation of maize and potato facilitated a more intense exploitation of the fields around the household and of those accessible to wagon transportation for fertilisation. If we refer to the highest area of the mountains, the maize did not play an important role, considering the climate. However, “cereals gave potato a great part of the lands near the households and with them started the crops in fallowed areas”<sup>48</sup>.

#### **6. Arable area in the estate**

The size of the village estate and the arable surface within a village estate is highly important to analyse<sup>49</sup>. It is important as abandoning the thaw

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<sup>45</sup> Valeriu Butură, *Sisteme de cultură...*, p. 512

<sup>46</sup> Andre G. Haudricourt, Marie Jean-Bruhnes Delamarre, *L'homme et la charrue à travers le monde*, Paris, 1955, p. 57

<sup>47</sup> Valeriu Butură, *Sisteme de cultură...*, p. 512

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 513-514

<sup>49</sup> The land belonging to these villages is extended but only “one fourth of it can be of use” (David Prodan, *Râscoala...*, I, p. 130); „The lands are steep and difficult to fertilise; therefore

system and passing to the two or three lands system needed some farming fields available in the area. At the same time, the demographic growth in the Apuseni area needed production growth that was possible only by increasing the surface of the crop fields annually, considering the relatively stagnant productivity. This was a premise of turning to superior crop systems.

#### **7. Type of settlement**

Due to the manner of placing households within the village estate, the type of settlement was another important element in analysing the spatial distribution of crop systems. Thus, the habitat with isolated houses in the superior area of the Aries imposed different conditions from the spread habitat in Mocanimea Zlatnei, or the relatively narrow habitat in the depression areas. If we refer to the first case, considering that the arable lands had an insular distribution, they also entailed an “insular” distribution of the households, as they needed to be placed in the centre of the property for economic reasons. Thus, it is obvious that in the case of the Moti Country, mountainous agriculture influenced to a great extent the isolated house habitat by using the “thaw” system.

#### **8. Political-administrative factor**

The political and administrative factor was evident all through the period. It tried to condition from the outside the dynamics of the crop systems. In 1766, Empress Maria Tereza asked the Transylvanian authorities to strengthen the endeavours to generalise the three-field system. It was a decision with beneficial influences, despite the resistance of the peasants<sup>50</sup>. In the following century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were several attempts to guide and determine the peasants to adopt superior crop systems. However, many specialists missed the location of the area we are talking about. The mountainous area of the Apuseni imposed the “thaw” as an economic need, “the long rest of the land is the price they had to pay, in order to make the economic system work even with small cereal efficiency”<sup>51</sup>.

#### **9. Tradition**

When debating on aspects of a rural society, we cannot ignore tradition, which was responsible to a great extent on the slow change rhythm of the societies living, according to Fernand Braudel, in the long duration („dans la longue durée”). Technically, tradition expresses itself in the trend to use only those techniques that have been verified in time, useful in providing a minimum of products necessary for the existence of a human community. Many times, keeping in thaw a certain part of the agricultural land was considered as an

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the crop on our land suffice only to one third to feed the inhabitants” (Ștefan Meteș, *Vieața agrară...*, p. 20); „On our land, we can say that only one twelfth is good, the tenth in the middle” (*Ibidem*, p. 187)

<sup>50</sup> Ioan Toșa, *Contribuții etnografice...*, p. 116

<sup>51</sup> Barbu Ștefănescu, *Tehnică agricolă...*, II, p. 17

issue relating to tradition, even conservatism. But the peasants were aware that any attempt to turn to intensive crop systems was meant to be a failure in the conditions specific to the region.



# **FAMILY AND SOCIETY IN NORTH-WESTERN TRANSYLVANIA (2<sup>ND</sup> HALF OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY – BEGINNING OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY). GENERAL FRAMEWORK: CONCEPTS, METHODS AND APPROACHES**

***Mircea BRIE***

*In the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in north-western Transylvania there was a traditional rural society, except for some urban centres and their neighbouring areas (the urban character is also proved by the analysis of the marital behaviour). The village was a world of constraints and standards to which all individuals belonging to the group had to conform. Social deviances of any nature were considered with scepticism, while moral and religious perceptions were defining social and societal norms at the time. The community strictly controlled the family through different “rituals” of interference in its internal affairs. Due to its feature as a fundamental social group, the family has different characteristics specific to the community under external influence. From the perspective of such an approach, any major change on the level of the society is able to influence the family either directly or indirectly. The study of society shows different means of family expression entailed by the framework and norms specific to that particular society. Thus, the family is the “micro” expression of society. However, on the other hand, the family generates the social order and the consensus within society due to its biological and socialising functions. It is the one providing the transmission of society’s norms and values. Such a situation entitles us to divide the main features of the corresponding societal type after a family survey. Beyond the sociological perspective of a research on the society-family relationship (primary social group), we intend to make a quantitative and qualitative analysis on family and behavioural mechanisms generated by the effects of the external influence of the society. The relationship family – community was deep. It could not be perceived through a fragmented and segmented analysis. From the perspective of the family, the community was the general framework providing the “pattern”. On the other hand, the community finds its emotions and sensitivity in the crucial moments of family life.*

**Keywords:** *community, family, society, marriage, confession*

The historical-demographic approach of family in their relationship with society with different transitory societal or community typologies is a complex

initiative that needs a methodological approach including peripheral elements as well, besides a deep analysis on the central defining elements.

Due to its feature as a fundamental social group, the family has different characteristics specific to the community under external influence. From the perspective of such an approach, any major change on the level of the society is able to influence the family either directly or indirectly. The study of society shows different means of family expression entailed by the framework and norms specific to that particular society. Thus, the family is the “micro” expression of society. However, on the other hand, the family generates the social order and the consensus within society due to its biological and socialising functions. It is the one providing the transmission of society’s norms and values. Such a situation entitles us to divide the main features of the corresponding societal type after a family survey. Beyond the sociological perspective of a research on the society-family relationship (primary social group), we intend to make a quantitative and qualitative analysis on family and behavioural mechanisms generated by the effects of the external influence of the society.

In the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in north-western Transylvania<sup>1</sup> there was a traditional rural society, except for some urban centres and their neighbouring areas (the urban character is also proved by the analysis of the marital behaviour). The village was a world of constraints and standards to which all individuals belonging to the group had to conform. Social deviances of any nature were considered with scepticism, while moral and religious perceptions were defining social and societal norms at the time. The community strictly controlled the family through different “rituals” of interference in its internal affairs. It was precisely these “side-slips” that were to be avoided. In this sense, there was a whole attitude and behaviour range meant to prevent the appearance of such situations. Thus, the community regulated the whole mechanism that ensured the respect for social order and norms through constraints and determinisms. The major events in the family life, such as baptism, marriage (including the prenuptial relations of the partners) and funerals were strictly supervised by the community. The relationship family – community was deep. It could not be perceived through a fragmented and segmented analysis. From the perspective of the family, the community was the general framework providing the “pattern”. On the other hand, the community finds its emotions and sensitivity in the crucial moments of family life<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Transylvania in a large sense: intra-Carpathian Transylvania, the Banat, Crisana and Maramures.. Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Românii și maghiarii în secolele IX-XIV. Geneza statului medieval în Transilvania*, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Fundația Culturală Română, Cluj-Napoca, 1996, p. 8-10; Voicu Bodocan, *Etnie, confesiune și comportament electoral în Transilvania. Studiu geografic*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, p. 8

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Chaunu, *Civilizația Europei clasice*, vol. I, Editura Meridiane, București, 1989, p. 222

The *historical demography* and other sciences, such as anthropology or history of mentalities, by directly or collaterally approaching the family, often make references to the three important moments in the individual's life: birth, marriage and death. These events, as retraced by demographers through an analysis of the civil status parish registers, are landmarks for the study of the family and of the community as well. The relationship family – community was deep and could not be perceived through a fragmentary and segmented analysis. From the perspective of the family, the community was the general framework providing the “pattern”. On the other hand, the community found its emotions and sensitivity in the crucial moments of family life. Through its imposing presence, the community gave the impression of a strict control over the expression of the family on the occasion of events, such as baptism, marriage or funerals.

Due to the nature of the information sources, the structure and the methodology, our research on family and society is undoubtedly a historical demography survey. But we cannot omit the highly social dimension of our survey. It is for this reason that such an initiative including the image of the community, mental and the social determinisms imposed a debate on the demography of the social in its historical dimension.

Demography appears as a science involved in the knowledge of human community, of the specific phenomena and demographic processes with the aim of knowing the laws determining the evolution of its number<sup>3</sup>, structure and evolution by establishing the place and correlations deriving from the quality of the population as a part of the general socio-economic system<sup>4</sup>. If birth, marriage, divorce and decease are demographic events, while birth rate, married life, divorce rate and mortality are demographic phenomena, then their social expression is able to condition, and is conditioned, by the population community structure. The demographic image of a population is thus completed through the social statuses and roles of individuals or social groups. As an independent subject matter in the field of social sciences, historical demography was established in the post-war period and developed under both demography and history.

We have used several categories of *documentary sources* in our survey. We have the information on the population in north-western Romania due to the ecclesiastic notes (in the parish records or reports and the bishopric notes); on the other hand, we have the information provided by the Austrian and Austro-Hungarian state. This information is completed by references made by several researchers and others that approach directly or tangentially the issue of the population structure and demographic phenomena in the region. The sources of information should be regarded and analysed carefully, as they do not directly

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<sup>3</sup> Traian Rotariu (coord.), *Demografie și sociologia populației. Fenomene demografice*, Polirom, Iași, 2003, p. 14

<sup>4</sup> V. Sora, I. Hristache, C. Mihăescu, *Demografie și statistică socială*, Editura Economică, București, 1996, p. 20

respond to our questions. The ecclesiastic information gives a relatively clear image of the family and society. On the other hand, the information has to be analysed carefully; if possible, the items should be compared with other pieces of information coming from other sources, as most of the times it refers only to the parishioners of that particular confession; last but not least, we can notice a certain subjectivism when registering the data. Undoubtedly, the most important information is due to the ecclesiastic sources. The church records are the only ones that can provide an image of the rural family, at least for the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The church notes<sup>5</sup> that are fundamental sources for our research can be divided into two categories: 1. the annual parish civil status records and reports; 2. funds of church authorities, notes and minutes written down by bishops. If we analyse the few official censuses carried out by the Austrian and the Austro-Hungarian states for a while, we will try to show the demographic aspects and their development. In our opinion, we consider that this would avoid the shortcomings involved by the research of church funds (these funds – we refer to the civil status records mainly – are often incomplete and subjective; many of them were lost<sup>6</sup>, and so on); at the same time, this will make it possible to place in a general demographic context all the population belonging to the localities in the area.

**Methodologically**, the first phase of our research consisted of the preparation of the documents investigation strategy, as expected. This material referring to the inhabitants in north-western Romania in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was kept in the National

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<sup>5</sup> Referring to the space and time we envisage, we have the bishopric funds within the A.N-D.J. Bh., respectively :

- *Fondul Episcopiei Ortodoxe Oradea (Oradea Orthodox Bishopric Fund)*, where we find information referring to matrimonial cases, marriage and divorce (dos. 3637/1852, 39/1854, 43/1857, 44/1858, 46/1859, 50/1860-1863, 52/1866, 56/1869, 103/1875-1881, 104/1875-1878, etc.); demographic situation and movement of population (dos. 47/1860, 168/1884, 187-188/1886, 193/1887, 201/1888, 204/1888, 210-211/1889, 217-218/1890, 270/1897-1902, 289/1900, 295/1901, etc.); illegitimate marriages (dos. 56/1869); children and school (dos. 48/1860, 79/1872, 92/1875, 116/1878, 138/1880-1881, etc.); establishing a foster home (dos. 201/1888); etc.
- *Fondul Episcopiei Greco-Catolice Oradea (Oradea Greek-Catholic Bishopric Fund)*, where we find information referring to: divorce (dos. 510-521, 541-552, 563-565, 1290, etc.); concubinage (dos.: 521, etc.); widowers and orphans (dos. 1289/1850-1870, etc.); etc.
- *Fondul Episcopiei Romano-Catolice Oradea (Oradea Roman-Catholic Bishopric Fund)*, where we find information referring to: concubinage and preventing concubinage (dos. 346/1854-1885, 387/1765-1887, etc.); dispenses, mixed marriages, engagements (dos. 373/1856-1886, 379/1756-1881, 720-768/1850-1900, 2368-2397, 2449-2481, etc.); matrimonial processes, divorces, incest (dos. 387/1765-1887, 801/1847-1849, 2368-2397, 2523/1857-1886, 2542/1868-1889, etc.); funerals (dos. 411-413, etc.); etc.

<sup>6</sup> Philippe Ariès, Georges Duby (coord.), *Istoria vieții private*, vol. VII, Editura Meridiane, București, 1997, p. 5

Archives in Oradea and Satu Mare due to the parish notes (we have the parish civil status records and the annual reports of the parishes, as well as other funds of the bishoprics) and other information provided by the official statistics of the time.

In our research, we consider the fact that we approach the area of ecclesiastic entities, as most of our sources for the 19<sup>th</sup> century belong to the church. This imposes a stress on the confession and its importance. Besides confession, an aspect that we wish to underline is *ethnie*<sup>7</sup>. However, the documents we have do not allow us to exactly establish the ethnicity of the inhabitants in the area. Even if we want to stress *ethnie* only, we will not be able to do so, as not even the official censuses in the 19<sup>th</sup> century use nationality as a variable, the only element being mother tongue.

The parish civil status records or reports facilitate the establishment of ethnic identity of a person to a smaller extent; the main criterion to classify population was confession. In the last case, by establishing a relation between *ethnie* and confession, there is a greater error risk in our research. The ecclesiastic documents are the only ones allowing us to make a research of the phenomenon in the sense we have in mind.

It is important to see the topic through the marital process, mixed inter-confessional or interethnic marriages. This is much easier to analyse in the ecclesiastic documents; thus we can establish a connection (obviously from this point of view) between *ethnie* and confession, or between confession and *ethnie*.

The ethno-confessional and socio-professional aspects bring to the foreground certain constraints on making a mixed family (we have considered, as mentioned above, mixed inter-confessional marriages and hence we will deduce the interethnic ones). These constraints have their origin in the family, Church and community. At the same time, we have to consider the fact that we refer to the area of a mainly rural area. This is a traditional environment; here the social constraints are powerful and a mixed marriage is difficult to be accepted.

If we research the parish records<sup>8</sup>, we cannot avoid thinking at the possibility to look into the information by following certain techniques and methods. At a first stage of our research, we only make a non-nominative analysis; we centralise practically information gathered from records depending on the nature and topic of the research. By using such a methodology, we get highly important information on a general level referring to the three

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<sup>7</sup> Nicolae Bocșan, *Ideea de națiune la românii din Transilvania și Banat - Secolul al XIX-lea*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p. 130

<sup>8</sup> Sorina Paula Bolovan, *Demografia: metodă de reconstituire a familiei. Considerații istorice și istoriografice privind demografia istorică*, in Ionuț Costea, Valentin Orga (coord.), *Familie și societate*, Editura Clusium, Cluj-Napoca, 1999, p. 35

demographic events in the life of humankind. At the same time, we discover different demographic behaviours, social trends, ethno-confessional determinisms, and so on, tightly related to one of the registered events (baptism, marriage, and decease). For instance, in the case of the baptised, we discover information on religion, social condition, parents' residence, on the legitimacy of birth, etc; in case of the married couple, we get information such as: place of birth (important to see the spatial mobility, the area of partner selection), youth religion, previous civil status, age at marriage, etc.; in case of the dead: age (hence life hope), cause of death, occupation (important to see the phenomenon of mortality depending on the type of occupation), etc.

Another research method we resorted to involves the drawing up of a nominal chart for each individual from birth (baptism), then marriage and finally decease, death. In this case we get a lot of information referring to the origins, features, manner of living, ethno-religious profile, mobility, health, and other aspects in people's life. We thus make a history of the individual. In this case, the information on the family he lived in is just sketchy. We know the parents (no brothers in any case), some information on the partner (in case of marriage) and that is about all.

The most complex method is families' nominal research<sup>9</sup>. In this case, marriage is the starting point of our survey. It is followed by the birth of each child, then death. In this way, we can draw up a history of the family; we rediscover different social behaviours of the family at different times, either good or bad. We follow the family at the time of their children's birth, as well as at the painful moment when they bury prematurely dead children. Such a survey facilitates the understanding of family behaviour when children reached adulthood and they were "chased" from home. Such a methodology assumes a huge endeavour; a simple lack of synchronisation of information, many times vague and with gaps, is a question mark in reconstructing the family and implicitly the research we carry out.

When analysing these methods, we can see the efficiency and, why not, the inefficiency of each of them. The attempt to use at different moments of our research all the three methods, may provide more from a methodological point of view and respond to our desiderata to reconstruct the family, their social behaviours at different times of life, to discover the collective mental concerning the family.

Beyond this research on the civil status records, we should resort to other documentary sources too and implicitly to a more complex methodology. From the methodological point of view, when dividing the material, we considered the fact that censuses had been carried out (organised by the state)

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<sup>9</sup> Their origin lies in both the processing of some model-charts as suggested by the French demographers L. Henry and M. Fleury, and in the personal construction, depending on the nature and specifics of the available documents.

and these years were witness-pillars in our investigation, as they provided a better knowledge on the ethno-confessional realities (and not only). We also have the bishopric schemata. For these years, we have statistics concerning the structure of the population in point of confession, ethnically and from a socio-professional point of view as well. All these supported us in building a background for different familial and individual behaviours and to correlate information coming from ecclesiastic sources and more.

In our investigation on the family the main stress was laid on the survey and analysis of different marital behaviours. Through different constraints and determinisms entailed by the *possibility to choose*, marriage is highly relevant in establishing behavioural laws (if they ever existed!). The dimension of the marital market corroborated with the ethno-confessional and socio-professional realities provided the particularities of the marital phenomenon. The specificity was introduced by local and regional expressions. Local traditions and customs proved to have a moulding force from this point of view. The analysis of the “choice” mechanism is highly important; all through the research process, it proved to be difficult, but very fruitful<sup>10</sup>.

On the other hand, the research on birth and death, far from providing the individual, or the family, with the chance of “choosing”, were extremely useful in tracing the outline of the “place” where the family lived. A family with “several” children (who were born and died shortly after) shaken by the daily needs expressed at each step of the research terrible realities through the drama they lived. Such a reality, when people died often, discovered an exposed and exhausted society. This “exhaustion” was most of the times “embezzled” through the high birth rate. This life picture defined as the “traditional demographic model” reveals the place of the woman, of the man, of the family in society. The family seeks for refuge in the community by socialising and establishing tight relationships beyond the family relations. Seeking for balance and refuge, the community imposes on the family models to follow, norms and regulations that everybody had to respect. Thus, the community found its expression in the family, while the family found solidarity in the community. Such a reality that we suggest is difficult to approach only in figures. Starting from here, our research assumes, besides the methodology specific to historical demography, whose contribution has proved to be very useful, methodologies specific to connected subject matters relating to the common research area. We mainly refer to other subject matters whose concerns relate to the family and the individual (anthropology, sociology, mentality and imaginary history, and so on).

Referring to the *lay and ecclesiastic legal framework*, we support the need for a flexible approach of the topic. The logic of this foray consists of the

<sup>10</sup> Gheorghe Şişeştean, *Etnie, confesiune şi căsătorie în nord-vestul Transilvaniei*, Editura Caiete Silvane, Zalău, 2002, p. 8

visualisation of the legal framework – rigid and impregnated with an obvious moralising discourse – on the one hand, and the image of conformism and means of adaptation of the individual, on the other hand. We have to underline that a separate survey of the lay law from the religious one would be void due to the tight cooperation between the State and the Church in the field. The State often acknowledged the matrimonial norms established by the Church<sup>11</sup>. This relation seems to alter towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the State managed to impose on the Church to respect the general civil framework. However, we cannot speak of a change in the content; it is more a change of the form in which this matter was shown. The Church and the State still had a relatively close position. In fact, if we compare the canonical texts of the Church with the normative acts of the State, we can notice, at least in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a mutual influence concerning legislation referring to family life. From another point of view, the legal framework serving as basis and legal landmark for the functioning of the family as an institution underwent significant changes at the modern epoch. The marriage, as a basis of the family institution, was managed by the Church for centuries. At modern epoch however, it turned more and more under the control of the State. From this point of view, the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the time of a tight relation between the State and the Church from the point of view of family life management. The State acknowledged to the Church the right to be in charge with marrying people, with separating from bed and meal, with the divorce according to the canons of each confession. The State had the right to supervise the civil and military status, the relationship between the spouses, the inheritance, the tutelage, the issue of bringing up the children, the means of living of the spouses<sup>12</sup> and many more. The Church acknowledged the involvement of the State in the major demographic issues of the individual's life.

As time went by, the State became more and more complex, while the legislation became more and more “lay”. It is true that the lay law borrowed, whether they wanted it or not, precepts and norms belonging to the church law. The modern State became lay, its institutions becoming better organised. In this context, the family proved to be one wealth of modern society, and the State had to be directly involved in its management. The frail dualism State-Church concerning family law had to suffer by imposing lay laws compelling to make all important moments in life official from a lay point of view. Beyond these

<sup>11</sup> Sorina Paula Bolovan, *Familia în satul românesc din Transilvania. A doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului XX* (hereinafter *Familia în satul românesc...*), Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Fundația Culturală Română, Cluj-Napoca, 1999, p. 62

<sup>12</sup> Cecilia Cârja, Ion Cârja, *Biserica Unită, dreptul matrimonial și modernitatea în Transilvania (a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului XX). Schiță pentru o posibilă analiză de caz: căsătoriile mixte*, in Corneliu Pădurean, Ioan Bolovan (coord.), *Căsătoriile mixte în Transilvania. Secolul al XIX-lea și începutul secolului XX*, Editura Universității „Aurel Vlaicu”, Arad, 2005, p. 35



regulations to which the clergy, irrespective of their confession, were highly hostile, we cannot admit the theory according to which at the time there was a clash in the cooperation between the State and the ecclesiastic institutions. The Church found the means to adapt to the new situation, while the State needed their involvement and influence on the health of the family life. The involvement of the State in the marital issues, in managing issues relating to bringing up children became a logical need. This interference of the State in the “exclusive competences” of the Church was influenced by the “shock of modernity”<sup>13</sup>, by establishing behavioural premises within society. The marital laws elaborated in 1894 were the most complex laws regulating the political-church relations in the marital field in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Due to their clarity, they managed to put an end to the misunderstandings between the lay and clerical authorities. Moreover, they put an end to the dispute between different confessions to the advantage of the State. The civil law very clearly expressed in favour of the family and children’s interests. They were all made to better supervise the education of the individual in a moral family on which the Church had to have an influence.

The starting point of the family is *marriage*. It is the moment when the most important social group of society is established. The community celebrates through marriage the victory over time and in this way human sensitivity is getting closer to the “intended perfection”<sup>14</sup>. By means of different regulating mechanisms, the community is deeply involved in the life of the individuals at marriage, at the wedding. Starting with this reality, marriage has become in this research the reference point to which we related the whole debate started on the relationship community – family. The two are taught and prepared to accept the hierarchies assuring the community order. At each marriage, the defining elements of the interpersonal relationships required by the community are repeated not only to the two people involved, but to the rest of the community. It was in the family that all behaviour norms relating to the community were to be implemented. At the time analysed by us, the families of young people did no longer fully control the act of marriage. If previously marriage had been decided exclusively by the families of the spouses, when feelings were on the second place, the youth had the opportunity to choose themselves on their partner. Despite this radical change in mentality, the community still had the means to control the act of making a new family. This control was more obvious in the country, where the features of a traditional existence were more powerful; it was seen least in the city, where relations

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<sup>13</sup> André Burguière, François Lebrun, *Le prêtre, le prince et la famille*, in André Burguière, Christiane Klapish-Zuber, Martine Segalen, Françoise Zonabend (coord.) *Histoire de la famille*, vol. III, *Le choc des modernités*, Armand Colin, Paris, 1986, p. 138-141

<sup>14</sup> Pierre Chaunu, *op.cit.*, p. 222

between the family (usually nuclear) and the community were built on different norms.

If we approach marriage from the point of view of the confessional and ethnic conditioning, we get to an analysis of the mixed marriages phenomenon. In fact, the analysis of the ethno-confessional and socio-professional determinisms and of other types of community or individual conditions can be easily carried out in the case of mixed marriages. The central point of our research is the analysis of Romanians', Hungarians', and Germans' marital behaviours without ignoring the image of this phenomenon at other populations in the area.

We suggest to begin with the analysis of the marital behaviour at different religious communities, then to get a general picture of the marital phenomenon at the whole population in the area. This survey on the marital phenomenon is made up of two great parts: one referring to the analysis of the marital strategies and the other made up of different marital determinisms and the factors able to condition the accomplishment of a marriage.

The analysis of the marital strategies was carried out through a parallel study of the marital behaviour of different religious communities in the area. The ethnic and confessional diversity of the population imposes a communication and interference of different ethno-confessional communities. As these communities lived together, it was natural that this "cooperation" should be visible in case of marriage. Mixed marriage acquires in this context the form of an innate multiculturalism out of the need to live together. The "social barriers" completed the ethnic and confessional differences<sup>15</sup>. These social conditionings seem to be much more powerful when it comes to an individual living in an ethnically and confessionally mixed community. In time, ethnic and confessional determinisms dilute under the modernity and personal emancipation urges. The State, more and more powerful in time, imposed itself through a lay law that promoted a new perception on the mixed marriages.

In the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the region, there was a traditional rural society, except for certain urban centres and their neighbouring areas (the urban feature is proved also by the analysis of the marital behaviour). It was a world of constraints and standards to which all individuals belonging to the group had to conform. Social deviances of any kind were regarded with scepticism. Social, moral and religious precepts were a very important issue at the time.

After a research on the time of the year when marriages were organised, we can see a main void during the Easter fast and a second one during the Christmas fast. Besides religious events, field labour also influenced the choice of the date settled for marriage. There were two periods preferred for marriages:

<sup>15</sup> Corneliu Pădurean, *Căsătorii mixte confesionale în unele localități din județul Arad în secolul al XIX-lea*, in Corneliu Pădurean, Ioan Bolovan (coord.), *op.cit.*, p. 171

January – February and October – November. A second period would be in the latter half of spring (May – June). The three periods are separated by months when few marriages took place: 1. March-April – time when there was the Easter fast and the beginning of the agricultural season; 2. Summer months and the beginning of autumn – during the agricultural season; 3. December – fast month. A different behaviour may be noticed in the Protestant parishes, where constraints were more of a community nature (where there were mixed inter-confessional communities, out of respect for other confessions, they did not organise weddings during fasting periods). The maximal periods in the months of February and November are not so evident in the Protestant communities.

There is a consistent constraint expressed as a sort of censorship from the community and even the church. Both ecclesiastic authorities of the youth getting married had to be consulted and “convinced”.

A marriage amongst youth belonging to the Greek-Catholic and Orthodox confessions was considered almost normal in certain communities. This can be explained by the fact that few parishioners could grasp the differences between the two confessions. At the same time, we have the ethnical aspect. Ethnie could not be separated in this case from confession, as both Greek-Catholics and Orthodox in the area are mostly of Romanian ethnies. These elements should be considered especially since we considered a mainly rural area, where customs “laws” are superposed over the official ones.

On the other hand, in the mixed Greek-Catholic and Roman-Catholic communities, inter-confessional marriages are easier accepted on the “official” level. This is due to the fact that both confessions are under the same hierarchic authority, that is, the Holy See. In the Greek-Catholic communities, there was a low level of mixed marriages. Most marriages at the time were carried out between partners coming from within the locality, or from neighbouring localities and very seldom from far localities. In this latest case, most youngsters were looking for partners belonging to the same confession<sup>16</sup>. It was not the reserve, but the fact that most of them had no opportunity to get in contact with individuals from outside the locality, or with individuals resident far from their village. So, we can also consider this impediment of the restricted area from where the marital selection was made as a constraint of the time.

Another aspect that should be kept in mind is the aspiration to a certain social status. We could see that most mixed marriages with partners from

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<sup>16</sup> At Suncuiuşul de Beiuş, out of the 90 marriages with partners from other localities, only 17 are mixed in 1856-1910 (National Archives, Bihor County Directorate, *Collection of Civil Status Records*, dos. 1197, f. 25-33; dos. 1200, f. 1-14). At Vadu Crişului, in 1860-1880, out of the 102 marriages involving people from other localities, only 3 were mixed (*Ibidem*, dos. 1381, f. 162-176; dos. 1382, f. 41-51). In the same period, at Tarcea, out of the 77 marriages, only 5 were inter-confessional (*Ibidem*, dos. 1221, f. 35-44). More examples are available.

another place had a socio-professional motivation, as one of the partners wanted the other's social status.

An important constraint, or, on the contrary, a strong determination against a mixed inter-confessional family came from the families. There are several cases when the parents opposed to such marriages. The boys were deprived of the right to inheritance; then, there was the notion of "immoral girl" in the eyes of the community and hence the pressure exerted over the family and then on the youngsters. Last but not least, the need to belong to a joint family with parents made young people respect the decisions imposed upon them. To separate from the family, to "turn the village against you", was a serious fact, considering that people had to support one another.

As mentioned before, a strong pressure against achieving a mixed marriage came from the church. Both parishes to which the youngsters belonged had to be consulted. In order to have a religious marriage, they needed an engagement exemption from the archpriest (they came weeks, even months late, there were situations when the marriages were not accepted, so there would be no exemption). They had to pay a large amount for the exemption, so that many youngsters could not afford to pay for it; this was often solved by clandestine "wild" marriage<sup>17</sup>. However, both the State and the Church wished to stop this phenomenon, so they took steps in this area.

Social mentality on the level of the community, family, church, or school, was not accepted and they did not want to disturb it. The Romanians (both Orthodox and Greek-Catholics), mostly farmers, depended on the land, so their mobility was very limited. The Romanian villages, as well as others, were closed societies. Here were preserved all the norms of traditional life. The customs were intact. We can state that this "barrier" preserved the Romanian ethnîe, their school and church.

We have to mention that at the time, the issue of mixed marriages generated several debates amongst the representatives of different confessions. By adopting the Austrian general Civil code (1853) and the marriage law, they tried to regulate the issue of mixed marriages. Through the laws adopted in 1894 and the establishment of civil status offices belonging to the State, they sought to put an end to the divergences amongst confessions by imposing State control over this phenomenon. Obviously, such a context influenced to a certain extent the evolution of marital strategies.

Marriage was considered a fundamental, sacred, divine, non-recurring act, a sacrament, just like birth and death. Marriage was granted such a value precisely to defend family life from human whims, from heathen religious influences, so that the family might keep its economic, social, and cultural role.

By analysing the confessional structure of mixed marriages carried out in the area studied by this survey, we can see a strong relation in two directions:

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<sup>17</sup> Sorina Paula Bolovan, *Familia în satul românesc...*, p. 71, 85

- The first one is the spiritual affinity between the Roman-Catholics and the Greek-Catholics. No less than 40.32% (3,376 cases) of the mixed marriages discovered during our survey were concluded between partners belonging to the two Catholic confessions.
- The second is the ethnic and spiritual affinity of the Orthodox and the Greek-Catholics. Out of the total number of mixed marriages, 2,518 marriages representing 30.07% were GC-O. The high rate of this kind of marriages was mainly due to national and traditional confessional affinities (several Romanians – parishioners of both confessions – could not perceive the differences between the two Romanian confessions).

These were followed by GC-CH marriages (13.75% - 1,151 cases) atypical due to the “distance” between the two confessions, but that could be explained by the high rate of the two confessional communities (majority at least in the north of the region). The presence in the same area of the two great communities made them “communicate”. This phenomenon was accentuated by the “tighter link” between the Protestants and the Hungarian Greek-Catholic community existing in several localities in the area. Considered somehow normal (most of the parishioners belonging to the two confessions were Hungarian) the RC-CH marriages were the next preference expressed at the time (655 cases representing 7.82%).

Ethnicity also proved to be a determining factor in the development of the marriage. The phenomenon of preserving ethnical identity is obvious in the case of both *Romanian* confessions. When choosing their partners from another confession, the young Greek-Catholics chose a partner of Orthodox confession to an extent of 42.95%. On the other hand, young Orthodox chose the Greek-Catholic option to an extent of 40.12%. Thus, the option of a Romanian partner was the first after their own confession in the case of both communities. As far as the *Hungarians* were concerned, ethnic determinism is as obvious, although not to the same extent. An ethnic affinity between the Roman-Catholics and the Protestants may be noticed in several areas we have investigated. This affinity that we are about to discuss is brought to the foreground when one of the communities was in minority as compared to a third confession (usually Romanian). The strong preservation of national identity may be noticed in the case of the *Slovak communities* in the area of the Barcau valley. It was the same ethnic determinism that brought together the Evangelical *Germans* to the Roman-Catholic ones. Due to dispersion and the strong Hungarisation process the Roman-Catholic Swabians were subject to, the preservation of ethnic identity through marriage was less possible. This was mainly due to the small number of communities of the kind; they were also subject to consanguinity. Nevertheless, in several Swabian localities in the area of Satu Mare or at Palota (Santandrei commune), there were features of a marital behaviour that supported the survival of some isolated communities.

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this world was traditional; there were few professional options, most of the inhabitants being involved in agriculture. As a consequence, when speaking about socio-professional determinism in choosing a marriage partner, we have to consider that most young people that were getting married had rural professions. On the other hand, the socio-professional component was more active in the urban area and in environments dominated by the Roman-Catholic, or Protestant, population. Despite the small number of options, we believe that socio-professional determinism was still very important. The social and professional status undoubtedly played an important role in achieving and settling a family. A large-scale survey of the phenomenon has led to the conclusion that where there were better socio-professional options, their determinism over marriage could be very important.

As far as civil status was concerned, socio-professional determinism proved to be very important in several cases. Most marriages were concluded between partners getting married for the first time. The relations between the two factors acting upon marriage may be identified when debating the case of marriages involving widowers or divorcees. When a widow/widower wished to marry again, they had to take into consideration the mental context, as well as the reaction of the community. In several villages, the status of a widow/widower was considered as inferior; therefore, there were several constraints to getting married again. The first reaction was to find a widow/widower partner. However, most times there were other determining factors: size of the marital market (in small villages, where they could easily reach the consanguinity realm, as it was in several cases we analysed, widows/widowers could get married easier), the widow/widower's material and socio-professional situation, religion, ethnies, age, number of children from the previous marriage, the different perception concerning the two sexes (widows or women getting married later than usual had smaller options than men), and so on. All these are susceptible to condition, or favour, a new marriage. If we analyse marriage from the point of view of civil status and age, we may draw the conclusion that in most villages, widows/widowers usually got married to younger people. This phenomenon was more obvious amongst men, but it could be seen amongst women, too. An older widow with a good material situation (inherited from the late partner with whom she managed to gather a certain wealth) married a much younger partner, usually unmarried, coming from a poor family. This is the image depicted by several archives. Not all widows/widowers had the "opportunity" of a good material situation. These had to accept the existing options.

The age of the partners also conditioned most marriages, as expected. The average age at marriage was often very different in the case of "accidental" marriages that were strongly influenced by other determining factors amongst which the socio-professional one. Old age, usually associated with widowhood, could impose certain barriers against marriage/remarriage. A good material

situation associated with a socio-professional status superior to the majority of the community were determinisms able to overcome any physical, or social, “handicaps”.

An analysis on *birth and death rate, or natural growth*, is able to provide information on the impact demographic phenomena had upon family. A world where death rate was very high and where family would react through a high birth rate was undoubtedly influenced by the demographic flow. On the one hand, the need to survive and the migratory flow (generated by several socio-economic, cultural-mental, etc., factors amongst which the need to overcome the consanguinity realm through marriage) led to alterations of the population structure. On the other hand, they all introduced different family reactions and behaviours. Our historiography has mentioned several times the great number of children born in the Romanian area. If we look into the structure of the family, we can see that there were few families with more than 3 children. Where were children born then? The civil status records (Death record) tell us where. There were several children born in the families in the area, but most of them did not reach teen age. Such a demographic “pattern” characterised by high birth and death rates specific to traditional societies led to a low, almost inexistent, natural growth.

Against the background of the economic changes at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a phenomenon associated with industrialisation, urbanisation and medical evolution, new deep behaviour mutations appeared. Women emancipated, their position and status acquired a new form. Against the background of the erosion of behaviour and traditional mentalities, the family changed too and led to the appearance of new forms and patterns. The significant decrease of death rate towards the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century corroborated with the whole series of changes mentioned above generated a family behaviour whose main effect would be the decrease of the number of children. The reduction of the number of children associated with the social and economic changes led to mental mutations having as effect a great appreciation of the child. Life acquired more and more value. Thus, human sensitivity had new means of expression.

The approach of birth rate from the perspective of the family was carried out in a complex family reconstruction survey in several places chosen for the survey. Our aims and objectives are to establish, beside birth rate, the possible connections between collective mental and the act of birth, conception, birth range, mother’s age, the number of children in a family, interval between births, and so on. On the other hand, the phenomenon of birth rate (typical of the number of living newborns in a community in time and space<sup>18</sup>) can be explained and underlined through a survey on some localities (parishes – as the documents we analysed are of ecclesiastic

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<sup>18</sup> Virgil Sora, Ilie Hristache, Mircea Paul Despa, *Demografie*, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, București, 1983, p. 155

origin) much more expanded and making reference to documents and statistics concerning births in the region – mainly counties of Bihor and Satmar – (information from Magyar official source).

Natural movement of population was influenced not only by the great birth rate, but also by death rate. Our survey on death and death rate as we intend it to be is structured as a research getting close to classical historical demography without neglecting the particularities and individualities of the phenomenon. We are interested in the general trend, as well as in the specific shades. Starting with this point, we have tried to convey death rate on the regional level, as well as the death event in several families we reconstructed during this research. Beyond the perspective of figures, the row of deceases has to be regarded not only statistically. Death causes not only a mathematical change of the community dimension; it also causes deep sensitivities. Behind the raw figures there were pains and suffering hard to bear by the others most of the times. Life and death, love and despair of most of them, either rich or poor, is the picture of a real “story” painted in the memory of these lines of figures and names that fade away as time goes by. Everything changed quickly in a world where many were born and many died. However, each individual that was in pain bore a hope, a success and also the lack of power, an end broken from the daily life of the family. The life of a man who lived, was loved and loved, touched and felt things just like us is identified in each number. A purely statistic approach of death rate is thus insufficient and devoid of essence. Beyond each dying person there was a life. Behind, there were families and people with whom the deceased had meals, laughed, cried, and worked together night and day. We are troubled by the drama behind their past.

Life hope at birth, or life average, was closely connected to the death phenomenon and structure. Major death crises in certain years greatly reduced life hope in the area we analysed. The great death rate irrespective the age groups led to a considerable decrease of the average age of population. Despite all remainders of the old demographic system, the positive evolution in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century contributed to the strengthening of the progresses in this direction. In point of life hope, we could see a real positive revolution not only in the area, but in the whole region. We notice the shocking age distribution in all six parishes approached (although there are significant differences between the age structure of deceases from case to case). The number of children dying in the first year of life and the infantile death rate (calculated as a ratio between the number of children dying before they reach the age of 1 and the number of living children born that year) corroborated with the high rate of deceases at children aged 1-5 underlines a “domination of the young age groups” in our analysis. Children were more exposed to the pressure of internal and external factors causing death. They were the most vulnerable in front of death in all communities and in all seasons.



In our debate on the cause of death two trends are outlined right from the beginning: the first showing the devastating effects of epidemics, when several families in a village, or even region, lose some of their members; the second shows particular cases, family deceases that cause traumata in the family, just like the cases of epidemics. Without claiming to have mentioned all causes of death at the time, whether accidental or natural, our research intends to be an attempt to outline a picture concerning the health of the population and the degree of medical system development. We also intend to depict the image of this society where most individuals died at an early age.

Irrespective of the society typology, *divorce, concubinage, and illegitimacy* (no matter their way of manifestation) were forms of social deviance leading to the dilution of family image and precepts. We do not discuss here a dilution of the traditional precepts on the family, as someone might misunderstand; it is an erosion of the idea of family in general. The “family” began to acquire other forms than the “official” ones. Concubinage was everywhere, no matter how we might call it. Paradoxically, concubinage was not only the result of personal emancipation, in which case young people estranged from traditional precepts that were under the influence of religious norms and values and got engaged in “dangerous and shameful relationships”. Such a theory is not fully supported in the rural environment, although it existed from the urban perspective (here, while modernity imposed, the alteration of religious norms led to such relationships). It was not out of emancipation or lack of education, of ignorance of law or wish to do something illegal that the peasant separated from his wife and got another one (getting wedded in front of his fellows) without the formalities needed for divorce and remarriage. Community was everything to him. He did not deliberately break the law; it was not out of ignorance. To him, it was enough to solve any situation according to the old customs handed down from generation to generation, as he did not consider it necessary to introduce some changes. Such perceptions, according to which certain types of concubinage had “almost official” forms, were supported in different behaviours and mental attitudes of the traditional rural communities.

It has been pretty difficult to make an analysis of the divorce and the act of getting divorced. Most of the church sources proved to have several gaps. Even the statistic information from the state was of ecclesiastic origin, as the ecclesiastic matrimonial courts of law were the only institutions that had the right to make decisions concerning these divorces. As seen in the reports on mixed marriages, many of the parish notes on divorcees were either lost, or deteriorated, in time. The research of the archives materials preserved thanks to the parish records (several duplicates) give us the opportunity to identify the main issues faced by the Romanian villages concerning divorce and the act of getting divorced. We can divide our research into two directions: 1. an

encompassing one through which we make a quantitative analysis of the phenomenon in the counties of Bihor and Satmar (also observing the particularities in the seats of the counties); in this way, we try to calculate the gross divorce rate (calculated as the number of divorces per 1000 inhabitants); 2. A case study on the Greek-Catholic parishes of the Oradea eparchy is focused mainly on a qualitative analysis without ignoring the quantitative one.

As a last solution and personal liberation from the unhappiness and torture of an unaccomplished marriage, divorce was present and requested by several Greek-Catholics in the diocese of Oradea. Not all who got over public shame succeeded in their endeavours. It was difficult to get a divorce, several papers (for these papers, the Romanian peasant had always felt repulsion and fear) and formalities were needed before and after the trial. By making all these processes difficult, the Greek-Catholic Church tried to limit the number of divorce cases (which contributed to discouraging the separation attempts coming from other families); on the other hand, they preached the need to preserve the dogmata and sacrament of marriage. The aims of the Church were not always reached. It is true that the public character of the reconciliation sessions during which the two were compelled to make a detailed presentation of personal failures, their fights and fiascos, then the perspective of long and costly trials taking place far away, in the city, in an unfamiliar environment, they were all meant to discourage the divorce attempt in the unhappy mind of the partner. There were many cases (and here, the failure of the Church, implicitly the Uniate one, was complete) when, discouraged by the difficult and expensive ecclesiastic divorce procedures, they “willingly” chose to separate, without going on the long way of the official divorce. This was one of the core mentalities of the Romanian peasant: he did not have to rush the decisions, but he did not change his mind; it was him who could decide to separate, so what was the use of interfering with the gentlemen. He married in front of the community<sup>19</sup>, so it was in front of the same community that he separated (it was enough to willingly separate, and the village knew about it before it happened).

As a phenomenon with broad and significant implications in the community life and in the social life of the individuals, concubinage had several forms whose significance should be determined, at least at that epoch. In the process of defining concubinage at the time, we have to make some specifications useful for our research and from the perspective of attempting to draw up a typology of them.

- To begin with, concubinage was the relationship of two unmarried people living together illegally, for a shorter or a longer period of time. More often than not, this kind of concubinage had its origin in sincere love relationship between two people that got neither their parents' blessing, nor their

<sup>19</sup> Sorina Paula Bolovan, *Familia în satul românesc...*, p. 181; P. Evdokimov, *Taina iubirii. Sfințenia unirii conjugale în lumina tradiției ortodoxe*, Editura Christiana, București, 1994, p. 256

material support. Such a relationship was supposed to be legal once they got a certain socio-material status. Their living together was thus a fragment of “marriage” and of their official “family” life.

- From this assertion, we can see that a motivation of concubinage was generalized poverty (not only of young repudiates “awaiting” better times to make their relationship official). In such a situation, due to poverty, even older people could get involved in a concubinage relationship. As we could see in the documents (concubinage was prolonged forever), they did not expect welfare to make their relationship legal. Such a theory on the origin of concubinage in poverty as recorded by some priests at the time (although we consider that the term poverty acquired new connotations in their expression) is partly supported by archives documents<sup>20</sup>. This relationship originating in poverty could not be explained by a cohabitation of tens of years unless there was another motivation associated to another context besides poverty. “Poverty” is not invoked only in the context of young people devoid of parents’ support; it also existed amongst those supported by their families, who had no money to officiate their marriage. Moreover, poverty was, according to priests’ reports, enough to live in concubinage, as it was because of it that a family could not be properly supported. Most of those involved in such relationships lived such a life for years and they had children (that they managed to bring up). From this point of view, poverty as a motivation sounded more like an excuse (maybe coming from the priest to justify the situation in the parish), who was pressing them to get married. However, poverty (which was noticed by priests) associated to other circumstances, proved to be a factor that favoured concubinage.
- The failure in a relationship ending in a divorce (“by their own will”) led most of the times to concubinage. A remarriage in such conditions was not possible due to old tied relationships. In general, these concubinages appeared while the official relationship was not yet ended (period of agony) after some extra-conjugal affairs.
- The death of the partner associated to some mentalities unfavourable to widowers’ marriages to which the community mostly tolerated their “companionship” (illegal, of course) with another widower led most of the times to concubinage. This kind of concubinage was favoured when they had old children (most of the times already married with children), as they did not mean to spoil their inheritance. Such relations were mutually accepted by the family.
- As far as brief relationships were concerned, they were disapproved of by the community. Generally, these relationships involved individuals considered immoral who often changed their partners.

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<sup>20</sup> A se vedea Sorina Paula Bolovan, *Familia în satul românesc...*, p. 182-184

- Another type of concubinage was the one involving individuals who were forbidden to get married. We think here first of military law defence. In this somehow intricate matter we identify two different situations: a. The case of the military or retired soldiers who chose to live in concubinage, as they were defended to get married; b. The case of the young people under 22 who got “settled” (several times with wedding, thus acquiring the acceptance of the family and community) only after turning 23; yet they were not allowed to get married as they had not participated to all three ballots. In this category, without military impediments, we can place “marriages” between the under-aged with the blessing of their parents. As they needed an exemption, they could not be legalised.
- There is also the case of “marriages” and “families” born within the community (yet illegal). In several villages in the area and not only, two young people got married in front of their families and the village, and they even had a traditional wedding; yet, they did not go to the priest or, as required later on, to the town hall. In front of the community, they were married<sup>21</sup>. They ate, worked and slept together. However, most of them made marriage official when they had children that were to be baptised.
- Finally, without claiming that we have exhausted all types, the Church continued to consider as “concubine” any conjugal relationship that had not their blessing. This was perpetuated after 1895, when religious marriage became facultative, once lay marriage was introduced. The so-called “civil marriage” concluded with good faith but lacking religious marriage belonged to the same concubinage category.

Having this typology, we identify several categories of concubinage. From the perspective of our survey, not all these concubinages were forms of expressing family corrosion. As we may see from the typology mentioned above, in several situations, concubinage was a means of getting “settled” (with the acceptance of the community). Thus, we cannot speak of family corrosion (as we may say in the case of abandoning one’s home by one of the spouses, who then lived in concubinage); it is more the “erosion” of the shape of the family. This is the corrosion of the traditional concepts regarding family. They all had different forms accepted by the traditional community. So, what kind of moral precepts are we talking about? Undoubtedly, the Church as an institution and the “Holy Sacrament” as a dogma, as well as the family as a basic social nucleus and cell, were deeply influenced by this process of corrosion and dilution. The Church, as we mentioned before, had to suffer not only from inside by parishioners’ estranging from its norms, but also by the involvement of the State, by imposing a new lay law that later prevailed over the ecclesiastic one.

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<sup>21</sup> Nicolae Iorga, *Neamul românesc în Ardeal și Țara Ungurească*, vol. II, Editura Minerva, București, 1906, p. 603

Due to the analysis we carried out on concubinage, we identify three categories of rural districts: 1. Rural districts with a high rate of concubinage (Holod, Mako, Oradea and Simand); 2. Rural districts with a medium rate of concubinage (Barcau, Beius, Crisul Repede, Sebis and Supuru de Jos); 3. Rural districts with a low rate of concubinage (Ardud, Carei, Eriu, Leta Mare, Lunca, Madaras, Someseni, Siria and Vasad). Apart from these, in most rural districts there was a great number of cases of concubinage (often in the neighbourhood), or some when there was no such case. The local demographic and socio-economic reality, collective mentality, the influence of certain internal or external factors, the personality of the priest, etc., were able to trace down some trends and patterns of the phenomenon.

A certain relevance on the presence and spreading of concubinage (hence we can see the lack of information erroneously sent by the priests to the bishopric) is represented by the illegitimate births. It is true, not all illegitimate children were born as a result of such relationships. Some of them were the result of accidental relationships between an unmarried girl, or a widow, with a man, without living together. Then, we also have to consider the couples living in concubinage; they got married immediately after having a baby (declared as illegitimate by the priest; but his family became legitimate, as it was not reported as concubinage).

Illegitimate birth was one of the most obvious means of expressing the erosion of the values and principles represented by the family. On the other hand, if divorce led to the complete dissolution of the family, while concubinage was only a partial form of family, the illegitimate birth could bring stability and the beginning of a real family, with children and parents. The newborn's parents were most of the times compelled to make their relationship official in the context of baptism. The children born in such families that had a house, land, parents-in-law, were half-normal to the community (as all the others) despite the fact that the priest considered them illegitimate because the parents had not have a religious marriage. As we mentioned before, not all illegitimate children were the result of enduring relationships (even concubinage) between two partners. In the new context, the birth of a child did no longer represent the beginning of a "family"; it was rather an element of erosion and dissolution. Illegitimate births in such a process of erosion and dissolution of family values had often convergent forms, depending on the specifics of the community and on each relationship. The complexity of the phenomenon increased when introducing the notion of personal emancipation, particularly women's emancipation. In such a situation, illegitimate birth was possible, normal and not always blameful. The interference of the community in the personal life was fading away, as the individual acquired more and more independence in its relation to the community and to the relatives.

In the city, emancipation was even more evident when analysing the extremely widespread phenomenon of births' illegitimacy, including the rural environment. In a conservative and traditional world, where moral values and religious precepts were very strong, this kind of illegitimate births were in clear contrast with the structure of this type of society.

From the relationship of the family with the community were born **mentalities, roles and social statuses**. The family, its formation, the relationships between man, woman, children and relatives, as well as the relationships with the rest of the community were filtered by the "village gossip". The need for a strong solidarity that was necessary in the unfriendly conditions at the time compelled the individuals to accept the cohabitation with other members of the family (including the extended one<sup>22</sup>) and with the rest of the community. More often than not, the individual behaviour acquired the expression of the collective behaviour. Such an influence of the community was obvious in the traditional rural societies. However, in time, it became progressively diluted under the pressure of modernity. The State intervened too and imposed regulated and different norms for the family life.

We can see that there were deep changes as the area integrated to an economic circuit that would lead to imposing new mutations in several economic sectors. The economic development and the dissemination of non-agricultural activities associated to urban development whose influence went growing brought about alterations in the family relations. Then, there were mutations in the relationship between the family, the domestic group and the household resources<sup>23</sup>. These changes were not obvious in all localities in the region: some of them were still anchored in the traditional as the new managed to penetrate more difficultly, while major changes on the level of the collective mental could not be perceived on a short span of time. Nevertheless, under the influence of modernity, society influenced the family not only in point of form, but also insofar as its role and functions were concerned. Mentalities changed together with the form and nature of society. Family was no longer big; it did no longer accept the interference of the relatives and even less that of the community. Changes were more visible in the city; however, once the social, cultural and economic changes, they became obvious in the countryside too. The nuclear family was the new family model where interference from the outside was insignificant. As they evolved to a modern society, one can see that there was a limitation of the social role of the family, as this role was taken over

<sup>22</sup> Some authors have an individual need concerning the origin and existential real reason of the enlarged family that, besides the family as such, comprise the whole family on several levels and generations. For further details, see Florin Valeriu Mureșan, *Satul Românesc din nord-estul Transilvaniei la mijlocul secolului al XVIII-lea*, Institutul Cultural Român, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2005, p. 205

<sup>23</sup> Jack Goody, Jack Goody, *La famille en Europe* (French edition translated by Jean-Pierre Bardon and preface by Jacques Le Goff), Polirom, Paris, 2001, p. 103

by other institutions in several fields (market, State, school, and so on). Family did no longer dominate social life. However, even in modern times, family still remained a fundamental social institution with a core role: socialisation, protection, consumption, reproduction. One can see the reduction of the size of the family by restraining the number of a couple's children and by quasi-generalisation of the nuclear family. Small families were more apt for the social mutations that modernity involved. The reduction of the size of the family brought about important changes in lifestyle, in family behaviours<sup>24</sup>. Another important effect of modernity was related to matrimonial mobility, to the decrease of parental authority of the clan in general, and the growth of the role of the individual in deciding the moment of marriage and on the partner. Due to the transfer of these functions of the family to other social institutions, the economic and political reasons of marriage started to lose importance. Although the reasons relating to wealth played a less important role, the similitude of the socio-cultural statuses of the spouses was still dominant in making couples.

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<sup>24</sup> See Georgeta Ghebre, *Regim social-politic și viață privată (familia și politica familială în România)*, chapter 1.1.3. *Tradițional și modern în sfera familiei* (this paper is also available on the following website: <http://www.unibuc.ro/eBooks/StiintePOL/ralu/1-1-3.htm>)





## THE ORTHODOX PEDAGOGICAL INSTITUTE IN CARANSEBES

*Vasile TODORICI*

**Abstract:** *Considering that the author had new, rich and diversified information, he reconstructed in this survey the main moments in the history of the Romanian Orthodox Pedagogical Theological Institute in Caransebes from its establishment to 1918. In this context is revealed the great contribution of the institute to preserving, developing and promoting the Romanian language and the Orthodox faith in the area of Banat and Crisana.*

**Key words:** *Caransebeș, theology, pedagogy, national, education*

A series of historical events (the Uniate offensive in 1698, the dissolution of the Metropolitan Church at Alba-Iulia, the Karlowicz (1699) and Passarowicz (1718) Peace Treaties followed by the annexation of the Banat, Oltenia and great part of Serbia by the Austrians, the “Illyric privileges” granted to the Serbian Orthodox Patriarchy on all Orthodox believers in the Empire on 21 August 1690) introduced the use of the Slavonic language in the practise of the Romanian Orthodox Church and caused the entrance of the Romanians’ Bishopric of Ardeal and Banat under the coordination of the Serbian Patriarchy of Karlowicz (Sremski Karlovci) in 1783. It had harmful influence on the cultural development of the Romanian Orthodox subjects to Vienna. The two measures were imposed by Emperor Leopold I (1657-1705) upon the request of the Serbian patriarch Arsenie Cernoievici as an acknowledgement of the Serbian contribution to the anti-Ottoman battles. The emperor’s steps had obscure aims of political nature envisaging enmity amongst peoples of the same faith, strengthening imperial authority and deprivation of the Romanians of the most important means of cultural development – the use of mother tongue in primary schools existing near Orthodox churches in the Romanian villages.

The fight to replace Slavic with Romanian in church and school lasted a long time. It was started by the priests who – in order to hold services from liturgical books printed in Slavic – made liturgical notes into Romanian right on the old “incomprehensible” books to make them “comprehensible”, as it was needed for masses into Romanian, the language of most village inhabitants. This necessary and widely used method was gradually abandoned once the first religious printings in

Romanian (*Liturghierul* – in 1570; *Palia de la Orastie* – 1582; *Noul testament de la Balgrad* – 1648, and *Biblia de la Bucuresti* - 1688)<sup>1</sup>.

The dismissal of the Serbian supremacy on the Orthodox Church in Romanian areas of the Habsburg Empire and implicitly the introduction of Romanian in churches and popular (primary) schools could only be done through what was called “hierarchical separation”, that is, the revival of the Transylvania Metropolis Church and of the bishoprics within it. Andrei Saguna (1808-1873) militated in favour of this national aim. He was supported by the Romanian bishops, archpriests and national fighters starting with 1848. He drew up and sent memoirs to the imperial court in Vienna, state authorities and defended his position during the Metropolis Church Congresses held in Karlowicz. His endeavours were successful partly due to the favourable conditions as a result of the liberal orientation determined by the cease of the revolutionary movements in 1848-1849. Consequently, the emperor carefully monitored the confessional hierarchic relationships to prevent the beginning of major conflicts amongst nations in the Empire, as they could have shaken the political balance and even the integrity of the Austrian multinational state<sup>2</sup>.

The detachment of the Romanian Orthodox Church from the authority of the Serbian Orthodox Church took place on 24 December 1864, when Emperor Francis Joseph I (1830-1916) decided to establish the Transylvania Metropolis Church in Sibiu and two subordinated bishoprics in Arad and Caransebes. The following year, once the metropolitan bishop Andrei Saguna ordained bishops Ioan Popasu in Caransebes and Procopie Ivascoviici in Arad, the Diocesan Orthodox Theological Institute in Caransebes was established.

The new Romanian cult educational institution took over the students from the Romanian section of the Orthodox Institute in Varset. However, the Serbian bishops in Varset and Timisoara disliked this fact and claimed that the Orthodox Theological Institute should only exist in the cities mentioned above. The Varset bishopric argued that the settlements and daily life were cheaper and that there was the greatest number of Orthodox due to the Military Confine providing the security in the area. The argument mentioned above was fought against by bishop Ioan Popasu who was directly responsible for the funding and organisation of the new Romanian educational institution. The argument between the bishoprics was solved by the War Ministry in Vienna when deciding the transfer of the institute to Caransebes in Order no. 3728 dated 19 October 1865. They also specified that the imperial financial bodies would not contribute to support the activity of the Orthodox Theological Institute that used

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<sup>1</sup> Vasile Petrica, *Institutul Teologic Diecezan Caransebeş (1865-1927)*, Editura Episcopiei Caransebeşului, Caransebeş, 2005, p. 12

<sup>2</sup> Nicolae Bocşan, *Separarea ierarhică a Bisericii ortodoxe Române de Biserica Ortodoxă Sârbă, 1864-1868*, Editura Facla, Timişoara, 1985, p. 255

to be in Varset. It was subsequently disbanded due to the insufficient number of Serbian attending students.

The Serbian patriarch Samuil Masirevici (metropolitan bishop of Karlowicz) was compelled to accept the imperial decision concerning the transfer of the cult institute and assumed to pay a part of the joint church clergy fund from a part of the wages for the two professors that were to teach in Caransebes. On 8 October 1865, bishop Ioan Popasu drew up a form letter to the belonging parishes in which he informed on the establishment of the new Romanian ecclesiastic institution and showed the conditions for the enrolment of the students, that is, graduation of eight gymnasium grades, except for the poor parishes whence only four graduates of four gymnasiums could enrol to start the activity of the institute<sup>3</sup>.

The spiritual patron of the institute had a progressive organisational and managerial spirit at the time, which was proved by the ads published in *Telegraful Roman* and *Concordia*, where, after a brief introduction of the history of the transfer, that is the establishment of the institution, they advertised the position for a second professor and the requirements on moral and professional qualities of the applicants. When doing this, the bishop had two distinct objectives: disseminating in the Romanian villages the information on the establishment of a higher education theological institution for Orthodox believers and employing a well trained professor to teach the future priests.

Until 1918, the Orthodox Church of Transylvania and Banat was called "Greek-Oriental" or "un-Uniate" in the Hungarian official papers. However, bishop Ioan Popasu named the establishment Romanian Orthodox Diocesan Theological Institute in Caransebes and expanded the number of study years from two, as it used to be in Varset, to three. It opened its gates on 10 November 1865 with a festive speech inspired from *Pastorala*<sup>4</sup> and had two professors: George Pestean (who had taught in Varset) and Mihai Velceanu (1815-1883), former parish priest at Dognecea, who got the position after the contest organised by the bishop. As the payment was not good, partly from the joint fund of the Serbian Patriarchy of Karlowicz together with 3 florins from each student, the first two professors left the institute (George Pestean became archpriest of Lugoj and Mihai Velceanu archpriest of Mehadia). They were followed by Ioan Mohailovici (1818-1897) and Iosif Tempea (1836-1927), respectively Filaret Musta (1839-1930) and George Marginean (1844-1874); the last two managed to assure the continuity and stability of education at the Romanian Orthodox Diocesan Theological Institute in Caransebes. The didactic and theological activities developed gradually as some subject matters had to be taught by professors employed at the Pedagogical Institute (George Petrescu

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<sup>3</sup> I. D. Suciu, Radu Constantinescu, *Documente privitoare la istoria Mitropoliei Banatului*, vol. I, Editura Mitropoliei Banatului, Timișoara, 1980, p. 874-875

<sup>4</sup> Cornel Corneanu, *Episcopul Ioan Popasu*, 1945, p. 21

and Antoniu Sequens, Vasile Mandreanu, Vasile Goldis and Enea Hodos, physicians Leo Muresann and Constantin Popasu). Others were Iuliu Olariu (headmaster for a long time), Gherasim Sarb, Ioan PInciu, and Iosif Balan.

The Bishopric of Caransebes was concerned with bringing up well-trained staff by funding the best students to complete their studies in western universities. Filaret Musta was one of the students who, after graduation from the Orthodox Pedagogical Theological Institute in Caransebes, continued his education at the Roman-Catholic Faculty in Debrecen then in Lipsca in 1868-1870. Due to the high level of education, Filip Adam, Petru Popovici, Ioan Nemoianu, Andrei Ghidiu, Nicolae Popovici and Iuliu Olariu also studied at Lipsca. These were some of the top Orthodox priests in the empire. Andrei Ghidiu, Nicolae Popovici and George Popovici also went to Vienna and they were followed by their colleagues Leo Muresan, Ioan Paul, Vasile Goldis, Constantin Popasu, Iosif Traian Badescu, and Cornel Corneanu. Iuliu Olariu was the first professor in Caransebes who became a PhD in Theology at the University of Cernauti in 1885. Others having a PhD degree were George Popovici, Petru Barbu, Traian Badescu, George Dragomir, Vasile Loichita, Dimitrie Cioloca, Moise Ienciu, and Cornel Corneanu.

Due to this pioneering training strategy and to the allotment of important funds and redirection of former graduates to the most renowned academic centres, the Orthodox Pedagogical Theological Institute in Caransebes had an elite academic staff educating well-trained schoolmasters and priests.

Professor Vasile Mandreanu also had a scientific activity materialised in editing a handbook for primary school pupils entitled *Gramatica romana* printed in Lugoj in 1882. After his settlement in Romania, he was still in contact with Caransebes. In 1900-1901, he was a member of the ASTRA sector of the town, where he had been an eminent professor<sup>5</sup>. Enea Hodos, a professor at the Pedagogical Institute, elaborated the handbook *Carte de citire* edited in Caransebes in 1894, while Petru Barbu from the Theological Institute published several religion handbooks for primary school in 1897-1899. Vasile Goldis, Iosif Balan and Ioan Nemoianu published handbooks needed at the Theological Institute.

The theology professor Iuliu Olariu published handbooks, books and surveys in Caransebes and other places. Gherasim Sarb published an article on *Despre cartile si foile romane moderne* in the pages of *Foaia Diecezana* starting with 1888. In several issues, he criticised the Romanian publications using an inaccessible language to most readers<sup>6</sup>.

Together with the religious topic courses, they also taught Romanian grammar, archaeology, morals, stylistics, pedagogy, vocal and instrumental

<sup>5</sup> Archives of the Orthodox Theological Seminary, Caransebes, *fund ASTRA – despărțământul Caransebes*, dos. 2, f. 7-11

<sup>6</sup> Petru Oalide, *Lupta pentru limba română în Banat*, Editura Facla, Timișoara 1983, p. 270

music, hygiene and rural economy, as they would mostly become schoolmasters in rural communities. The theological institution kept its denomination until 1909, when the new bishop, Miron Cristea (1868-1939), familiar with the Seminary denomination used for the Orthodox Theological Institute in Sibiu, used it in Caransebes. The term Seminary was inadequate for Caransebes, where there was a higher education cult institution and not a medium level theological school<sup>7</sup>.

The opening festivities for each academic year continued according to the settled ritual. The bishop, professors, bishopric clerks and students took part in the liturgy at the Diocesan Cathedral in Caransebes; they went then to the festive hall of the institute, where the director presented the internal regulations and the bishop would bless those attending the festivity. He also asked the students to make efforts to acquire the knowledge needed to practise their profession at a high standard.

The importance of the theological institute activities to preserve, develop and promote Romanian and the Orthodox faith in the Banat area was correctly understood and supported by the Romanians who expressed their patriotic feelings through donations made to the school. A good example in point is the consistent donation of 1000 ducats to support the Romanian Orthodox Diocesan Theological Institute in Caransebes by Captain George Cristurean from Cristur, Brasov, in 1868<sup>8</sup>.

The importance of national awareness by teaching exclusively in Romanian in the Banat theological institute was clearly expressed in Dimitrie Cioloca's statement. He was the author of the paper on *Suprimarea Academiei Teologice din Caransebes*, where he underlined that no subject matter was taught in Hungarian. It was the only in the area where "the spiritual weapons were made against the attacks of the ravishing language and faith enemy".

The connections of the Banat students in theology with their colleagues in Muntenia and Moldavia were made through publication exchange. *Foaia Diecezana* of Caransebes was sent to the professors and students at "Nifon" Orthodox Seminary in Bucharest, and their colleagues over the Carpathians sent them issues of the twice-weekly *Columna lui Traian* edited in Bucharest by Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu. The theologians from Carei had direct contacts with the Romanian students until 1914, when, on 2 June, they were visited by the professors and students from the Pedagogical Institute of Buzau and by the graduates from the "Nifon" Seminary in Bucharest on 27 June of the same year. They showed them the Theological and Pedagogical Institute, the Diocesan

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<sup>7</sup> Vasile Petrica, *op. cit.*, p. 24

<sup>8</sup> Archives of the Orthodox Bishopric in Caransebes, *Circulare din anii 1796-1928, după alfabet, fondul Diecezan*, dos. 3/ 1929, f. 6

Consistory, the Confessional School, the Cathedral and the Romanian Casina in Caransebes<sup>9</sup>.

Another evolved element of the modern conception of bishop Ioan Popasu in shaping a national awareness to young theologians was not only providing a parish for each graduate of the institute. He also directed the brightest of them to specialise in western universities, particularly in Germany.

When he became the leader of the Bishopric of Caransebes, he saw that not only the buildings used as location for the schools were decayed. He also saw the inappropriate conditions provided to children at school (small, narrow and dark classrooms). The schoolmasters were not well trained and they were influenced by the general wrong mentality of parents in the countryside. The peasants were reticent to allowing their children's education (particularly girls) as they had to stay home to help them in the field work. Ioan Popasu was aware that archaic mentality and parents' poverty were causes of perpetuating the poverty of Romanians in the countryside with serious effects in their social development and major consequences in their cultural and national affirmation. At the same time, on 17 March 1869, the Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction warned him on the fact that children would not go to school for eight months after the spring exam in March. In many schools the activity was suspended, there was irregular attendance and schools did not have didactic materials, handbooks, whereas schoolmasters did not teach all subject matters as stipulated by law.

It is worth mentioning the situation in the eparchy of Caransebes where, in 1871, there were 219 primary schools with 226 schoolmasters and 23,516 pupils<sup>10</sup>. Children belonging to Romanian families learnt in state schools in Caransebes, Lugoj, and Oravita. In 1870, in Banat there were 110 border national schools (turned into commune schools after the abolishment of the military confine), 11 private schools funded by the Austrian Railway Society, 50 Greek-Catholic confessional schools, and 90 Orthodox confessional schools under the authority of the Orthodox Bishopric in Arad<sup>11</sup>. It is well known that in 1888, 17 schoolmasters (out of which only one was Romanian and he was compelled to teach in Hungarian) taught in the state schools in Caransebes<sup>12</sup>.

Despite the pressure of the governing bodies to enforce the Hungarian and attached provinces primary education law, after 1868, the number of confessional schools in the eparchy did not decrease significantly, so that, in the school year 1887-1888, there were 212 schools, out of which 195 had only one classroom, 16 of them had two classrooms, and only one school had four

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, 1914, no. 27, p. 6

<sup>10</sup> Cornel Corneanu, *Episcopul Ioan Popasu*, în *Altarul Banatului*, 1946, no. 7-8, p. 173

<sup>11</sup> Victor Țărcovnicu, *Contribuții la istoria învățământului românesc din Banat (1780-1918)*, București, Editura didactică și pedagogică, 1970, p. 165

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 202

classrooms. The primary education institutions had 216 male schoolmasters and 9 female schoolmasters; out of them, 196 had pedagogical studies, 24 had no education in the field, while 6 localities had no schoolmasters at all<sup>13</sup>.

Caransebes was well-known as a Banat cultural centre, where there had been a Romanian grammar school (1638-1741) attached to the “Sfantu Gheorghe” convent, then a three-month preparatory school for schoolmasters established in 1820 by archpriest Ioan Tomiciu, and taken over by Constantin Diaconovici Loga in 1830-1850. Wishing to make the reputation of Caransebes last, bishop Ioan Popasu militated to establish a Pedagogical Institute besides the already working Theological Institute<sup>14</sup>. He managed to materialize this wish in 1876, when he managed to provide the material and financial basis. Thus, during the Eparchy Synod meeting held in September 1876, they made the decision to establish the Pedagogical Institute. Only one year later, the Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction required bishop Ioan Popasu to inform on the name of the place where it had been established, its curriculum, its equipment with fixed goods and didactic materials, the number of field teachers and students, arguing that in Caransebes there already existed a similar school for Greek-Catholics. The bishop conformed to the request in December 1877, when he sent the ministry a document in which he mentioned that the Pedagogical Institute had three lecture rooms all furnished and with didactic material. In two rooms, there were 28 students (26 boys and 2 girls) and the professors had studied abroad<sup>15</sup>.

The quality of the professors’ training at the Orthodox Pedagogical and Theological Institute in Caransebes was acknowledged by officials in 1886, when professors Vasile Goldis, Patriciu Dragalina and Stefan Velovan were appointed to be part of the commission to draw up the curriculum for popular primary schools<sup>16</sup>.

After 1896, when the lectures at the Pedagogical Institute were expanded to four years, pedagogical practice was granted special attention. Third year students had two hours weekly, while sixth year students had six hours each week. A practice school was established, where future schoolmasters got a thorough pedagogical training<sup>17</sup>.

The efficient working of the Pedagogical Institute in Caransebes was conditioned by the existence of a rich library necessary to provide general and national culture to the future schoolmasters. This need was supported by the Orthodox Bishopric, as they took the steps to establish, equip and permanently

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<sup>13</sup> *Foaia Diecezană*, 1888, no.19, p. 4

<sup>14</sup> Victor Țărcovnicu, *Istoria învățământului din Banat până la anul 1800*, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, București, 1978, p. 89

<sup>15</sup> Vasile Petrica, *op. cit.*, p. 75

<sup>16</sup> National Archives – County Directorate Caraș-Severin, fund *Școala normală de învățători Caransebeș*, dos. 1/1886, f. 12

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 3/1897, f. 23

enrich a school library with Romanian literature, history, pedagogy and special books. In 1884, they acquired volumes comprising the works of Vasile Alecsandri, Costache Negruzzi, Dimitrie Bolintineanu, Nicolae Gane, and Aron Pumnul<sup>18</sup>. The personalities of the time contributed to providing for the library through private donations. It is remarkable the gesture of George Catana, who offered his valuable library to the Institute; it was made up of 1,365 volumes<sup>19</sup>. Captain Demetriu Popescu and General Traian Doda from Caransebes donated their personal libraries<sup>20</sup>. Traian Ionasiu, son of the former consistory secretary Ion Ionasiu, gave the whole library belonging to his father to the school in 1910<sup>21</sup>. The “Ioan Popasu” pedagogical and theological students reading society conceived their own library adding new volumes in time.

The two institutes were permanently financially supported and directly coordinated by the Orthodox Bishopric in Caransebes. More often than not, they were considered together due to the national objectives they had been established for and were known as the Orthodox Pedagogical Theological Institute. They had joint building, leadership of the Theological Institute, where there was a director, the leader of the Pedagogical Institute being the diocese bishop assisted by a “class master”, Stefan Velovan and Patriciu Dragalina. In the academic year 1910-1911, Iosif Iuliu Olariu was “class master” and had the task to divide the classes at the Pedagogical Institute amongst the five professors. In 1911, he forwarded the Orthodox Bishopric of Caransebes a report on the material situation of the Pedagogical Institute and proposed to employ two new qualified professors, the classes and the solution to solve some issues relating to the division of the students in the lecture rooms. Even the “Ioan Popasu” theological and pedagogical reading society had altercations, as the pedagogues withdrew several times due to repeated misunderstandings because the bishop granted attention more to the education of theological students<sup>22</sup>.

Despite all little altercations between the two institutes, the establishment of the pedagogical institute by bishop Ioan Popasu proved to be an appropriate and necessary measure at the time for the national development of the Romanians in Banat. He knew very well the situation of the primary education in Banat, where, just like all regions in the multinational empire, the State tried to intervene in organising confessional schools on the basis of the existing law.

The Theological Pedagogical Institute in Caransebes provided a qualitative increase of the educational activity in the Banat confessional

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 1/1884, f. 7

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 3/1884, f. 16

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 4/1896, f. 51

<sup>21</sup> *Foaia Diecezană*, 1910, no. 36, p. 7

<sup>22</sup> Vasile Petrica, *op. cit.*, p. 78



primary schools. In 1888, 84% of the schoolmasters had pedagogical studies. The Romanian national entity could be defended only by using mother tongue in schools; however, the school law mentioned above and its requirements, as well as the following ones, focused on turning to state education, where teaching was exclusively in Hungarian. They mostly envisaged inappropriate school buildings devoid of curricula and didactic materials. The danger of suppressing confessional schools was noticed by the Orthodox bishop who sent a formal letter to priests, schoolmasters and believers on 1 May 1869. He asked them to take action against those irregularities, as the ministry “decided that in places where those deficiencies were not corrected, commune primary schools would be established” where they would teach in Hungarian<sup>23</sup>. When the military border of Banat disappeared in 1872, the Hungarian Government decided to turn border national schools into commune schools coordinated by three school inspectorates seated in the buildings of the former border regiments in Caransebes, Panciova and Biserica-Alba in the decision of the Ministry of Public Instruction. After the gradual disappearance of the inspectorates, the schools in border area would be subordinated to borough school inspectorates after 1876.

Together with confessional schools, there were commune state schools in some localities in Banat, where Ioan Popasu asked Orthodox archpriests to delegate priests or lays with pedagogical, religious and general culture background to be part of the borough school senates to be involved in the management of the schools. Due to their positions, the priests were concerned with the training of the pupils to know Romanian in written (as teaching was provided only in Hungarian in commune school) and to acquire the main elements of the Orthodox religion. Where it was possible, confessional schools in small villages facing hardships were affiliated to big communes, in order to jointly provide for a single confessional primary school. Moreover, the bishop required to build confessional schools and churches, where the means for education and Orthodox faith did not exist. Thus, as a consequence of the Romanian communities endeavours coordinated by architects Cuzman Cioloca from Biserica-Alba and Adrian Diaconu from Bocsa Montana, several schools were built until 1886, such as in Vrani and Berliste and churches in Vrani and Iertof belonging to the Oravita archpriest’s institution<sup>24</sup>. Two years later, another confessional school was built on the land of the Orthodox church in Ilidia. The bishopric granted a loan of 1,000 florins to the church to finish the construction<sup>25</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> National Archives – County Directorate Caraş-Severin, *fund Protopopiatul ortodox român Caransebeş*, dos. 1/1869, f. 4-6

<sup>24</sup> Idem, *fund Protopopiatul ortodox Biserica-Albă*, dos. 10/1886, f. 1-2

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 5/1888, f. 1

Another means to promote the Romanian language was the re-establishment of confessional primary schools abusively turned into state schools, such as the one in Caransebes that had been suppressed in 1871. Through the initiative of the Orthodox Bishopric of Caransebes supported by the members of the parish committee, the confessional school in Caransebes opened its gates again in 1876, although some members of the leading bodies of the city did not agree. Due to a fruitful cooperation between bishop Ioan Popasu, archpriest Iacob Popovici, philologist Simion Mangiucă, and the historian with folklore concerns Atanasie Marienescu, commune schools became Orthodox confessional primary schools in Lugoj, Bocsa- Montana (1876) and Crasma (1874) – a border locality where a Romanian primary school had worked until 1872 – turned into a state commune school by authorities<sup>26</sup>. The development policy for Orthodox confessional primary schools bore fruit, according to the statistics of the Church National Congress held in Sibiu in 1917 until the school year 1911-1912, when there were 174 self-supporting primary schools, 7 schools supported by the dioceses and 44 supported by the State. The social situation in the countryside dramatically deteriorated in the school year 1913-1914, when only 56 confessional schools could support themselves, while 7 were supported by dioceses and 102 schools had to resort to the support from the State.

By establishing Romanian churches and confessional schools, the twofold steady offensive of the Orthodox Bishopric in Caransebes was well intertwined with the education of well-trained staff to help enlightening through education and faith the future generation of national defenders. Very well trained educators graduated from the Orthodox Pedagogical Theological Institute and played the role of national cultural animators with honour. Some examples in point are the following: Vasile Nicolescu, president of the Romanian Schoolmasters Reunion in Caransebes, Ioan Marcu – schoolmaster at Bocsa-Montana – one of its leading members, and Stefan Lipovan, a schoolmaster at the confessional school in Lugoj<sup>27</sup>.

The students in theology and pedagogy in Caransebes received a permanent national education by cultivating feelings of attachment towards the Romanian nation, the spiritual values of the Romanian people with a developed spirit of awareness concerning their appurtenance to cultural and Romanian traditions. They became soon aware of the adversity of the dualist regime regarding their cultural expression considered as an act of defiance and opposition against the authorities of the state.

Just like the “Samuil Vulcan” Gymnasium in Beius, the Diocesan Institute in Caransebes faced a similar situation relating to the hoist of the

<sup>26</sup>Idem, *fund Protopopiatul ortodox român Caransebeș*, dos. 5/1874, f. 1

<sup>27</sup> Pavel Jumanca, *Cele dintâi organizații profesionale ale învățătorilor bănățeni*, in *Învățătorul bănățean*, 1939, no. 10 p. 222

Romanian flag. On 19 May 1898 (letter 1476 B), the Austro-Hungarian authorities warned the leaders of the institute to investigate the students George Baias, Aurel Miter, Aurel Sdic and Nichifor Lazar, who hoisted a Romanian national flag on the night of 2-3 May 1898.

Professor Gherasim Sarb was appointed to enforce the requirements of the authorities and he discovered that student George Baias (3<sup>rd</sup> year student) met Aurel Miter (1<sup>st</sup> year student) near the Catholic church on 2 May 1898. The latter expressed his wish to buy red cloth but he did not know where to find it. Tailor Bocean, who lived nearby, accompanied Miter in a store where he bought the cloth. In his statement, George Baias mentioned that they met at school the same night with Aurel Miter, who had a Romanian flag with him that read “Desteapta-te Romane”. When he saw the flag, George Baias told Aurel Miter to be more cautious about the flag, as the academic council warned them about gestures that might be interpreted as hostile by the Austro-Hungarian authorities. The reply was that the flag was carried in Blaj.

In his statement, Aurel Miter confirmed what George Baias had said, but he expressed his conviction that through his deed, he did not break the law. Students Aurel Sdic and Nichifor Lazar confirmed the deeds of their colleagues in their statements.

The academic council decided to punish the four students in the following way: Aurel Miter was “scolded” during the teaching staff conference and had a lower grade for “morality”. George Baias had a lower grade for “morality” by two points. Aurel Sdic and Nichifor Lazar were considered innocent<sup>28</sup>.

The gesture of the three students in theology (Romulus Sandru, Petru Damsa and Coriolan Buracu) of not lifting their hats when singing the Hungarian “Hymn” and “Credo” at the gymnastics exam on the local pasture got to the attention of the authorities, who claimed to punish the students involved in the formal letter no. 183 of 8 June 1909.

Professors George Dragomir and Dimitrie Cioloca investigated the facts regarding the students and considered that Romulus Sandru and Petru Damsa were part of the public, as they were about 20-30 meters away from the place where the exam was held and did not lift their hats as nobody in the public did so. In the case of Coriolan Buracu, he stated that his gesture was not a challenging one; that he did not know the Hungarian “Hymn” as he had not studied in a state gymnasium (taught in Hungarian) and that he was 20 paces far from the public. Coriolan Buracu mentioned that he had been reprimanded and challenged by some people to lift his hat or to go home, and he made the decision to go. The academic staff considered that he was correct to respect the

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<sup>28</sup> National Archives – County Directorate Caraş-Severin, *fund Institutul Teologic Diecezan, protocolul conferinţelor profesoriale din 22 mai 1898*, rec. 5/1888-1917, f. 61-63

indications of the professors to avoid incidents with the locals and his action was not a protest against authorities<sup>29</sup>.

Through the advice provided to students in theology and pedagogy, the professors were trying to help them avoid confrontations with authorities, although they were great fighters for the rights of the Romanians in the empire. Coriolan Buracu showed a special national spirit when he was at school. When becoming a priest, he proved to be a great national militant; he was pursued and got a penal sanction for his intransigent conceptions.

Professor Moise Ienciu from the Theological Institute in Caransebes was always concerned with the news in the Romanian culture. In 1910 and 1912, he participated to the *Summer School* coordinated by the historian Nicolae Iorga. He mobilized his former students from Caransebes and a group of schoolmasters from Banat with whom he took part to the *Summer School* at Valenii de Munte in 1914. It was a unique gesture of a professor from Ardeal<sup>30</sup>.

The same Moise Ienciu organised in 1912 a trip to Italy to Trajan's Column in Rome and in 1913 to Cernivtsi, then he went to Mehadia, Baile Herculane and Ada Kaleh. He had the financial support from bishop Miron Cristea to show the future priests and schoolmasters the historical places of the Romanian people.

A new means to show graduates' love to the Romanian language, to the nation they belonged to and their deep respect to the heroes of the Romanian people were the oaths written in "Cartea de Aur" (Golden Book) of the school, where they declared under oath that they would be "apostles of the national idea all their lives, they would hold requiems for the Heroes of the People... and would not tolerate national traitors amongst themselves". Keeping the book in Werthemian House boarding school was an extremely brave and dangerous action, as many times local authorities and district attorneys searched the houses of those suspected to have collaborated with the Romanians over the Carpathians<sup>31</sup>.

After 1870, the schoolmasters from Banat started to write and print handbooks: Iuliu Birou (schoolmaster at Ticvanul Mare), *Carte de compunere pentru clasele V-VII* (Lugoj, 1902); Emeric Andreescu (schoolmaster at Bergsau), *Istoria naturala* (Timisoara, 1876), *Istoria patriei* (Timisoara, 1886); Ioan Tuducescu (schoolmaster at Lipova) published several handbooks in Arad between 1878 and 1887, such as: *Limba romaneasca*, *Istoria romanilor*, *Micul abecedary*, *Abecedar german-roman*, and *Introducere in economie*. Iuliu Vuia

<sup>29</sup> *Învățătorul bănăţean*, 1909, p. 106

<sup>30</sup> Vasile Petrica, *Teologul şi juristul dr. Moise Ienciu (1881-1953). O viaţă uitată într-o arhivă*, Editura Episcopiei Caransebeşului, 2003, p. 30

<sup>31</sup> National Archives – County Directorate Caraş-Severin, *fund Institutul Teologic Diecezan, protocolul conferinţelor profesionale*, 1919, f. 3

from Comlos published handbooks for primary school used in confessional primary schools in Banat in 1900-1918<sup>32</sup>.

The changes caused by dualism in social, economic and political life seriously damaged Romanian education and brought about a clearly expressed attitude of the schoolmasters in the villages of Banat that were not limited to discussing the social torment amongst the villagers; they also expressed their thoughts in articles published in the magazines of the time, as they became collaborators to different magazines and spokespersons of national oppression. Some of them did even more. Simion Pocrean, a schoolmaster at Soceni, edited a Romanian magazine entitled *Privighetoarea* at Bocsă Montana. Three issues were published (1 October 1882, 1 November 1882, and 1 October 1883). The schoolmaster set up the weekly newspaper *Revista* at Resita Montana on 1 January 1887; he published 13 issues until 25 March of the same year. In the first issue of the publication, Simion Pocrean supported the idea that Romanians needed to be more actively involved in cultural life. He presented news from Romania, poetry by Vasile Alecsandri and reprinted articles from the newspaper *Timpul* edited in Iasi. The articles *Cantecul lui Mihai Viteazu*, *Izvoarele istoriei romanilor* and *Ateneul Roman* were only a few examples of topics chosen by the schoolmaster from Soceni to contribute to developing national consciousness of the readers, particularly in Banat.

The same schoolmaster edited another weekly publication entitled *Opinca* on 1 May – 27 October 1885. Its aim was to debate upon cultural and economic issues of the Romanians in the countryside. In the first issue of the magazine, he appreciated that the villagers needed to become familiar with literary works raising and cultivating national spirit, sense of courage, justice, and attachment to the country and the Romanian people<sup>33</sup>.

*Junimea romana* was edited by schoolmaster Emeric Andeescu from Beregsau in 1890-1891 and aimed at cultivating youngsters from the Banat villages. It was published weekly, or twice-weekly during winter, when field labour diminished. For five months (15 August to 18 December 1891), the weekly published the magazine entitled *Sateanul* which approached resembling topics. On 4 September 1905 and the summer of 1915, schoolmaster Gheorghe Jianu edited the weekly publication *Progresul*, a magazine focusing on national, cultural and political topics.

These newspapers and magazines were published only for a short time, due to the limited financial possibilities and were written by schoolmasters educated at the Orthodox Pedagogical Theological Institute in Caransebes. It proves their attachment to the Romanian national values and their wish to disseminate them amongst the inhabitants of the Banat villages to make them

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<sup>32</sup> Victor Țărcovnicu, *op. cit.*, p. 182

<sup>33</sup> *Opinca*, 1885, no. 1, p. 1

aware of the unity of language and culture of the Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Romania.

The concern of the schoolmasters to ceaselessly prepare in the field was proved by the fact that they read and subscribed to Romanian magazines in Transylvania and to pedagogical magazines printed in Vienna and Budapest. People from Banat subscribed to *Amicul scoalei* (published in Sibiu in 1860 and edited by Visarion Roman), *Organul pedagogic* (published in Sibiu in 1863 by Ioan Popescu), *Magazinul pedagogic* (published in Nasaud starting with 1875 by Vasile Petri and Ion Candrea). The most widely-spread were special magazines edited in Banat: *Higiiena si scoala, foaie pentru sanatate, educatiune si instructiune* (established by Pavel Vasici and dedicated to teaching staff and parents; it was published weekly on 15 February – 31 December 1876 at Gherla, then in Timisoara on 1 January 1877-1 February 1880), *Ludimagister*, *Educatorul* and *Foaia Diecezana*. The last was edited after 1886 by the Orthodox Bishopric in Caransebes. They mainly published articles focused on religious topics, as well as issues relating to educational, cultural and artistic activities for further improvement of the schoolmasters besides the knowledge acquired at refreshment courses during schoolmasters' conferences, in order to use them in their daily didactic activity<sup>34</sup>. *Foaia diecezana* informed its readers on the publications and cultural life in Romania, published articles of the writers from Moldavia and Muntenia; we should notice amongst them the memoirs of Ion Ghica, Grigore Alexandrescu, the article *Cum vorbim* by George Ionescu, the news on Vasile Alecsandri's contribution to the development of Romanian literature, on his death (in 1890) and the discourses on that occasions delivered by personalities of the time.

During the general assembly held in May 1909, the Orthodox Romanian Schoolmasters Reunion from the confessional schools in the diocese of Caransebes decided to replace the *Anale* of the schoolmasters association with a new publication entitled *Educatorul*. Its objectives were to promote the real interests of the "Reunion" and to contribute to "people's education"<sup>35</sup>. At the same time, it was to be concerned with developing a new type of education on a scientific basis, with growing the prestige of the schoolmasters amongst the rural inhabitants, with expanding the cultural horizon of the schoolmasters, with strengthening their national consciousness together with their patriotic orientation in their daily didactic activities.

The magazine was published each month and comprised well documented articles in pedagogy, methodology, and literature, surveys referring to the Romanian pedagogical school, as well as world school, articles relating to the Romanian thought and school, school law in Romania, books and pedagogic press in Romania. Several times, there were urges to buy the special

<sup>34</sup> *Foaia diecezană*, 1886, no. 1, p. 1

<sup>35</sup> *Educatorul*, 1909, no. 1, p. 1

publications from Bucharest, or to subscribe to the magazines *Ramuri* from Craiova, *Neamul romanesc* and *Drum drept* by Nicolae Iorga. They were a strong element to preserve cultural unity of the Romanians. The magazine hosted articles on culture in Romania, on the Romanian cultural and historical personalities, with stress on the role of the valuable works with national tints belonging to Mihai Eminescu, Andrei Muresanu, George Cosbuc, Alexandru Vlahuta, Nicolae Iorga and Gheorghe Lazar, who were characterized as “our Romanian national prophets”<sup>36</sup>.

The fact that the educational process was still preserved in Caransebes is confirmed by the fact that during WWI, the Pedagogical Institute organised preparatory courses for the enlisted students who fought in the Austro-Hungarian army and provided pedagogical training to students from the Theological Institute to cover for the want of schoolmasters in the Banat confessional schools<sup>37</sup>.

When Romania joined the war on the side of the Entente Cordiale, the Austro-Hungarian administrative and military authorities carefully supervised the activities of the professors and students at the Pedagogical Theological Institute in Caransebes. The Minister of Public Instruction, Albert Apponyi, sanctioned the confessional institutes and the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic pedagogical schools in Caransebes, Arad, Blaj, Sibiu and Oradea and decided to reduce the number of Romanian classes on the reason that “the behaviour and spirit expressed by some priests and schoolmasters when the Romanian army entered the country in the east claim hardening state control over these schools”<sup>38</sup>. Besides this measure, several students were enlisted by the Austro-Hungarian army and were sent to fight on the fronts in Italy and Galicia. For his “Dacian-Roman” attitude, professor Ioan Clopotel was arrested and dismissed.

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, 1910, no. 1, p. 5

<sup>37</sup> National Archives – County Directorate Caraş-Severin, *fund Protopopiatul ortodox român Caransebeş*, dos. 37/1917, f. 38

<sup>38</sup> *Foaia diecezană*, 1917, no. 32, p. 1





## ASPECTS OF THE INDEPENDENCE WAR (1877-1878) AS SHOWN IN THE *BISERICA ȘI ȘCOALA* (CHURCH AND SCHOOL) NEWSLETTER

**Radu ROMÎNAȘU**

**Abstract:** *In this article, we have identified a series of accounts from European newspapers as quoted by the Biserica și Școala (Church and School) newsletter on the behaviour of the Romanian army on the battlefields south to Danube in the war of 1877-1878. Most of the correspondences focused on the military actions carried out by the Romanian and Tsarist armies in the area of the Plevna redoubts. According to the accounts of the foreign correspondents, the young Romanian army proved to be organised and brave on the battlefield. They acted in the most difficult areas of the military confrontations; this has been acknowledged by all eyewitnesses. Many of these accounts show the arrogant attitude of the Tsarist army towards the young Romanian army by assigning them the most difficult missions, thus attempting to avoid exposing their inferior training when facing complicated war situations. Through their resolute attitude, the Romanians showed their spirit of national solidarity to a fundamental idea: getting State independence.*

**Keywords:** *independence, war, Romanian, redoubt, newspapers*

The “Small Union” in 1859 – as it is known in our historiography – that was completed under the rule of Alexandru Ioan Cuza and the modern reforms elaborated in 1860-1865 were decisive historical steps aiming at preparing the new State to get its independence. In mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, it still was the major aim of the Romanian political class and of the civil society. Once Carol of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen came to the country and became ruler of Romania on 10 May 1866, the local politicians were even more eager to bring to life the ideal of freedom and independence against the new political background, although through different methods.

The war in 1877-1878 occurred between the two empires, the Tsarist and the Ottoman ones, in the context of reopening of the ancient “oriental issue” in the summer of 1875. It represented for the Romanian nation a favourable moment to acquire a normal status of complete freedom in internal and external policy concerning the Ottoman Porte. Thus, as far as the Romanians were concerned, this conflict became the war of independence in which the whole nation was involved. This was obvious on 6 April 1877 when, after the decree of mobilisation, people from Transylvania, Bukovina and Banat

were united under the war flag, while the Romanian civil population from everywhere unconditionally supported the Romanian army materially and morally, as the army crossed the Danube to sanction through fight what had been proclaimed on 9/21 May 1877 in the Romanian Parliament through the voice of the minister of External affairs, Mihail Kogălniceanu<sup>1</sup>.

The military events, the movement of the troops, the state of mind of the fighters, the failures, as well as the victories were written down for the posterity through several national and European newspapers that sent special envoys in the heat of the events, to the military operations in the Balkans. Thus, in this article, we are trying to find the general accounts concerning the evolution of the war as published in the newsletter *Biserica și școala* (*Church and School*). It was set up in Arad in the memorable year 1877 and mitigated to establish cultural-religious associations, to publish and disseminate theological books and to promote moral education amongst the lay and the Orthodox clergy.

A first article published in the newsletter referring to the topic quotes the Italian newspaper *Fanfulla*, one of the highly appreciated papers in the peninsula. The proclamation of State independence of Romania provided the newspaper with the opportunity to present the new political status of our country after the solemn moment on 9 May 1877 in eulogistic and romantic terms: “Romania proclaimed its independence. Let us see you now, honourable Melegari: hasn’t emperor Trajan shown up in your dreams last night to take you up and up on the glorious spiral of his column to show you in the horizon the offspring of his legions awaiting the greeting and embrace of their motherland? If you have not, I have seen good Trajan and, no offence against Saint Peter who took his place in the top of the column, I tell you this: you have to listen, as history has its duties and blood has its justice”<sup>2</sup>.

In its turn, another Italian newspaper, *Provincia di Treviso* read: ... “The Romanians claim they have a mission in the East and it is true. We put aside the fantasies of certain journalists speaking of Latinisation of the East if we only consider what serious people are saying. The mission of the Romanian people is to make a State in whose preservation all commercial nations in Europe should be interested. Romania wants absolute independence and I do not know if their wish could be blocked. The Romanians are by far the most intelligent people living on the banks of the Low Danube; they are accessible to new ideas in a surprising manner and know how to take advantage of the lessons of the western civilisation. For 50 years, they have undergone such a progress in both the material and the intellectual life that they give us the right to be convinced of their future progress. A people that, after a century of shameful rule of the Phanariots, still has enough energy to start a new life, to change the inside

<sup>1</sup> G. Brabu, *Ambulanțe la 77. Serviciul sanitar român în războiul de independență*, Editura Militară, București, 1978, p. 109

<sup>2</sup> *Biserica și școala*, 1877, nr. 18, p. 143

bondage in freedom, to organise their institutions, to increase, to regain its wealth, to correct their customs, in one word, to prepare its regeneration by all means. They are a people worth being the referee of their own destiny. Can we say the same thing about the Bulgarians?”<sup>3</sup>.

The newsletter from Arad quotes a first account making interesting references to the Romanian army in the newspaper *Freundenblatt* that read the following in a correspondence: “the foreign journalists have got used to making unfavourable remarks concerning the Romanian soldiers. I read all the time of the cowardice of the soldiers; I also read of such inaccurate descriptions of the army and their people. In one word, the journalists insist on making fun of the kingdom and all the tensions inside. As you know, I have been familiar with Romania since it used to be Moldavia and Walachia; I have known Romania since the War of Crimea... What was once does not exist anymore. Now, the Romanian army has a self-conscience. Being a Hohenzollern, Prince Carol is a soldier all over and his attention focuses on the army. Krupp has supplied a special material for canons. The process of organising the army has started several times with caution; the artillery is organised according to the Prussian model; the soldiers, the canons and the horses are excellent. The whole army raising, I would say, to 80,000-100,000 people has one wish only: to meet the Turks as soon as possible”<sup>4</sup>.

The first news on the military actions south from the Danube is related in the newsletter *Church and School* at the beginning of May 1877. They only present isolated unimportant military conflicts. “The great fights – mentioned in the correspondence – are expected at the end of the month, when Russia is to focus all its troops in Romania along the Danube. The headquarters will be in Ploiesti and will be led by Prince Nicolae, the supreme commander of the Russian army that comprised at the time 235,520 soldiers and 540 canons.” Two army troops of 132,480 soldiers with 288 canons were expected, while Romania had at the time 70,700 soldiers and 126 canons<sup>5</sup>.

The following correspondence informed the Romanian society that “the Russian-Turkish war has reached a new phase”. The victorious Russian troops over the Danube in the first confrontations with the Ottoman army have managed to cross the Balkans and to conquer the fortress of Nikopol. 6,000 Turks and two pashaliks have been captured. Romanian troops led by colonel Stanescu were involved in occupying this important strategic spot. After crossing the Danube, the Romanians faced only a slight resistance, as our divisions were welcome by the locals, particularly by the Romanians in the village of Simovita. There were cheers such as “long live Romania and the Romanian army!”. According to the estimates on the front, the fall of Rusciuc

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<sup>3</sup> *O voce amică*, in *Ibidem*, nr. 40, p. 322

<sup>4</sup> *Biserica și școala*, 1877, nr. 18, p. 143

<sup>5</sup> *De pre câmpulu de resbelu*, in *Ibidem*, 1877, nr. 15, p. 119

was only a matter of time, while Vidin, “this Muslim fortress on the bank of the Danube looking down for such a long time, it has to lower its forehead in front of the Romanian arm”. At the end of the correspondence, there were specifications on the main directions of the Tsarist army focused on the line Filipopol – Adrianopol, while Constantinople was “under the rule of a terrible fear”<sup>6</sup>.

The most extended chronicles and accounts on the events in 1877 south from Danube were dedicated to the military actions in the area of the redoubts of Plevna that were by far the most important military-strategic area and on which might have depended one way or another the fate of the war. In 1877, Plevna was a small town with a population of 18,000 inhabitants and a special strategic position, as it was a connection point for the communication to Nikopol, Vidin, Rahova, Sofia, etc. In north, east and south it was surrounded by hills and in west by the river and plain of Vidin. Lying at the junction of the Tucenita creek and the Grivita river, Plevna was a natural fortress easy to defend and difficult to attack. On the hills, Osman Pasha built over 20 redoubts that were genuine soil and wood fortifications connected through deep and wide trenches<sup>7</sup>.

On the eve of the fall, Plevna was surrounded by 125 battalions, 85 squadrons<sup>8</sup> and 64 Russian batteries and 45 battalions, 38 squadrons and 19 Romanian batteries<sup>9</sup>. The Romanian troops in front of the fortress were made up of 35,000 people and supervised one third of the besetment area<sup>10</sup>.

By mid-October 1877, the siege of Plevna was practically over by conquering Gorni, Dubnic, Dolni Dubnic, Gorni Etropol. After the successful actions, all communication with Sofia, Vidin and Rahova ceased<sup>11</sup>.

In fact, a chronicle informed on the end of this important military action: ... “The successes of General Gurko on the line covering Plevna to Orchania – Sofia were decisive on the fate of the military actions in the area. The Romanians have had the greatest successes. The Russian lieutenant-general Kriloff acknowledges this fact: the fights in Telis, Gorni-Dulenic, Semer, Trestenic, as well as several expeditions assigned to the Romanian cavalry have proved the brightness, bravery, perfect tenure and accuracy of the Romanian cavalry and soldiers, as well as of the artillery”. At the same time, colonel Slaniceanu has succeeded to have a new victory over the Turks near Rahova. The fortress was conquered and the Turks made prisoners<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> *Biserica și școala*, 1877, nr. 24, p. 191

<sup>7</sup> Nichita Adăniloae, *Independența națională a României*, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste Române, București, 1986, p. 317-318

<sup>8</sup> Squadron – subunit of a cavalry regiment.

<sup>9</sup> Mihai Pelin, *Căderea Plevnei 28 noiembrie 1877*, Editura Albatros, București, 1977, p. 10

<sup>10</sup> Nichita Adăniloae, *op. cit.*, p. 343

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 339

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, nr. 40, p. 328

There were several mails on the eve of 7 September “when the great and fierce fight between the Russian – Romanian army led by Prince Carol I and the Ottoman one, led by Osman Pasha started again. The position in Plevna – as shown in the account quoted by the newsletter *Church and School* – is very advantageous for the Turks, so that it is very difficult to conquer. The fire was started by the Romanian 13<sup>th</sup> infantry regiment in the presence of the Prince”. On Saturday, 8 September, the fight was even fiercer; the Romanian army was closest to Plevna. The 4<sup>th</sup> division commanded by colonel Angelescu, which was 15 km away from the Ottoman redoubts, went right to the “heart of the enemy”, while the 3<sup>rd</sup> division commanded by general Manu occupied the positions left by Angelescu to redirect the movements of the 4<sup>th</sup> division. The same day, the 15<sup>th</sup> regiment in the first line of the front was ordered to attack one of the redoubts that seemed weakened by the ceaseless fire of a Romanian battery. The infantry enveloped the Turks and the latter had to leave the redoubt lest they should be held prisoners. During this confrontation, the Romanian army had one casualty and 30 injured. The newspaper *Monitorul* presented it as follows: “... the 13<sup>th</sup> regiment was admirable. The Romanian army, that is the free Romanian, would rather be engraved under the hills of Plevna than to leave it to the Turks”<sup>13</sup>.

The fights around the redoubt continued – according to other sources – “fiercely”. The Romanians were attacked several times in the occupied position. The correspondents of the newspaper *Romania libera* showed some heroic deeds of the Romanian army: “the Romanians were under the fire of the Turks up to the reinforced parapet. Captain Valter, who commanded a battalion on the 8<sup>th</sup> line, was struck by a bullet in the head while hoisting the Romanian flag in the parapet. There were several admirable deeds – the paper said – that the history will have to record. For instance, major Sontu, in his last moments, shouted: “I’m all yours children, here I come! A wounded man shouted: I die, but I have done my duty to my country, I fired 50 fires”<sup>14</sup>.

Another account showed the preparations of the two armies for the decisive offensive on the Turkish fortifications. The Romanian troops, of whom the Europeans spoke with admiration, “strongly hold the position at Plevna and go forward to the great redoubt through underground tunnels”<sup>15</sup>.

The bombing of Plevna continued on all lines, as other sources showed. The correspondent from *Politische Correspondenz* considered that the Turks would have a hard time resisting the Romanian attack, while *Pester Lloyd* mentioned that “the Romanians should be acknowledged and attributed the merit of being the first to start the labour. They were the ones that started to skilfully dig and form parallels to the neighbouring redoubt from their

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<sup>13</sup> *Biserica și școala*, 1877, nr. 33, p. 262

<sup>14</sup> *Lupta armatei româno-ruse*, în *Ibidem*, nr. 34, p. 270

<sup>15</sup> *Biserica și școala*, 1877, nr. 36, p. 286

positions”<sup>16</sup>. Thus, all through the way, the Romanian bombers built strong fortifications on three successive defensive lines. Almost 30 soil works (redoubts, forts, scopes, redans, trenches). At Grivita, the Romanians dug two mine galleries to the second redoubt occupied by the Turks, where explosives were placed to blow up the powerful Ottoman redoubt<sup>17</sup>.

There were also interesting accounts on the fights to conquer the Bucova redoubt that was part of the fortifications complex at Plevna. “The first parapet of the redoubt – said the war mail – fell to the Romanians; however, further on there was another parapet they knew nothing about. There were great fights and the Romanian – Russian troops finally withdrew”. During the fights, 3,000 Turks were held prisoners and four canons were captured; but this was followed by the siege of Plevna from all over as the sole solution to capture it. In this sense, they intended to cut any connection for supplies with Sofia<sup>18</sup>.

The newspaper *Le memorial diplomatique* was focused on the military events in the Plevna area and provided new information on the attitude of the Romanian army in front of the Turkish redoubts. The newspaper’s correspondents mentioned that “the Romanians have made another attempt against Plevna, but a useless one. Ever since the Russians besieged this position – they said – we can notice that they leave all the honour of the operations to the young and flaming Romanian army and these operations aim at suppressing it”. The assault on the second redoubt had important losses amongst the Romanians with 283 casualties and nearly 650 injured<sup>19</sup>.

The newspaper *Le Nord* informs us on the fights on 19 October. After an attack on the Turkish redoubts, the commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> division got back to the fights, where a direct fight occurred on the parapet. The Romanians were so fierce that they had been fighting for over an hour steadily against an enemy well sheltered and more numerous. The dedication and spirit of sacrifice of the Romanian soldiers is also shown by an account according to which “those with superficial wounds requested to go back to the fight”<sup>20</sup>. This was possible due to the establishment of the Romanian Sanitary Service managed by Carol Davila. Thus, the Romanian army had three ambulances that were mobile elements of the sanitary system, one for every four divisions. Each regiment had 12 stretchers and four baskets with sanitary material (bandages, medicines and tools)<sup>21</sup>. The injured were evacuated and sheltered in special tents with double walls meant for the patients and the staff<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, nr. 38, p. 307

<sup>17</sup> Nichita Adăniloae, *op. cit.*, p. 343

<sup>18</sup> *Biserica și școala*, 1877, nr. 39, p. 315

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, nr. 41, p. 329

<sup>20</sup> *Spiritul războinic în armata română*, in *Ibidem*, nr. 42, p. 338

<sup>21</sup> G. Brabu, *op. cit.*, p. 21

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 41

At Plevna, Osman had supplies and ammunition for six weeks, according to the newspaper *Razboiul*. “All I can say – informed the correspondent – is that the Turks are heroes. I have seen one of them shot four times and he was still fighting. Their guns are excellent: they reach 1,500-1,800 meters”<sup>23</sup>. Indeed, the Ottoman army had modern arms made up especially of Peabody-Martini, Winchester and Remington guns and rifles<sup>24</sup>. “Now the Russians are firm, I have seen that when they took Gorni-Dobnic. The bayonet fights lasted two hours, 800 Arabs against 2,000 Russian infantries. Many were biting with their teeth. A regiment of cavalry joined the fight. They hit them in the head with the swords and the Arabs’ brains were all over. No one remained, but they died heroically”<sup>25</sup>.

There was several enthusiastic pieces of news on the capitulation of Plevna. “Plevna has fallen – one could read in a war chronicle; urged by starvation, Osman Pasha tried to break through the siege on 28 November by attacking on two sides the lines to Gorni-Etropolu (where the Russian army was) and Opanz (where the Romanian army was). After the battles, Osman managed to get a Russian trench and redoubt and it was only the Romanian batteries that managed to chase them away. The battle at Opanez was terrible. The Turks took three redoubts from the Romanians who managed to get them back by capturing 7,900 Ottomans. Osman was wounded at the leg and had to surrender. The number of dead and injured Turks raised to 10,000, while other 40,000 were prisoners”<sup>26</sup>.

Osman Pasha surrendered to colonel Cerchez accompanied by colonels Arion and Berindei. They went to the house where the Turkish commander was. He declared himself as prisoner of the Romanian army and stated that “the Romanians are a small, yet bold and polite people”<sup>27</sup>.

According to the accounts of several newspapers that had special envoys to the conflict area south to Danube, the Romanian troops were the first to enter Plevna and “felt the angry and desperate rush of the Turks”. They occupied the three redoubts in assault. Out of the 70 captured canons, the Romanians got 30. “There is great and general joy – said a correspondent. Everybody celebrated the fall of Plevna in the headquarters at Grivita”<sup>28</sup>.

If we analyse all the accounts of the newspapers referring to the war in the Balkans, we have the opportunity to have a homogenous image on the Romanian army and their attitude on the battlefield. With the detachment of the 130 years that have passed since the important events in 1877-1878, we can

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<sup>23</sup> *De pe câmpul de război*, în *Biserica și școala*, 1877, nr. 43, p. 347

<sup>24</sup> Mihai Pelin, *op. cit.*, p. 27

<sup>25</sup> *De pe câmpul de război*, în *Biserica și școala*, 1877, nr. 43, p. 347

<sup>26</sup> *Biserica și școala*, 1877, nr. 46, p. 371

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, nr. 48, p. 386

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, nr. 47, p. 378

make some judgements based on the historical truth. Thus, according to the accounts, we can place the young Romanian army together with the most organised and serious armies on the continent. They were involved in the most difficult areas of the military confrontations, and this has been acknowledged by eyewitnesses. As a matter of fact, many of their accounts showed the arrogant attitude of the Tsarist army as compared to the Romanian one. Thus, the Romanians were assigned the most difficult missions and they were in the first line several times. In this way, the Russians were trying to avoid exposing their inferior training in complicated war situations. The Romanians have shown spirit of national solidarity for a fundamental idea: State independence through their resolute and fearless attitude in front of death. This attitude has honoured the Romanian nation that had the most difficult part of the war. In this way, they managed to become, under the rule of the future King Carol I, a European modern country and to finish a new stage in the long historical process of unifying the national unitary Romanian State.



## ACTIVITY IN THE *ASTRA* SECTIONS IN BIHOR TO DELIVER CONFERENCES AND POPULAR LECTURES (1898-1918)

*Florin ARDELEAN*

**Abstract:** *The survey shows the dynamics of organisation – by the Astra Bihor sections – of conferences for intellectuals and popular lectures for peasants at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Special attention is granted to revealing the topics approached. Some of them had an economic, legal, ethnographic, cultural, and historical topic. They enjoyed great receptivity and interest from the Romanians in the area.*

**Key words:** *Astra, sections, conferences, lectures, culture*

Being an important cultural propaganda tool, conferences were introduced in the activity of *Astra* at an early epoch. However, at the beginning, they were almost exclusively delivered during general meetings of the society and had a high scientific content and a less accessible language to the public. It was the cultural offer of *Astra* to the educated Romanian population in the cities of Transylvania. Subsequently, once the establishment of the first sections (1869), propaganda through the spoken word was expanded. Their regulations provisioned as means of activity the delivery of lectures on issues of interest to the villagers<sup>1</sup>.

The attempt to make the topics permanent and diversified, as well as a systematic programme of support appeared only in 1900, when the general assembly of the society at Baile Herculane, being aware of the cultural-national importance of these actions, made the decision to deliver popular lectures in as many localities as possible.

Undoubtedly, it was hard to achieve that as it supposed important financial resources and specialised people. Despite the endeavours, the results did not rise to the occasion in the first years, as they managed to deliver only 12 lectures in 1898, 37 in 1899<sup>2</sup> and about 45-50 in 1900<sup>3</sup>.

The main impediment preventing the strengthening of these forms of cultural activity in the sections was the funding, as the only income they had came from the fees paid by the members. To this should be added the lack of specialised persons

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<sup>1</sup> Matei Pamfil, *Asociațiunea transilvană pentru literatura română și cultura poporului român (Astra) și rolul ei în cultura națională (1861-1950)*, Editura Dacia, Cluj Napoca, 1986, p. 281-282

<sup>2</sup> *Transilvania. The official side*, 1900, no. 8, p. 93-95

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, 1901, no. 10, p. 311

able and willing to speak to the peasants. Consequently, most of the times, the lectures were financially and logistically supported from Sibiu, as they constantly sent money and – upon the request of the sections – specialised lecturers at the expense of the centre. The money was mostly used to cover transport expenses and the acquisition of slides for skiopticon, the projection apparatus introduced by the lecturers to make the lectures more attractive.

According to some estimates, in 1900-1913, 506 conferences and 5198 lectures were held in the *Astra* sections<sup>4</sup>. The year 1913 was considered the most fruitful in the pre-war period from this perspective, as there were 154 conferences and 1459 popular lectures<sup>5</sup>. This impressive balance was a direct consequence of the steps taken by the central leaders in the previous years. First of all, through some form letters sent to the sections, they stressed the cultural-educational importance of the lectures, trying to make leaders aware of the fact that their activity could not be limited to organising isolated cultural-artistic events during circle meetings. “With their help (i.e. lectures) – read a form letter in 1910 – we can fulfil one of the most important aims of our institutions: disseminating culture in the countryside”<sup>6</sup>.

To stimulate intellectuals, after 1905, they started to give grants to the best lecturers. Therefore, they established an annual budget column of 2000 crowns<sup>7</sup>. At the same time, they made the recommendation to the sections to grant priority to lectures on economic topics<sup>8</sup>.

Starting with 1906, the central committee printed new lectures in the collection *Biblioteca Poporala* edited by the society with the aim of putting at the disposal of the lecturers different models of cultural programmes. Some of the famous collaborators to the collection are as follows: Ioan Lupas, Octavian Goga, Ion Agarbiceanu, Ion Pop Reteganul, Ion Al. Lapedatu, and so on<sup>9</sup>.

Consequently, under the urge from the centre, the activity of the sections was more and more diversified. One of the most important was the delivery of popular lectures to peasants and conferences for the intellectuals in the cities.

Usually, the cultural actions through lectures were accompanied by the organisation of popular agencies and libraries in one place. In order to do that, the central committee offered the *Astra* statutes and regulations to sections, as well as several books and brochures on different topics to distribute them amongst the peasants<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Valer Moga, *Astra și societatea. Asociațiunea pentru Literatura Română și Cultura Poporului Român 1918-1930* (manuscript, doctoral thesis), p. 16

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 459

<sup>6</sup> AN-DJBh, *fund Astra Beiuș*, dos. 7/1910, f. 28

<sup>7</sup> *Transilvania*, 1911, no. 4 jubilee, p. 388

<sup>8</sup> *Analele Asociațiunii*, 1906, p. 42-43

<sup>9</sup> *Asociațiunea „Astra”. Activitatea editorială la Sibiu*, Sibiu, 1973, p. 1-12

<sup>10</sup> *Transilvania*, 1906, no. 5-6, p. 239-240

The Bihor County joined the cultural propaganda gradually through lectures and conferences shortly after the establishment of the first two *Astra* sections in Beius (1898) and Oradea (1900). Although they tried right from the beginning to override the strict limits of the seats and address a large public by organising meetings each month in another locality, the results were not as expected. The existence of only two sections in Bihor that were consolidating and increasing in number of members until 1910 made that the frequency of lectures and number of villages benefitting from them was quite low. The action would expand at the beginning of the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when three new territorial sections were established at Ceica, Marghita and Tinca.

Similar to other affiliates of the society, the sections in Bihor used two forms of cultural message: popular lectures for peasants and conferences for intellectuals in the cities. The differences between the two forms were in point of theme, content and language. The conferences were elaborated and delivered at a high intellectual level. Consequently, they mainly addressed the educated urban Romanian population. However, popular lectures were delivered in a simple popular language accessible to peasants.

Established on 24 February 1898, the Beius section was the most important section of *Astra* in Bihor until 1918 both in point of number of members and the activity meant to develop the culture of the Romanian population in the region. It conformed to the general level of the sections amongst the territorial sections. It coordinated over 150 localities belonging to the administrative circles of Beius, Vascau and Ceica<sup>11</sup>.

In the first years, the lectures delivered in this section were mainly focused particularly on introducing the objectives of the society amongst the peasants. The appreciation it enjoyed from the public made the leaders of the section act for thematic diversification.

Starting with 1909, in order to increase the interest for conferences, they intended to include them in their programme and in some cultural-artistic performances (musical, theatrical and literary). They mainly focused on craftsmen and on scholarly youngsters. However, the main endeavour was focused on the rural world, where the section intended to expand its activity and where several needs had to be covered.

As a general balance, on 17 September 1899 – 2 May 1914, 317 lectures and conferences were held in 46 localities, most of them in Beius (52), Pocola (14), Petrani (13), Mizies (10), Delani (7), and Curatele (7)<sup>12</sup>. A determining

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<sup>11</sup> AN-DJBh, *fund Astra Beiuș*, dos. 1/1897-1926, f. 6; Viorel Faur, Florin Ardelean, *Istoricul despărțământului „Astrei” din Beiuș (1898-1918)*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2006, p. 31

<sup>12</sup> AN-DJBh, *fund Astra Beiuș*, dos. 1/1897-1926, f. 203-209, 221-228, 229-231, 234-237, 256-263, 267-282; dos. 6/1906-1909, f. 73-76; dos. 8/1911, f. 12-13; dos. 10/1913, f. 13-15; Idem, *fond Astra Bihor-Oradea*. Copies dos. 33/1906-1909, f. 360-367; STATISTICĂ: 1899 - 1; 1900

role in the expansion of the conferences had the president of the section, Dr. Ioan Ciordas, an important political and cultural personality of the time. Some of the remarkable intellectuals delivering lectures were Dr. I. Ciordas (45 lectures), N. Fabian (28) and Aug. Blasan (16) and Petru E. Papp (10), Vasile Stefanica (9), Dr. Constantin Pavel (8), Moise Popovici (8) and Ioan Petra (8).

The lectures delivered in the Beius section had a diverse topic oriented towards the most acute issues of the epoch, which can explain the special interest they aroused amongst the audience. First of all, the peasants had to become familiar with the history and objectives of *Astra*. Several lectures focused on this topic (*Asociațiunea și năzuințele ei*, *Istoricul Astrei*, *Interesarea Astrei pentru meseriași*, *Care e însemnătatea Astrei* etc.). The topics of the other lectures approached different economic (*Sfaturi economice*, *Foloasele pământului*, *despre îngrijirea datoriilor*, *despre pomărit*, *despre prăsirea vitelor*, *despre stupărit*, *despre legumărit*, *despre lucrarea pământului*, *despre cultivarea pomilor*, *Îngrijirea gunoiului artificial*, *Cultura nutrețurilor*), legal (*Despre contracte și testamente*, *Sfaturi din domeniul dreptului*, *Despre cambii și interese*, *despre cărțile funduare*, *Despre legea comunală*, *Curtea cu jurați*), medical (*despre primul ajutor în nenorociri*), historical (*O excursie de la Sibiu la Râmnicu-Vâlcea*), religious (*Viața lui Isus*), cultural (*despre Astra și chemarea ei*, *despre Astra și nizuințele ei*, *despre începutul și scopul Astrei*), moral (*anti-alcoholic lectures*, *concubinage and its disasters*, *on the flourishing of family life*, *on several errors (bad habits) at our people*, *abuse with funeral feast*) topics<sup>13</sup>.

After a relatively modest debut owed particularly to a poor organisation, in the Oradea section of *Astra* were obtained important results concerning lectures and other forms of cultural action (agencies and libraries) only in 1907-1908, once Dr. Aurel Lazar was elected director<sup>14</sup>. Shortly after, he called a meeting of the committee on 31 October 1907. During that meeting, several important decisions were made. They decided to divide the section into four sectors (Oradea, Alesd, Marghita and Tinca), each being coordinated by one or two members of the committee<sup>15</sup>. They had to draw up a plan referring to starting the conferences within 14 days. As a consequence of the measures, in the following years they managed to deliver 58 lectures in 31 localities from Bihor (Bratca, Oradea, Nojorid, Sannicolau Roman, Giris, Sacadat, Sanlazar, Cheresig, Alparea, Cheri, Berechiu, Roit, Cefa, Inand, Gepiu, Sumugiu, Mierlau, Saldabagiu, Almas, Brusturi, Sarsig, Tiganesti, Beznea, Beliu,

- 2; 1901 - 2; 1902 - 5; 1903 - 2; 1904 - 1; 1905 - 1; 1907 - 4; 1908 - 20; 1909 - 8; 1910 - 18; 1911 - 11; 1912 - 31; 1913 - 129; 1914 - 82.

<sup>13</sup> *Idem*, *fund Astra Beiuș*, dos. 1/1897-1926, f. 234-247; Viorel Faur, *Pagini din lupta populației din sudul Bihorului pentru afirmare culturală (Activitatea despărțământului beiușean al „Astrei” între anii 1898-1918)*, in *Crisia*, 1978, p. 462

<sup>14</sup> AN-DJBh, *fund Astra Bihor-Oradea*. Copies, dos. 33/1906-1914, f. 20

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 11

Ortiteag, Bratca, Auseu, Suncuius, Borodul Mare, Apateul Romanesc and Cihei)<sup>16</sup>.

For the years 1911-1914, there is no definite number of lectures because of the lack of concrete information, minutes and annual reports of the section.

It is worth mentioning the fact that several times the activity of disseminating culture through popular lectures was accompanied by the organisation, together with the *Hilaria Singing Reunion* whose director was Dr. Aurel Lazar, of some impressing concerts and popular parties that had a special place in the cultural propaganda of the section, thus contributing to making these forms of cultural action more attractive<sup>17</sup>.

The Ceica section established on 28 March 1910 was the third *Astra* section established in Bihor. After a hesitating beginning, when the committee was focused only on organisational issues, the first lectures were delivered during the meeting held at Tasad on 12 July 1911. Over 300 people attended the event. On this occasion, two dissertations were presented: *Astra jubiliara* (by Dr. Victor Andru) and *Fragmente din igiena poporala* (by Dr. I. Comsa)<sup>18</sup>.

The activity of the section had a new rising in 1912, when a great cultural programme was applied. It had been planned during the committee meeting on 24 January 1912<sup>19</sup>. In parallel with the establishment of popular agencies and libraries, they strengthened the action of financially supporting lectures from Sibiu, as they sent 100 crowns for them. Consequently, in the year 1912, 22 popular lectures were held in 10 localities<sup>20</sup>: Vintere (25 February), Lazuri (24 March), Dusesti (28 April), Dobresti (26 May), Bucuroaia (23 June), Sambăta (21 July), Rogoz (28 August), Dragesti, Ceisoara and Ceica<sup>21</sup>.

The promising cultural activity of the section was pursued in the following year, when other 19 lectures were held in 6 localities in Bihor: 5 at Holod (13 July), 3 at Lupoiaia, 2 at Corbesti, 3 at Calea Mare, 3 at Hidisel and 3 at Pomezau<sup>22</sup>.

In the Marghita section established on 16 October 1910, 22 popular lectures were held until the end of August 1912 in Chet (25 April 1911), Sanlazar (28 May 1911)<sup>23</sup>, Popesti (12 June 1911)<sup>24</sup>, Voivozi-Cuzap (30 July

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 11-12. 33-34; some of the most important intellectuals were Aurel Lazăr, Iosif Moldovan, Dr. Cornel Bulcu, Vasile Babi, Ioan Petra, Iosif Tărau and Romul Mangra.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 54

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 212, 214; Viorel Faur, *Înființarea și activitatea despărțământului din Ceica al „Astrei” între anii 1910-1914*, in *Crisia*, 1976, p. 267

<sup>19</sup> AN-DJBh, *fund Astra Bihor-Oradea*. Copies, dos. 33/1906-1914, f. 290-293

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 231, 294

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 261-262, 357

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 401

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 160-161

<sup>24</sup> Viorel Faur, *Activitatea despărțământului din Marghita al „Astrei” (1910-1914)*, in *Crisia*, 1977, p. 485-486

1911), Ghenetea (29 October 1911)<sup>25</sup>, Satul lui Barb, Margine and Chiraleu<sup>26</sup>. The central committee supported the section by granting 100 crowns and brochures to establish village libraries<sup>27</sup>.

From this point of view, it is interesting the motivation of the interest for a certain type of lectures as the director of the section in Marghita put it in an activity report for the year 1911 forwarded to the central committee: "At the beginning, we need to lay stress on general cultural lectures, as the people have fallen behind and having the conviction that the Romanian people was left to suffer with no right to wish for culture and a more humane life. Therefore, there were less direct practical lectures. They would gradually increase in number"<sup>28</sup>.

The promising cultural activity as outlined in the northern part of Bihor was soon interrupted because some unfavourable conditions appeared there (bad weather) in the year 1913<sup>29</sup>.

The presentation of popular lectures on different topics adequate to the needs of the inhabitants in the rural world was a ceaseless concern for the Tinca section as early as the beginning of its establishment on 28 February 1912<sup>30</sup>. The same year, 19 lectures were held in 6 settlements near Tinca having an audience of 4800 villagers: 3 in Cociuba (600 listeners), 3 in Batar (800 listeners), and 4 in Capalna (1200 listeners)<sup>31</sup>. The topic approached included economic advice and guidelines (*Sfaturi și îndrumări economice, Despre tovărășii și foloasele lor, Despre cartea funduară*), fight against superstitions, concubinage and alcohol abuse (*Obiceiuri rele sădite în poporul nostru, beția, luxul, s.a., Din păcatele poporului nostru, beția, luxul, Din credinșele deșarte la poporul nostru, Despre concubinaj și urmările lui,*), as well as showing the importance of labour and balance to increase the standard of living (*Munca, cruțarea și hărnicia, Sfaturi cum să trăim*) and devotion to national values (*Iubirea de neam și de limbă*)<sup>32</sup>. They used slides at two of the lectures, which considerably increased the interest of the participants.

The following year, new support actions were initiated for lectures in Batar (400 listeners), Beliu (300 listeners), Capalna (350 listeners), Cociuba

<sup>25</sup> AN-DJBh, *fund Astra Bihor-Oradea*. Copies, dos. 33/1906-1914, f. 281

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 249

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 272, 274, 284

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 190; here, the most renowned lecturers were Dionisie Stoica (director of the section), Victor Pop (priest at Cheț), Iuliu Chiș (lawyer in Marghita), Vasile Tămaș (archpriest at Popești), Coriolan Manu (priest at Abram), Aurel Nichita (lawyer in Marghita), Ioan Abrudan (schoolmaster at Făncica).

<sup>29</sup> AN-DJBh, *fund Astra Bihor-Oradea*. Copies, dos. 33/1906-1914, f. 404

<sup>30</sup> The establishment of the Tinca section took place during a constitutive meeting called by lawyer Andrei Ilie, on 28 February 1912. 59 localities were under its coordination.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 383

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*; Viorel Faur, *Contribuții la cunoașterea acțiunilor de constituire a despărțământului din Tinca al „Astreii” și a primelor demersuri pentru înființarea celor din Salonta și Vașcău (1912-1914)*, in *Crisia*, 1978, p. 625-626

(300 listeners), Coroiu (200 listeners), Gepis (400 listeners), Husasau (600 listeners), Siad (420 listeners), Giris (250 listeners), Tinca (150 listeners), Tulca (280 listeners), Ucuris (280 listeners) and Gurbediu (120 listeners). On the whole, there were 41 lectures with 4050 peasants attending them<sup>33</sup>. This time, the topic of the lecture was much diversified, such as: bringing to the foreground the history and objectives of *Astra* (*Scopul Asociațiunii*), urges to read (*Iubirea cititului*), basic hygiene notions (*Despre igienă*), religion (*Din viața lui Isus*), and children education (*Despre creșterea pruncilor*), the beauty of the Romanian costume (*Despre portul românesc*), etc.<sup>34</sup>. The *Astra* senior lecturer in agronomy, Aurel Cosciuc made a contribution to the diversification of the topics approached that year. He held several economic lectures with the skiopticon (*Creșterea și îngrijirea vitelor*, *Despre stupărit*)<sup>35</sup>.

For objective reasons determined by the beginning of WWI, the section could not develop the following years a cultural activity comparable to the previous years.

Even if they did not manage to totally reach their objectives, the conferences and popular lectures represented a moment of reference from the perspective of the persevering endeavours initiated by *Astra* for cultural development of the Romanian villages in Transylvania. The human resources were several times too small as compared to the wide cultural area. From the point of view of the professional appurtenance of the speakers, schoolmasters and professors were dominant, most of them being employed at schools in Beius and Oradea, who became senior lecturers of *Astra*. They were followed by priests, lawyers, and physicians.

The archives documents show a relatively high receptivity of the peasants concerning the lectures, as their number was constantly increasing. Thus, if we believe the activity reports of the sections, there was an average of 80-100 up to 4-500 persons attending the lectures<sup>36</sup>. The audience record was in Capalna in 1912, in Tinca section, with 1200 attendants<sup>37</sup>.

An interesting testimony concerning the receptivity of the lectures amongst the Romanian inhabitants in the villages can be found in the newspaper of Arad, *Tribuna*: "It has been a long time since we could see so many people as at the meeting at Popești. The school where the lecture was held was full of people in the narrow meaning of the word; if one threw a needle, it

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<sup>33</sup> AN-DJBh, *fund Astra Bihor-Oradea*. Xerocopii, dos. 33/1906-1914, f. 377-378

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*; Viorel Faur, *Contribuții la cunoașterea acțiunilor de constituire a despărțământului din Tinca al „Astrei” și a primelor demersuri pentru înființarea celor din Salonta și Vașcău (1912-1914)*, in *Crisia*, 1978, p. 626-627

<sup>35</sup> Out of the lecturers involved, the most remarkable was bank cashier Eugen Sibiiian (20 lectures), lawyers Andrei Ille (16 lectures) and Dr. Aurel Pinția (7 lectures), schoolmaster Gavril Dudulescu (3) and Romul Barbu (8).

<sup>36</sup> AN-DJBh, *fund Astra Bihor-Oradea*. Xerocopii, dos. 33/1906-1914, f. 401

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 383

would have fallen on flesh. It was the same on the entrance hall and the hall and at all windows; they were full of people, heads over heads. Thanks to the worthy father Vasile Tamas, who made it all easier and informed everybody, to gather as many as possible. And when the director of the section, Dr. Aurel Lazar, began so speak about our target, this sea of people, who were very silent at the beginning as in front of the shrine, little by little, just like the holy fire of love for one's people as taken from the soul of the speaker, warmed the souls of the audience; this sea of people started to boil, shouting approval shouts, continuing with approving exclamations during the speech of Mr. Iosif Tarau and Dr. Cornel Bulc's proposal to establish the popular library and agency<sup>38</sup>.

The increased audience during the lectures was mostly due to their orientation towards topics relating to peoples' problems.

The most numerous lectures were focused on economic topics. *Astra* was trying to make a contribution to improving the material situation of the peasants through them. The peasants were told on the modern methods of agriculture and rational cultivation of the land. They provided information and recommendations regarding cattle breeding, fruit growing, apiculture, viticulture, sericulture that could be alternative sources of income for the Romanian peasants. They were also trying to explain to the peasants the economic advantages to associate their activities as cooperatives.

The increasing danger of losing national particularities in the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century made *Astra* grant special attention to national lectures underlining the importance of love for one's people and preserving mother tongue in hard times, when the Romanian nation could be assimilated. There were explanations regarding the political situation in Transylvania meant to arouse national consciousness and urge them to be actively involved in the fight for a better national existence. Through the frequent reminder on the origin of the Romanian people and the reference to important personalities in our history, they aimed to revive the feeling of national pride that had been seriously damaged by the political and economic realities in the dualist monarchy.

Another topic that was frequently approached was the role of *Astra*. Most of the times, it was associated with the insistence on the importance of establishing libraries for knowledge, for reading.

Due to the lectures focused on legal issues, the lecturers – most of them lawyers or notaries public – tried to provide information and advice in the field of law concerning the means to draw up wills and legal contracts, so that they might not be cheated by malevolent clerks.

As far as the lectures on hygiene and medicine were concerned, they laid stress on providing basic hygiene knowledge, fighting social diseases (tuberculosis and alcoholism) by revealing the harmful consequences of alcohol for health and the material situation of the population.

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<sup>38</sup> *Tribuna*, 1908, no. 26, p. 4-5



Lectures on ethnography were meant to determine Romanian peasants to preserve their national costume, their national culture made up of customs, songs and habits. The Romanian women's trend for luxury was criticised, as well as abandoning traditional costume.

Some lectures underlined the core role of school and books for economic, social and cultural rise of the peasants, envisaging the positive influence on the attitude of the Romanian peasant towards school and reading.

In conclusion, we can say that the cultural initiatives of the *Astra* Bihor sections envisaged several actions materialised after some considerable material and human endeavours. In this context, the lectures undoubtedly represented one of the most appropriate means through which the Romanian intellectuals got closer to ordinary people, who could thus be influenced and ceaselessly kept within the area of national, religious-moral, cultural, economic and social interests<sup>39</sup>.

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<sup>39</sup> *Transilvania*, 1901, no. 10, p. 311



## THE BRITISH WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT, 1900-1914

*Daciana Monica ERZSE*

**Abstract:** *In the present paper, the author presents the evolution of the British suffrage movement from 1900 to 1914 using information found both in published works and in the Romanian papers from Banat and Crișana. At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the suffragists, who were members of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, campaigned peacefully, yet inefficiently: they organised into groups, held meetings, sent petitions trying to convince MPs to change the law in order to enable women to vote. The suffragists' activities were too insignificant for the politicians to pay attention to them in the context of the domestic and international affairs. The period is dominated by the militancy of the Women's Social and Political Union whose activities became increasingly violent in the years before the World War One as successive governments failed to reform the voting rights. The suffragettes took it to the streets, harassed politicians, sent petitions, burnt down buildings and churches, attacked works of art, smashed windows. These activities created a very negative view of the suffragettes, but they made women more and more aware of the necessity of having the right to vote. The suffragettes were thrown into jail and since they went on hunger-strikes, they had to go through the ordeal of force-feeding. These extreme measures were firmly disapproved of by the population and contributed to the growing public sympathy for the cause of women's suffrage. Their tactics gained national and international recognition. Mass militancy and the suffragettes' contribution during the war played an important part in granting the women the right to vote by the Liberal party in 1918.*

**Keywords:** *suffragettes, militant, campaign, Great Britain, vote*

The struggle for women's equality in Great Britain dated back to the 1860s and had won a number of successes at the level of local government. Although few men belonging to the working class had voting rights, still not one single woman could vote. The first suffragists petitioned the government urging the inclusion of property women as those privileged to vote but their petition was not taken seriously and was even reprimanded by the House of Commons. The suffragists were white and middle class and their arguments for women's suffrage reflected their class position. They sought the vote for the privileged women, ignoring suffrage for working-class and colonized women.

The middle-class women were struggling for financial, educational and legal independence, were seeking recognition of their value and of them being adults and equals to their spouses. They were excluded from all position of power and knowledge and had the same legal status as minors, madmen, delinquents. And, most importantly, they were outside the political establishment. The suffragists, who were often militant in their expressions of protest, presented a sometimes stark contrast to the feminine ideal of the era, which portrayed women as silent, delicate, reserved in manner and behaviour, whose only concern was to take care of their family and household and who knew little of the life outside their home. Through much effort, by the early twentieth century English feminists had accomplished many goals: women could serve on town councils and school boards which represented an important step towards achieving the equality of rights between men and women<sup>1</sup>; they could be factory inspectors, could even vote in regional elections if they had enough property, they were admitted to universities<sup>2</sup>. Despite the activities of the suffragists who had to campaign alone without the support of the national leaders and with the little support of the Labour Party<sup>3</sup> and some members of the Liberal Party, the women still could not vote for Parliament.

The demand for women's suffrage had advanced little and the suffrage campaigns were organised through the setting up of local organisations to attract members and to call meetings, and through private members' bills in parliament. It received little publicity and there was a general sense that the suffrage struggle itself was going through a period of stagnation. The number of leading women's suffrage societies multiplied during the years. They all advocated precisely the same view, namely that women should have the same electoral privileges as men, whatever franchise system be adopted.

Some historians consider that the suffrage movement really started in 1897 when Millicent Fawcett founded the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS). It had a profound influence on the movement as it emerged as a liaison committee between the Parliament and the member suffrage societies in which each local group exercised a great deal of independence and autonomy. The NUWSS devoted themselves to propaganda campaigns targeting working-class women and managed to set up several committees. In 1903, during the National Convention in the Defence of the Civic Rights of Women, the NUWSS issued an appeal for funds to carry on a strong women's suffrage campaign throughout the country. The union pursued

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<sup>1</sup> *Tribuna*, 1900, nr. 93, p. 3; *Familia*, 1903, nr. 37, p. 441; nr. 43, p. 513; nr. 45, p. 539

<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopaedia of European Social History from 1350 to 2001*, volume III, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 2000, p. 492

<sup>3</sup> They asked for the involvement of women workers whereas middle-class women rarely found their place in the political landscape.

continuously the constitutional policy and stood apart from the militant societies.

The years 1900 to 1904 were formative years in regard to the character, leadership, ideas, and future course of the suffrage movement in Great Britain. Millicent Fawcett believed in peaceful protest. The women organized themselves into groups, held meetings, sent petitions to Parliament and tried to persuade MPs to change the law to enable them to vote. They started to organize open-air processions to demonstrate mass support for women's suffrage. Fawcett felt that any violence or trouble would convince men that women could not be trusted to have the right to vote. She argued that women could hold responsible positions in society such as sitting on school boards; they should be involved in the process of making laws if they had to obey them; they should have the same rights as men since they were paying taxes as well. However, the Government continued to ignore their plea or recognise the activities of the NUWSS. Still, Fawcett managed to convert some of the members of the Labour Representation Committee (soon to be the Labour Party) but most MPs believed that women simply did not have the intellectual capacity to understand how Parliament worked and therefore should not take part in the electoral process. They thought that if women got involved in politics, they would stop getting married, having children and that the human race would die out. And this was called the Race Suicide Argument. This was something that even the most intelligent people believed very firmly. There was also a view that the British Empire would be under enormous threat due to the fact that the colonies would lose respect for the Empire, and it will make them rise up and rebel. By 1905, the suffragists did not make any significant progress towards mobilizing either widespread support or popular enthusiasm for extending the suffrage.

In 1903, disappointed in the disinterest in women's suffrage shown by the Liberal party, the Fabian Society, and the Independent Labour party, Emmeline Pankhurst (1858-1928) and her daughters Christabel (1880-1958) and Sylvia (1882-1960) founded the primary militant organization, Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) in Manchester with the motto "Deeds, not Words". The WSPU was set up when the Pankhursts discovered that women were not to be admitted to the new branch of the Independent Labour Party in Manchester.

From the very beginning the union assumed a militant attitude in the struggle for the women's suffrage. They wanted women to have the right to vote by any means and they were not prepared to wait. They regarded private members' bills as a waste of time and insisted that all campaigns had to be directed against the government. They promised to campaign against all parliamentary candidates of the political party in power if women's suffrage legislation was not enacted. They decided to participate actively in electoral

meetings, where they resorted to interruptions and requests to take the speakers' platform in an attempt to force candidates to take a stand on their behalf. They managed to convince women workers to demand higher wages and recognition of their political rights. They were far more numerous than the constitutionalist suffragists and although they were on friendly terms, the distinction between their approach grew bigger and bigger over the years.

The Pankhursts understood the English system rather well; they knew that to make progress they had to attract attention even though that would also arouse hostility. In 1905 the organisation created a disturbance when Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney interrupted a political meeting in Manchester to ask two prominent Liberal politicians (Winston Churchill and Sir Edward Grey) whether the Liberals would grant votes for women. As neither man replied, the two women got out a banner which had "Votes for Women" on it and demanded a reply. Such actions had never been seen before when public speakers were usually heard in silence and listened to courteously even if the audience did not agree with them. But what was controversial was how they made their protest. Many people, including women, saw no place in politics for women. Therefore, their presence at the meeting was against social conventions. Both Pankhurst and Kenney were thrown out of the meeting. They spat at police and attempted to address the crowds as they were ejected, relating what had taken place. They were arrested on a charge of abusive language and of causing an obstruction and a technical assault on a police officer. Both women refused to pay a fine preferring to go to prison to highlight the injustice of the system. The action taken by Pankhurst and Kenney was designed to shock and their approach was in direct contrast to the way other suffrage movements went about their protests – the 'normal' procedure was to be genteel and polite. Christabel Pankhurst saw the extension of the franchise to women as just a part of the whole plan of elevating the status of women in British society.

Their subsequent court appearance, and imprisonment for seven days, was extensively reported by the press. They criticised their behaviour and said that this was no way to conduct political agitation. The press had paid so little attention to the NUWSS that all the supporters of votes for women were glad that something had been done to make people pay attention to their cause. The WSPU seemed to have succeeded in arousing public opinion. According to Mrs Fawcett, the WSPU was strengthening the women's suffrage movement and had been more successful in getting people to pay attention to the women's movement in twelve months than her own organisation had been in twelve years. This first national success represented a turning point as the prestigious paper Daily Mail introduced the term "suffragette", thus making the difference between the more conventional, law-abiding constitutional "suffragist" and the militant woman with her new methods.

Despite the adverse reactions, this direct approach attracted so many young middle class women to the Women's Social and Political Union. For them, the new "militant" policy was completely justified by the fact that women had been working unsuccessfully for the vote for more than forty years.

The publicity generated by the WSPU proved to be extremely beneficial to the older suffrage organisations, both in terms of memberships and donations, something which allowed them to pay significant numbers of women, especially working class women, as full time suffrage organisers. They, like the militants, organised more and more public demonstrations, especially marches, pageants and vast public meetings. Women took to the streets in ever greater numbers wearing colourful clothes, using banners and music. All the British suffrage organisations were fortunate to have teams of artists, actresses and musicians who greatly enlivened the spectacles they created. They showed considerable imaginative flair in their approach to campaigning, and injected drama into everything through the dramatic ways in which they played out their own sense of the brutality of women's oppression and the immediate need for their emancipation.

With this explosion of "militancy," hundreds of thousands of women pushed women's suffrage to centre stage, challenged conventional notions of women's role, and confronted the government in acts of mass militancy and civil disobedience. The real divide between the many suffragette movements was that some believed purely in female political equality (the WSPU and NUWSS) while others advocated full adult political suffrage regardless of gender (such as the People's Suffrage Federation). Numerous suffrage organizations were formed throughout the country. In 1907 were formed the Women's Freedom League (chiefly associated with the name of Mrs C. Despard, a prominent supporter of the Labour party), whose members objected to the internal administration of the Social and Political Union, but agreed in adopting its policy in a modified form. Recent research has revealed that there were also numerous male sympathizers for the law-abiding members of the NUWSS and over a thousand members of male support groups (such as the Men's League for Women's Suffrage or Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement) who thought that women should vote on the same terms as men<sup>4</sup>. They already had the right to vote and they thought they could make a difference by making their opinions heard in Parliament and in the press. They were called in to help when the more peaceful supporters of votes for women had organised the largest open-air demonstration ever was held in February 1907 - owing to the rain it became known as the 'Mud March' - in which about 4,000 people, among which women representing 40 organizations, took part. The marchers, some of them respectable women, showed a great deal of

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<sup>4</sup> John V. Angela, War, *Journalism and the Shaping of the Twentieth Century. The Life and Times of Henry W. Nevinnson*, I. B. Tauris&Co Ltd., London, 2006, p. 53

courage as they risked their reputations, their employment, and ridicule from the crowds. Three days later the march held by the less peaceful suffragettes was broken up by mounted policemen, who rode the women down with some ferocity. The London press could not take the suffragettes seriously, but it protested very firmly against this use of the police. The government was against the policy about votes for women, but it realised that clashes between women and the police could only damage the prestige and electoral position of the government.

After the organization's headquarters were moved to London in 1906, the WSPU gained strength, assisted by the financial and administrative support of Emmeline and Frederick Pethick-Lawrence and the advice of Keir Hardie, the leader of the Independent Labour Party. Emmeline and Christabel were inclined to accept a limited enfranchisement for women householders as a first step towards general Adult Suffrage and they thought that all social legislation should wait until women's suffrage had been enacted<sup>5</sup>.

The prospect of women receiving the parliamentary vote opened many kinds of political questions. A major consideration was the effect that woman suffrage could have on party politics. Because each party was fearful that the other party would benefit from the enfranchisement of women, it was simply easier and safer to ignore or delay the issue. Which women and how many women voters would be given the vote, and consequently outvote the men, were major concerns. The Parliament feared that once women were given the parliamentary franchise, they might also choose to run for political office. Women MPs in the exclusive male club, the House of Commons, were inconceivable to many politicians who viewed that prospect as an ultimate result of female enfranchisement. After the impressive victory of 1906, there was no pressure on the Liberal Party to support the woman suffrage. As the Liberals failed to offer any substantial bills for women's suffrage, the suffragettes steadily turned in favour of the Labour party. The members of this party wanted to address women's issues, but feared that the possibilities for Labour candidate victories would be put in jeopardy.

WSPU extended its range of activities and became a national organization. They continued to interrupt political and especially campaign meetings, but also arranged street corner speeches and meetings, suffrage caravans, marches and large scale public meetings and demonstrations. By 1906 various bills were rejected by the government and the suffragettes came to the conclusion that this was due primarily to the government hostility. When Asquith's Liberal Party came to power in 1906, the hopes of the WSPU were raised simply because the Liberal Party was seen as their chance to obtain the

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<sup>5</sup> *The Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) Women, Suffrage and Politics. Papers of Sylvia Pankhurst, 1882-1960*, from the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam, inventory number 1-224



parliamentary vote for which they had been striving for a generation and would push forward political reform. Questions were therefore put by women to Liberal cabinet ministers at party meetings, and disturbances occurred. Not only the Liberals that supported women's suffrage (such as Sir Edward Grey and Lloyd George) but also the hostile ones (Asquith) were interrupted while delivering speeches because the Liberals constituted the government and they alone could provide women's suffrage. They considered that enfranchising women property owners would force them to issue a bill to enfranchise all adults equally<sup>6</sup>. Asquith strongly opposed to women obtaining the vote and did nothing to further their cause. Militancy became common place with regards to WSPU actions. In fact, militancy was not new to some members of the WSPU. Some of the older members had achieved some fame in the years before the WSPU was formed. For example, a militant called Montefiore had refused to pay her tax on the basis that "taxation without representation is tyranny". Her house was besieged for six weeks by bailiffs waiting to get out furniture valued to the amount of tax she owed.

Towards the end of 1906 and throughout 1907 the WSPU demonstrations in many cities besides London grew larger and became more frequent. Every demonstration was followed by large scale arrests. They had to choose between paying a fine of 1-3 pounds or imprisonment for 14 days up to one month<sup>7</sup>. The demonstrations grew bigger and bigger. On 21 June 1908, there were between 250,000 and 500,000 assembled in Hyde Park. Nonetheless, the government's platform did not address the issue of women's suffrage. Extremely disappointed, the women repeated their demonstrations and petitions at the end of the month. A couple of WSPU members broke some windows at 10 Downing Street on 30 June 1908 thereby inaugurating a two-year period of political activism filled with demonstrations, trials, and prison sentences.

An act making women eligible to serve as town and county councillors was passed in 1907, but it was impeded eventually by the aggressive tactics of the suffragettes. They gave rise to an influential counter-pressure group, the National League for Opposing Women Suffrage, led by the imperialist Lord Cromer and the novelists Mrs Humphry Ward and Violet Markham, who dismissed the cause of female suffrage as a frivolous distraction from more important national concerns<sup>8</sup>.

The militants soon exposed themselves to greater violence. Thus in 1908, the militants began to engage in new activities including throwing acid at polling booths or breaking shop windows, or burning sporting fields and mail

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<sup>6</sup> Arnstein Walter L., *Britain Yesterday and Today. 1830 to the Present*, D.C. Heath Company, Lexington, Massachusetts, 1988, p. 226

<sup>7</sup> *Tribuna* 1907, nr 55, p. 7 ; nr 56, p. 6

<sup>8</sup> Arnstein Walter L., *Britain Yesterday and Today. 1830 to the Present*, D.C. Heath Company, Lexington, Massachusetts, 1988, p. 227

boxes. Suffragettes were quite happy to go to prison. Some of them were arrested and sent to prison for trivial offences. Since they considered themselves political prisoners they demanded special treatments such as special prison cells, the right to wear their own clothes, the freedom of association. When the authorities rejected their requests considering them common criminals, the suffragettes refused to eat and went on hunger strikes. The government responded by ordering them to be forcibly fed which led to renewed public outcry and increasingly to a sense of heroic martyrdom amongst the suffragettes themselves. On the other hand, reports of suffragettes undergoing the torture of force-feeding in prison left a strong impression on public opinion. They remained speechless in the face of the violence of the British government. Never had the political nature of the balance of power between the sexes appeared with such violence in the public arena. In the early days, the suffragettes had lost allies to the cause in Parliament, but their notoriety helped to popularize the idea of political equality and open debate on the issue<sup>9</sup>.

Advocates of votes for women suffered a nasty setback at the beginning of 1908 when Campbell-Bannerman, a passive friend, died soon after retiring from the premiership. His successor was Asquith, with his memories of being badgered by the suffragettes in the previous years. Asquith was too cautious and skilful a politician to either talk about his reasons for opposing votes for women or show support to the opponents of change. They did not have the satisfaction of knowing that Asquith was helping their side. Asquith refused to receive women on the question of suffrage and ordered the police to drive them away or arrest them. In 1909, when 108 suffragettes tried to enter the Parliament building to talk to Asquith, they were arrested, including Mrs Pankhurst; three suffragettes were injured and taken to hospital. Many windows were smashed and 1,500 police officers were needed to keep order. Other suffragettes were arrested on Downing Street 10 in their attempt to hand over a petition to the Prime Minister who would not receive it. The police intervened and guarded his house. On another occasion the suffragettes organised a demonstration against him while he was delivering his speech in Birmingham by screaming, throwing bricks, rocks or fireworks. They were stopped by the police and thrown in jail<sup>10</sup>. Asquith went on opposing votes for women even after the law giving them the vote had been passed. Apart from Asquith's support, the opponents of votes for women had one advantage: in England, votes for women could not be passed into law without affecting the rest of the political situation.

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<sup>9</sup> Christine Fauré, *Political and Historical Encyclopaedia of Women*, Routledge, New York, 2003, p. 322

<sup>10</sup> *Tribuna* 1909, nr 133, p. 5; nr 174, p. 5; nr 193, p. 8

The remarkable prominence of the movement and the fact that successive parliaments contained a majority of pledged suffragists led to the formation of Opposition societies. In 1908 the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League was formed of men and women, which drew into its ranks prominent people such as Lord Cromer, Lord Curzon, Lady Jersey and Mrs Humphry Ward; and about the same time the Men's League for Opposing Women's Suffrage was set up. These two leagues merged in December 1910, as the National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage, with Lord Cromer as president. The Anti-Suffrage Review was founded in 1909. A favourite argument of the antis was that women already exercised indirect 'influence' over men and therefore did not require direct representation in Parliament. They also thought that women were by nature different from men, they did not need, deserve or desire to vote. Their final argument was that the female suffrage could only have detrimental consequences for society as well as for women themselves as the contact with the world of politics would render women less 'womanly' and feminine. To give women the vote could send out the wrong signals, weakening Britain in the eyes of other Powers.

By August 1909, hunger-striking had become the normal practice of imprisoned suffragettes. Hunger-striking was not made mandatory by the Union's leaders, but it was welcomed and lauded. As far as the members of the WSPU were concerned, hunger striking created a martyrdom of far greater magnitude. Woman suffrage was not the major issue on the minds of most British politicians during the last months of 1909. The government was very concerned that they might die in prison thus giving the movement martyrs. Prison governors were ordered to force feed suffragettes but this caused a public outcry as forced feeding was traditionally used to feed lunatics as opposed to what were mostly educated women.

The WSPU undertook a widespread campaign of meetings, and though at first its speakers were subjected to an opposition of a violent character, there was no doubt that the movement received from its activities a wholly new stimulus. Its official organ, Votes for Women, obtained a large circulation. From August 1909 a new tactic was adopted, with all those arrested going on hunger strike. The government reacted with "cat and mouse" methods, first force-feeding, then releasing the prisoner after a grave deterioration in health and re-arresting her after her health had improved. At the same time WSPU politics became more and more anti-working-class as they considered that suffragettes had more reason to revolt than working men, for the latter had votes, therefore the chance of improving their condition without resorting to strikes. On the question of Home Rule for Ireland, as the Irish Nationalists in the House of Commons did not show any support for the WSPU demands, the WSPU organised a poster parade outside parliament with the slogan "No Votes for Women, No Home Rule". Instead they gave all their support to the Ulster

Unionists who in September 1913 accepted the demand of votes for women. Continued failure brought forth ever more desperate tactics.

As their plea continued to be ignored, the suffragettes stopped bringing their financial support to hospitals or charity institutions; they even stopped paying their taxes to the state<sup>11</sup>. They threatened to prevent the census from being carried out, by not being at home when the census officers came or by hiring private theatres for shows at night. But because the authorities interfered and stopped the shows, the suffragettes were forced to walk all night long or leave the town<sup>12</sup>.

After the election of 1910, a Conciliation Committee, composed of members from all parties, was formed to draft a bill that would enjoy the support of all shades of political opinion. In order to give the Conciliation Bill a chance, the WSPU called a truce in militancy. In 1910, the Conciliation Bill, which gave the vote to all women who headed a household, was passed on its second reading on July 1910. But the government gave the bill a week for consideration. Although they argued lack of time as its reason, the true one was of political nature: "division within the party, and more particularly, within the Cabinet, over the provisions of the bill and the possible effect of the bill on the fortunes of the Liberal Party"<sup>13</sup>. To protest, the Conciliation Committee and the suffrage organizations took part in the Women's Coronation Procession, the largest demonstration ever. The suffragettes were attacked and sexually molested by police and male bystanders. The Conciliation Bill was revived in 1911, and again militants called a truce in their activities. But the government appeared to throw over the bill for a second time by introducing a measure for manhood suffrage which made the WSPU erupt in acts of deliberate law-breaking: such as breaking the windows at 10 Downing Street, shattering windows all over London. Police arrested 217 women. Mrs. Pankhurst and the Pethick Lawrences were charged with inciting to riot, Christabel Pankhurst fled to Paris in order to avoid her arrest. The British Museum and all the picture galleries in the centre of London were already closed and watched by nine thousand police.

However, the bill was vetoed by the House of Lords showing that woman suffrage was not a major priority as were Irish Home Rule or National Insurance. Until the very end, the women's suffrage movement suffered from competition with the Irish question, which represented a more serious threat to civil peace than did women spitting in people's faces, shattering windows by throwing rocks, or even setting fire to the properties of hostile deputies.

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<sup>11</sup> *Românul*, 1912, nr. 66, p. 8-9 ; nr. 200, p. 7

<sup>12</sup> *Tribuna*, 1909, nr. 133, p. 5; nr. 193, p. 8; nr. 252, p. 8; 1911, nr. 65, p. 8; nr. 67, p. 7; *Românul*, 1911, nr. 41, p. 8; nr. 68, p. 9; 1912, nr. 66, p. 8-9 ; nr. 200, p. 7

<sup>13</sup> Greenwood Harrison Patricia, *Connecting Links: the British and American Suffrage Movements, 1900-1914*, Greenwood Press Westport, Connecticut, 2000, p. 152

When Asquith announced the Manhood Suffrage Bill, the suffragettes hoped that it would secure an amendment to the bill which would give some measures of suffrage to women. When that did not happen, the WSPU conducted campaigns against government nominees at bye-elections, and committed breaches of the law with a view to drawing the attention to their cause. Large numbers of women assembled while parliament was sitting, in contravention of the regulations, and on several occasions many arrests were made. Fines were imposed, but practically all refused to pay them and suffered imprisonment. The violence escalated. In 1913 the suffragettes placed bombs in public places on several occasions. After Mary Richardson attacked Velazquez's *Venus* in the National Gallery in London, women were forbidden entry into museums. Henceforth operating in semi secrecy, the suffragettes became increasingly cut off from reality. More than ever before, they now believed they were invested with a spiritual and purifying mission, and they exalted their sense of self-sacrifice.

The militant tactics of the WSPU shocked the public and part of the population turned their back on the WSPU whom they considered to be a dishonest group whose tactics would push back the rights of women, rather than advance them. That is why the group lost the support of the working class. Moreover, WSPU wanted only political equality and they did not want to address social inequality. The working class women lived in a society that paid them less than men for doing exactly the same job and where they were generally considered to be second class citizens regardless of their political rights.

The militants often referred to their sense of women as being threatened by male violence and from the very start, violence was evident in their campaign. Whenever members of the WSPU attended other political meetings and made their views known, they were often subjected to brutality; they were thrown out of meeting halls, and attacked by irate members of the public. In their demonstrations, some were subject to sexual assaults and possibly even rape from bystanders, and apparently by police. Little was done to prosecute those members of the police who might have overused their powers. This was something that seems never to have happened to the moderates. Those who organised the demonstrations of the NUWSS managed to establish friendly relations with the local police forces and other relevant officials - something the militants never did.

Not all the suffragettes approved of and followed the Pankhursts. Those who dared criticize a Pankhurst dictatorship risked their expulsion. In 1907 Teresa Billington-Greig and Charlotte Despard headed a group of militants who broke away from the WSPU to found the Women's Freedom League (WFL) which had links to the world of socialism and the Independent Labour Party (ILP). Sylvia Pankhurst's East London Federation of Suffragettes also aligned

itself with leading figures of the Labour Left, such as George Lansbury. And so did Emmeline and Frederick Pethick-Lawrence, founders of the United Suffragists in 1914 after their expulsion from the WSPU. A more radical fringe, disillusioned with the failure of parliament to respond to the militancy of the WSPU, turned to anarchism, syndicalism and the politics of sexual liberation. The Freewoman, founded by two former WSPU organisers, Dora Marsden and Mary Gawthorpe, was their principal forum.

Millicent Fawcett disapproved the increasing WSPU militancy, including stone throwing and throwers who were praised by Miss C. Pankhurst when they came out of jail. She also condemned what she perceived to be the WSPU's encouragement of London mobs to participate in its demonstrations<sup>14</sup>. Fawcett was a loyal, patriotic Englishwoman who detested lawbreaking and any perceived threat to the House of Commons. She believed that the actions of the WSPU had strengthened the opponents of woman suffrage and discouraged its friends. Although she recognized the contributions of the WSPU in its early period in bringing publicity to the suffrage cause and in making it a public issue, Fawcett was determined that there would be no further cooperation. The NUWSS persevered with the traditional tactics of lobbying parliament and publicising its case through its official organ *The Common Cause*, founded in 1908. By 1912, however, even Mrs Fawcett had become disillusioned with the Liberal government of the day and increasingly pinned her hopes on the rise of the new Labour Party. Working-class women, who had the experience of organizing a pro-suffrage movement among working-class women in Lancashire, preferred to work through the labour movement and sided with the non-violent approach of the NUWSS rather than the militancy of the WSPU. It may be, however, as some historians think, that the divisions between 'militants' and 'constitutionalists' can be exaggerated.

The WSPU again declared a truce in 1912, while the government considered the 'conciliation bill' for the third time. Its failure in March 1912 and then the withdrawal of the Reform Bill in January 1913 led to a resumption of full-scale arson assaults. In the face of its continued refusal to grant the suffragettes the status of political prisoners, the government faced fierce criticism over its forcible feeding policy. It wanted to prevent any suffragettes from dying in prison from hunger, something that would give the movement both martyrs and more publicity; thus the Asquith Government enacted the 'Cat and Mouse Act' (Prisoners' Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health Act). Usually reserved for those held in lunatic asylums, the Act allowed the suffragettes to go on a hunger strike and let them get weaker and weaker. When the suffragettes were too weak (through lack of food) to do any harm if in public, they were released from prison. The Act was designed to keep suffragette prisoners alive by temporarily releasing them on condition that they did not

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 193

undertake any suffrage agitation, and then subsequently re-arresting them to serve out their sentence when they were feeling well. Once out of prison, it was assumed that the former prisoner would start to eat once again and re-gain her strength over a period of time. If they died out of prison, this was of no embarrassment to the government. If she committed an offence while out on licence, she would be immediately re-arrested and returned to prison. Force feeding was not used this time. It was assumed that she would then go back on hunger strike, as this caused the authorities maximum discomfort. This was a deliberate policy to bring attention to their cause and also to embarrass the government. This, from the government's point of view, was a very simple but effective weapon against the suffragettes. The nickname of the act came about because of a cat's habit of playing with its prey before finishing it off. Research indicates that the act did not do a great deal to deter the activities of the suffragettes. Many of the most famous suffragettes were from middle class backgrounds and were educated. While society as a whole expected certain behaviour from them, society also held certain values on how the government should act with regards to when these women were in prison, and therefore under the jurisdiction of the government. Emmeline Pankhurst, who assumed full responsibility for WSPU militancy, was continually in and out of prison and in a constant state of ill health due to perpetual hunger striking during this time.

It is possible that the Suffragettes would have become more violent. They had, after all, in February 1913 blown up part of David Lloyd George's house who was probably Britain's most famous politician at that time and he was thought to be a supporter of the women suffrage. Mrs. Pankhurst was arrested, charged with inciting to commit a felony, and given three years penal servitude. But the most famous act associated with the Suffragettes was at the June 1913 Derby when Emily Wilding Davison threw herself under the King's horse and attempted to hold its bridle as it rounded Tattenham Corner. She died on 8 June 1913, as the result of fatal injuries she had received and the suffragettes had their first martyr. Davison regarded herself and was seen by her colleagues as a martyr for whom death was the appropriate way to show the sufferings of womanhood. This death allowed for an immense funeral procession of more than 2,000 suffragettes that was held from Victoria Station to St George's Church in Bloomsbury, with Davison's coffin surrounded by thousands of suffragettes all clad in white<sup>15</sup>. However, her actions probably did more harm than good to the cause as she was a highly educated woman. The Parliament rationalized that the women could not be given such a right when they could not be trusted to act decently. Moreover, both men and women had a very negative view of the suffragettes' behaviour, which is, perhaps, not

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<sup>15</sup> Fauré Christine, *op. cit.*, p. 322

surprising. They felt very threatened by them, because they were stepping out of their sphere.

In 1914 the police impeded the suffragettes' plan to burn down London, setting the fire simultaneously from different parts of the town. During the investigations the police found impressive amounts of explosives and phosphorus.

Their violent actions ceased with the outbreak of war which caused many suffragettes to reassess their position and their attitude to the state for the duration of the war. Many women chose to suspend their activities and to bring their contribution to the war effort by taking on jobs previously done by men only. Emmeline Pankhurst suspended the activities of the WSPU. She concentrated her efforts on support for the war and she helped the government to recruit women into war work, especially in munitions factories, thus solving the disastrous munitions shortage. Women had also driven buses, worked on surface jobs in coal mines, administrative and clerical work, in engineering factories. Vital work was also done on farms to keep Britain well stocked with food. Thus many jobs were in fact redefined as "woman's work" including teaching, nursing, secretarial work and phone operations. As well as functioning in the workforce, women actively participated in the political and cultural life of England.

The war forced the suffragists to alter their strategy from the militant tactics of the Pankhurst family to the more moderate war relief espoused by Millicent Fawcett. Their help was a major factor in the Government's decision to give women over the age of thirty the right to vote in 1918. An argument put forward for the inclusion of a female suffrage section in the 1918 Representation of the People Act is that the work of the Suffragettes and the suffragist movements pre-1914 had been important. While the Suffragettes had shocked society no-one wanted to return to the violence of pre-1914 Britain, a nation exhausted by war. The war proved to be the single greatest factor in the enfranchisement of women over thirty and all men over twenty-one.



# PORTUGUESE – MOROCCAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AT THE END OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

*Alina STOICA*

**Abstract:** *Belonging to a broad research, the article introduces a core stage in the diplomatic career of Martinho Teixeira Homem de Brederode de Cunha, a Portuguese diplomat who represented Portugal in Bucharest for 15 years. His monarchist political orientation made him prefer Romania to the republican Portugal, where he never returned.*

*His first steps in the diplomatic career were made in the Belgian capital. Everything he learned there helped him in Tangier, Morocco, as Head of Mission. There, he defined himself as a diplomat and became familiar with all subtleties of the job during the Moroccan Crisis and the Algeciras Conference.*

*A member of the aristocracy, Martinho de Brederode was involved in the most select circles in Tangier. There, he found everything on the confrontation between the interests of France, Spain, and Germany.*

**Keywords:** *diplomacy, colonialism, conference, domination, territory*

The promotion of Martinho de Brederode as a Legacy Secretary on 14 February 1901 was the consequence of a contest organised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lisbon. He was still to remain in the Portuguese capital for another five years at the Political General Directorate within the same ministry before being appointed as an interim Business Envoy in Tangier, Morocco.

In the same period, the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, rivalries in Europe moved outside the continent. The African land was the object of diplomatic disputes again. Few African territories were still free from colonialism. One of them was Morocco, the cradle of past measured in centuries and millennia, a territory at the confluence of great civilisations succeeding each other and quickly intertwining in the Arabian – Berber world of the Maghreb.

However, the topic of our survey is not a history of Morocco. We will only focus on one city powerfully anchored in the economic, political and cultural life of the country. Charged with legends, Tangier is one of the oldest cities in the world, the maritime gateway of Morocco and an “international area”<sup>1</sup> at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>1</sup>Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lisbon, *fund: Legacy of Portugal in Morocco*, CX 157, No. 5, 1906-1907, Maço 6, f. A25

Being under Portuguese protection since 1471<sup>2</sup>, after three attempts to be conquered and as many failures, Tangier passed under the Spanish domination in 1581, after the conquest of Portugal. In 1643, Portugal became free again and one year later the Moroccan territory belonged to Portugal again. In 1661, as part of Catherine of Braganca's dowry, Tangier passed under the control of England through the marriage of the Portugal infant to King Charles II Stuart of England. The city was fortified to resist the attacks of the tribe led by Al Ghailan. From 1678 to 1684, Sultan Moulay Ismail besieged the city several times. In the end, due to the weak English investments, the city gave in. The English destroyed the fortifications leaving the city to the hands of the Moors<sup>3</sup>. From that moment on, Tangier was a defensive wall in front of the European and African world.

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Tangier became the diplomatic capital of the Kingdom. Sultan Mohammed Ben Abdallah offered a seat to the Netherlands Consulate and decreed the freedom of harbour trade and the acceptance of foreigners. In 1795, the French Consulate was transferred from Rabat to Tangier and two years later, the USA appointed their first representative, James Simpson. Shortly after, a plague epidemic burst and decimated the population of the city. Under the circumstances, a European sanitary council acknowledged by the Moroccan Government was established. It was the first interference of the European powers in the administration of the city<sup>4</sup>.

### **III.1. The Moroccan crisis and the Algeciras Conference**

Two centuries later, Tangier was suffocated by the great number of foreigners settled there even temporarily. During the last years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a new diplomatic shape started to be outlined in Europe resulting in military blocks at the beginning of the century. Germany, which had ceased all contacts with Russia and allied with France, was in a contradictory position. On the continent, the power balance was still on their side as long as the Triple Entente was strong and Great Britain was free from any commitment and was still self-assured and dominant. These two key elements of the German serenity would one by one fade away<sup>5</sup>.

After the ratification of the French – Russian convention in 1893-1894, the French diplomatic revolution won. The force balance was re-established in Europe. "The support of the Russian compressing roller unties Paris' hands to move more vigorously both on the continent and worldwide. From now on, the

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<sup>2</sup> See images of Tangier during the Portuguese period in Annex 2

<sup>3</sup> Antonio Cruz, *Os Portucalenses nas jornadas do Norte de Africa*, in *O Porto nas Navegação*, Lisbon, ICLP, 1983, p. 61-96

<sup>4</sup> *Histoire du Tanger*, Apud, <http://tangier.free.fr/Histoire/fl8.html>

<sup>5</sup> Jean-Michel Gaillard, Anthony Rowley, *Histoire du continent Européen (de 1850 à la fin XX siècle)*, Editions du Seuil, 1998, p. 263-264

financial and industrial power of France would go through this diplomatic gap to become manifest on all meridians”<sup>6</sup>.

The French interest in the Moroccan territory started in the first part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when Prince of Joinville attacked Tangier and other coast cities from the sea. In the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Germany was more and more evident on the diplomatic scene. The economic success, social calm and political stability within the country conferred Germany a feeling of great power. The interests of great powers outside the European continent allowed Germany materialise its hegemony on the continent (Mitteleuropa). However, in order to influence the colonial division and get on the new markets, Germany had to have the means to protect their interests: military and commercial fleet. As far as these decisions were concerned, London expressed their disquiet in 1897 and made a series of advantageous contractual proposals to Germany asking them in exchange to abandon their naval project. They were firmly refused<sup>7</sup>.

Although in 1898-1902 the English-German relations were not yet regulated, the French diplomacy brought to the foreground a new political personality, Theophile Delcasse (1853-1923). The young French radical deputy had an obsession for Germany’s insulation “to counteract the German warrior spirit on which he never doubted”<sup>8</sup>. When a major decisive role in France’s external policy took place, they focused on regulating colonial conflicts, strengthen the alliance with Italy and Russia, seeking to be closer to London.

The expansion of the French influence in Morocco entailed an immediate reaction from Germany. Fearing Delcasse surrounding policy, the Government in Berlin took the risk of triggering the “first Moroccan crisis” in 1905<sup>9</sup>. Germany’s real intentions were to take advantage of the international context to improve its power in Europe to the disadvantage of its rival, France, as the latter prepared to expand its domination on Maghreb due to Bismarck’s disappearance. Besides, in April 1903, Great Britain accepted to give free hand to France in Morocco in exchange for it giving up any claim on Egypt. The French-English alliance alarmed the decision-makers in Berlin, as all German actions at the time were focused on destroying Delcasse and France implicitly.

On the other hand, the loss of the colonies in the Antilles and the Philippines explained, legitimated, the Spanish aspirations on Northern Africa. The Catalan industry and the finances in Madrid practically decided on the presence of Spain in the Moroccan conflict then at the Algeiras Conference (16 January – 7 April 1906), a “simple episode of the political act taking place

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 263.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 268

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 269

<sup>9</sup> Pierre Milza, Serge Berstein, *Istoria secolului XX 1900-1945*, Editura BIG-ALL, București, 1998, p.62

in Europe and coordinating the power balance on the old continent”<sup>10</sup> and whose origins “should not be sought in southern Spain, or northern Morocco, but in central Europe”, as *The Time* newspaper put it<sup>11</sup>.

Considering all these precedents, after ensuring on the neutrality of Spain, with whom France signed a series of agreements in October 1904<sup>12</sup>, it obtained a predominant influence in Morocco with the support of England and Italy. England was not interested in what France got on the African continent as long as Gibraltar was still under its control. But the tight relations with Italy were carried out in time, starting as early as the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Defeated at Adua (1896) in its attempt to set up a bridge with Africa between its colonies, Eritrea and Somalia, Italy was seeking for a manner to get closer to France. Thus, at a first stage, they decided together on solving the Tunisian war; then they signed a secret agreement that would allow Italy to freely act in Tripolitania, while France got the „carte blanche”<sup>13</sup> in Morocco. In 1902, through a new secret agreement, France got the neutrality of the Italians in the case of a Franco-Italian war.

It is very interesting that Martinho de Brederode dedicated several pages of his report to the role played by Italy during and after the Algeciras Conference. A document dated 28 May 1906 mentioning “reserved” described the situation of the Italian diplomats during and after the Algeciras conference: “I have great honour in informing you that Mr. Malmusi, Minister of Italy in Tangier, has started for Fez on 24 May 1906. A few days before, Mr. Carlo Sforza, counsellor at the Italian Embassy in Madrid, and one of the secretaries at the Italian Mission for the Algeciras arrived at Tangier. On the eve, Count Miniscalezzi Erizze, attaché at the Legacy in Japan, arrived in Europe, and less than a month ago, three officers and a military physician. These gentlemen accompanied Mr. Malmusi”<sup>14</sup>. It seems that they made a great fuss about this person. “Mr. Malmusi, whom I think was born in Tangier, wrote Brederode, is a solid and free old man, a knight, a very good speaker of Arab.... with an Italian father and a Moroccan mother, born in Tangier.... a representative of the European diplomacy at the Algeciras Conference”<sup>15</sup>.

In January 1905, Theophile Delcasse, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent a diplomatic mission to Fez, inviting Sultan Abd El-Azis “to restore order

<sup>10</sup> Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lisbon, *Fund cit.*, f. A47, 10 April 1906

<sup>11</sup> *The Time*, 9 April 1906, p. 2

<sup>12</sup> Due to these agreements, France acknowledged as being Spanish some coast territories lying from the Atlantic to river Muluya, Tatan and Larache included.

<sup>13</sup> Jean-Michel Gaillard, *op.cit.*, p. 265

<sup>14</sup> Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lisbon, *fund: Legacy of Portugal in Morocco*, CX 157, No. 5, 1906-1907, Maço 6, A45

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*

in his Empire with the support of France”<sup>16</sup>. Only a few years before, France had compelled the Sultan to accept the signature of a document acknowledging the border between Morocco and Algeria under French control. Being aware of that, Germany promised support to Morocco. Consequently, in the spring of 1905, Emperor William II went to Tangier<sup>17</sup>. Things seemed to have no solution, so the great powers decided upon the amiable resolution of the dispute in Algeciras, on a Spanish territory.

After three months of discussions, things were not solved by far. London refused the German solution concerning the establishment of international police. This solution would have allowed the Reich to have a harbour in the Atlantic and the right to supervise the business in Morocco. On the contrary, Paris got the right to open a bank of Morocco, a state bank where France was the main creditor. Besides, France and Spain got the task to establish a harbour police. It was a deadly blow to the German Reich.

Defeated during the negotiations, Germany would not give up. In October 1906, the so-called “Moroccan issue” at the border with Algeria started again. “A deaf insolent agitation appeared in the border area near Talzaza, Beggar and El-Aricha”, read the French newspaper “Echo de Paris” on the front page<sup>18</sup>. The author of the article mentioned the German interference in encouraging the Moroccan Government and implicitly the “fanatic population”. The paper mentioned the words of Clemenceau: “France does not have to forget that a moderated policy has never brought certain and enduring results, a force policy being the only one that could win in Fez”<sup>19</sup>.

The event was approached by the Italian press and the local French papers in El-Arioja, where they read: “Several messengers cross the region engaging the Moroccans to raise the flag of riot and preach holy war.”<sup>20</sup>. The General Governor in Algeria requested troops from France urgently to stop the riot, according to the notes of Martinho de Brederode on 6 October 1906.

The conflicts continued near Tangier. On the night of 1 June 1906, there was a French assassinate. “I spoke to Neuville from the Legion of France, who told me that they knew nothing for sure... Poor Charbonier (the victim) expected his family today; and they seemed to have arrived. This murder caused horror, as it took place at the gates of Tangier in broad daylight against a serious and reserved person. The reality is that here the Moors have hostile feelings towards the French... We need an exemplary and serious punishment

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<sup>16</sup> D. Fernando de Meneses, *Historia de Tanger*, Lisbon, 1872, p. 96

<sup>17</sup> See images in Annex 3

<sup>18</sup> Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lisbon, *Fund: Legacy of Portugal in Morocco*, CX 157, No. 5, 1906-1907, the article in the paper *Echo de Paris*, dated 11 October 1906 and sent by Martinho de Brederode to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lisbon, together with his personal remarks concerning the event.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, in *El Arioja*, 10 October 1906

amongst this fanatic population”. The Legacy of France in Morocco reacted promptly. They made investigations on the spot. The authors were not caught. France asked the Sultan to solve the issue and imposed certain conditions: “The most severe punishment should be applied to the assassin or assassins; The family of the victim should be paid 100,000 francs; The Minister of France in Tangier should be presented official apologies; A commemorative monument should be erected and expenses to Maghzen should be covered on the spot where the victim was killed”<sup>21</sup>. The murder greatly impressed and frightened all foreigners in Tangier. “I used to ride in that area... Until the Algeciras Conference, the Moors were harmless with foreigners. Any European could freely move everywhere. Now, whoever might move a few kilometres without being accompanied by a soldier takes the risk of being killed. The presence of the soldier is of no help; he is not there to defend us; he is there only because the Moors undoubtedly hesitate to compromise another Muslim”<sup>22</sup>, wrote Brederode. The situation escalated once France got directly involved in the affair. The young Portuguese diplomat accounted: “Yesterday has arrived from Brest the French armoured-ship *Jeanne d’Arc* of 12,000 tons, 658 people and 3 cannons aboard. Now, here there are 3 French war ships. I notice that France wishes and requires to avenge the deceased. The French are right; otherwise, a fanatic may commit another crime at any moment”<sup>23</sup>.

The events in northern Africa seemed to fall out of the Sultan’s control. Pressure of any kind from outside determined him to accept another diplomatic meeting in Fez<sup>24</sup>, attended by all heads of Diplomatic Missions in Tangier together with Malmusi, the Minister of Italy, of course. Here is what the local paper in Fez read on 19 June 1906: “The Sultan has just expressed his adhesion to the ‘General Act’ of the Algeciras Conference. This decision made with no strong resistance from some Maghzen members, will not cause any astonishment in the city when they hear about it. Indeed, for three days they have insistently stated that Maghzen says he has not received the decisions of the European diplomacy that the honourable dean of the diplomatic staff in Tangier pointed out.”<sup>25</sup> Brederode noted on the event: “The worst is that the Moors are every day more and more insubordinate and more disrespectful. A few days ago, we heard about a new attempted crime against a European, a Spanish, who intervened in favour of a poor Moor woman, as she was not allowed to pass through. All Moor population in Tangier received the news from Fez and the success of Ambassador

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, 9 June 1906

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>24</sup> During the Middle Ages, it used to be the capital of Morocco.

<sup>25</sup> Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lisbon, *fund: Legacy of Portugal in Morocco*, CX 157, No. 5, 1906-1907, 25 June 1906.

Malmusi badly. They say that in the rest of the country, particularly in the south, there is great anarchy”<sup>26</sup>.

Beyond all problems, the excessive heat in Tangier had its victims. Epidemics (typhoid fever and plague) decimated the locals and the Europeans. A report of Martinho de Brederode described the situation in detail: “The percentage of the dead in the European colony is huge this year. A few days ago, Mr. Paul Schmuecker, Director of the German Post Office, a very young man and a good clerk, died”<sup>27</sup>. The same disease reached De Porter, a young Belgian, who had just obtained several prizes, a graduate of the Superior Trade School in Brussels with an annual state subsidy of 6000 francs, who was in Tangier of family business. Convalescent at Hotel Bristol, he seemed to have subsequently recovered. “People die often in Tangier”<sup>28</sup>.

### **III.2. Private relationships settled in Tangier**

If we analyse the mail sent to the Court and its private letters, we realise that he quickly got used to the new situation as a Head of Mission in Tangier. Right from the beginning, he moved easily in the political environment; he frequented the houses of aristocrats and his colleagues without neglecting his diplomatic duties or the relation with traders and businessmen. He belonged to the entourage of Countess of Martens Ferrao and her daughter, who was to return to Tangier in February 1906, after eight days spent in Algeciras. “She will come through the Gibraltar, aboard the ship ‘Magnus’. The absence of the Countess was felt, as the Counts of Martens Ferrao are extremely loved and esteemed by all society in Tangier”<sup>29</sup>.

On the other hand, he was always there for conversations with the members of the diplomatic staff. For instance, he spent the evening of 24 March 1906 in one of the most luxurious restaurants in Tangier, *Villa Valentina*, upon the invitation of the Business Envoy of Belgium, Count Lichtenvelde. Pedro de Lichtenvelde, his brother, and Lacous, an extremely well-known trader in Brussels, interested in collaboration with companies in Africa, joined them. One of the topics approached was the relations between Belgium and the Netherlands, whose possible territorial unification was supported by public opinion in Belgium and the Netherlands. Another issue noticed by Martinho de Brederode was the situation in Africa. This is what he wrote down in his report: “As the Belgian Congo is at our gates, this [possible territorial unification of Belgium and the Netherlands] could be of interest to us, and more.... It is good to know that the Dutch marine is one of the best. Besides, there is the risk that the industrial Belgium and the colonising Netherlands

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, 26 June 1906.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, *Relatorio (Report)*, 1 February 1906

united may result in a first hand power. The unity in power represents a danger to our future”<sup>30</sup>.

Having a different political orientation, the three Belgians unanimously agreed on the need of Belgium to *get closer* to the Netherlands. Concerned with this political situation, on 24 May 1906, Martinho de Brederode sent a copy of the paper *L'entente Hollande – Belge*<sup>31</sup> to Lisbon.

An educated and well-mannered individual, Martinho de Brederode became familiar with several Moroccan statesmen. One of them was Mahomed El Mokei, “one of the brightest Moors. He is a very exquisite person, who understands French. ... He can be the future Sultan”<sup>32</sup>.

Europe’s highlife events were, as they have always been, an opportunity for pompous dinners. One of them took place at the Spanish Embassy in Tangier, where they celebrated the marriage of Alfonso XIII of Spain with a “French-English”, Victoria Eugenia. “I had the honour to sit to the right of Mr. Slaberis”, Spanish Minister in Tangier, “on my right sat the Ministry of England, Mr. Lowther”, wrote the Portuguese diplomat. Only Spanish and English took part to the dinner; only Brederode was Portuguese. He explained the reason: “Mr. Slaberia is a very nice person, kind, bright and well-bred, but he was very sick and the climate in Tangier has had a harmful effect. He was in Lisbon as an attaché thirty years ago and he speaks a reasonable Portuguese”<sup>33</sup>. In order to attend the marriage of the King of Spain, a Moroccan delegation started for Cadiz on the ship *Lepanto*, on 29 April 1906.

### III.3. Portugal’s commercial interests in Morocco

As soon as he took the position, he understood the great importance of economic issues in the Portuguese-Moroccan relations. Consequently, he got involved in the commercial and financial mechanisms, in analysing different tax systems, in protecting the Portuguese and Brazilian traders.

The year 1906 was difficult for Morocco. The Algeciras Conference and its consequences got the attention of the diplomats to politics for a while. The situation changed in 1907, as shown by the mail of Martinho de Brederode with the Commercial Directorate at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He felt that they needed to grant special attention to commercial interests, especially considering that Morocco’s customs policy to apply the same treatment to all states they traded with was decisive for the moment. Portugal was thus in a difficult position. “It seems difficult, if not impossible, that the commercial relations

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, *Relatorio (Report)*, 24 March 1906

<sup>31</sup> The collective work published under the patronage of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Brussels

<sup>32</sup> Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Lisbon, *fund: Legacy of Portugal in Morocco*, CX 157, No. 5, 1906-1907, 16 May 1906

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, 1 June 1906



between Portugal and Morocco should easily improve. Everything seems to stand against this idea. We do not put forward conditions to be able to compete with other countries, and I do not know of anything done by our traders in this respect. It is good to know that, in order to be able to compete on any market, it is compulsory to manufacture the goods that are needed. This presentation, exposition, if Your Excellency allows me to call it that way, is always expensive. There is no intermediary taking the risk to buy the goods even for a low price if they are not of interest to his customers”<sup>34</sup> - informed Brederode.

As if this difficulty was not enough, “we, an almost neighbouring country, do not have comfortable transport relations with Morocco”<sup>35</sup>. Concerned with the economic situation of his country, Martinho de Brederode wondered: “is there any possibility of the Portuguese trade to become serious here? I do not see why, when speaking of national products, we cannot compete with other manufacturing countries”<sup>36</sup>. He wanted his good intentions to be materialised. “What seems special to me, whether we want it or not, is that Morocco enters a new era”<sup>37</sup>. In his accounts, he underlined an important aspect: capital and more patience were needed: “Whoever comes here or wants to send here risks to regret it a lot without these two indispensable elements”<sup>38</sup>.

The Portuguese diplomat acknowledged that he did not know what the Portuguese industry manufactured. “For instance, I do not know for sure what it manufactures, or if it does it well; nevertheless, I feel that it is expensive”<sup>39</sup>. It was clear that Portugal needed great tax protection when entering Morocco, which was impossible according to the Moroccan law.

However, he kept being concerned with identifying other opportunities for economic collaboration between Portugal and Morocco; therefore, he inventoried the existing ones. “I think that we should send here samples to get customers, in order to make our products known.”

He did not ignore that in Morocco there had never been published complete official statistic data. Brederode said that “I have to ask for information to other legacies and consulates, and I do not manage to get them easily all the time. The only statistic data I know are included in the report of the English Consul and published through the Moroccan Debts Delegation. Both statistics are deficient concerning Portugal”<sup>40</sup>. The elaboration of a general commerce and export-import statistics on levels of importance and articles was vital at the time for the Portuguese-Moroccan trade. Thus, for the Portuguese imports to Morocco, in the report of the English Consul there was

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, Maço 6, 1 June 1907

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, 3 June 1907

no reference to Portugal. The Moroccan Debts Delegation mentioned in its report the amount of 1515 francs. Feeling compelled to find the whole truth, Martinho de Brederode made investigations on his own and counted for the Portuguese imports the amount of 255,909 francs. For the Moroccan export to Portugal, the Moroccan Debts Delegation recorded the amount of 118,209 francs, while the investigations of the Portuguese diplomat to Morocco showed that it was a much higher amount, more than double, 292,939 francs. "In the report of the English Consul, I only found a general reference to the export of rice and maize coming from Portugal, France, England, and Spain"<sup>41</sup>.

Under the circumstances, it was extremely difficult to check the quantity of Portuguese products entering the harbours of Morocco. Brederode found at least two explanations. On the one hand, the Portuguese boats, generally small boats with Algarve linen, made no declaration on the shipment. On the other hand, as all goods were considered as coming from the countries represented by the ships transporting them, and as the Portuguese products generally entered Morocco through English and German companies, the Portuguese products carried by those ships were considered as coming from Germany or England in the statistics. "And it seems (however, I am not convinced that this piece of information is certain) that sometimes, a small quantity of wine, olive oil and tinned fish, all Portuguese products entered Morocco through Cadiz and are considered Spanish products"<sup>42</sup>.

His investigations were sometimes difficult and he did not always get results, "as the traders do not always like to provide, while some other times they do not know them, or cannot give them. However, I hope that the study of these statistics may be of use for the Portuguese traders, or for the manufacturers, who intend to trade here"<sup>43</sup>.

His analyses showed that the Muslim population in cities, the Europeans and the Israelis were the group in Morocco who most needed products from Europe, as local products were not enough for them. That group produced very little, or not at all, for export. The products manufactured in cities went to Algeria, Senegal and Egypt and were only a small part of the total export.

The rural population, beyond being the most important in the country in point of number, used very small quantities of imported products, particularly tea and sugar. "Therefore, the two million inhabitants in the urban and border area consume much more imported products than the 5-6 million indigenous from the inside. Even so, these two million live mostly in the service of foreigners or through commerce, while rural population, the peasants, shepherds, highlanders, who provide most to export, reap the fruit of the land, cereals, horn cattle, eggs, skins, etc. Almost everything Morocco has (an

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<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, 6 June 1907

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, 8 June 1907

agrarian country) to feed foreign countries came from the labour of this miserable badly supported population and consequently it is unable to import”<sup>44</sup>.

Sugar, the mostly appreciated product wanted by the Moroccans, seemed to be the main item exported by the French to Morocco. Sugar from France was the mostly appreciated by the locals, even though the price was most of the times high, “but it is rich in saccharine and will not spoil in the humidity of the Moroccan coast. Moreover, it is nicely packed, as cubes are wrapped in navy blue paper. Do we produce sugar that can fight here the French, Belgian, German and Austrian one?”<sup>45</sup> After 1905, the quantity of sugar exported to Morocco from Belgium and Austria did not increase quantitatively. On the contrary, the German export reached the amount of 119,006 francs of the total amount of sugar imported to Morocco – 12,964,258 francs. France won 10,753,369 francs. The supremacy of France in the field was absolute.

The statistics carried out by Martinho de Brederode for the year 1906 reached the amount of 1,945,152 francs for tea import in Morocco. Concerning this item, England was dominating with 1,750,555 francs, followed by Germany with 113,159 francs and France with 79,245 francs. “Obviously, we do not produce sugar or tea to bring them here. Nevertheless, I think it is worth making our tea from Acores known in Morocco, if we manage to sell it cheaper here. We have the advantage that in Acores they produce green tea and this is locals’ main drink”<sup>46</sup>.

Any decrease of Portuguese wine imports, mainly caused by the want for high tonnage Portuguese ships brought about serious advantages to the French wine import. “Then, it seems that the Portuguese wines imported in Cadiz reach Morocco at a very high price and is less bought by the locals. Moreover, the Portuguese wines cannot compete with the French wines, particularly the one in Algeria, sold for 25 cents a litre. Now, in 1907, a Portuguese has tried to start a business with wines of Colares, Porto, etc. He was not very lucky”<sup>47</sup> – wrote the young Portuguese diplomat.

“Maybe tinned fish could be a solution, mainly the sardines”<sup>48</sup>. In 1905, Portugal exported sardines to Morocco for an amount of 2844 francs, but they were sold by a French company with a French label. There were also attempts for trade with olive oil. It was difficult for the Portuguese, as their oil could not compete in point of price with the Spanish and the local ones. Portuguese oil was bought especially by Israeli traders for its quality. They sold it mixed with cotton and sesame oil.

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*

Consequently, a wider opening of the Portuguese-Moroccan contacts, particularly from the economic-commercial point of view, was the result of the endeavours of the young Portuguese diplomat Martinho de Brederode. He started this initiative by addressing simple questions to his Government and continued by seeking for solutions and answers. Only then was the real beginning of his diplomatic career. Shortly after, he was sent to “the other end of the world”, as he used to say, the Republic of China.

## PROFESSOR VICTOR JINGA. FAMILY AND SCHOOL

*Mihai D. DRECIN*

**Abstract:** *The survey shows the family environment where Professor Victor Jinga was born. They belonged to the minor elite of the Transylvanian Romanian village at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Raised in a family of shepherds and farmers, he was in close connection with the Romanian Kingdom and Bessarabia, where transhumance was practised.*

*After economic studies at the secondary-schools in Brasov and Galati, he pursued his academic studies at the renowned Ca' Foscari Superior Institute of Economics in Venice (autumn 1920 – December 1924). Having good results, he defended his BA thesis in July 1924, then his doctoral thesis in December 1924 under the coordination of Professor Alfonso di Pietri-Tonelli. The topic of the two theses focused on the agrarian situation in general, the agrarian reforms and the popular credit development in the first years of the Great Romania.*

*Returning to Romania in 1925, the young economist Victor Jinga was actively involved in the endeavours for development and modernisation of the Romanian unitary national state as a bank clerk. On 1 July 1929, he got a position as a senior lecturer at the Commercial Academy in Cluj.*

**Keywords:** *origin, transhumance, school, doctoral, studies*

Family and school are the main social environments having a definite influence upon the personality of young people and pursue them their whole life. Harmony, balance, labour and behaviour models in society as learnt in the family from an early age are elements that the individual values for the rest of his life through what he thinks and does. The chance to have at school professors with talent, well trained professionally, with concerns in scientific research and open to the new completes the positive family inheritance by refining and strengthening labour and life principles one is not willing to abandon in the most difficult circumstances in life.

Of course, life has exceptions, too. The youth coming from well consolidated and honest families with good quality training in time may end up at the edge of society, or give up the family and social model they have been raised in, thus abandoning the principles they identified to at a certain moment, in order to “adapt” to the times remaining and even progressing in the “new” political and professional elite by repudiating his past. In these cases, we think

that the unstable mind of the subject insufficiently strengthened within the family and school environment is determining.

If we consider the issues from this point of view, the economist, the university professor, the scholar and the political man Victor Jinga belonged to the intellectuals and statesmen educated in the interwar Romania who respected his work and life principles whose bases were laid by his family and the group of professors that gave him the general and special culture. In the autumn of 1944, upon the request of Dr. Petru Groza, Professor Victor Jinga could become one of the negative exceptions mentioned above. The Vice-President of the Council of Ministers suggested him and two other young collaborators of his to join the “democrat (pro-communist) left” in exchange for some positions in diplomacy. The refuse of Professor Jinga honours him in time<sup>1</sup>, although his decision was condemned in the following years to several vicissitudes in a political world led according to the antidemocratic doctrine that said “who is not with us is against us”.

Victor Jinga was born on 17 February/2 March 1901 in a family of shepherds and farmers in Satulung – Salcele Brasovului, having roots in the commune of Dragoslavele, the former county of Campulung Muscel. One of his ancestors, Ion Jinga, had crossed the Carpathians from the mountainous area of the Muscel in 1699. He remained in the memory of his family as a free, determined, hard-working and tempered man<sup>2</sup>.

The accentuation of the Ottoman exploitation and the fact that the political elite in the Romanian Provinces was more and more influenced by the Greek brought about a more and more abusive and corrupted administration attempting to the material security of the hard-working and active inhabitants. They were rebelling against the Phanariot actions, the resistance having several forms, including the abandon of native places. Just as the Romanians from Transylvania crossed the Carpathians to Muntenia and Moldavia to escape the oppression of the Magyar nobility, then the Habsburg administrative bureaucracy<sup>3</sup>, we often encounter the reversed phenomenon – to a smaller extent, it is true – to settle Romanians in northern Transylvania from Wallachia and Moldavia<sup>4</sup>, where there was a better political stability, hence family security too. The osmosis of people and ideas on both

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<sup>1</sup> See the letter of Vasile Gionea, dated 16.11.1992, to Mihai Drecin, that is in our possession. In time, Professor Gionea had a small problem dating the meeting Dr. Petru Groza – Victor Jinga, Alexandru Herlea, Vasile Gionea “when Petru Groza was Prime-Minister”. In fact, the meeting took place in the autumn of 1944, when Dr. Petru Groza was a Vice-President of the Ministers Council in the second Government of General Constantin Sănătescu (04.11.1944 – 05.12.1944).

<sup>2</sup> Victor Jinga, *Însemnări și reflexiuni*, in mss. p. 12

<sup>3</sup> Nicolae Stoicescu, *Unitatea românilor în evul mediu*, Ed. Acad. R.S.R., București, 1983, pp. 49-61. See a rich bibliography in point at footnotes.

<sup>4</sup> Ștefan Meteș, *Emigrări românești din Transilvania în secolele XIII-XX*, Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1977

sides of the Carpathians was a phenomenon characteristic of the Romanian society throughout centuries. The fight with life and the endeavours to provide peace and welfare to the family were based on an obvious reality easy to be verified by any traveller coming to the Carpathian-Danube-Black Sea area due to need and interest. They were speaking Romanian everywhere, the Romanians were the majority, the “Romanian country” was on both sides of the Carpathians; wherever the Romanians might go, they were feeling at home<sup>5</sup>. The expansion of the phenomenon in the 18<sup>th</sup> century has to be connected with the dawn of the modern times, as it generated changes in point of mentalities leading to a new type of man, the bald and active citizen more and more mobile in an area tending to expand ceaselessly; he was aware of his duty towards the administrative power, as well as of his natural duties. He no longer accepted social and political injustice as a fatality; he did not invoke divinity to set him free and save him from hardships; though risky, he made immediate decisions to defend his family, work, and wealth<sup>6</sup>.

Victor Jinga’s father and forefathers practised transhumant sheepfold in Dobrogea and southern Bessarabia near the Ialpuș lake, in the area of Babele and Cimislia communes, where they had leased large pastures.

Most Romanians from Salcele were shepherds, generally animal breeders. They were wealthy people, which could be seen in the compartment and architecture of the house, of the household. In his memoirs, Victor Jinga wrote: “My parents’ home, built in 1846<sup>7</sup>, as it is written on the facade, has four rooms: the street room, the entry, the small house and the garden room that used to be the big pantry; separately, there is the kitchen, a drawing-room, a small pantry and the wood shed. The access is through the porch and the entry door, as well as through another door of the last room. The house is made of stone and brick; it was and still is covered with tiles. The porch has four round pillars made of brick and can be reached by climbing 3-4 steps and passing through a small gate. In the porch, there is the high bed where people used to sleep in hot summer nights. Under the porch, descending 8-10 steps, one could reach the basement. In general, the dwellings (households – D.M.) of the Romanians do not have stables, maize sheds, or warehouses, as the household is where the shepherd from Salcele keeps the sheep and farms, if <in the Country> in Muntenia and Dobrogea particularly... The predominant particularity of the big stone houses is the entry ... with columns (pillars) ... There is some resemblance with the balcony of hill and mountain houses in some regions of the Old Country (the Kingdom of Romania – D.M.) ... To the front of the house, on the roof, there is the Orthodox cross; another cross is applied

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<sup>5</sup> Victor Jinga, *Probleme fundamentale ale Transilvaniei*, Ed. Muzeul Județean de Istorie Brașov, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1995, p. 13-35

<sup>6</sup> Alexandru Duțu, *Călătorii, imagini, constanțe*, Ed. Eminescu, București, 1985, p. 270-274

<sup>7</sup> The house still exists in Satulung – municipaliply of Săcele, 15, Prof. dr. Victor Jinga st.

on the frontispiece of the house near a cubicle adorned with a religious icon, usually the saint patron of the house; in the same place is written the year when it was built”<sup>8</sup>.

The villages in the region were inhabited by Romanians and Csangos. “The Romanians are settled – remembered Victor Jinga – towards the mountain and the forest; the Csangos are near the plain. The latter’s houses are crammed against one another, the sole concern being the utility and not the aesthetics and have few green areas. The Romanians’ dwellings show their vocation for beauty and picturesque; the most interesting and pleasant side of the villages is the Romanian one.”<sup>9</sup> The relations between the Romanians and the Csangos particularly on the level of the youth were tense until after the Union in 1918. The triggering factors of the interethnic conflicts were the young Csangos “at the shelter of the (Hungarian – D.M.) authorities’ tolerance and the instigations of the rest of the Hungarian society as an expression of an education and cowardice turning the influence of the state power into a generalized national oppression tool (until 1918-1919 – D.M.)”<sup>10</sup>.

Ion and Ana Jinga, “sheep administrators by profession, with no land”, had four children: Ion - peasant<sup>11</sup>, Alexandru – officer, Maria – housewife and the future university professor Victor Jinga<sup>12</sup>. His father provided for the family, but he was mostly away with transhumant sheepfold. “He had a cult for freedom and justice and could not stand any constraint; when he could, he read mostly novels and historical literature.” His mother had a definite influence upon her children; she was “intolerant with all misbehaviour ... from morals and respect and strict about duties”. She brought to the family “vigour oriented towards certitudes, a precise and determined sense for what it means to comply with one’s duties, an appreciation for those high in the intellectual hierarchy.”<sup>13</sup> If besides the long-day work accommodated to each season, the severe administration of the income, we envisage the appreciation of the school and intellectual professions, all subordinated to the Church and moral precepts it preached, we can frame the Jinga family within the minor elite of the Romanian village at the modern epoch.

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – the beginning of the following one, the families of the Transylvanian Romanians belonging to the minor and major elite, from the well-to-do peasants to the much more composite structured city

<sup>8</sup> Victor Jinga, *Însemnări și ...*, p. 9-10

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 11

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 5

<sup>11</sup> He had attended the Romanian secondary-school in Brasov for two years. He interrupted his studies as he was called by his father to help him with the household. See *Ibidem*, p. 26

<sup>12</sup> Archives of the Romanian Intelligence, *Fund: P*, dos. 2522, Brașov, vol. III, *Declarația lui Victor Jinga din 19 VIII 1949*, f. 39-40

<sup>13</sup> Victor Jinga, *Însemnări și ...*, p. 29-30



environment from the point of view of the professional structure, they all considered pre-school stage as very important in preparing the future pupil.

Consequently, Victor Jinga went to the village kindergarten for one year. The language was Hungarian and the staff was Hungarian, too. Several years later, he admitted that from that first stage of organised cultural education "... I got nothing .... [as there we were] used to uttering stereotyped phrases to glorify the Hungarian courageous acts and customs, to praise the <unique works> of this nation; it was the first attempt of Hungarisation I got in contact with ... and left no trace in my convictions and affectivities"<sup>14</sup>.

He had other memories and appreciations referring to the Romanian confessional grade school in Satulung in September 1906 – 30 June 1910; he attended it "very easily and ... with noticeable grades"<sup>15</sup>.

The school building was improper for the educational process, as the Hungarian State did not fund the education of the nations they oppressed from their budget. This was an aspect of the well-thought policy of Hungarisation that would get a new stimulus through Apponyi's education laws in 1907. The first two years, he went to the "little school" hosted in the former house of a well-to-do householder. The schoolmaster Victorita Moldoveanu, who had been born in Brasov, made a great impression on him. "She was a very concerned woman smartly dressed, sometimes even ostentatious, adorned and with cosmetic contributions. Tall, slim, often irritated, <Miss> as she was called, was exigent and severe with the pupils whom she trained and guided with goodness and skill. She died right after WWI of a serious disease."<sup>16</sup> He attended the first grade (1906-1907) although he was "not enrolled". Nevertheless, "proving to be smart at learning, the schoolmaster Sava Luca decided to consider this year as the first grade school year"<sup>17</sup> Victor Jinga said. He attended the last two years at the grade school at the so-called "school under the steeple", the former Orthodox school turned into a school. The great number of children in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> grades made the area insufficient. This reality was compensated by the good quality of the two headmasters: Sava Luca and Aurel Popovici. "The former – Victor Jinga remembered – very strict didactically, sometimes unmerciful, taught us methodically and thoroughly; the latter, although he was a sometimes too jovial bohemian, still was a good schoolmaster"<sup>18</sup>. Calculating the knowledge acquired during the first four years at school, Victor Jinga concluded: "the good education at the grade school in the village was confirmed by the fact that in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> gymnasium grades I barely had to open a book"<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 13

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*,

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 14

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 37

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 15

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*

In 1868, Andrei Saguna and Ioan Popazu – leaders of the Orthodox Church in Transylvania – lay the bases of a secondary-school in Brasov. Besides, they would establish a theoretical school; in 1869 a three-year commercial school<sup>20</sup> – the only one of the kind in all Transylvania until 1918-1919<sup>21</sup>. The institution of Greek-Orthodox Central Schools in Brasov<sup>22</sup>, as the cluster of Romanian specializations in Groaverii Brasovului would be called, would be completed with the Household School for girls. The Romanian schools in Brasov established in the “antechamber of Romania” and financially supported by the Governments in Bucharest, drew an important number of pupils in the historical southern Transylvania and Small Romania.

Under the circumstances, it was obvious that young Victor Jinga continued his studies in Brasov. He enrolled at the theoretical Gymnasium he would attend on September 1910 – June 1914. It was another decisive stage in outlining his personality<sup>23</sup>. Some of the teachers he highly appreciated for the knowledge they had transmitted and the pedagogical tact were as follows: N. Bogdan (Romanian-History), Gheorghe Vătășianu<sup>24</sup> (Geography), D. Lupan (Natural Sciences), P. Percea (Geometry), Gheorghe Dima (Music), V. Micula (Mathematics). We have to remember that the studies “were not devoid of severity, some sanctions, but we studied thoroughly and usefully. Teacher N. Bogdan’s nationalist vibes (at the time meaning the cultivation of the balanced,

<sup>20</sup> For further details, see: D. Voina, *Scurtă privire asupra învățământului comercial din Transilvania înainte și după Unire*, Cluj, 1924; Vasile Bozga, Iuliana Gherasim, *Începuturile și dezvoltarea învățământului economic românesc până în 1877*, in *Revista de Istorie*, București, no. 10, 1983, p. 977-988; Idem, *Învățământul economic în statul național român până în 1918*, in *Revista de Istorie*, București, no. 12, 1983, p. 1233-1234; Ion Zănea, *Școala comercială din Brașov – pepinieră de comercianți și funcționari de bancă pentru întreg spațiul național*, in *Cumidava*, Brașov, 2002, p. 87-105

<sup>21</sup> *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VII, Tom I, *Constituirea României Moderne (1825-1878)*, coord. Acad. Dan Berindei, Ed. Enciclopedică, București, 2003, p. 823

<sup>22</sup> They were as follows: an eight-year secondary-school, a four-year theoretical gymnasium, and the three-year superior commercial school. In the case of the last one, enrolments were made after four years of secondary-school, or four years of theoretical gymnasium.

<sup>23</sup> „Then, school provided a thorough education in the spirit of good skills that completed the good education I got in family and grade school. I went to Brasov by tram and then I rented a room in Brasov in the last year at gymnasium.” See: Victor Jinga, *Însemnări și ...*, p. 38

<sup>24</sup> Graduate from the University of Budapest, in the field of History-Geography, the son of priest Gheorghe Vătășianu in the commune of Zoltan (Mihai Viteazul) near Sighișoara; a brother of Ion Vătășianu – Executive Director at the “Albina” Bank in Sibiu in 1925-1939 (father of the future Acad. Virgil Vătășianu) and Nicolae Vătășianu, graduate from the University of Budapest in Natural Sciences and Geography, professor at the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Sibiu. Professor Gheorghe Vătășianu went with the Romanian army to Romania in 1916, then to Moldavia, where he died in 1917. See: Mihai Drecin, *Date inedite despre familia academicianului Virgil Vătășianu*, in the volume *Sub zodia Vătășianu. Studii de istoria artei*, Ed. Academia Română, Muzeul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei Cluj-Napoca, Muzeul Țării Crișurilor Oradea, Nereamina Napoca, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, p. 21

non-xenophobic, non-chauvinist, non-extremist national feeling – D.M.) and the pathos of national history were reaching our hearts”<sup>25</sup>.

As most of the subject matters belonged to sciences, the theoretical Gymnasium oriented young Victor Jinga to the Superior Commercial School, where he attended the 1<sup>st</sup> grade (autumn 1914 – 1915) and part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> grade. It was a tense time in the history of Europe, including the Austro-Hungarian dualist monarchy. The beginning of WWI in the summer of 1914, the proclamation of neutrality by the Romanian Kingdom concerning the military confrontation between the Central Powers and the Triple Entente, the conviction that sooner or later Romania had to decide on the side they would join in the war, all these tormented the Romanian public opinion on both sides of the Carpathians. In this context, the Jinga family sought refuge at an uncle, Bercaru (who was married to a sister on his father’s side) in the Murgeasca commune, the Ialomita County<sup>26</sup>, in Romania, as they felt that the political events in the Romanian geographic area would become more complicated. It was the spring of 1916.

Some of the teachers Victor Jinga felt close to him in the two years spent at the Superior Commercial School were the following: Andrei Bârseanu (History), I. C. Panțu (Accounting), I. Socaciu (Political Economy), N. Orghidan (Geography), and Arsenie Vlaicu. They were all shown as “well-educated teachers with high professional vocation, valuable pedagogues who taught us much of their knowledge and feelings. When they were at the chair, they seemed to be the delegates of a nation teaching many of their lessons at a high level both intellectually and pedagogically”<sup>27</sup>. As a matter of fact, they were all authors of textbooks and books in the field, militating on the level of culture and national interest.

When Romania joined the war on the Triple Entente’s side, as it guaranteed the national ideal by joining Transylvania and Bukovina to the Mother Homeland, the Jinga family went to the south of Bessarabia, in the village of Cioromarza, the Tighina County, that lied at the border with the Tsarist Empire. There, Ion Jinga and his elder son Ion (Nitu) rented an estate<sup>28</sup> for the sheep and cattle they were breeding. Considering the circumstances, young secondary-school pupil Victor Jinga had to quit studies.

For two years, the Jinga family lived a unique, sometimes dramatic, experience in a Bessarabia in a mess and political provisory leaders, and wants of all kinds. After a Tsarist rule of 106 years, followed by the Bolshevik revolutionary anarchy, on 27 March/9 April 1918, Bessarabia joined Romania. The event was exceptional for a country conjecturally restricted to the

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<sup>25</sup> Victor Jinga, *Însemnări și ...*, p. 38

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 41

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 39

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 43

Carpathians, the Prut and the Danube and a people desperate by the allies' betrayals and impotence. The French-English-American victories in the summer of 1918 on the western front turned the odds in favour of the Triple Entente. Under the circumstances, the Royalty, the Government, the Parliament, and the Army of Romania started the action and prepared an active political-military revival with the allies in the Triple Entente.

In this situation, the Jinga family decided to leave Bessarabia and return home, in Satulung – Sacelele Brasovului. The way back was divided into two stages. At the beginning, Ion Jinga and his elder son established their household, cattle and the rest of the inventory in Dobrogea, while Ana Jinga and the children Maria and Victor stopped in Galati. There, Ion Jinga had bought a big house, on D. Bolintineanu street, near the main park of the city<sup>29</sup>, that is, right in the centre of the important harbour on the Danube.

In September 1918, Victor Jinga enrolled in the 6<sup>th</sup> grade (2<sup>nd</sup> superior) of the Superior Commercial School in Galati. Welcomed by colleagues and teachers, he would remember some exceptional teachers, such as the headmaster Alexandru Zaharia (Mathematics), I.G. Munteanu (French) – originally from Sacelele Brasovului, and Grigore Trancu – Iași (Accounting)<sup>30</sup> – the future minister under Averescu.

After the Union of Transylvania and Romania and the classification of the province as one of the most important in the Great Romania, in the spring of 1919, the Jinga family returned to Satulung for good. Consequently, Victor Jinga enrolled in the 3<sup>rd</sup>, and last, grade at the Commercial Secondary-School in Brasov in the autumn of 1919. Amongst the 66 colleagues, out of which 27 were girls, he met very few that had enrolled in the 1<sup>st</sup> grade in the autumn of 1914. It was a special atmosphere, since all the pupils came from “the entire country, with obvious differences in age due to the war, born and raised in four different regions. We intensely lived the beginnings of a new and great country, with the euphoria of an achieved dream”<sup>31</sup>. There he took the baccalaureate with good results in June 1920.

As a secondary-school pupil, young Victor Jinga had been attracted to History, Geography, the Evolution of Ideas, Sociology, Economics, Law, and Politics<sup>32</sup>. He was at the point when he had to choose his way by himself, without relying much on the advice of his parents – even less materially – or his acquaintances. “Vaguely” feeling that the fundamental issues of the time were more and more expressed in economic terms,<sup>33</sup> he decided to study Economics in Berlin. The choice of Germany's capital was according to the spirit and

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 66

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 67

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 72

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 53

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 79

tradition in Transylvania, in Tara Barsei, where the German manner of work and organisation was highly appreciated by the Romanians.

In September 1920, he went to Bucharest, to the German Legacy to get the visa to enter the country. He was very surprised when a high officer there told him: “we cannot grant you the visa; there is famine in Germany; then, many Romanian intellectuals who studied in Germany took<sup>34</sup> an attitude against the policy of my country during the recent war (WWI – D.M.)”. Even though the German officer was right, especially considering the lack of employment, the famine and the extraordinary inflation severely afflicting a people exhausted after the most difficult military confrontation worldwide, young Jinga was deeply disappointed with the reply of the officer. “I left – he would say years later – sad and indignant against the German refuse. A more affable attitude would better serve the interests of Germany and would increase foreigners’ affection for this country”<sup>35</sup>.

Disheartened by the situation, he ran into a former secondary-school colleague in Brasov who advised him to go to Venice to “the most prestigious economic university institute in Italy”<sup>36</sup> – the Ca’ Foscari Superior Institute of Economics<sup>37</sup>.

In the autumn of 1920, the Ca’ Foscari Institute had almost 1,000 students, out of which 15-20% were girls and 2-3% foreigners. The studies lasted three years and ended with a final exam and a BA thesis. The BA graduates could prepare their doctoral thesis in about two years. The Institute offered BA and PhD studies in the following fields: Economics, Finances and Commerce, Calculation and Accounting, Consular Studies and Foreign Languages.

Victor Jinga studied in Venice in autumn 1920 – December 1924. During the first three years, he was a student; in the spring of 1923 he also started to prepare his doctoral thesis that he defended in December 1924.

As a student, he attended the following lectures: Private Law Institutions (20 points), Public Law Institutions (27), Political Economy (19), Statistics (18), Economic Documents (24), Financial Mathematics (19), Commercial Geography (28), History of Commerce (21), French (29), German (26) – in the first year of studies; Maritime and Industrial Commercial Law (24), Finances

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<sup>34</sup> We consider that the German officer was wrong concerning this issue. In the great policy, where and when decisions that are made influence the present and future of a whole nation, politicians should first consider the national interest instead of occasional friendships. In 1916, the Kingdom of Romania could not miss the union of all Romanians in one single country (M.D.).

<sup>35</sup> Victor Jinga, *Însemnări și ...*, p. 80

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>37</sup> Francesco Foscari, former Doge of Venice in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. His palace on the Canal Grande became the seat of the Superior Institute of Economics that was named after him in 1868. Nowadays, it is in the same location the Ca’ Foscari University of Venice lies.

and Financial Law (19), Science of Commodities (26), Commercial Geography (29), French (23), German (25) – in the second year of studies; Maritime and Industrial Commercial Law (20), International Law (30), Commercial Politics and Customs Law (23), Banking Law (24), Science of Commodities (27), French (27), German (20). He needed at least 18 points to pass the exam, and the maximum points were 30. The exam sessions took place in July and October each year, while remedial sessions were in March or April of the following academic year<sup>38</sup>.

The academic staff was made up of personalities in the field well-known in Europe and even worldwide. Besides thorough studies in Italy, most of them had graduated in Switzerland, Germany, France, and England. Victor Jinga mentioned some of them, such as: Corrado Gini, Alfonso di Pietri-Tonelli, E. Castellani, R. Stefani, Gino Luzzatto, Gino Zappa, P. Orsi. Their lectures were open to the Italian liberal-democratic ideas, German-Austrian economic historicism and psychologism, English neo-Classicism, socialist doctrine, corporatist theses of the Italian fascist doctrine. Nevertheless, the professors would not express political attitudes under any circumstances and kept within the strictly scientific considerations<sup>39</sup>.

As a student, during the summer and winter holidays, Victor Jinga would specialise in France (Grenoble), Austria (Graz), and Switzerland (Geneva)<sup>40</sup>. Thus, he completed the knowledge acquired as a student in Venice by listening to lectures, meeting renowned professors, becoming friends with young people from his generation.

In July 1924, under the coordination of Professor Alfonso da Pietri Tonelli, holder of the lecture on Economic Politics and Political Economy, he defended his BA thesis entitled *Situația agrară și creditul popular în România (Agrarian Situation and Popular Credit in Romania)*<sup>41</sup>. In December 1924, in Aula Magna of the Superior Institute of Commercial Studies in Venice, Victor Jinga defended his doctoral thesis in Economic and Commercial Sciences on *Reforme agrare și dezvoltarea creditului popular în România (Agrarian Reforms and Popular Credit Development in Romania)*. Although we have not yet found it in the Archives of the University of Venice, by comparing the titles

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<sup>38</sup> See the transcript of records no. 3941 of student Jinga Victor di Giovanni, nato a Brasso (Rumania) il 17 febb 1901, enrolled at specialisation “Commerce” on 12.11.[19]20. I would like to use this opportunity to thank our former student dr. Florina Cret Ciure, who had a scholarship from the Government at the Romanian Cultural Institute in Venice. She found the document mentioned above together with a copy of the BA thesis belonging to Professor Victor Jinga.

<sup>39</sup> Victor Jinga, *Însemnări și ...*, p. 95-97

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 104-109

<sup>41</sup> Ca’ Foscari University of Venice, Central Library, no. 12, Vittorio Jinga, *La situazione agraria e il credito popolare in Romania*, Tesi di laurea, 164 p., puglio 1924, da discutersi col chiar.<sup>mo</sup> Professore Alfonso di Pietri-Tonelli.

of the BA and PhD theses, we think that the latter is a more developed and specialised form of the BA thesis, as they used to do at the time. The scientific coordinator was the same Professor Alfonso di Pietri Tonelli<sup>42</sup>.

At the beginning of the year 1925, the young economist Victor Jinga returned home eager to fully contribute to the economic strengthening and development of the country. He belonged to the first generation of young specialists in Great Romania having a good knowledge of the Romanian traditions and realities, as well as of the western European model of labour organisation and efficiency.

After the military service, some positions as a bank clerk in Satulung, Brasov and Bucharest, Victor Jinga got a position as a senior lecturer at the Chair of Political Economy at the High Academy of Commercial and Industrial Studies in Cluj on 1 July 1929<sup>43</sup>. In the academic environment, he found his calling delivering ideas to young students and organising modern economic structures particularly in the area of cooperation that was so necessary to a country involved in a process of socio-economic, political and cultural change.

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<sup>42</sup> Victor Jinga, *Însemnări și ...*, p. 109-110. See also the certified copy of the document granting the title of PhD in Economics and Commercial Sciences dated Bucharest, 6 March 1964. A copy of the paper is in our possession (D.M.).

<sup>43</sup> Mihai Drecin, *Postfață la Victor Jinga, Probleme fundamentale ale Transilvaniei*, Ed. Muzeul Județean de Istorie Brașov, Ediția a II-a, 1995, p. 706





# THE HISTORY OF THE ROMANIAN THEATRE IN BIHOR (THE INTERWAR PERIOD). NEW MAIL BELONGING TO ACTOR DINU MACEDONSKI

*Viorel FAUR*

**Abstract:** *In 1928, the actor Dinu Macedonski, who was part of the Western Theatre in Oradea, sent Ștefan Marcus, the director of this permanent theatrical institution, a mail that the author of this article is using for its informational-documentary value. In this mail, we find references to the lack for material support to cover the functioning of the Western Theatre, as well as the fact that he made concrete proposals in this respect, that is, they could find the material support and complete the company with the help of some actors from Bucharest. It was one of the initiatives to save the Romanian theatre in Oradea in the interwar period on whose results no concrete information has been found so far.*

**Keywords:** *Oradea, actor, theatre, company, mail*

In the two interwar decades, there were considerable endeavours to set up steady theatre companies in the western Romania cities (Timisoara, Arad, Oradea, Satu-Mare, and Baia Mare) that – previous to 1918 – were disadvantaged from this point of view. They seldom had a performance in Romanian. Therefore, in the interwar Romania, along other important initiatives (meant to expand the area of influence and expression of the Romanian culture in these provinces), we should mention the ones aiming at establishing permanent Romanian theatre companies. There was a convergence of the endeavours, starting on the local level (the most important ones) and continuing with the support provided by the great theatres in Bucharest (they organised theatre tours that were so necessary to assure the contact of the Romanian inhabitants at the western boundary with the true national theatrical art) and Cluj. The requests of the Romanian inhabitants to have quality performances as often as possible were extremely active starting with 1921, when they conceived in Oradea, for instance, the “first project” for a “drama and comedy company”<sup>1</sup>. Before becoming a fact, the Ministry of Arts ordered that the National

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<sup>1</sup> Ștefan Mărcuș, *Muzică și teatru în Bihor*, Oradea, 1935, p. 146-150; Lucian Drimba, *Contribuții la istoricul teatrului românesc din Oradea*, in *Familia*, 1967, no. 1, p. 18-19

Theatre in Cluj should have each Wednesday a trip to Oradea with a performance belonging to their repertoire starting September 1921<sup>2</sup>.

For six years (1921 – 1927), several “commissions” debated the “issue” of establishing the West Theatre with the city halls in Timisoara, Satu-Mare, and Oradea. After many unfruitful experiences, Victor Eftimiu (as Director of the National Theatre in Cluj) rented the building of the city theatre (currently the State Theatre in Oradea with the two sections: Romanian and Hungarian) for the season 1927 – 1928. In this way, on 8 October the theatre season of the Romanian company began. It was coordinated by Stefan Marcus as a delegate (or representative) of the National Theatre in Cluj. Consequently, in this way, was established the West Theatre in Oradea, an event saluted by personalities in Bihor, such as Dr. Aurel Lazar and Prof. Bogdan Ionescu<sup>3</sup>. This pretty uncomfortable situation lasted until 1928, when a new chapter began in the history of the Romanian theatre in Oradea, a chapter “comprising both torment and massive consumption of energy”; the results were “worth being appreciated by posterity”<sup>4</sup>.

The plan was that the *West Theatre* in Oradea should begin its activity in September (1928). It was made up of employed artists (Athena Dumitrescu, A. Macedonsky, Ion Pella, Tanti Petrescu and the Cotescus), artists from Cluj coming to Oradea (the Rădulescus and the Șerbans, Athená Rally-Zaharia and Aurel Dinu) and ten amateurs from Oradea for episodic roles. The first employed director was Dezideriu Tibor from the National Theatre in Cluj, then Aurel P. Banut.

Finally, the “fate” of this theatre was embraced by the “Romanian West” Association established on 28 January 1928 and presided by Dr. Valeriu Traian Frentiu (the Greek-Catholic Bishop of Oradea) with members belonging to the personalities from Bihor. The secretary general was elected Stefan Marcus whom the president authorized to represent him in all activities. D. Macedonsky was one of the actors of the West Theatre company. His debut was on 13 October 1928 in the play “Fantana Blanduziei” by Zaharia Barsan<sup>5</sup>. In less than a month, the first impediment in the existence of the Romanian company in Oradea showed up.

<sup>2</sup> *Tribuna*, Oradea, 1921, no. 36, p. 1

<sup>3</sup> Viorel Faur, Ioan Popovici, *Momente din istoria teatrului românesc în perioada interbelică. Preocupări bihorene pentru organizarea unei trupe stabile la Oradea*, în *Centenarul Societății pentru crearea unui fond de teatru român (1870-1970)*, C.C. and Ed. Soc. al ... Bihor, Oradea, 192, p. 177

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 179

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 189

Subsequently, actor Dinu Macedonsky sent a mail to Stefan Marcus (unknown so far<sup>6</sup>) where he made some very interesting proposals. The letter (undated) started with the following specification: “I have known your activity in the artistic field for a long time (particularly in the case of the West Theatre in Oradea – n.n.), as I once was myself (more precisely in 1928 – n.n.) one of your collaborators”. The author of the mail admitted that between him (in fact, between some of the West Theatre actors) and Stefan Marcus there “used to be” (before) certain “small misunderstandings” that caused his fall. Undoubtedly, to this we may add the lack of finances needed for a permanent theatrical activity in Oradea.

Despite all these, let us say, uncomfortable memories, D. Macedonsky suggested to Stefan Marcus to “re-establish” in Oradea a “theatre with opera and musical comedy, drama and comedy”. He considered that the “there is good chance” to materialize such a cultural-artistic initiative in “the west of the country”. Therefore, he provided further explanation referring to his potential “contribution” to the “business”, as well as to the “resources” that might be used, as follows:

1. Prefecture of the Satu-Mare County voted – “for the theatre we established there” – the amount of 85,000 lei;
2. Also, the Satu-Mare City Hall mentioned in the annual budget for the same objective the amount of 20,000 lei;
3. The Baia Mare City Hall still had a “remainder” of 19,000 lei.

Consequently, it was the “material” offer (otherwise indispensable) that the actor mentioned above made. Besides that one, there was the “moral contribution”, that is: “*in Bucharest I will be able to easily form a drama and comedy company, as well as opera elements*” (underl. ns. – V.F.). Together with what existed in Oradea, it was likely to make up a company able to “honourably perform on any stage”. In his opinion, there still was one organising problem. He even provided a concrete example in point: for four months, he supported a “15-artist theatre” based solely on monthly subscriptions; he thus gathered the amount of 75,000 lei monthly from Satu-Mare and Sighet.

If he agreed to his proposal, he asked for the position as a stage director, “as simple associate”. He was expecting a reply from Bucharest. If favourable, he could “settle an appointment with Valer Pop” (at the ministry) to inform on the project and request his “support”.

We do not know the result of D. Macedonsky’s initiative. Nevertheless, it was one of the several interwar attempts to preserve the good quality

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<sup>6</sup> This was donated by an intellectual from Oradea several years ago. We use this opportunity to publish it, as it contains several items of invaluable information regarding the concerns during the interwar decade in north-western Romania to provide the performance of a permanent Romanian theatre company to promote genuine theatrical art.

theatrical activity in the west (or north-west) of the country all through the interwar period. There were several difficulties (especially from a material point of view), so that any attempt of the kind deserves the attention of the historians.

**Document annex:**

**Dear Mr. Ștefan Mărcuș,**

I have known your activity in the artistic field for a long time, as I used to be one of you collaborators once.

If there used to be certain small misunderstandings once that caused the fall of the West Theatre, it is precisely this fall that has brought about great loss to both of us and that should bring us together. I would like to make a suggestion that I consider advantageous.

I am sure you are aware of my strength, as well as my skills and qualities that I hope I am endowed with.

Briefly, here is what I suggest:

- 1) Re-establishing a theatre with opera and musical comedy, drama and comedy.
- 2) There are good chances to do so, particularly in the north-west of the country.
- 3) In order to do that, if you agree to such an alliance, I can explain my resources and contribution to the business.

a) In Satu-Mare, at the County Prefecture, there is an amount of 85,000 lei approved for the theatre I established there. Approved and mentioned in the Budget at the Satu-Mare City Hall, 20,000 lei on my name, too. At the Baia-Mare City Hall, a remainder of 19,000 lei, out of the 24,000 as voted. This is the material aspect. As far as the moral contribution is concerned, in Bucharest I will easily form a drama and comedy company, as well as some opera elements; this company, completed with the elements you have in Oradea, will honourably perform on any stage. If I could support a 15-artist theatre for four months, it was due to subscriptions that rose to 75,000 monthly only in Satu-Mare and Sighet. So, it all depends on the organisation.

So, in case you agree, I am kindly asking you to write as soon as possible, so that I may inform the authorities in Satu Mare on your quality as Administrative General Director; I will remain a simple associate in charge with the stage direction.

Of course, there are some debts in Satu Mare and Sighet (about 20,000) and my action has been a little compromised by a badly chosen and managed group, as everything has been done in a hurry. However, everything can be

fixed. If we add new well-organized cities, we will be able to expand in all Ardeal and Banat, irrespective of the performances from Cluj.

I will be expecting your reply in Bucharest and, as soon as I have it, I will be able to settle an appointment with Valer Pop to inform him on the idea and to ask for his support.

In case you have other plans, and when you have one or two operas (preferably), musical comedies for few actors, I offer to organise a tour.

However, I think that the first idea is preferable and more advantageous.

Sincerely yours,

Dinu Macedonski,  
Bucharest, 168, Șoseaua Ștefan cel Mare



## INDUSTRY, PROFESSIONS AND TRADE IN BIHOR IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

**Ion ZAINEA**

**Abstract:** *The Union in 1918, having important and multiple effects in all fields, changed the aspects relating to issues concerning industry, crafts, and commerce. It made it necessary to revise the principles lying at the basis of the existing law and a new regulation adapted to the Romanian national economic and social needs.*

*The Bihor County was one of the most developed areas of Great Romania from the industrial and commercial points of view. According to the investigation carried out in 1927, in the Bihor County there were 441 industrial facilities, out of which 35 engine mills, 9 steam mills, 321 water mills, one cement factory, 7 lime factories, one furniture factory, 8 sawmills, 15 tile factories, one weaving mill, 15 oil factories, 9 frame saws, one asphalt factory, 6 mines, 11 forest exploitations and one spirits factory. The statistics concerning crafts and craftsmen in the summer of 1927 showed that in the urban and rural communes of the Bihor County there were 183 shoemakers, 81 tailors, 91 cobblers, 125 butchers, 68 carpenters, 94 wheelwrights, 81 masons, 189 blacksmiths, 61 wood workers, 40 locksmiths, 32 joiners, 29 coopers, 35 barbers, 25 bakers, 16 tanners, and 14 tinkers. Some of the less exercised professions were gardener (5), dyer (5), painter (7), roper (4), watchmaker (7), furrier (3), border (2), and bookbinder (1). On the whole, there were 1,361 crafts. In 1922, there were 24 weekly and annual fairs in the Bihor County. They were managed by the communes: Alesd, Borod and Fechetau (Alesd borough), Beius and Uileac (Beius borough), Beliu and Ucuris (Beliu borough), Ceica and Holod (Ceica borough), Salonta, SAcuieni, Diosig and Saniob (Aacuieni borough), Valea lui Mihai, Piscolt and Salacea (Valea lui Mihai borough), Vascau, Baita and Sudrigiu (Vascau borough). Some of these fairs had been established for tens, even hundreds of years, while others were established after the Union. It was the case of the fairs at Vascau, Capalna, Uileac de Beius. In the following years, other fairs were established in the Alesd borough at Bratca, at Popesti (Marghita borough), Tileagd (Central borough), Dobresti (Ceica borough). The number of country fairs increased. In 1929, the number of fairs reached 30. The fairs at Oradea, Salards, Vad, Biharea, Pietroasa were added to the old ones.*

*Besides the damage caused by the war and the hardships faced to restart production, the industrial and commercial enterprises and craftsmen were confronted with several other issues. Some of them were related to the geopolitical and economic framework, to their relation to the new Romanian law, while others were caused by the connections with the old coordination centres and their*

*orientation towards Bucharest. They all generated a sense of confusion, disorientation especially because the Hungarian law was partly preserved and the Romanian law was superposed on the Hungarian law. It was introduced either as an extension to laws belonging to old Romania, or through a new legislation. In the case of some counties, such as Bihor, there was also the lack of means of communication with Bucharest and the difficult collaboration of the Romanian authorities with the Hungarian population whose hostility, that could be understood up to a point, was fuelled from both inside and outside the country.*

**Key words:** *economy, integration, industry, crafts, commerce*

The Bihor County was one of the most developed areas in Great Romania from the industrial and commercial points of view. The great industry in Bihor was represented particularly by mining and forestry factories. In the mining field, there were the Industrial Plant for Coal Mines S.A. Oradea, S.A. "Aluminia", bauxite mines, extraction centres at Bratca and Remeti, "Prometheus" S.A. earth coal mines at Valea Neagra, the bitumen, coal and electricity "Derna-Tatarus" Romanian Anonymous Company, Cornitel coal factory, Romanian Oil Industry Company (I.R.D.P.) exploiting the mines at Budoii and Brusturi, Orsova-Tileagd Oil Industry belonging to the "Mining Credit" in Bucharest, "Mina de marmura" at Vascau. In the forestry sector, there were companies such as: Intreprinderea de paduri S.A. Oradea, "La Roche & Darvas" with centres in Tileagd, Lunca and Borod area, "Sudrigiu-Petroasa" exploiting forests in the area of Alesd and Sudrigiu and having a timber factory, the Urvis-Bocsig industry and trade wood factory, "Bihoreana" S.A. forestry enterprise Oradea, "Mundus Berlova Armenis" timber factory at Remeti, "Sohodol" S.A., forest industry Baita seated in Oradea like most of the others.

There were other enterprises representing industrial sectors, such as: "Martin Ledherer" S.A. in Alesd, an intractable brick factory, "Vesta" S.A. in Oradea, a chemical-pharmaceutical factory, "Zankl A. si Fiii" in Oradea manufacturing varnish and paint like "Fratii Muller" S.A. in Oradea, specialised in ink, Indian ink, and paint. In Oradea were also the "Ledhal" S.A. spirits factory – they also had a wheat mill –, "Moskovits Adolf si Fiii" S.A. manufacturing industrial spirits and fusel oil, "Hitter & Comp.", a spirits factory, "Imperial" S.A., a pepper mill, the "Industria textile" S.A. cotton weaving mill, "Fratii Gunwald" S.A. manufacturing pack and iron and wood rolls, "Farkas si Rippner" S.A. hair pins and combs factory, "Strasser et comp." fish can factory, "Derby" S.A. shoes and leatherwork factory, "Carmen" boot factory, "Lux" fur factory, "Pheobus" iron-and-steel plant, or "Bizam Ernest" S.A. specialised in car mechanics.

Besides the damage caused by the war and the hardships they faced to restart manufacturing, the industrial enterprises in Transylvania, Banat, Crisana and Maramures were confronted with several other issues. Some were about the change



of the geopolitical and economic framework, of their harmonization to the new Romanian law, while others were caused by the fact that they stopped the old connections with the coordination centres and their orientation towards Bucharest. They all caused a general state of confusion, of disorientation as the Hungarian law was partly preserved and the Romanian law was superposed. It was introduced either by extending some laws from old Romania, or through a new legislation. In the case of certain counties, such as Bihor, there was also the lack of means of communication with Bucharest and a difficult cooperation of the Romanian authorities with the Hungarian population whose hostility – which could be understood to some point – was fuelled from both within and outside the borders.

In order to establish a unitary economic mechanism, the first operation was to inventorize all industrial enterprises and to know their situation; it was a difficult task that took several years. They started with the mining sector. According to the decree 2261 dated 19 July 1920, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, the General Directorate of Mines was to take over all state mines and quarries and to draw up a detailed inventory of the private ones. In June 1923, when the external service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was reorganised, the Industrial Inspectorate Oradea that coordinated all industrial enterprises in the counties of Bihor, Satu Mare and Maramures was eliminated. It was replaced by the 9<sup>th</sup> Industrial Inspectorate Cluj, which coordinated eight counties with over 1,000 industrial enterprises. The first action of the Cluj Inspectorate was to carry out a statistical investigation to establish all industrial equipments in their sector; this action was carried out in 1927.

According to the investigation, on the level of the Bihor county there were 441 industrial facilities out of which 35 engine mills, 9 steam mills, and 321 water mills, one cement factory, 7 lime factories, one furniture factory, 8 sawmills, 15 tile factories, one weaving mill, 15 oil factories, 9 frame saws, one asphalt factory, 6 mines, 11 forest exploitations, and one spirits factory<sup>1</sup>.

The after-war difficult financial situation preventing the State from granting support to industrial enterprises, the lack of orders, the void contracts, or contracts that no one felt the need to respect, they all contributed to a drastic decrease and even cessation of activity of some enterprises. In Bihor, it was significant the case of the asphalt and bitumen factories at Brusturi and Derna that had collaborated with the “Magyar Aszfalt” R.T. company from Budapest. They were on the verge of ceasing their activity, although the factory in Brusturi, for instance, had 1872 bitumen barrels in its warehouses and they had no client for them<sup>2</sup>. Because of the lack of workers and means of transportation, the Quarry Enterprise at Urvis was not working; it was on the territory of the Greek-Catholic Bishopric of Oradea.

Little by little, the industrial enterprises in Bihor restarted their activity. The mining and forestry enterprises made new investments. Coal Mines Industrial

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<sup>1</sup> A.N.D.J. Bh., *fond Prefectura județului Bihor*, dos. 61/ 1928, f. 1-25

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 75/ 1920, f. 41

Enterprise S.A. Oradea received the concession to build an industrial railway of 3,950 km to connect the coal mine at Cordau and the station at Mierlau by crossing the railway Oradea – Vascau through an inferior passage<sup>3</sup>. In 1927, the “Sudrigiu-Petroasa” forestry Anonymous Company requested the right to build and exploit the industrial railway Sudrigiu – Budureasa. The land they were to build the railway on was the property of the peasants and the communes of Sebis, Seliste-Beius and Budureasa allotted on the basis of a contract signed with the company that had the right to declare the railway of public use in case they could not obtain all the lands through an agreement<sup>4</sup>. In Oradea, forestry industry got the concession for a narrow railway of 5 km ramifying from the existing railway Tileagd-Valea Mare-Padurea Rezul Mare belonging to the same company in 1927. In 1928, the Urvis-Bocsig industry and trade wood enterprise and the “Victoria” Bank from Arad received the concession to exploit an area of 2,000 ha of land in the area of the commune of Clit. In order to build an industrial railroad, the director of the company, Mechmed Nady Scholz came to the commune to come to an agreement with the landlords where the railroad was to be built. The “Bihoreana” S.A. forest company in Oradea (owned by Grusstein) built an industrial railway for wood transportation crossing the graze and the woods of the commune of Urvis de Beliu in 1935<sup>5</sup>.

The after war regulations in the forest sector<sup>6</sup> had severe consequences on the situation of other companies in the field all through the county. Through the contracts signed on 10 February 1913, 22 March 1919, and 1 February 1921, the Baita Forest Industry had bought from the Roman-Catholic Bishopric of Oradea the wood on a 4,000 yokes area on the estate of the Baita commune, Vascau borough, and the company had paid for all the material. They had made investments of almost 30 million lei in the industrial railroad and a timber factory. According to the law of 1924, the Forest House requested a new fee of 8,000 lei/yoke considering the forest area in use on 1 October 1922, which was double as compared to the one in 1924. The new fee seriously influenced the situation of the company, who was compelled to cease activity in 1929 and dismiss the 800 workers employed there<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 40/1923, f. 54-64

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 60/1927, f. 77-78

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 67/1936-1938, f. 19-21

<sup>6</sup> On 16 September 1920, the law changing the forest law stipulated a deadline to revise all fittings and regulations for exploitation. According to art. 7 of the law issued on 1 July 1924 to provide for the normal needs for fire wood and buildings, the respect for contracts concerning forest exploitation that belonged to the state after expropriation was conditioned by the acceptance of the price by concessioners, by the regeneration and duration of the exploitation as settled by the Forest House. *Monitorul Oficial*, 1920, no. 131, p. 4496. C. Hamangiu, *Codul general al României*, vol. XI-XII, Editura „Universala” Alcalay & Co., Bucureşti p. 821 and the following.

<sup>7</sup> A.N.D.J. Bh., *fond Prefectura judeţului Bihor*, dos. 75/ 1928-1929, f. 98

A resembling fact happened to the company Sohodol Forest Industry S.A. According to the contract signed with the Greek-Catholic Bishopric of Oradea on 24 October 1907, the company had in use an area of 15,097 yokes of forest out of which, after the agrarian reform, as a consequence of the expropriation to the benefit of the communes, there were 2,617 yokes left. On 11 August 1928, the Forest House validated the contract provided that the company paid besides the already paid amount of 1,200,000 lei, the amount of 8,863,765 lei to recover from the initial area of 15,095 yokes those territories that needed to be forested again and hand in 10,000 cubic meters of wood loaded in carriages. The term for use was 20 years, a span during which they had to pay the 8,863,765 lei. The company's bankruptcy left other workers unemployed. The same situation was in the case of the Sudrigiu-Petroasa Forest Exploitation Company that had 304 permanently employed workers on 30 September 1929; they all lived in the area of the communes of Sudrigiu, Rieni, Lazuri, Cusuis, and Buntesti.

Even if such measures envisaged the preservation of the forest, their enforcement in Ardeal in 1928-1929, against the general economic crisis, led to the bankruptcy of the great wood processing and exploitation manufactures that used to represent the main source of living for the inhabitants of the mountain and hill area in the Bihor County. The situation was described in a touching memoir sent to the prefect of the Bihor County, Aurel Dobrescu, a State Undersecretary at the Ministry of Agriculture and Estates on 17 October 1929<sup>8</sup>.

The memoir was based on an official letter sent to the prefecture by the "La Roche & Darvas" Industry Oradea. It comprised suggestions referring to providing work to the workers in the forest industry and a report of the Labour Inspectorate Region 14 Oradea. The company suggested to the prefect to request the authorities concerned that the requests sent by the forest enterprises to grant exploitation concessions should be urgently approved; they also suggested to alter the regulations according to which they were not allowed to exploit an area exceeding 100 yokes per year, particularly in the case of old forests. The report of the Labour Inspectorate insisted on the case of the Derna-Tatarus mines, the concession of the natural bitumen and coal resources on an area of about 5,000 ha on the territory of the communes of Derna, Dernisoara, Tria, Budoi, Picleu, and Brusturi. Before the

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 103. The memoir mentioned the fact that due to the 1924 law to meet the need for fire wood and constructions, the great exploiters "were unsafe" as the Forest House had not definitely legalised, ratified, or approved, the purchase of forests acquired at the time by companies, so that they "have the ultimate equipment but do not have the opportunity to exploit, as they have no land" for years. Considering the situation, the great wood companies and the wood industry were compelled to decrease production and dismiss workers. Considering things only from the concerning perspective of unemployment, of the authority in charge with the "miserable and hard fate of our peasant", the prefect insistently asked the minister to take the necessary steps and the Forest House to regulate for good the situation of the forest exploitation companies in the Bihor County by determining the land they could exploit and to double the areas designated for exploitation.

Union, the resources were the property of the “Magyar Aszfalt” company from Budapest and were considered a “national wealth” not only because it was good quality bitumen; they were also the only resource in all Europe. After 1918, the company was bought first by Banca Minelor S.A. Derna, then by “Derna-Tatarus”, Romanian bitumen, coal and electricity anonymous company seated in Bucharest. In the first years, they had over 1,000 workers. However, out of orders, they had to reduce their number, so that it reached 178 in the summer of 1929. As the C.F.R. refused to take over the coal, they had to dismiss 100 more workers. Although unique in Europe, in a Europe investing in infrastructure, bitumen could not be exported because of the high fees that made it impossible to get to the European market<sup>9</sup>.

The Union in 1918 with such important and manifold effects in all fields changed the aspects of the profession issue made it necessary to revise the principles lying at the basis of the legislation and to draw up a new one adapted to the Romanian national, economic and social needs.

The statistics concerning crafts and craftsmen in the summer of 1927 indicated that in the urban and rural communes of the Bihor County there were 183 shoemakers, 81 tailors, 91 cobblers, 125 butchers, 68 carpenters, 94 wheelwrights, 81 masons, 189 blacksmiths, 61 wood workers, 40 locksmiths, 32 joiners, 29 coopers, 35 barbers, 25 bakers, 16 tanners, and 14 tinkers. Some of the less exercised professions were gardener (5), dyer (5), painter (7), roper (4), watchmaker (7), furrier (3), border (2), and bookbinder (1). On the whole, there were 1,361 craftsmen and 49 water mills<sup>10</sup>.

Until the union in 1936, the 1884 XVII industrial law was applied; it was a general law on industry and no special law to organise crafts. It was also concerned with learning and practising crafts, as well as trades and the conditions to establishing and functioning of industrial and commercial manufactures. Craftsmen corporations were in charge with enforcing the law concerning crafts, while industrial authorities were in charge with the law concerning industry; these were local bodies: city hall, the praetorian institution and the prefecture. They represented the first and second degree authorities, while the last one, the third degree authority, was the ministry. The issues settled by a first instance could be appealed or petitioned to the second and third degree authorities. The ministry had no control bodies, just like industrial authorities or the corporations, who had no paid staff to do it; the control was carried out by craftsmen (industrial delegates, controllers and examining masters). As far as control on the corporation and industrial authorities activity was concerned, the former were controlled by an industrial commissioner, while the control of the authorities' decisions was carried out through the right to appeal and recourse of those interested. The direct

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 67/1930-1938, f. 4 -14

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 98/ 1927, f. 17

interference of the ministry was very rare, when the dissolution of the corporation was needed and when they made a sentence on a last instance recourse<sup>11</sup>.

The existing law was inappropriate to the need for qualified labour in Romania after 1918. On the one hand, they needed unification and, on the other hand, they had to replace the old legal framework with a new one corresponding to the new conditions. This could only be done gradually. In 1920, the Ministry of Labour was established and the issue of crafts was one of its concerns. In parallel, the Ministry of National Education studied the reforms needed in vocational education. In order to draw up the unification laws, they researched through different means the situation of crafts and vocational education in all their aspects; these issues were debated during the congress that took place in 1926<sup>12</sup>. The proceedings were used to draw up the law draft. In 1929, before elaborating it, a scientific investigation was carried out on apprenticeship. During other congresses, they underlined more and more the duty of the high technical education to educate specialised and leading staff as the development of modern economy was impossible without it.

The expansion of the territories attached to the law in old Romania and the enforcement of the new law generated several complications, as they abrogated some steps of the prefecture and the praetorian institution, or articles and paragraphs of the Hungarian industrial law of 1884. For example, as an effect of the sanitary law, they had to revise the industrial facilities established without the approval of the Public Hygiene and Sanitation Council. It was the case of the permits issued by the praetorian institution at Bratca on 15 November 1926 to Friedman Mauritiu from Borod to establish a first class industrial facility, to Fodor Teodor from Borod, who had established an oil mill, and to Tolnaci Nicolae from Birtin for a flour mill.

The enforcement of the water law facilitated the revision of some decisions and the opening of some litigation to establish the right to use water. We mention as an example in point the complaint made by the water mill owners at Sanlazar (Bodo Emeric), Petreu (Klobustzky Ladislau), and Abramut (Alexandru Barabas) against the Melk Abbey in Marghita who had cut the dam built over the river Barcau on the basis of the decision 1,269/1926 of the praetorian in the Marghita borough. The dam was supplying water to the mills belonging to the three plaintiffs. Article 96 in the regulation concerning the enforcement of the water law cancelled the decision of the praetorian and the Melk Abbey had to remake the

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<sup>11</sup> *Enciclopedia României*, vol. III, București, 1939, p. 136-137

<sup>12</sup> M. Todosia, I. Saizu, *Cultură și economie. Puncte de vedere din perioada interbelică*, Junimea, Iași, 1986, p. 53-54. The congress held on 28 and 29 November brought together organisations of industrialists, workers, craftsmen, chambers of commerce and industry, associations of engineers and commercial officers, as well as those interested in issues relating to orientation, training and organisation of industrial and commercial labour.

dam at their own expense within 8 days from the decision and to pay for the expertise carried out by the Waters Service on the spot<sup>13</sup>.

In order to provide a more efficient control over the activity of the industrial enterprises, the commissioners' institution was reorganised by industrial corporations; the Ministry of Industry and Commerce expected a thorough achievement of the duties from the commissioners. Although the position was honorary, they intended to regulate their honoraries. At the same time, they required the corporations to have a separate record for industrial affairs and the alteration of the statutes in case they dated before the Romanian administration. By opening a separate record for industrial affairs, they intended to separate industrial and administrative affairs. The aim was to make it possible to inspect the management of the first degree industrial authorities from an industrial point of view. As far as the industrial corporations statutes were concerned, they had to be harmonized with the new public law references and approved by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. According to the statutes<sup>14</sup>, the aim of the industrial corporation was "to preserve order and harmony amongst its members, to promote craftsmen's interests and to stimulate progress and cohesion". In order to reach this aim, the corporation intended to focus on fair relationships amongst industrialists and journeymen, to settle disputes and litigation amongst masters, apprentices, or journeymen through an appeasing action, to promote material and industrial interests of the industrialists by establishing cooperatives, reading societies and, if possible, by materially supporting its members, masters journeymen, or their widows and orphans. In order to guarantee a working corporation according to the statutes and the law, its activity was supervised by a delegate of industrial authorities (industrial commissioner)<sup>15</sup> who was to take part to all committee and general meetings.

The professional ability titles for craftsmen were issued in exchange for some fees whose regime was established by the law to unify taxes on 12 January 1927<sup>16</sup>. Those having less than three employees, or who supported institutions for education and professional training for workers, could be exempt from paying these fees.

Little by little, the craftsmen established cultural organisations. Some of the first established in the county are as follows: Industrialists' Circle at Salard established in March 1928, Craftsmen's House at Sacuieni established on 22

<sup>13</sup> A.N.D.J. Bh., *fond Prefectura județului Bihor*, dos. 60/1927, f. 29

<sup>14</sup> According to the pattern of the Industrial Corporation Statutes at Tinca approved by ministry resolution no. 46 852, on 19 May 1927, in Bihor, industrial corporations were established not only in towns, but also in all borough centres.

<sup>15</sup> This position in the Bihor County was held by Eugen Nyeki at the Industrial Corporation in Beius, Silviu Borlan at the Industrial Corporation Marghita, Aurel Purdea at the Industrial Corporation Tinca.

<sup>16</sup> *Monitorul Oficial*, 1927, no. 7

December 1928 and acknowledged as a legal entity on 8 January 1929<sup>17</sup>. In November 1923 was established the Romanian Craftsmen's Reunion in Oradea. Its aim was "cultural training of craftsmen, specialisation and improvement in the industrial field", as well as "material and moral support" of its active members<sup>18</sup>.

Industrial corporations sought to control crafts practice. No profession could be practised by those who had no licence, who were not qualified in the field, or who had inappropriate locations. Davidovits Abraham from Maramures was defended from practising bakery at Baita as he had no licence. In the same village of Baita, the soda "factory" belonging to Perl Moise from Beius was closed as it was working in a location "absolutely inadequate to hygiene requirements". Even craftsmen from the old Kingdom owing a professional ability title as required by law were prevented to work in Ardeal and Banat for a while. They needed the intervention of the Ministry of Labour. In the official letter no. 2,960/1924, the ministry requested to apply the same professional treatment to craftsmen from the old Kingdom as those having titles of professional ability issued by the competent authorities in the attached territories.

The issue of practice, lease, or concession, authorisations respected some strict procedures and the requirements of sanitary law. If the applicant met the morality and citizenship requirements, the application was in "public view" together with the plans and the justification memoir for a month. It was followed by an "investigation on the spot", when all those interested could make remarks either orally or in written form. The procedure was standard; an example in point was Vasile Negru from Vascau, who requested the Prefecture of Bihor to allow building a saw mill on the estate of the commune of Cristior to process the wood from the forests in the area and "to give the processed wood to industry" on 20 July 1923. The technical plans drawn up by forest engineer Josif Istvanffy showed that to "manage" the mill, they would use the motive power of the "Gheghe" creek by making a "pumping pond" and a "mill channel" of 315 m in length<sup>19</sup>.

The lease of the right to use was based on a contract and the best tender was chosen. Lands, mills, lime pits and quarries, hemp foundries were object of several lease transactions. According to the contract signed for 10 years on 16 January 1922 between the industrial company "Adolf Moskovits & Fiii" and the city of Oradea, the company was to use the "Adria" spirits factory garden and bought a land in the area named "Campul comandantului". They had the duty to use it for industrial aims otherwise the city had the right to take back the land at the same price as it had been bought<sup>20</sup>. Through the contract signed on 8 May 1929, the company Vasile Negru and spouses from Vascau leased a lime pit belonging to the Carpinet Urbarial Compossessorate. It was an exploitation of "1 km wide and

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<sup>17</sup> A.N.D.J. Bh., *fond Prefectura judeului Bihor*, dos. 98/1927, f. 296

<sup>18</sup> *Tribuna* (Oradea), 1923, no. 45, p.5

<sup>19</sup> A.N.D.J. Bh., *fond Prefectura judeului Bihor*, dos. 41/ 1924, f. 8-26

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 109/ 1922-1930, f. 346

in length up to the limit of the commune of Sohodol”. The three-year lease for an annual amount of 25,000 lei allowed the leaser to exploit an unlimited quantity of stone material<sup>21</sup>. After having it cleaned and put in service, the hemp foundry at Santandrei was leased to Crisan Ioan from Arad for an amount of 20,000 lei per year on 9 April 1936. The lease was part of a project conceived by the Santandrei notary office that intended to use the annual amount to restart hemp culture in the area<sup>22</sup>.

An important consequence of the Romanian union was the enlargement of internal market that was increasing both in quantity and quality. Besides the existing forms of steady urban and rural trade, the agrarian reform in 1921 entailed a proliferation of weekly and periodical, annual fairs, all of them considerably increasing in number.

In 1922, there were 24 weekly and annual fairs in the Bihor County working on the basis of the Hungarian ministry ordinance no. 45,899/1892. They were organised and managed by the communes: Alesd, Borod and Fechetau (Alesd borough), Beius and Uileac (Beius borough), Beliu and Ucuris (Beliu borough), Ceica and Holod (Ceica borough), Salonta, Sacuieni, Diosig and Saniob (Aacuieni borough), Valea lui Mihai, Piscolt and Salacea (Valea lui Mihai borough), Vascau, Baita and Sudrigiu (Vascau borough)<sup>23</sup>. Some of these fairs had been working for tens, even hundreds of years, while others were established after the union. It was the cases of the fairs held in Vascau, Capalna, Uileac de Beius. In the following years, other fairs were established in the Alesd borough at Bratca, at Popesti (Marghita borough), Tileagd (Central borough), Dobresti (Ceica borough); the number of rural fairs was also increasing. In 1929, the number of fairs reached 30. The fairs of Oradea, Salard, Vad, Biharea, and Pietroasa were added the already existing ones.

Some places, such as Tulca and Ciumeghiu, although they had the right to hold fairs, did not use this right, while others, such as Pomezau (Ceica borough), were insistently requesting that right. Although the mayors of the communes in the Pomezau notary circumscription agreed to it, the Ceica borough praetorian institution refused the right to weekly fair. “Public interest does not claim the establishment of this fair” said the reply. The commune of Pomezau – was argued – “is not a centre towards which other communes gravitate, it is not a communication knot and is much too close to the communes of Dobresti (Ceica borough) and Cosdeni (Beius borough)”. As a consequence, said the prime praetorian, “the existence of a fair in Pomezau would endanger, completely paralyse respectively the fairs at Dobresti and Cosdeni”<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 75/ 1929, f. 32

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 67/ 1936-1938, f. 106

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 40/1922-1924, f. 137-143

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 29/1936, f. 180-183



The goods sold at weekly and annual “country” fairs were cereals, cattle and supplies depending on the area, the occupation of the inhabitants and the quantity of products they could trade on the market. At the Alesd fair there were goods and cattle; cereals were sold only in small quantities. At Beius, there were goods, cereals and cattle, just like at Vascau, Tinca, Ceica, or Salonta. One of the two country fair days at Beliu, Marghita and Suplac was meant for cattle fair, while the other sold goods and cereals besides cattle. Big quantities of cereals, goods and particularly cattle were sold at the country fairs at Diosig, Sacuieni and Valea lui Mihai. Therefore, they were frequented by cattle traders from the countryside and abroad. Many of the cattle, particularly big horn animals, were exported to Hungary, Austria, and Czechoslovakia.

The activity at fairs was regulated by both the old Hungarian law and the new Romanian law expanded to the attached territories. Art. 50 of the XVII/1884 Hungarian industrial law still into force in Ardeal and art. 1 of the XVIII/1887 law provisioned that only local traders and industrialists were entitled to participate to the weekly and rural communal fairs. Besides, law XVIII regulated the items that could be sold at weekly fairs by industrialists that did not reside in the place where the fair was held, and art. 46 of the XVII/1884 law stipulated the conditions for the traders to be able to sell different industrial items outside their place of residence.

After the war, an issue for the communes was the place where the fair had to be held. In 1925, the 200-year old fair place in the commune of Borod became inappropriate from a sanitary point of view, as it was close to the church and the school; it prevented circulation and contravened to the law regulating fairs. On 10 January 1925, the prefect of the Bihor County requested the prime praetor from Alesd to organise the fair outside the commune. The commune representatives were against this decision saying that, in case the fair should move, commercial and industrial circulation, which was “flourishing”, would considerably decrease, and it would decrease the commune income. Besides, they found a solution to the problem. Herschkovici Mauritiu offered 350 square fathoms of his garden that was nearby the fair, to expand the goods fair, so that the cattle fair would remain in the same spot<sup>25</sup>.

After the war, trade was still a flourishing activity in Oradea. In the 1920s, several wholesale trade companies were established. They had their own buildings with tens of millions of lei as invested capital. They could be compared to the great enterprises in the European metropolis. In 1935, 2,418 commercial companies were registered in Oradea, out of which 195 were wholesale companies, 124 industrial companies practising wholesale trade, and 2,099 retail trade companies<sup>26</sup>. Some of the most important wholesale warehouses were “Andreny Carol & Fiul” for iron monger’s shops, “Honigsberg N.F.” for meridional fruit, “Czitter Ludovic & Comp.” for coffee, cocoa, tea, rice, “Vifrael Wilhelm” for textiles, a trustee of the

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 100/1923-1925, f. 76-42

<sup>26</sup> *Istoria oraşului Oradea* (coord. L. Borcea, Gh. Gorun), Ed. Cogito, Oradea, 1995, p. 362

textiles manufactures in Medias and Arad, “Munk & Schonberger”, a horse and cotton importer, “Interexim” for sugar, hemp, jute, cloth and thick cloth, textiles and leatherwork that they sold all over the Ardeal, “Deutsch”, a great cloth and thick cloth warehouse, and so on<sup>27</sup>. There were also arms and ammunition traders in Oradea, such as Sonnenfeld Iosif, Mauritiu Lorincz, and Engel Ludovic. The same type of commerce was represented by the companies “Josif Levi si fiul”, Emil Werseny and Zoltan Roth from Salonta<sup>28</sup>.

There was a tough competition in trade. It was difficult to join the guild and the authorities were expected to be drastic in issuing licences. All borough centres and great communes in the county were facing an increasing number of traders due to the fact that after the union several foreigners settled in the area and many of them were practising illegal trade, while others had a grocer licence. In order to regulate the situation, on 11 October 1926, the prefect of the county sent the praetorian institutions new dispositions concerning the issue of licences. He requested to strictly enforce order 3,678/1917 of the Hungarian Ministry of Economy referring to stopping speculative trade, an order into force in Ardeal, and according to which licences were only issued if considered that they served the “general interest”<sup>29</sup>.

With a view to defend professional interest, traders started to establish organisations. Some organisations existed before the union, such as the Traders’ Union of Bihor and Oradea founded in 1869. In 1926, the Oradea branch of the Trade Council was established. It was reorganised in 1939 and was presided by Ludovic Szirmay, Adalbert Hatieganu and Constantin Bogdan. Besides the former members of the Trade Hall, 300 members of the Small Traders’ Associations and other 182 new members joined the organisation<sup>30</sup>. Not any association was accepted. They first envisaged its use.

<sup>27</sup> Aurel Tripon, *Monografia almanah a Crișanei*, Tip. Diacezană, Oradea, 1936, p. 312

<sup>28</sup> A.N.D.J. Bh., *fond Prefectura județului Bihor*, dos. 50/1926, f. 13

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 2

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 68/1939, f. 23

# ASPECTS REGARDING THE EVOLUTION OF THE ROMANIAN-ENGLISH RELATIONS DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD

**Monica POP**

**Abstract:** *The paper is a succinct presentation of the importance of the concept of evolution of the relations between Romania and Great Britain during the interwar years, meaning the period comprised between 1919 and 1939. After a light analysis of the progress of the Romanian-English relations during the interwar period, as it appears in the specialized literature (historiography), with the specific interpretations given to each and with the differences between them, the article briefly researches the fields in which this process was manifest in Romania and Great Britain during the period in question, from politic, diplomatic, economic and financial to cultural and military relations.*

**Keywords:** *aspects, evolution, interwar, Romania, historiography*

The evolution of the Romanian-English relations in the interwar period has been the problem of several Romanian and foreign specialists<sup>1</sup>. An important place in the historiography of this subject has been allocated to the research of the English-Romanian relations and to the position of the Great Powers and Great Britain towards Romania at the outset and during the second great conflagration<sup>2</sup>. It is true, there appeared many monographs, studies and articles which treat international problems of Romania having a touch on this topic – their authors are famous Romanian and foreign specialists, as S. D. Spector<sup>3</sup>, P. Quinn<sup>4</sup>, M. Gilbert<sup>5</sup>, Ph. Marguerat<sup>6</sup>, Elisabeth Barker<sup>7</sup>, Maurice

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<sup>1</sup> R. I. E. Humphreys, *Economic Conditions in Romania*, London, 1931; George Clinton Logio, *Romania. Its History Politics and Economics*, Manchester, 1932; R. S. Roucek, *Contemporary Romania and Her Problems*, Stanford, 1932, H. Seton-Watson, *Eastern Europe between the Wars*, 1918-1941, New York, 1970

<sup>2</sup> Elisabeth Barker, *British Policy in South-East Europe in the Second World War*, London, 1976; P. Quinn, *Clash over Romania. British and American Politics towards Romania 1938-1947*, Los Angeles, 1977

<sup>3</sup> D. Sherman Spector, *Roumania at the Paris Peace Conference. A Study of the Diplomacy of Ioan C. Brătianu*, New York, 1962

<sup>4</sup> Paul Quinn, *British Strategy and Politics, 1914-1918*, Oxford, 1965

<sup>5</sup> Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill: Companion*, London, 1972

<sup>6</sup> Ph. Marguerat, *Le III e Reich et le pétrole roumain 1938-1940*, Genève, 1977

<sup>7</sup> Elisabeth Barker, *op. cit.*

Pearnton<sup>8</sup>, G. Torrey<sup>9</sup> and the American ambassador in Bucharest, David Britton Funderburk<sup>10</sup>.

The Swiss historian Marguerat who benefited from many archives documents: German, French, English and American, studied the German economic penetration in Romania in the years before World War II. He dedicates a lot of space to the English-Romanian economic relations in the thirties and thus provided a sequel, as far as oil is concerned, to Maurice Pearnton's remarkable study published in 1971<sup>11</sup>.

We should also mention the works of the third Romanian-English History Symposium in July 1981 which are now put together in a brilliant volume published by Gheorghe Buzatu: *Anglo-Romanian Relations After 1821*.

The recent special studies allotted to the Romanian-English relations have especially stressed on the economic and financial aspects (Gh. Buzatu<sup>12</sup>, I. M. Oprea<sup>13</sup>, Victoria Moisuc<sup>14</sup>, Eliza Campus<sup>15</sup>), on the unfavourable international context, created by the Great Powers, in which Romania was placed towards and the beginning of the second world conflagration.

We are going to present here the evolution of the English-Romanian economic relations in the interwar years without considering the finance and the Romanian-English relations between the Peace Conference (1919-1920) and the instauration of Hitler's dictatorship, with special emphasis on the political, diplomatic and economic problems, more evident in the relations between the two states.

The Romanian-English economic and financial relations between 1920 and 1933 were dominated by a few questions: of the payment of checks, the consolidation of the treasury bonds and private debt, the solving of the damage to oil industry during the war, and so on.

Romania's new economic policy, contained in the formula "all by ourselves", had in view the instability of the international commercial, economic and currency situation and reflected a profound instinct of the Romanian people: independence<sup>16</sup>. The new directions did not satisfy the

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<sup>8</sup> Maurice Pearnton, *Oil and the Romanian State*, London, 1971

<sup>9</sup> Eglenn Torrey, *General Henry Berthelot and Romania. Memoires et correspondance, 1916-1919*, New York, 1987; *The Romanian-Italian Agreement of 23 September 1914*, în : *The Slavonic and East European Review*, London, July, 1966

<sup>10</sup> David Britton Funderburk, *Politica Marii Britanii față de România (1938-1940)*, București, 1983

<sup>11</sup> Maurice Pearnton, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> Gh. Buzatu, *România și trusturile petroliere internaționale până la 1929*, 1981

<sup>13</sup> I. M. Oprea, *N. Titulescu*, București, 1966

<sup>14</sup> V. Moisuc, *Probleme de politică externă a României 1919-1939*, București, 1971

<sup>15</sup> Eliza Campus, *Din politica externă a României (1913-1939)*, București, 1980

<sup>16</sup> V. Moisuc, *Diplomația României și problema apărării suveranității și independenței naționale în perioada martie 1938-mai 1940*, București, 1971, p. 107-165

English financial and economic circles, which were fully revealed on the occasion of the promulgation of the new customs tariff and the law of mines<sup>17</sup>.

The content of the 1924 law of mines provoked animosities in the Romanian-English relations, our government considering that England's reaction was not compatible to the "unusual relations among the independent states"<sup>18</sup>.

The Romanian-English relations after 1920 were mostly economic and financial. The accreditation of Titulescu as minister in London<sup>19</sup> inaugurated an important stage in the history of the relations between the two countries. The Romanian diplomat succeeded to solve up a series of economic and financial problems which were of reciprocal interest. It is true that during this decade, the economic-financial matters prevailed in the nature of the London-Bucharest relations. N. Titulescu's appointment as Romania's representative at St. James Court and his efforts to influence the circles of the *Foreign Office* concerning England's engagement to preserve the frontiers of the Great Romania characterized this period.

N. Titulescu and V. Brătianu played an important part in the agreement at London and Manchester between the English creditors and the Romanian debtors – they made considerable effort "to economically and politically consolidate the country along the guidelines of the Romanian policy"<sup>20</sup>. The establishment, that Titulescu considered being "profitable", stipulated that 35% of the debts was to be paid in pound sterling in seven years from the conclusion of the convention, with no interference from the state. As far as the war debts were concerned, Titulescu thought that "England offered better conditions than France"<sup>21</sup>.

The commercial relations with England were governed in the period 1923-1930 by the principles established on the occasion of the exchange of notes, on May 11<sup>th</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> 1923<sup>22</sup>, between Sir H. Dering<sup>23</sup> and the Minister of Foreign Affairs I. G. Duca – it was a temporary agreement on the basis of the clause of the most favoured nation. England, actually proposed talks with a view to putting again in force the 1905 Trade Treaty which had been denounced, but Romania opted for a new trade agreement with the temporary exclusion of a conventional tariff<sup>24</sup>. For Romania's export to England there was a reduction of 50% and even more since

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<sup>17</sup> Gh. Buzatu, *The Place of the Oil Problem Within the Evolution of the Romanian-English Relations (1880-1929)*, în: *Analele Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A. D. Xenopol*, 1979

<sup>18</sup> Percy R. Clark, *Relațiile anglo-române*, în *Analele Industriei și Comerțului*, III, 1938

<sup>19</sup> P.R.O., *Foreign Office*, 371/6 215, f. 206

<sup>20</sup> *Titulescu și strategia păcii*, Jassy, 1982, p. 415

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 413

<sup>22</sup> Arch. M.F.A., Romania, Fund 2 Conventions, A 10 (telegram nr. 27 776, 24<sup>th</sup> May 1923, signed I. G. Duca)

<sup>23</sup> Dering, Sir Herbert Guy Neville (1867-1933) Knight Diplomat and Colonial Administrator

<sup>24</sup> Arch. M.F.A., Romania, Fund 2 Conventions (Note 100 890, 1 August 1922, signed V. Brătianu)

1922<sup>25</sup>. Till 1929 the maximum figure of the amounts was 415 967 tons in 1927 and the values rose to 2 432 million lei in 1926<sup>26</sup>.

As for the import, England was, in 1929, the fourth in Romania's economic partners – she was the fifth in terms of export – Romania's best client; in 1933 great Britain was the first in both our import and export<sup>27</sup>.

Our commercial balance with Great Britain was, till 1929 passive. But the balance was active from 1930 to 1933 when Romania followed her new economic policy. The New Romanian-English Commercial treatise concluded in August 1930 illustrated England's and Romania's desire to organize their economic relations on better grounds and it seems to have contributed to the creation of a more favourable atmosphere of London which lasted by the end of World War II.

In September 1930, as I. M. Nonu the commercial attaché in London said, there was an unfavourable trend to Romania<sup>28</sup> in the British commercial and economic circles which made the evolution of the economic relations even more difficult because, at the beginning of the same year, the 1923 agreement had been denounced. The denunciation was then put off for several months and on August 6<sup>th</sup> 1930 a new Treaty of trade and navy for three years was concluded. The settlement was put in force on May 12<sup>th</sup> 1934; according to the clause of the treaty we were given the right to denounce it in case the British customs measures damaged our export of agricultural produce, the prejudiced treatment of the goods being based on the clause of the most favoured nation<sup>29</sup>. At the moment the treaty was put in, England's policy was *faire-laissez* but six months later she adopted the protectionism which made 1/8 of our export in this country be handicapped by the English protective taxes.

In order to facilitate the payments between Romania and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland the following agreement of clearing took place during the currency restrictions: 1) The agreement of payments concluded on February 8<sup>th</sup> 1935; 2) The agreement of payments on August 3<sup>rd</sup> 1935; 3) The further agreement of payments on May 2<sup>nd</sup> 1936; 4) The (technical) agreement of payments concluded on May 30<sup>th</sup> 1936; 5) The further agreement of the modifying agreement of payments on February 25<sup>th</sup> 1938; 6) The agreement of payments on September 3<sup>rd</sup> 1938; 7) The agreement of payments concluded in London on May 11<sup>th</sup> 1939; 8) The agreement of payments concluded in London on June 6<sup>th</sup> 1940.

The Romanian government and businessmen were all set for a large trade with Great Britain. The solution was to resort to dumping, cutting down the export prices. This step brought a devalorization of the Romanian currency

<sup>25</sup> *Comerțul Exterior al României, 1928-1937*, vol. 1, Partea I, p. 258-261

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 283

<sup>27</sup> Titu Cristureanu, *Anglia și România. Relațiile lor economice. 1929-1934*, București, 1934, p. 31

<sup>28</sup> State Archives Bucharest, *fund Royal House*, dos. 129, 1930, f. 1-24

<sup>29</sup> Arch. M.F.A., Romania, *fund 2 Conventions*, A 10 (Note 21, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1930)

(*leu*) in comparison with the pound and consequently the low price of the Romanian exports to England. This is the reason why the Romanian-English trade was related to the devalorization of the pound and the evolution of the Romanian prices. Such stability was sure to be a danger for the Reich, and the danger was all the more serious as the oil played an important part in the English imports: in 1937 and 1938 oil rose to nearly 50% of its overall value<sup>30</sup>.

Until 1938 Great Britain's trade with Romania did not rise greatly. Approximately 10% of Romania's exports were directed to England and 11% of the imports came from this country.

The international occurrences in March 1938 made the English officials wholly change their position to Romania. In May-June 1938 Great Britain unexpectedly committed herself, economically and politically, in our country. The English strategy, formulated by Sir M. Ingram, Sir F. Leith-Ross<sup>31</sup> and E. H. Hudson was a more realistic approach than the policy of the *Foreign Office* in Central Europe – it gave expression to England's willingness to counteract the political and especially the economic influence of Germany in south-East Europe. The earlier studies by Ph. Marguerat and D. B. Funderburk and the more recent one by M. J. Rooke<sup>32</sup> gave further evidence to London's new attitude, meant to raise her trade and her political cooperation with Romania.

From September 1939 Great Britain began an economic offensive in Romania, intended to acquire large quantities of oil.

Between the years 1938-1939 Great Britain attempted to maintain a prevailing stand in Romania. The English trade assistance included the purchase of oil investments and the policy of loans for the import of merchandise. Having the largest investments in the Romanian oil industry the British felt it natural to consider the oil trade, but in 1939 England's imports rose to almost half of Germany's. Even if Great Britain's strategy was not completely successful, since London had begun in this competition from behind, observation has to be made that the imports from Romania were, in the first half of 1939, over three times higher than in the same months of 1938<sup>33</sup>. The reciprocal commercial connections little by little strengthened in 1938-1939 particularly in the field of the purchasing of oil and other goods. Though theoretically important the English-Romanian agreement on May 11<sup>th</sup> 1939 did not have the aim and the results of the Romanian-German treaty in March 1939. The Romanian-British treaty in 1939 was part of the English strategy to obviate Romania entering the economic and political domain of Germany.

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<sup>30</sup> Ph. Marguerat, *op. cit.*, p. 82

<sup>31</sup> Sir Frederick Leith-Ross – the Chief Economic Adviser to the British Government

<sup>32</sup> *The Concept of Political Trading in Peacetime. The British Government and Trade with South-Eastern Europe 1938-1939*, in RESEE, XXII, 1984. p. 171-195

<sup>33</sup> M. Pearton, *op. cit.*, p. 200

Till 1938-1939 the British commerce with Romania did not increase significantly. Great Britain was the destination of something like 10% of Romania's exports, and 11% of the Romanian imports came from England. Great Britain's head economic interest in Romania was the oil; the English capital in the Romanian oil industry was more than a quarter of all the foreign investments in our country; the bank investments and the investments in heavy industry were also important. It should be evident that the Romanian-British economic relations had two forms: investing capital on long terms in the Romanian oil industry and exchanging products on the basis of the structural difference between the two national economies<sup>34</sup>.

The export of Romania to Great Britain contained in essence the oil and agricultural produces, mainly grain which meant three thirds of the total value of the exports. Oil and grain provisioned Romania, especially after 1929, with an efficient stability in her trade with Great Britain<sup>35</sup>.

Till 1938 the reciprocal foreign trade was firm enough; considering the agreements in September 1938 and May-June 1939, Great Britain was more concerned with extending her commerce with Romania in the following years, out of very serious reasons. After the international occurrences in 1938-1939, Great Britain's political strategy towards Romania – she raised the volume of her trade with Romania by increasing the imports of grain and oil – was not just successful. However the endeavours of some political leaders and businessmen in London to put an end to Germany's expansion in Romania are amazing.

In conclusion, after 1919 the relations of our country with the Great Powers, Great Britain included, started a new stage of their development. The basis of these relations was set out mainly during the years of the Peace Conference, in the capital of France where most of the official Romanian-British contacts happened in the entire interwar period<sup>36</sup>.

From a political-diplomatic point of view, the Romanian monarchs' visit to London accompanied by the Foreign Affairs Minister, I. G. Duca, in 1924, meant the most important aspect of the Romanian-British relations up to 1930.

The British actions concerning Romania in this period were part of the English policy towards the Balkans. The Balkans policy had been foretold in a declaration of the State Secretary of the *Foreign Office* – A. Chamberlain, made at the Imperial Conference on October 20<sup>th</sup>, 1926. It was in fact, a repetition of the Memorandum of the *Foreign Office* – in December 1925, *As for the Balkan problem, the British policy concerning the Balkans* held that “the only political

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*; Gh. Buzatu, *The Place of Oil Problem Within the Evolution of Romanian-English Relations (1880-1929)*

<sup>35</sup> H. L. Roberts, *Romania Political Problems of an Agrarian State*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1951

<sup>36</sup> Apud Valeriu Fl. Dobrinescu, *Anglia și România în timpul Conferinței de Pace de la Paris, 1919-1920*, 1980



interest of Britain concerning Romania's fate is as a signer of the peace treaties, it will be obliged to stand any attempt to change its *statu quo* by violence"<sup>37</sup>.

England's most remarkable economic interest in Romania was linked to oil. Great Britain used to import a large amount of oil products and had significant capital investments in this economic branch. The mine law was inconvenient to London.

The political-diplomatic, economic, financial, cultural and military relations between Romania and England, as well as the activity of both countries at the Nations' League, developed during the interwar period.

They said that by 1933, the relations between our country and Great Britain had mostly been correct for 15 years.

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<sup>37</sup> Idem, *The Romanian-English Relations (1914-1933)*, Iași, 1986



## **“TERRORIST NUCLEI” IN VALEA LUI MIHAI AND CURTUIUȘENI (BIHOR COUNTY) IN THE SUMMER OF 1940**

**Gabriel MOISA**

**Abstract:** *As early as the autumn of the year 1939, the Romanian authorities noticed the existence on the Transylvanian territory of several terrorist nuclei. Most of them were detected in north-western Romania. Their number exponentially increased from one month to another in the spring and summer of 1940, as the revisionist attitude of Hungary regarding Romania became more and more obvious. They were directly coordinated from Budapest, by the General Staff of Horthy's Hungarian army.*

*Oradea played a vital role from this point of view as it was the base plate of the Hungarian intelligence. It was here that the coordinating centre for all terrorist nuclei in Transylvania was established. In the summer of 1940, Budapest appointed Major Szalkay Laszlo as commander of the nuclei. He was experienced in organising clandestine labour. He coordinated terrorist nuclei in Oradea and Bihor; the best organised ones were under his command: Alba Iulia, Braşov, Huedin, Sibiu, Timișoara, and Cluj. I will describe below aspects relating to the activities in Valea lui Mihai and Curtuiuseni, both under the command of the same Szalkay Laszlo.*

*According to the information provided by the archives, in the summer of 1940, there were two nuclei of the kind in Valea lui Mihai. The leader of the first nucleus was solicitor Jakab Ernő; the second nucleus was led by solicitor Bölöny Pál. The more numerous group was the one coordinated by Jakab Ernő. According to the data we have so far, 10 people are known to have belonged to the group. They were as follows: Szilagy (Borbely) Balint, farmer, Szekely Béla, Radio trader, Kovách Emeric, farmer, Varady Emeric, farmer, Szabó Antal, farmer, Kovach Ladislau, farmer, Oláh Károly, ploughman, Kovách Gábor, Szabó Ludovic and Szalanki; the last two were missing.*

**Keywords:** *Romanians, conviction, terrorist, Bihor, Curtuiuşeni*

After the end of the First World War, the geopolitical realities in Central Europe fundamentally altered once the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Hungary has never coped with these realities. In the interwar period, Budapest tried hard, particularly when Horthy Miklos came to the power, to preserve the vengeful attitude by preparing several strategies meant to win back the lost

territories<sup>1</sup>. Romania was envisaged, as well as Czechoslovakia and the Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom (Yugoslavia after 1929).

After 1938, Budapest reinforced the actions to organise espionage, sabotage and terrorist nuclei amongst the Hungarian minority in Transylvania. In case of military action of the Hungarians on the Romanian territory, they were to provide support. The Hungarian intelligence was aware of their existence. Practically, the nuclei were meant to act as a fifth pillar, as avant-garde for the Hungarian troops.

As early as the autumn of 1939, the Romanian authorities noticed the existence on the territory of Transylvania of several such terrorist nuclei. Most of them were detected in north-western Romania<sup>2</sup>. Their number exponentially increased from one month to another in the spring and summer of 1940 as the revisionist attitude of Hungary regarding Romania became more and more obvious. In July – August 1940, the number of terrorist groups increased even more and reached its climax during the Romanian – Hungarian negotiations in Turnu Severin. Against the background of intense war preparations in Budapest to occupy Transylvania, several organisations of the kind were established with a view to act behind the front line for actions of sabotage to create panic<sup>3</sup>. They were directly coordinated from Budapest, that is, by the General Staff of the Horthy's Hungarian army<sup>4</sup>. As the negotiations in Turnu Severin were difficult and there was no perspective to find a solution<sup>5</sup>, Budapest hurried and sent to Transylvania several experienced people to organise such actions, most of them being members of the Rongyos Garda organisation.

Oradea played a vital role from this point of view as it was a base plate for the Hungarian intelligence<sup>6</sup>. The headquarters were organised here for all terrorist nuclei in Transylvania. In the summer of 1940, Budapest appointed Major Szalkay Laszlo as a commander of the nuclei. He had expertise in organising clandestine labour. He coordinated the terrorist nuclei in Oradea and Bihor. The best organised ones in Alba Iulia, Brasov, Huedin, Sibiu, Timisoara and Cluj were directly led by him<sup>7</sup>. I will provide below some details on the activities in Valea lui Mihai and Curtuiuseni, both of them coordinated by the same Szalkay Laszlo.

<sup>1</sup> I. Calafeteanu, *Revizionismul ungar și România*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 1995, p. 16-50

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 199-200; Gh. I. Bodea, Vasile T. Suciu, Ilie I. Pușcaș, *Administrația militară horthystă în nord-vestul României*, Editura Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1988, p. 91-113

<sup>3</sup> Gh. I. Bodea, Vasile T. Suciu, Ilie I. Pușcaș, *op. cit.*, p. 107

<sup>4</sup> Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale, *Fond Ministerul Propagandei Naționale, Colecția de Studii și Documentare*, dos. 230, f. 113 (hereinafter A.N.I.C.)

<sup>5</sup> Valer Pop, *Bătălia pentru Ardeal*, Editura Colosseum, București, 1990, p. 28-143

<sup>6</sup> A. N. I. C., *Fond Ministerul Propagandei Naționale, Colecția de Studii și Documentare*, dos. 230, f. 113 - 119

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 113

The information provided by the archives shows that in the summer of 1940 there were two nuclei of the kind in Valea lui Mihai. The head of the first nucleus was solicitor Jakab Ernő, while the head of the second one was solicitor Bölöny Pál<sup>8</sup>. The more numerous group was the one led by Jakab Ernő. According to the information we have so far, there were ten people we know to have belonged to the group. They were as follows: Szilagy (Borbely) Balint, farmer, Szekely Béla, Radio trader, Kovách Emeric, farmer, Varady Emeric, farmer, Szabó Antal, farmer, Kovach Ladislau, farmer, Oláh Károly, ploughman, Kovách Gábor, Szabó Ludovic and Szalanki; the last two were missing. The group led by Bölöny Pál was made up of two other individuals beside the leader. They were farmer Pataky Sandor and shepherd Fazekas Sandor.

The third nucleus of the kind was in Curtuiuseni. The leader of the group was the farmer Bókór Istvan, as well as Biró Lajos and Ari Lajos<sup>9</sup>.

All members of the three groups were carefully selected from amongst the most “reliable” representatives of the Hungarian minority, loyal to the Hungarian policy to get Transylvania back, and able to bring to an end the orders they were given. On the other hand, they were all seriously trained in the castle Deszöfi in Nyrábrany, where there was a training and supply centre for the espionage and terrorist nuclei in Romania<sup>10</sup>.

According to the information of the Romanian special services, the training and supply centre at the castle Deszöfi in Nyrábrany was directly subordinated to the Government in Budapest. The persons in charge with the development of the recruits’ training in Romania were Major Miklos from the General Staff of the Hungarian army and the ministry secretary Zsadány Gedeon, all members of a special Centre established within the General Staff of the Hungarian army<sup>11</sup>. The Regional Centre in Debrecen was interposed between this body and the centre at the castle Deszöfi in Nyrábrany. This Regional Centre coordinated several centres.

It is interesting that the main counselors at the Regional Centre in Debrecen were two university professors at the University of Debrecen and they both knew very well Transylvania and its history. The first was Dr. Kiss Istvan, while the second was precisely Dr. Roska Marton, a well-known historian and archaeologist from Ardeal who left for Hungary in 1938<sup>12</sup>.

We should stress the track of Roska Marton from the point of view of his position concerning the Romanian State, which was not a friendly one. Roska Marton was born in 1880 and died in 1961. Graduate from the Faculty of Letters in Cluj and PhD in Philosophy at the University of Vienna, he dedicated

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<sup>8</sup> A.N.I.C., fond Ministerul Propagandei Naţionale, Colecţia de Studii şi Documentare, f. 23, 114

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*

his time to the archaeology and history of Transylvania. He was also a professor at the Universities of Debrecen, Cluj and Szeged. In 1919, due to his attitude concerning the union on 1 December 1918 and his Hungarian preferences, he was imprisoned for a short time by the Romanian authorities. Upon Vasile Parvan's insistence, he was released, but his "sympathy" towards the Romanian State remained the same. In 1937, he was tried again and sentenced for his contribution to the volume entitled *A Történelmy Erdély* that was published in Budapest in 1936 under the patronage of the "Ardeal Men's Association". The main allegation was "agitation against national security". According to the final sentence ordinance, Roska Marton, although an employee of the Romanian State, was actively involved in a revisionist society in Budapest and published several historical papers in a Hungarian magazine in which he used the Hungarian lists and topography. He was also accused that in one of the articles he presented the Ardeal on a map separate from the Old Kingdom. The first witness that was questioned – who was also the denunciator – Constantin Daicoviciu, stated that he disseminated false ideas on behalf of science, that he always had an anti-Romanian attitude; he hid archaeological objects from the State patrimony; he opposed to changing the Hungarian inscriptions with the Romanian ones; he used Hungarian names in several German publications. In his deposition, Constantin Daicoviciu considered it to be a "*duty of honour to inform the authorities on the obviously irredentist activity*"<sup>13</sup> of Roska Marton. The law court sentenced Roska Marton to 3 months of prison. A reprieve request was submitted on his behalf. The professors at the University of Cluj drew up a memoir to keep the sentence, as the verdict was "*fully justified by the defying activity and attitude that the convict has had for years towards the nation and state whose employee he is*"<sup>14</sup>.

The signatories of the memoir were against the reprieve as they considered it a "serious offence" to the authority and dignity of the university. The memoir was signed by the professors Nicolae Drăganu, Theodor Naum, Theodor Capidan, Silviu Dragomir, Ioan Lupaş, M. Ştefănescu-Goangă, Coriolan Petranu, Ştefan Bezdechi, D.M. Teodorescu, G. Giuglea, P. Grimm, G. Buzoianu, Vladimir Ghidionescu, Dumitru Popovici, Emil Petrovici, C. Sudeţeanu, Constantin Daicoviciu, Ioachim Crăciun, Ştefan Tesca, Em. Diaconu etc. G. Kristof's signature is missing. In the autumn of 1937, Marton Roska left Romania, as he was appointed professor at the University of Szeged.

The press gave a broad image on the academic event relating to Roska Marton's name. In an article in the newspaper *Patria*, Ionel Mărgăianu wrote an article with a suggestive title: *An academic scandal in Cluj: the lecturer Marton Roska collaborates to a paper to contest the Romanian rights in Ardeal*. He showed that Marton Roska prolonged Hungarians' coming to Transylvania by a

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*

century (896 A.D.)<sup>15</sup>. The War Council took act of the case. In the following issue of the newspaper, the same Ionel Mărgăianu pointed that and classified Marton Roska as an enemy of Romania<sup>16</sup>.

The newspaper *Națiunea română* also insisted in several issues on the topic particularly at the end of the trial. It is this paper that read on the sentence of 14 November 1936. He was sentenced to 3 months of prison, 5000 lei fine and 3 months without civil rights. He was arrested and imprisoned the same day<sup>17</sup>. Although most historians from Cluj approved of his conviction, Nicolae Iorga requested in an issue of *Neamul românesc* to reprieve professor Roska three days after the sentence. Iorga said that he would be “*one of the most distinguished researchers on the prehistory of the Ardeal*”<sup>18</sup> considering that “*the Ardeal cannot defend itself with prison sentences*”<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> Ionel Mărgăianu, *Un scandal universitar la Cluj: șeful de lucrări Mărton Roska colaborează la o lucrare de contestare a drepturilor românești asupra Ardealului*, in *Patria*, 1936, nr. 102, (8 May), p. 4

<sup>16</sup> Idem, *Consiliul de război din Cluj s-a sesizat de cazul profesorului Roska Martin*, in *Patria*, 1936, nr. 103 (9 May), p. 4

<sup>17</sup> *Prof. Martin Roska a fost condamnat*, in *Națiunea română*, 1936, no. 257, (15 Nov.), p. 1

<sup>18</sup> *D. Iorga a cerut grațierea lui Roska Marton*, in *Patria*, 1936, no. 257, (17 Nov.), p. 1

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*





## ASPECTS REGARDING THE ACTIVITY OF THE JEWISH DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE'S BRANCH OF ORADEA DURING 1945 - 1946

Anca OLTEAN

**Abstract:** *The activity of the Jewish Democratic Committee of Romania during its existence (1945 – 1953) is considered by many authors as controversial. The Communists tried to subordinate the Jewish Community by creating this organization. But the documents found in the local archives concerning the Jewish Democratic Committee's branch of Oradea reveal us that, in spite of gradual communist indoctrination, the Jewish Community remains united during the years 1945 – 1946. The Jews try to recuperate their property and to organize themselves on the country's and county's level, as well.*

**Keywords:** *Jews, organization, committee, Oradea, communism*

In his book *Evreii din România în perioada comunistă 1944 – 1965* (The Jews of Romania during communist period 1944 – 1965), Liviu Rotman analyzes the activity of Jewish Democratic Committee of Romania in its ensemble and during its whole existence during 1945 – 1953. In the opinion of Liviu Rotman, this committee was created after the end of war in a period when the Communist Party had manifested its “tendency to control all the segments of the society”<sup>1</sup>. This tendency of Communist Party to keep the things under control reverberates also on minorities who were allowed to constitute their own organizations. For the Jews, it was extremely beneficial because the Jewish life seemed to become normal after the war. Rotman considers that the creation of the Jewish Democratic Committee was continuing the national politics of the Communist Party which wanted to control closely the activity of all minorities<sup>2</sup>.

Rotman asserts that if in a first stage the objectives of the Jewish Democratic Committee were converging towards the achievement of unity, lately the emphasis will be put on fighting against reaction and class struggle<sup>3</sup>. In the same time the Jewish Democratic Committee was against Zionism. The

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<sup>1</sup> Liviu Rotman, *Evreii din România în perioada comunistă 1944 – 1965*, Polirom, București, 2004, p. 113

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 114

role of Jewish Democratic Committee was limited because of the nationalization of Jewish institutions of education, sanitary and social institutions, continuing to have a cultural role, trying to reconvert the social-professional structure of Jewish inhabitants and a propagandist role, the Jewish Democratic Committee fighting against the emigration of Jews in Israel or in other zones of free world.

The research of some files of the Jewish Democratic Committee's branch of Oradea brings us to the point to have a moderate view on its activity. We are not pro or contra concerning the efficiency of the Jewish Democratic Committee as an institution, but we remark the fact that, in the first years after the war, the Jewish Community remained united trying to recuperate the lost goods after the deportation (furniture, pianos, houses), militating for rights and advantages (relief from school taxes for Jewish students). The propagandist language appears sometimes, but the care of Romanian Jews for their community seems obvious.

The Jews tried in a first phase to recuperate their former properties and goods confiscated during the war. A report of the Jewish Democratic Group of Oradea and Bihor County was mentioning: "It is also welcomed to regulate the judicial situation of the properties of the ones who did not return yet. It would be also welcome that these goods to be put under the control of Democratic Groups of the respective places"<sup>4</sup>. The Jews tried to recuperate also other goods. For example, in a memorial addressed to Inter-allied Commission of Control from Bucharest, the branch of Bihor County of Jewish Democratic Committee was militating for the recuperation of furniture from Jewish houses occupied by fascists which, ulterior, the soviet military authorities had deposited in the edifices of the Roman-Catholic Cathedral and in former pre-military barracks on Armatei Roșii Street as fascist properties. According to the research, a part of the furnitures were deposited in the warehouse of Allied Commission of Control of Oradea which was required to release them<sup>5</sup>.

In an adress of Jewish Democratic Committee of Bihor County was mentioned an extraordinary conference at Oradea of Jewish Democratic Committees of the northern Ardeal. The objectives are of organizational, militant nature, pursuing their own contribution to the strenghtening of democracy of the country, it was considered welcome the creation of a Jewish newspaper in Romanian and Hungarian language for the north of Transylvania, it militates for bringing back the Jews found in camps of prisoners of Soviet Union, it requires the reintegration of Jewry in its rights and granting of citizenship to the ones who returned from deportation regardless of the fact if

<sup>4</sup> Arhivele Naționale – Direcția Județeană Bihor, *fond Comitetul Județean al Comunității Democratice Evreiești*, dos. 1, f. 1

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 2, f. 6

they were or not citizens of the country before the war<sup>6</sup>. The same try to bring back the Jews deported in the camps of prisoners of Soviet Union back in the country is found in an adress of Jewish Democratic Committee of Oradea to Inter-Allied Commission of Control from March 1946: „we kindly ask you to interfere to the competent forums to send home the prisoners found presently in the camps of prisoners of USSR, Romanian citizens of Jewish origin which were put to forced labour by fascist German and Hungarian authorities”<sup>7</sup>.

In a note of Jewish Democratic Committee of Oradea, the Jews showed one more time their determination to fight for their rights: “According to the resolutions of the conference of Northern Ardeal hold in Oradea on March 8-10 our committee went on the way of fighting politics. We are firmly decided not to renounce to any of our rights because we are convinced that we will be able to obtain only as many rights we will take through a unitary attitude in a dignified manner”<sup>8</sup>.

In a note of Jewish Democratic Committee it was asserted that it had been decided to bring back 1000 of Jewish hungered children from Budapest. Bihor County had to take care of 200 of children. Such gestures demonstrate the social activism of Jewish Democratic Committee. The same note pleads again for the return of the properties of deceased Jews to Jewish Community: “The goods of absent Jews to pass to administration of Jewish community serving as fund for economic and moral setting rights of the returned Jews and actually without means of living”<sup>9</sup>.

From another point of view, in the Archives of Oradea there are reports of activity of the Jewish Democratic Committee of Oradea which reveal his main directions of action. Such a report is the one written down for the national conference from June 1946 of all sections of the Jewish Democratic Committee. Initially, asserts the report, the priority was to offer help to the ones returned from the camps of extermination. Ulterior, it was acknowledged that there are persons interested to emigrate: “There are persons who consider as end of their sufferings the landing in the Orient in reconstruction on the old land of Eretz”<sup>10</sup>. Until 1946, the Jewish Democratic Committee hold 38 conferences, shows the report<sup>11</sup>, where there were debated Jewish problems, actual problems, literature and Jewish Arts. In the framework of Jewish Democratic Committee there was a cultural section, a feminine one which was in charge with with feeding of 20 lung patients spending 15.000.000 lei. In the same time, the feminine section supported a hostel for girls with 20 persons. Moreover,

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 50

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 51

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 67

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 78

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 109

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 110

there was a section for youth, a judicial section which included all Jewish jurists of Oradea who offered free counseling to the members of the group.

In a report of activity of Jewish Democratic Committee of Bihor County from May 30 – June 20, 1946<sup>12</sup>, it was asserted that the number of the Jews of Oradea is approximately 8000. It was debated the problem of recuperation of the furniture for the ones returned from deportation, a thing almost impossible to achieve. It was emphasized the judicial section of the Committee, the feminine one which had the task of taking care of patients ill of tuberculosis, the youth section, less active, the cultural section very active which organized several Garden parties, the social section which was granting aids for poor persons and for the ones recently returned from deportation.

In the same time the Jewish Democratic Committee manifested its intention to take into consideration the pianos and cottage pianos in Oradea<sup>13</sup> because after the deportation these pianos were taken away from the Jews. It was suggested the delegation of a commission formed from representatives of municipal council and of interested political organizations. It had to distribute forms where the inhabitants had to inform if they owned or not pianos or cottage pianos whose provenience would be proved with documents or with the least three witnesses who to prove that the piano belonged to the titular.

In another note of Jewish Democratic Committee of Oradea was mentioned the persistence of anti-Semite attitudes of certain elements who “could not adjust to the democratic system”: “The Jewry aware of the fact that these instigations are in the same time attacks meant to weaken the force of action of democracy and progressive forces”<sup>14</sup>.

In a note of Jewish Democratic Committee of Oradea addressed to the minister<sup>15</sup>, important problems were brought into discussion as the problem of deported persons and war prisoners who did not returned from USSR, the problem of CASBI, as this institution took initiative to take over the property of deported Jews who could not recuperate their old properties after their return from deportation, the recuperation of their furniture, the creation of a cooperative with over 500 members which to help the returned Jews to learn a profession.

In a report about the political atmosphere among the Jewish population of Oradea, it was stipulated that there was near upon elections a good atmosphere because the Jews, so politically discriminated in former times received the right to vote and appeared in the documents of the Jews the first reflections of class struggle: “During these days it appeared that the enemy of class had tried to create an unhealthy atmosphere among the Jewish population,

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 142

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 148

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 149

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 150

pursuing to prove that some political and administrative decisions adopted by the party and government were taken against the Jews, that is to say that the enemy of class was looking to point to some organs or to some political persons as they would have had anti-Semite attitudes”<sup>16</sup>.

In an address of Jewish Democratic Committee of Oradea was mentioned the intention of local organization to organize a popular summer university “for the moral setting rights and the rise of cultural level of the youth returned from deportation”<sup>17</sup>. The Popular Summer University was to take place from August 10 to September 2 1946, with the participation of several young people which were to be provided with accommodation. They had to take part in courses with cultural, political, social, economical, educative character. In order to assure the success of the manifestation several personalities in political and cultural life were invited to held speeches. Petre Ștefănescu – Goangă, Dinu Bădescu, Lucia Bercescu, N. Alexandrescu, Silvy Feller were invited to lecture<sup>18</sup>. For the accomodation of young participants was made an appeal for support to the Ministry of Allimentation for sending food<sup>19</sup>. The Ministry of Information was required a subvention of 5 millions lei<sup>20</sup>. The Ministry of Nationalities and the Ministry of National Education were also required a subvention of 5 milions lei while the President of the Council of Ministers was required a subvention of 15 milions lei<sup>21</sup>.

The Popular Summer University opened in Oradea in the presence of the Romanian Academy representative who participated to festive opening from August 10, 1946. Among the guests we remarque Leopold Filderman from the Ministry of production of war with the topics „Carl Marx – Life and Opera” and „Marxism and nationality”, M. S. Sărățeanu with the topic „Jewish permanences” and another topic „Historical determinant moments in the Jewish life”<sup>22</sup>, L. Straisfeld (the assistant of secretary general of the Federation of the Union of Jewish Communities of Romania) with two conferences „The politics of work” and „Restratification”<sup>23</sup>, the lawyer D. Rosenkrantz with two topics „The judicial regime from yesterday and tomorrow of Jewish population of Romania” and „The political orientation of Jewish population”<sup>24</sup>. Other lectures were related to the topics: Race and racism, The reconstruction and productivisation of Jewish population, Medicine and social hygiene<sup>25</sup>. In the

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 162

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, dos. 3, f. 111

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 113

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 114

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 277 – 278

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 261 – 282

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 292

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 293

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 294

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 302

same time, the Social Democratic Party delegated for participation to the conference the Minister of National Education, Ștefan Voitec, the citizens Lotar Rădăceanu, Tudor Ionescu, Leopold Fildermann, S. Emil, B. Solomon, Paul Teodorescu and George Silviu<sup>26</sup>. The professor Miron Niculescu was invited to hold a speech entitled „The appearance of the Humans on earth. From primitive people to Homo sapiens”. A technical commission established that the number of participants to the summer school be 150 and that 50% of them were to be covered the expenses of accomodation<sup>27</sup>. The Summer University opened at Oradea on August 10 at Oradea.

In the same time, in the framework of the Jewish Democratic Committee of Bihor county, occurred accusations on members of Jewish community, supposed to be unfaithful to the new regime. Such a case appears in the framework of the Jewish Democratic Committee of Beiuș in a note from June 21, 1946: „We hold our duty to communicate that at the protestatary assembly which took place on 20 crt were brought accusations to Mr.Dr. Weisz Andor, originary from Beiuș for his antidemocratic behaviour in the past. In the same manner, his father who was then living in Beiuș was accused too that he militated for Maniu and distributed manifests in favor of Maniu<sup>28</sup> .

As a consequence we can say that the activity of Jewish Democratic Committee of Oradea in the first years of its existence was characterized by unity, by the common aspiration of the Jews of regaining their rights and properties. They involved in the political life of their time, but most of them continued to remain a community in the first years after the war.

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 304

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 317

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 181

## POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALITIES IN TRANSYLVANIA AS SHOWN IN A FRENCH DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENT (1947)

*Antonio FAUR*

**Abstract:** *On 6 October 1947, the French consul Gabriel Richard sent a report to the French minister for Foreign Affairs, Georges Bidault, in which he informs on the most important economic and political realities in Romania, particularly in Transylvania. He noticed the fact that the measures adopted by the Romanian Government (such as, for instance, the cleaning of state officers, the monetary stability and the nationalisation of the great enterprises) aimed at deteriorating the material situation of those representing, one way or another, the opposition against the newly instituted regime in Romania after 6 March 1945. At the same time, the French diplomat noticed the ascent of the “left wing elements” in the leading bodies of the U.P.M. and the party control exerted on this Hungarian organisation in Romania.*

**Keywords:** *realities, economic, diplomatic, French, Transylvania*

The French consul in Cluj developed a careful information activity concerning what happened in Transylvania and particularly in the city of Cluj. Therefore, the documents produced by him are particularly interesting for our history, as they have the quality of being significant testimonials on the facts and events they refer to. We could add the *remarks* of the French consul that show his point of view on the state of facts in the region and around. To the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs his opinions were a strong basis for their opinions and steps especially in their relations with Romania. In fact, these documents were the main French sources concerning Transylvania. Consequently, they were very important to know the real state of facts in this province of Romania in the post-war epoch, when the communists came to power in Bucharest as a consequence of the Moscow dictate. The way the western diplomat assessed the events in the area as part of its “democrat-popular” history should be considered, as he was outside the political and economic erosion within the country. The quality of a neutral observer avoiding a subjective description of reality is the best attribute of the French diplomat. One of the most interesting and consistent pieces of information is comprised in the *report* of the consul Gabriel Richard on 6 October 1947 that was sent to the minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris, Georges Bidault, through the Directorate of Political Affairs for Europe.

When analysing this report, we can draw the conclusion that the French diplomat referred to the “political and economic situation” in Transylvania at the end of the year 1947 that was “dominated” – in his opinion – by three important aspects: cleaning of the political parties and public administration, reduction of the number of clerks and the monetary reform introduced in the country. Obviously, these “realities”<sup>1</sup> were presented one at a time insisting on the real aims pursued by the Romanian authorities and the consequences of some of these political and economic steps. The French consul Gabriel Richard proved to be very insightful in figuring out the aims pursued by the Romanian government that mainly envisaged the elimination of any resistance to the “work” of building communism in Romania.

In the following year, after the fall of monarchy on 30 December 1947, the Government led by Dr. Petru Groza laid stress on its repressive policy aiming at destroying the opposition of the Romanian people in all their expression against the forced sovietisation of the country. We should perceive the historical issue the diplomatic document referred to from this perspective.

At the very beginning of the document, the French consul has an interesting conclusion: “Although very different, these measures (of the Romanian State-n.n.) ... pursue *the same political aims: strengthening the leading parties, eliminating from all positions the reaction or neutral elements susceptible to create difficulties to the Government, and systematically impoverishing the bourgeoisie*”<sup>2</sup> (underl.-A-F.). It is followed by the argumentation of these statements with concrete facts. The material was structured, as we mentioned before, in three different components, in order to make it systematic and clear, as most of the documents belonging to Gabriel Richard.

The French consul made illuminating remarks concerning the “cleaning” policy practised by the Communist Party starting with their own organisations then expanding it to the Socialist Party and the public administration. The Communist Party in Romania would have been an “example” in point by self-cleaning, by eliminating the “elements” that were “suspect” of “indifference”; in other words, of less “enthusiasm” towards the “directives from Moscow”. The French diplomat expressed himself in a euphemistical manner since the action envisaged the “strengthening” of ideology and devotion to the party amongst themselves. These had significantly grown after the actions of Ana Pauker to open the “gates” of the party to the legionaries, thus combining for the moment the left and the right extremists. The communist-oriented newspapers in Cluj, that is, *Lupta Ardealului* and *Igazsag*, published the „lists with the individuals excluded from the party” and the university professors Teofil Vescan and Jordaky Lajos were on these lists. They „played an important role in the Communist Party, as well as in the political life in Northern Transylvania”. When the Soviet administration came to the power in

<sup>1</sup> Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, séries Europe, (1944-1949) (hereinafter A.M.A.E.), sous-série Roumanie, dos. 25, f. 266

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*



Northern Transylvania, they raised the “issue of changing this province in an autonomous republic” and the two were “appointed” to act as “presidents”, one representing the Romanian population, the other the Hungarian one<sup>3</sup>. But there were frictions between them and their “comrades” and they were ablated from their positions. There was also the risk of “losing” the academic chairs that they had got from the communists.

In its turn, the Socialist Party was submitted to the same treatment, but it acted “cautiously and slowly”, thus making the communist journals vehemently criticise it. Although they tried to minimise the effects of such policy, they had to “exclude” more members than the Communist Party. The explanation may be the fact that some members of the Socialist Party did not “consider .... Marxism as a grabbing religion” and did not submit to some dogmatic practices. They were qualified as “heretics” and consequently they were “excluded” from the party. They belonged to the great mass of social-democrats. The leaders of the party were only concerned with saving their “leaders” and less the ordinary members with whom they could part easily. For instance, they tried to keep some important members of the party, such as Lakatas Istvan (deputy in the Parliament), Nagy Geza (secondary-school teacher and “organiser of the finances in Northern Transylvania under the Russian administration”) and Dancu<sup>4</sup> (headmaster of the Master School in Cluj). Their fate would be decided by the communist, as all other parties and organisations were to give in to their pressure.

Then, the French diplomat refers to the Hungarian Popular Union (U.P.M.) on whose situation he wrote in his previous reports. In his opinion, they were “almost entirely [under] the advanced elements control” (meaning pro-communist “orientation elements”) that – with the support of the Communist Party – succeeded “a few months ago” to get all leading positions”<sup>5</sup> of the U.P.M. The immediate result was that, when getting the power, this “left wing” of the U.P.M. “requested ... the exclusion ... of all those who difficultly accept a direct and open collaboration with the communists”. The discontent of the U.P.M. was an “important minority”<sup>6</sup> and was organised as an “opposition” to the left wing group. They were supported by the Roman-Catholic bishop of Alba-Iulia, Marton Aron, who had a “great prestige in all Hungarian groups” in Romania. Practically, the cleaning served the U.P.M. to silence all “uncomfortable reactionaries” and those “lacking enthusiasm” that did not promptly execute the orders of the Central Committee of the organisation. The

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<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 267

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 268-269

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 269

<sup>6</sup> These are the „great landowners ruined by the agrarian reform”, as well as Catholic clergy, intellectuals (bourgeois) and small farmers, all hostile to the pro-soviet orientation of the U.P.M. and doubting their „new policy” (*Ibidem*, f. 269-270).

method of exclusion with the aim mentioned above was “largely” used<sup>7</sup>. Thus, the left wing group within the U.P.M. submitted to the “word” of the Communist Party strengthened.

The second element of Gabriel Richard’s report is focused on the phenomenon of “massive” dismissal of public officers. After cleaning to a certain extent their own “garden” of “uncalled for elements” in a radical manner, the left parties in power passed to the “cleaning” of the intruders in all “administrative fields of the State, of departments and commissions” with the support of the “highly democratic” Government. Those who did not show high “devotion” to the Government and its policy and did not show “all needed guarantees” faced the action of administrative “compression” that was in fact a “*new type of cleaning*” (underl. – A.F.) that did not consider the real needs of the State to reduce by 30% the number of clerks to diminish the administrative expenses. If it were strictly about “financial reasons”, then the measure could be considered as a justified governmental step. “Unfortunately, it is not so – stated the French consul – and it is not a calumny addressed to the Government to state that, just like all other cases, the political dominates on all other considerations and *the only criterion governing the dismissals is... the need for a policy that has nothing to do with democracy, except for the name*”<sup>8</sup>(underl.– A.F.).

The communists used “dismissal” – or “compression” – as a “fierce weapon” undoubtedly “efficient” against the “stated” enemies, against those who were “hostile” or did not prove enough “enthusiasm” for the ideas supported by the central power. A Communist Party member card was at the time of the “cleaning” an “excellent screen against governmental blows”, sometimes even against the application of laws. At the same time, it was the “best means” to keep your job, or to get a “promotion”. It was at that time that the “magic virtues” of the party member card were imposed and lasted, with slight variations, until the fall of communism in Romania. The state clerks did not hesitate to get it, thus formally expressing their adhesion to communism. The French consul was interested in the attitude of the Romanians under the circumstances. He appreciated that the Romanians were not “bright” through their “civic courage”, as a possible “dismissal” of some of them would “mean... a great misery”, which was true. If some clerks lost their jobs for the reasons mentioned above, they got a pension but only when they reached the legal age. At the same time, they could not “rely” on getting a job in an enterprise or a state institution, as they would “face the opposition of the authorities and of the Trade Unions”. Consequently, they only had the accidental chance of doing “occasional services, but only seldom and they were badly paid”. Once dismissed, the clerk “loses his house”, thus getting in a “tragic situation”.

<sup>7</sup> A.M.A.E., séries Europe (1944-1949), sous-série Roumanie, dos. 25, f. 270

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 271

Therefore, the one exposed to the effects of “compression” (through these methods) was haunted by a great misery to which it was very difficult to find a saving solution. The consequence was the fact that the clerks, in order to survive (materially), adopted a docile attitude concerning the communist authorities by zealously executing their orders. It is obvious that, given the context, it was no longer about civism, it was about the spirit of preservation. The mostly “threatened” clerks were the members of the opposition parties, that is, the historical parties (P.N.T. – Maniu and P.N.L.), as well as the servants of education. For the communists in Cluj, the two universities – the Romanian one (King Ferdinand I University) and the Hungarian one – as well as the secondary-schools in the city were “bastions of reaction” that were to be “severely treated”. Lists with the employees in administration that were to be “dismissed” were drawn up, as well as with the university professors and secondary-school teachers (out of which 22 had been already dismissed, a percentage of about 7-8% of the didactic staff). Some of them were really “valuable” professors, which confirms the obvious fact for those able to assess the situation that such “dismissals” were “hardly justifiable for budgetary reasons”; they were of political nature. A “dismissed” state clerk or university professor could be rightfully considered a “victim” of the new communist regime in Romania.

The third reality in which Gabriel Richard was interested in was the monetary stability, the most “prominent event” in the Romanian economic life. In the opinion of the French consul, in this field “it is even more visible [the fact] that *were mostly considered the political reasons rather than the country’s general interests*”<sup>9</sup> (underl. –A.F.). As a matter of fact, the communist authorities in Bucharest pursued a definite aim through the adopted financial step: “ruining the capital owners that – through their wealth – could show some independence and turning them into proletarians at the mercy of the Government”<sup>10</sup>. The mechanisms of practical application of the “monetary stability” step are examined, as well as its consequences for different social classes. For those owning capital (whether small or big), it was a “plain confiscation”, while the retired were its “great victims”. The clerks and workers did not receive the new notes as compared to their needs. In their turn, the peasants were displeased at the “exaggerated growth” of industrial products prices, while the agrarian products were purchased at the “official prices” by company stores and workers’ canteens. The free market was no longer supplied, as the peasant preferred the “black” market, where they could get more convenient prices. Consequently, on the market in Cluj “there are vegetables and fruit, milk and eggs only threefold the price as established by law”. The conclusion of the French diplomat was illuminating: “If the aim to stabilise was

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<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 274

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 274-275

improving the material situation of... the population, it is a failure. If, on the contrary, they aimed at determining a general discontent, it is a success". It was clear that the reform was not "only a ring in the chain clutching around the groups suspected to be hostile to the regime"<sup>11</sup>.

In the final part of his report, the consul Gabriel Richard draws an accurate picture of the results of the destructive policy of the Government: "the agrarian reform, particularly its arbitrary application, ruins the landowners; the nationalisation of great enterprises, particularly great banks, reaches the liberal capitalists in a hard way; the social laws and the concentration of credits in the hands of the State put the industrial enterprises at the mercy of the Government; the law and the rent tax practically confiscate the income from urban buildings to the advantage of the tenants and the State almost exclusively; the persecutions to which non-conformist members of liberal professions are subject to, as they are imprisoned or compelled to leave the country, make them slowly lose their customers; the clerks' dismissal cleans the public administration of all less docile elements; the stability of the *leu* has given a blow to those who, due to their wealth, still enjoy a certain freedom, such as the peasants or the owners of great notes deposits that used to make up the main part of Mr. Maniu's troops. The monetary reform closes... the cycle of measures directed towards the independent or opposed groups"<sup>12</sup>.

We can notice the rigorous manner in which the French diplomat describes the "unhappy" state of facts in Romania in the autumn of the year 1947, when a cycle of historical experiences was closing. Their origin was the occupation of the country at the end of 1944 and the instauration of the communist regime according to the will of Moscow that was based on local opportunists and the inability of the nation to stop the process of sovietisation of Romania. In the case of the city of Cluj, we can add the typhoid fever epidemic that was "ravaging the region" so that, for fear of contamination, all universities, secondary-schools and other schools, churches and theatres were temporarily "closed".

We can draw the conclusion that the *report* of the consul Gabriel Richard comprises highly significant documentary information from a historical point of view associated with his exceptional comments on the realities in Cluj and the country that the historical research may join without difficulty, as they are objective and have the ability to get to the core of the revealed facts and events.

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 277-278

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, f. 278

# ON THE AVATARS OF THE WRITTEN WORK OF SILVIU DRAGOMIR AT THE ROMANIAN ACADEMY LIBRARY IN THE „POST-COMMUNIST” PERIOD

*Sorin ȘIPOS*

**Abstract:** *After intense endeavours of seven years, we were finally granted permission to consult Silviu Dragomir's documents on the Diploma of the Ioannite Knights in 1247. All these years, we have had the opportunity to see for ourselves what the fight against the post-communist censorship means.*

*The attempts to consult a manuscript donated to the Romanian Academy Library to be part of the scientific circuit, but inaccessible due to the leaders of the library have shown us that sometimes the communist ghosts still haunt Romania.*

**Keywords:** *History, Dragomir, manuscript, „Post-communist”, Romania*

Historian and politician, Silviu Dragomir (1888-1962) enjoyed after his death a particular attention of the specialists. The proof is the numerous surveys and articles on his life and work. We have been concerned with the destiny of the historian, too, and we have had to face certain issues in the libraries and archives where we sought for information. The only exception is the Romanian Academy Library, where the documents were quoted A 2181 a-g.

After intense endeavours of seven years, we were finally granted permission to consult Silviu Dragomir's documents on the *Diploma of the Ioannite Knights in 1247*. All these years, we have had the opportunity to see for ourselves what the fight against the post-communist censorship means. Right from the beginning of our research concerning the life and work of the historian Silviu Dragomir, the late academician Pompiliu Teodor told us for the very first time of this survey during one of our discussions. He provided the quote of the manuscript at the Academy Library. After looking through the already published bibliography, we started to investigate the archives in Cluj, Deva, and Sibiu to find answers to the numerous issues relating to our research. In 1998, we went to the National Archives in Bucharest, as well as the Romanian Academy Library. We entered the Academy Library with the shyness specific to the people from the country and overwhelmed by what the Romanian Academy and the Academy Library stood for throughout national history. After filling in the request form, we sat down in the room and waited for the manuscript. After a few minutes, the custodian returned totally changed and asked where we got the quote of the manuscript and how we had found out about it. I was expecting the manuscript; instead I was being asked how I had found out about it. A little puzzled, I explained the situation. He replied

on a very determined tone that the manuscript was under a clause of non-access. I was amazed by the response and particularly by the behaviour of some employees in the manuscript room; they seemed to be rather guardians of the manuscript than researchers. Obviously, I asked who donated it and what was the content of the manuscript since it was not available for the public. When I asked the questions, I saw a reaction resembling hostility, a sort of remainder of the former regime, when one should not discuss the answers of the officials.

One year later, I made another attempt. When I insisted once again to see the survey, Mr. Gabriel Stempel, the director of the Academy Library, and Mrs. Gabriela Dumitrescu, head of service, officially informed us that the heirs of the Dragomir family gave the document with a clause denying access to it for 50 years. I was indignant with the situation and I was thinking of a manner to consult the manuscript, in order to insert it in the doctoral thesis. After this experience, I told my department colleagues my situation concerning the research, so that we might look for possible solutions together. During a discussion I had with Prof. Dr. Mihai Drecin, who was a deputy in the Romanian Parliament at the time, he told me that he knew the director of the library and, if I gave him the quote, he will request it to the director. On 28 February 2000, Mr. Drecin called me to say that the director of the library signed the request form to consult and photocopy the manuscript<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, he told me that he had been given the surveys, too. As a proof, he told me what were the materials contained in the folder and the number of pages. To be honest, I found it hard to believe, as I had been to Bucharest myself several times to see the manuscript and I had been told that it was under clause; I was resigned, in a way. The news gave me the hope that I could finally see the manuscript I was obsessed with. In the afternoon of 28 February, I left for Bucharest, so that the next day I was at the Academy Library to see the manuscripts. When I asked them, surprise, I was told they were under clause. In my turn, I invoked the application signed by the director to see the manuscripts. I started to lose my temper considering the situation. I was told that the director had signed the request form as he thought that the document in point belonged to the collection *Documenta Historica Romaniae*, Series D, volume 1. In the evening, I met Professor Drecin and I told him what had happened. We convened to go for a meeting to the director the next day and to get some explanations. During the conversations we had with

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<sup>1</sup> „Domnule Director, Subsemnatul Mihai Drecin, profesor la Universitatea din Oradea, deputat în Parlamentul României, vă rog să binevoiți a aproba xeroxarea studiului istoricului Silviu Dragomir despre Ordinul Cavalerilor Ioaniți aflat în Biblioteca Academiei Române sub cota A 2181, București 28 februarie 2000“ (Dear Director, I the undersigned Mihai Drecin, professor at the University of Oradea, deputy in the Romanian Parliament, am asking you to kindly approve to photocopy the survey belonging to the historian Silviu Dragomir on the Ioannite Knights Order in the Romanian Academy Library under quote A 2181, Bucharest, 28 February 2000), the request form has the following written in the upright corner „Se aprobă 28. 2. 00“ (approved) and is followed by the signature of the director at the time, Mr. Gabriel Ștemprel (Document belonging to the Șipoș family).

the academician Gabriel Strempel, we were unofficially and confidentially told that the survey contained historical information that might harm the Romanian historiography and national interest and that was why we were not allowed to see it. We were also handed a handwritten paper as an explanation that was signed by Mrs. Gabriela Dumitrescu, head of service<sup>2</sup>.

Given the situation, all I could do was to find the heirs of the Dragomir family to clarify the situation, as I had a feeling that the library officials were not telling the truth. Our suspicion regarding the honesty of the answers provided by the leaders of the Academy Library became a certainty. Mrs. Florica Enescu, one of the nieces of Professor Silviu Dragomir, donated the survey, after the death of the Dragomir family, to the Romanian Academy Library with no clause. The proof is the letter of response sent to Florica Enescu on 1 June 1974 by Gabriel Strempel, who was the head of the manuscripts and documents room at the time. The letter was as follows: "To Florica Enescu, In response to your letter of 30 May 1974, registered under no. 6656/30 V 1974, we inform you that we have received your donation and we thank you for it. The manuscripts of Prof. Silviu Dragomir, as well as the typed copies, have been included in the collections of the manuscripts-documents room, *and can be consulted under quote A 2181 a-i* (s.n.)"<sup>3</sup>. With the document received from Mrs. Enescu, the very person who had made the donation with no clause, I went to Bucharest in July 2001 to see the manuscript. It was the fourth time I went to the Academy Library. Even this time, the document was not available. Out of respect for Silviu Dragomir and to right the wrong made by the Academy Library officials, Mrs. Florica Enescu asked for a meeting with academician G. Strempel, hoping that, by reminding him that she had not asked for a clause denying access to the document, the problem would be solved. The director of the Academy Library refused, even after the meeting with Florica Enescu, to make the document available for the specialists. I did not attend the meeting, but after the meeting, Mrs. Florica Enescu told me that they had an argument and she did not get the permission to make the document public for specialists, as she had mentioned a few years before. Mrs. Enescu told me even the name of the reviewer that had recommended the document not to be available for research. That is, the document could not be published, but it could be consulted by those interested. However, considering that Silviu Dragomir contested the

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<sup>2</sup> „1. 03. 2000, Stimate domnule Drecin, Materialele existente la cota A 2181 sunt materiale depuse cu clauză (nu pot fi publicate) de către familia autorului. Domnul Director Gabriel Strempel a aprobat cererea dumneavoastră crezând că este vorba despre xerografierea textului Diplomei Cavalerilor Ioaniți publicat în DIR. [...] Șef serviciu Gabriela Dumitrescu” (Dear Mr. Drecin, The materials existing under quote A 2181 are under clause (cannot be published) by the author’s family. The director Gabriel Strempel has approved your request considering that it referred to the xerography of the text on the Ioannite Knights Diploma published in DIR [...] Head of Service Gabriela Dumitrescu) (Letter belonging to the archives of the Șipoș family).

<sup>3</sup> The letter has number 6695 and is dated 1 June 1974. It is signed by Dr. Gabriel Strempel, main researcher, head of the manuscript-document room (*Ibidem*).

authenticity of the Ioannite Knights Diploma, the political authorities and some historians considered that it was best to deny access to it. Mrs. Enescu told me that, due to her vehement reproaches for forbidding access to the document and as she asked who made the recommendation, he confessed that the review was elaborated by academician Cornelia Bodea. I have no means of checking the information, but I have good reasons to believe this is true. Besides, another argument supporting this idea is the phone call that Mrs. Enescu gave to Mrs. Cornelia Bodea. Obviously, she reproached her gesture lacking loyalty to her colleague concerning the work of Silviu Dragomir. It might be significant that, according to the information provided by Florica Enescu, when Silviu Dragomir died in 1962, Cornelia Bodea requested his manuscripts to prepare them for printing. Dragomir's heirs refused and Mrs. Florica Enescu considered Cornelia Bodea's action as revenge. To me, it was not so important why I could not see the manuscripts. At that point, I had exhausted all legal means to see the documents. All I could do was to publish the articles in the written press to draw attention on this situation. I did not do that, as I was finishing my doctoral thesis and I needed quietness. In November, I defended my doctoral thesis and in 2002, the monograph was published and I still had no access to the manuscripts under A 2181. I only had to wait for better times.

In autumn – winter 2006, there were rumours that Mr. Gabriel Stempel was no longer director of the Academy Library. I checked the information and it was true. Given the new situation, I sent the new director, Dan Horia Mazilu, a well-known specialist in the history of ancient Romanian history and author of several works on mediaeval history, the latest volume published together with Ioan Horga and a photocopy of some pages of Silviu Dragomir monograph, including note 1 in chapter I, where I exposed the difficulties in consulting the manuscript of Silviu Dragomir. I asked him to inform me if the manuscript was under the same regime. In January 2007, Ms. Georgeta Giurgiu, a Master student at the University of Reims and University of Oradea, was to start some research at the Academy Library. I asked her to give the director the critical edition *Silviu Dragomir – studii de istorie medievala* and to try to consult the manuscripts in the Dragomir collection. I wanted to check, without going to Bucharest just for that reason, if the manuscripts had the same statutes. A few days later, Ms. Giurgiu called me and said they could be seen, but the next day, when I asked for further details, she told me that another employee of the library, annoyed at being asked for that manuscript, replied that it could not be consulted. A week or so later, on 2 February 2007, I got an e-mail from Mrs. Gabriela Dumitrescu, a really pleasant surprise, and she informed me that I could see the Dragomir collection with the agreement of the director<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> „Stimate Domnule Profesor, Chiar dacă vă scriu cu întârziere, sper ca de această dată să putem lămurii lucrurile. Arhiva profesorului Silviu Dragomir se găsește într-adevăr la cota indicată de dumneavoastră. Sunt însă 4 plicuri de arhiva ce însumează multe sute de pagini și în limita a 30



In the spring of 2007, I made another attempt to see Silviu Dragomir's survey, as I was encouraged by the fact that Gabriel Stempel was no longer the director of the library. In the past few years, the Romanian society was more and more determined to know and assume its past. Consequently, the attitude of Mr. Dan Horia Mazilu, the new director of the Academy Library, was open and honest and he never hesitated to sign the request to see the survey under secrecy. Consequently, in the new edition, I could introduce this important survey for the historiographic work of Silviu Dragomir.

I could finally get information on the research carried out by Silviu Dragomir concerning the Ioannite Knights Diploma. The folder was very big. In fact, it was the quote that should have given me a hint. There are several typed manuscripts and surveys dedicated to the Ioannite Knights Diploma, several variants. However, the last typed version in three copies is entitled *Diploma cavalerilor ioaniti de la 1247. Studiu critic* and has 110 typed pages<sup>5</sup>. Another manuscript under quote A 1271d bears the same title, but it is an autograph manuscript<sup>6</sup>. Under the same quote, but letters e and f have other two typed copies of the *Cavalerii Ioaniti si Oltenia. Studiu de critica istorica*<sup>7</sup> and the title is a little altered, which shows that the historian started and developed the research, through the years until he reached the final version. There is also an autograph manuscript entitled *Cavalerii Ioaniți și Țările Române. Diploma din 1247 a regelui Bela al XIV-lea*<sup>8</sup>, Cluj, 1948, which is in fact the initial version of the typed manuscript simply entitled *Diploma din 1247 a regelui Bela al XIV-lea*, under quote A 1281 a-b-c. All the working versions are important to specialists wishing to make clear the

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de pagini, ar trebui să puteți stabili D-voastră ce anume doriți. După aceea, Dl. Prof. Dr. Dan Horia Mazilu urmează să dea aprobarea pentru copierea lor. Într-adevăr, arhiva este la rezervă, cu clauză. Așa figurează în inventarul nostru. Personal, nu o cunosc pe D-na Florica Enescu iar eu am datoria de a respecta ceea ce este înscris în inventar. Oricum, cu aprobarea D-lui Mazilu, sunteți binevenit în sala noastră de lectură. Gabriela Dumitrescu“ (Dear Professor, Although my reply is belated, I hope this time we manage to set things straight. The archives of Silviu Dragomir exist indeed at the quote you indicated. However, there are four archive envelopes, which means several hundreds of pages and you should decide yourself what you intend to consult within a limit of 30 pages. After that, Prof. Dan Horia Mazilu will approve to be photocopied. Indeed, the archives are in reserve, under clause. This is how they are mentioned in our inventory. Personally, I do not know Mrs. Florica Enescu and I have the duty to respect what is written in the inventory. Nevertheless, with the approval of Mr. Mazilu, you are welcome to our reading room. Gabriela Dumitrescu) (Message from Mrs. Gabriela Dumitrescu in 2 February 2007 1:44 pm).

<sup>5</sup> *Diploma din 1247 a regelui Bela al IV-lea. Studiu critic de prof. Silviu Dragomir*, in Romanian Academy Library, Section manuscripts, A 1281 a-b-c

<sup>6</sup> *Diploma din 1247 a regelui Bela al IV-lea. Studiu critic de prof. Silviu Dragomir*, 137 pp, in *Ibidem*, A 1281d

<sup>7</sup> *Cavalerii Ioaniți și Oltenia. Studiu de critică istorică de prof. Silviu Dragomir*, 86 p., in *Ibidem*, A 2181 e-f

<sup>8</sup> Silviu Dragomir, *Cavalerii Ioaniți și Țările Române. Diploma din 1247 a regelui Bela al XIV-lea*, Cluj, 1948, in *Ibidem*, A 1281 g.

genesis and development of the topic. It is certain that in 1948, the final version in the autograph manuscript was finished, that is, at the same time as the communist regime was established in Romania. The typed version is quite different from the autograph one and was finished when the historian was released from the communist prison in 1955; the proof is the insertion of the diploma translation in the collection entitled *Documente privind istoria României*, Series C, vol. I. Transylvania, published in 1951<sup>9</sup>. The question is when Dragomir started to do the research on this topic and what was his aim. The answer is not easy. However, due to the documents we have at this point, we may approximate the moment he started the research. In this sense, we have a letter sent by Stefan Pascu from Italy to Silviu Dragomir<sup>10</sup>. The text of the letter is very important, as it provides several clues concerning the research of Silviu Dragomir. In fact, the letter from professor Pascu was a reply to a previous letter sent by Silviu Dragomir in which the latter asked him to provide palaeographic and diplomatic information on the Ioannite Knights Diploma. The questions asked by Silviu Dragomir show that he was pretty familiar with the topic, so he had already started to research the topic. Although the letter is not dated, we may approximate the moment when Stefan Pascu made some research in Rome, that is, during the war, in 1943-1944. It is obvious that at that moment, Silviu Dragomir had started the research and he had reached an advanced level in his surveys. In 1948, the autograph manuscript at the Academy Library shows that a first version was finished. After he was released from the communist prison, Silviu Dragomir took back his research, one of the topics being the Ioannite Knights Diploma. He tried to show the results of his research either in the discussions with colleagues of his, or during scientific events<sup>11</sup>. As far as we know, he did not succeed in doing that.

The attempts to consult a manuscript donated to the Romanian Academy Library to be part of the scientific circuit, but inaccessible due to the leaders of the library have shown us that sometimes the communist ghosts still haunt Romania.

<sup>9</sup> *Diploma din 1247 a regelui Bela al IV-lea. Studiu critic de prof. Silviu Dragomir*, in *Ibidem*, A 1281 a, p. 9-16

<sup>10</sup> *Scrisoare lui Ștefan Pascu către Silviu Dragomir*, in National Archives –County Directorate Deva, *fund Silviu Dragomir*, box 17, f. 96, 145

<sup>11</sup> *Scrisoarea lui Nicolae Trăpcea către Silviu Dragomir din 14 VII 1958*, in *Ibidem*, p. 123-125

# CAPE VERDE BETWEEN EUROPE AND AFRICA MYTHS, UTOPIAS AND INSULARITY

Sergio NETO<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract:** During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the archipelago of Cape Verde was object of a series of cultural and ideological constructions. Point of an Atlantic Portuguese-Brazilian triangle, Cape Verde represented, for the colonial politics of the “Estado Novo” [designation for the dictatorship period between 1933 and 1974, meaning New State], the best materialization of Gilberto Freyre’s sociological theories and, therefore, a propaganda issue. It was also subject of speculation for writers, who looked forward to see in the archipelago the multiple perspectives of the utopian thought.

The present communication aims to analyze and to point out the origin of these constructions, relating them with the complex history of the archipelago.

**Keywords:** Propaganda, Ideology, Miscegenation, Insularity, Utopia

Firmly anchored in the human spirit, the idea of utopia as a paradigmatic space has appeared under the most contradictory forms, containing a great variety of possible dimensions<sup>2</sup>. Nostalgia and hope were the ideas that guided these visions of “places without place”. As so, the “ideal city” possesses the same ubiquity as the religious belief. For example, the belief of a Lost Paradise and the Celestial Jerusalem – evocating a mythical past and prefiguring an eschatological future.

Anyway, the utopia also appeals to rationalism. For instance, both *The Utopia*, of More, as *The Republic*, of Plato, or even the urban projects of Hippodamus, Vitruvius and the Italian renaissants, invite us to reflect upon the ideal community.

However, the utopian writings also reflect upon the essence of evil, imagining spaces where irrationalism triumphs or, on the contraire, reason and science serve the totalitarian States – the dystopias. In this case let us recall the famous *Brave New World*, of Aldous Huxley; the non-less celebrated *1984*, of George Orwell; or the New European Order idealized by Hitler<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> University of Coimbra, Portugal.

<sup>2</sup> Miguel Baptista Pereira refers the following dimensions: philosophical, sociological, historical, literary, critical, satirical, scientific and economical. “Utopia e Apocalíptica nos caminhos da existência”, in *Estudos do Século XX*, Coimbra, n.º 2, Quarteto, 2002

<sup>3</sup> DURAND, Yves - *Le nouvel ordre européen nazi*, Bruxelles, Éditions Complexe, 1990

This paper wills to relate and question all these significances, putting them in dialogue with the archipelago of Cape Verde during the last years of the Portuguese colonialism (1925-1975). This insular territory embodied some dimensions of the utopia. We refer, concretely, to the literary inventions that tended to approach Cape Verde and the mythical Hesperides and Atlantis; as so as the attempts to visualize an utopia of racial tolerance; or the negative image related to the Tarrafal prison camp, inaugurated by the “Estado Novo” (New State) regime in the mid 30’s.

To justify their own existence, the emerging Cape-Verdean nationalism used the elements that shaped the complex utopian concept. Not only for tactical reasons, but also, because of the symbolism always exhibited by Cape Verde through its insularity.

Therefore, we will to start by relating utopia and insularity. After we shall draw some brief notes concerning the discovery of Cape Verde and its historical process. Finally, we will relate the utopian arguments with the archipelago image.

### **1. Routes and harbors of the utopia**

Utopia suggests insularity. Islands have always been territories of imagination. See how, based on the ecosystem of the Galapagos, Darwin deduced his evolutionist theory of natural selection. See how similar spaces, as the oasis in the desert and the planets in the cosmos, suggest the same idea of a sheltering harbor or an incognito and fabulous location.

The island-utopia has become a poetry theme. For instance, in the occidental culture, the *Odyssey* carried out an outstanding role. In spite of Odysseus has disembarked in legendary islands, inhabited by the gods Aeolus and Calypso, and although his immortality was assured to him if he stay there, the only land that this Homeric hero wished was his homeland Ithaca. In the same way, many books as *The Lusiads*, by Luis de Camões, or *Treasure Island*, by Robert Louis Stevenson, explore the multiple significances of the insular symbolism. Recently, *The Island of the Day Before*, by Umberto Eco, focuses the same theme.

Within the possible explanations for this symbolism, the most reliable theory affirms that the maritime or fluvial journey to an island presumes abandoning the living ones kingdom<sup>4</sup>. The ocean would be a barrier. Through this vision, the island is the space of the non-being, land of the dead. Not only did the ancient Egyptians believe that the departed pharaohs navigated through the sky in a boat, as so do the Hindus deposit their ashes in the River Ganges. The figure of Charon and his Christian version in the Portuguese morality play, *Act of the Ship of Hell*, by Gil Vicente, are other examples. We can also exemplify through the “Mar Tenebroso” (Tenebrous Sea); the medieval Arthurian legend that ends in the mythical island of Avalon; and the non-less mythical island where the Portuguese king Sebastião would rest.

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<sup>4</sup> GINZBURG, Carlo, *Storia Notturna*, Torino, Einaudi, 1989

Islands can also be social and political utopian places. Plato was its first prophet. During the Renaissance, Francis Bacon (*The New Atlantis*), Tommaso Campanella (*The City of the Sun*) and, above all, Thomas More (*Utopia*) followed his ideas<sup>5</sup>.

Chapters in books as the Island of Barataria (*Don Quixote*); the non-less famous islands in *Gulliver's Travels*, by Jonathan Swift; or, one that really exists, as the Liberty Island, next to New York – representing the American dream come true – give us the same perspective.

In Plato's work we can find different types of utopia-island: the legendary Atlantis and the social utopian *The Republic*. And, although a coincidence, it was on the island Syracuse that Plato tried to implement his philosophical concepts of an ideal community.

On the contraire, books as the *Brave New World* and *1984* are examples of dystopias, where totalitarian systems are accomplished. Once more, the plot takes place on an island, England, but the entire world is converted into a big-shelled island. In the *Brave New World*, for those that question and challenge the order in forced, the exile on an island is a solution. Under the same idea, Nazi Germany and Stalin's USSR concentration camps were compared to archipelagos<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, countries as Portugal or France installed prisons on islands that belonged to their oversea empire.

## 2. Nations and Predestinations

### 2.1. Cape Verde between Portugal and Brazil.... And Africa

The archipelago of Cape Verde is located in the Tropic of Cancer, in the North Atlantic Ocean. It belongs to the Sahel Belt, an African sub-region that extends itself from the Atlantic Ocean to the Red Sea. This region has arid and semi-arid soils and it rains in an instable way. Consequently, terrible dry seasons have devastated this territory, victimizing thousands of individuals.

Discovered by Portuguese navigators, in 1460, the archipelago is composed by ten islands that have been populated and colonized by Europeans and slaves captured along the cost of Africa. Soon, a complex ethnic and cultural miscegenation process began and made of Cape Verde a unique case among the Portuguese colonies, maybe only comparable to Brazil. The archipelago was a trading post of slaves that came from Guinea and where shipped to the New World.

The press was only created in 1842; in 1866 a high school was installed in the Island of São Nicolau; slavery was totally abolished in 1878; and the creation of the "Porto Grande" (Big Harbor) on the island of São Vicente (mid

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<sup>5</sup> MANUEL Frank and MANUEL Fritzie - *Utopian thought in the Western World*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell

<sup>6</sup> ["The Gulag Archipelago"](#)

19<sup>th</sup> Century) launched this archipelago into the international steam navigation. Cape Verde entered the Contemporary World.

The establishment of the First Portuguese Republic (1910) seemed to respond to some concerns of the native elites. They demanded more attention from Portugal. However, alimentary crisis persisted and the Portuguese political situation would soon lead to discontentment within the Cape-Verdean population.

In 1926, a military coup arose and in 1932/3 the “Estado Novo” (New State) emerged, imposing censorship and a vehement nationalist ideology, until 1974. In this way, the autonomist ideas flourishing in Cape Verde gained a nationalist vein in the 50’s; and by the end of the Second World War, with the foundation of the United Nations, the independence forces renewed themselves in Asia and Africa.

Nevertheless, it was through the cultural and literary domain that the identity mark of Cape Verde, the “cabo-verdianidade” (cape-verdianity) first affirmed itself. In the twenties some journalists and writers, as Eugénio Tavares, Pedro Cardoso and José Lopes, loyal to the redemptive ideology of the First Republic, did not wish to end relations with the Portugal. Probably they did not believe in the survival of the archipelago through its own means, not mentioning that the relation with the Portuguese culture was too strong<sup>7</sup>.

In the thirties, a new generation emerged around the literature magazine “*Claridade*” (*Clarity*). Its members followed a path traced by Pedro Cardoso. In other words, they valued, through literature, the Cape-Verdean cultural aspects: folk culture (poetry, proverbs, and stories), music (mostly, the *morna*) and the psychological character of the insular population. The writers looked for themes as ethnography, linguistics and sociology. Their fictions based on local reality, essays, and poetry denounced the tragedies of dryness and hunger. “*Claridade*” also denounced the tragedy of the Cape-Verdean emigration (the “despair of wanting to stay and having to leave” or “wanting to depart and having to stay”).

“*Claridade*” chose to welcome the Lusotropicalist theory of the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre, a disciple of Franz Boas. This theory sustained that Portugal through its complex multicultural history developed great tolerance towards cultures outside of Europe. In tropical areas, the Portuguese colonization developed a unique multiethnic society of *mestiços*. This process, by creating an intermediate social group, would have softened the relations between the European landowners and the African slaves, namely because the *mestiços* were descendents of both groups<sup>8</sup>.

Naturally, the Lusotropicalism, pointing out a few cases of racial tolerance, generalized a historical colonial reality that we know is different. The

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<sup>7</sup> LOPES, José Vicente - *Cabo Verde, as causas da independência*, Cidade da Praia, Spleen Edições, 2003

<sup>8</sup> FREYRE, Gilberto - *The masters and the slaves. A study in the development of Brazilian civilization*, New York, Knopf, 1964

truth is that this miscegenation would only work out in Brazil and in Cape-Verde. In other territories, as Angola or Mozambique, this did not work. Anyway, these writers used Freyre's theory to explain the connections between Brazilian and Cape-Verdean multicultural societies.

However, in the fifties the "Estado Novo" also adopted the Lusotropicalist theory. By the end of the Second World War, while the other colonial empires started their decolonization process, Portugal refused to do the same. And, wishing to explain its reluctance to an international community increasingly adverse to colonialism, the "Estado Novo" adopted the Lusotropicalism theory as a weapon destined to convince, *urbi et orbi*, that the Portuguese colonialism was different from the others.

This way, never giving up, the "Estado Novo" sustained a long colonial war (1961-1974). The Carnation Revolution on April 25th, 1974, would put an end to the dictatorship and its colonialism. Cape-Verde became independent on the 5<sup>th</sup> of July 1975.

## **2.2. Cape Verde between the Hesperides and the Atlantis**

Cape Verde incorporated all the significances of islands: as mythic spaces; as social utopia; and as dystopias.

Cape-Verdean intellectuals began to construct a poetic and mythological idea of their territory based on the Garden of Hesperides, which belonged to the Hellenic mythology. However, this rich and legendary garden with golden apples described by Hesiod, in *Theogony*, differed from the poverty and alimentary crises lived in Cape-Verde. Therefore, by making use of this myth the Cape-Verdean writers could imagine a mythic "pre-history" before the Portuguese arrival, in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century.

At the end, the Hesperian myth evoked the relation between the "Portuguese fatherland" and the "Creole motherland". The Cape-Verdean maintained a symbolic connection with the maternal figure of the Cape-Verdean land and the more distant image of the paternal Portuguese nation. Maybe, a Freudian explanation of the ancient sexual union between the mother slave and the Portuguese master – the father. Or, through the poetry of Jorge Barbosa:

Conflict in an only soul  
Of two contradictory souls  
Seeking themselves, amalgamating themselves  
In a century-old fusion;  
Conflict in an only blood  
Of the African blood  
With the adventurers blood  
Of the Expansion men;  
Conflict in an only being  
Of two poles in contact  
In the insistent projection

Of many generations...  
In the folk's souls it remained  
This deep anxiety  
- Something that is indecisive  
Within the tropical climate  
And the mirror of Portugal<sup>9</sup>.

The poets José Lopes and Pedro Cardoso were the main pleaders of the Hesperian myth. In his book called *The Garden of Hesperides*, Cardoso instigates the “African resting lion”<sup>10</sup> to stand up against colonialism.

The next intellectual generation of the “*Claridade*” was more sensible with the idea of the island as a social utopia. Therefore Cape-Verde could be a Lusotropicalist utopia because of: its biological miscegenation; the positive racial relations; and the interpenetration of values and cultural elements.

On the other hand, these writers, in their identity demand, especially Jorge Barbosa, chose the Atlantis, and not the Hesperides, as a geographical reference. Barbosa started his first volume of poems, *Archipelago*, connecting Cape Verde to the Atlantis:

Ruins of what continent,  
Of what cataclysms, of what earthquakes,  
Of what mysteries?<sup>11</sup>

In the work of the “*Claridade*”, insularity was, more than ever, sourly felt. The distance between the islands, and the difficulty to communicate between them and with the rest of the world, as so as its natural conditions, made the numerous Nations of the Cape-Verdeans Diasporas their new utopian territories. This feeling was named “evasionism”. Again, the verses of Jorge Barbosa express this anxiety and nostalgia of the other-space:

Sometimes I see boats pass by....

And for an instance  
Building  
Fantasying  
Cities  
Distant lands  
That I only know to exist

For what is said...

More I think  
Of the journey that I did not go...<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> BARBOSA, Jorge - “Povo”. In *Arquipélago*, S. Vicente, Editorial “Claridade”, 1935, p. 33

<sup>10</sup> CARDOSO, Pedro - “Ode a África”. In *Jardim das Hespérides*, Cabo Verde, 1926

<sup>11</sup> BARBOSA, Jorge - “Panorama”. In *Arquipélago*, S. Vicente, Editorial “Claridade”, 1935

<sup>12</sup> BARBOSA, Jorge - “Nostalgia”, in *Ambiente, Praia, Minerva* de Cabo Verde, 1941



Having as motto, “to strive the feet on the ground”, but, simultaneously, “tuning Cape Verde with the world” those writers started to discover/construct what would be the most important of utopias: the nation.

Based on solidarity relations, a nation is based on the existence of a community with a past and a common destiny, some cultural similarities and a space to share. In this way, the “*Claridade*” magazine culturally enlarged the upcoming generations. Its contribution to the linguistic and anthropological fields can be compared to similar movements in Europe during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries that originated Nations and independent States.

Finally, Cape Verde was a territory of dystopia. As so, we must say that the Tarrafal prison camp, an island inside an island, was an “Estado Novo” concentration camp. Activated in 1936, for political prisoners, the camp closed eighteen years later, taking the life of many that were against the regime. In 1961, using the Colonial War as excuse, the Tarrafal was reactivated, imprisoning fighters from the Portuguese colonies<sup>13</sup>.

### Conclusion

In spite of the geographic proximity to Portugal, the Cape-Verdean archipelago was, in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, one of the poorest and most forgotten Portuguese colonies. The press called it “martyr colony” and, in periods of hunger, public subscriptions were launched to help the starving.

Education and the press were responsible for creating the intellectual elites that, attentive to the Portuguese political events discovered themselves as voices of a different nation. This process took time, it was not linear, and began with the literature phenomena. In this way, the appropriation of the Greek myths, as the Hesperides and the Atlantis, meant a search for a symbolic alternative for the founding act of Cape Verde: the Portuguese discovery.

During the sixties and the seventies the colonial war joined Cape-Verdeans and Guineas in a common project. This event was not unique. Senegal and the Republic of Sudan formed, in 1959, the Federation of Mali; and the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar formed, in 1964, Tanzania. Most of these unions were historical failures. Cape Verde and Guinea were not exceptions. Obtaining independence in 1975, these two States were governed by the same party that commanded the operations against the Portuguese colonial army: the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC).

Nevertheless, this African utopia ended in 1980, when the two countries separated their destinies due to a coup d'état. Today Cape Verde, finally recovering from the structural wounds, but maintaining an enormous emigration

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<sup>13</sup> TAVARES, José Manuel Soares - *O Campo de Concentração do Tarrafal: a origem e o quotidiano (1936-1954)*, Lisboa, Colibri, 2006

phenomenon, it is one of the most stable democracies in Africa, and has the dream to join the utopian European Community.



## TOWARDS THE 27. THE ENLARGEMENT IN SCHOOLBOOKS

*Clara Isabel SERRANO\**

**Abstract:** *Since the date on which the Six have joined efforts to create the European Economic Community, a long journey has been made by the European Union. Each enlargement has brought benefits to the European citizens and has brought new opportunities for those who shared the designs emerged from Rome, as well as has reinforced the wide cultural and linguistic diversity, hallmark of the European Union.*

*With the detailed study of the school manuals of basic and secondary education it is intended, therefore, to observe this period marked in the Contemporary History, always bearing in mind the highlight of their most significant aspects and, simultaneously, the reflection on the most important issues.*

**Keywords:** *History, Enlargement, Europe, Path, Rome*

### INTRODUCTION

European Union has set a long path since the date in which the six founding members united efforts to create, in 1951, the European Community of Coal and Steel (ECCS) and, in 1957, the European Economic Union (EEC). From this point of view, the following enlargements have been the answer to an appeal stated in every treaty since that date. Therefore, “determined to consolidate, by the gathering of their resources, the defence of peace and freedom”, the Six have been appealing, since then, to “the peoples of Europe who share their ideals, to join their efforts”<sup>1</sup>.

Each enlargement brought benefits to the European citizens, implied new opportunities and gave more strength to the wide cultural and linguistic diversity, a distinctive brand of European Union.

The 2004 enlargement constituted one of the most important and ambitious landmarks in the process of political construction of the European Union, since

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<sup>1</sup> Emílio Rui Vilar – Opening session of the international ceremony *As Novas Fronteiras da Europa*. In: *Conflito e Cooperação nas Relações Internacionais. As Novas Fronteiras da Europa. O Alargamento da União: Desafios e Consequências. Conferência Gulbenkian*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 26 and 27 October, 2004. Available at WWW: <URL: <http://www.europa2004.gulbenkian.pt>>

it allowed a real reunification of Europe, separated in the post-Second World War period. This event favoured the vision of its founders – Europe becoming a free and united entity.

This communication sets the purpose of doing a survey and an analysis of the (non) references related to the European enlargement within the level we can generally call secondary teaching.

With the detailed study of History Schoolbooks adopted in the last years, we aim to observe a striking period of Contemporary History, bringing up its most significant aspects, while simultaneously, we'll promote the reflection on the most important questions.

To this effect, the publishing companies were selected based on the following criteria: those who present an editorial policy that contemplates the publishing of the most complete possible collection of manuals and scripts; those who are sufficiently representative of the market, regarding the school level taken into consideration.

### **1. THE ENLARGEMENT IN PORTUGUESE SCHOOLBOOKS**

In Portugal, the study of the enlargement process of European Union is included in the official program of 9<sup>th</sup> grade History subject, in theme eleven, “From the Second Post-War to the Eighties”, in the second sub-theme “The Transformations in Contemporary World”, in the line “The economic dynamism of the capitalist countries”<sup>2</sup>.

In the 12<sup>th</sup> year program<sup>3</sup>, it is inserted in module eight, “Portugal and the World from the Second World War until the Beginning of the Eighties – Internal Options and International Context” and in module nine, “Geostrategic Changes, Political Tensions and Sociocultural Transformations in Current World”<sup>4</sup>.

In the Portuguese Schoolbooks, the approach to this theme, strictly obeying to the drawing proposed by the *Basic Teaching National Curriculum* and by the History Program of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grades, is way too generalist and simplistic, reporting only and exclusively to the facts, without admitting a healthy debate on questions so important as those related to the adhesion

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<sup>2</sup> Vide *Programa História, Plano de Organização de Ensino-Aprendizagem, Ensino Básico, 3.º Ciclo*. 3rd edition. Lisbon: DGEBS/INCM, 1994, volume II, p. 75.

<sup>3</sup> The History program A of the 12th grade came into effect in 2005/2006, as a consequence of the law-decree no. 286/89, 29th August that establishes the general principles of curricular structuring of basic and secondary teaching. The aspects into effect are only those regarding secondary teaching and only in residual classes.

<sup>4</sup> Vide MENDES, Clarisse Mendes (coord. of) - *Programa de História A. 10.º, 11.º e 12.º Anos. Curso Científico — Humanístico de Ciências Sociais e Humanas. Formação Específica*. Lisbon: Ministry of Education/ Secondary Teaching Department, 2002, pp. 53-54 e 58-60.

processes, the socioeconomic problems, the new threats and/or the defence and security of the European continent.

The only exception to this rule is in Aníbal Barreira's schoolbook, *Rumos da História 9*, that presents an excerpt of *Liberation* newspaper, of 14<sup>th</sup> December 2002, entitled "The Problems of the Enlargement of the EU in 2004". However, its non inclusion in the body of the text leads to the fact that students' attention to this article depends exclusively on the teacher's will. Several studies on this issue reveal that the great majority of students, if not stimulated to do so - especially through teacher's indications - will not draw the attention to the written and iconographic documents presented on the schoolbooks. So, the responsibility for the reading and analysis of this document is mainly set upon the teacher's shoulders, heavily depending on the way the teacher manages the lesson's sequence and the depth that he or she puts into the analysis of these matters.

Schoolbooks express collective mentalities, not only of their authors but also of the political institutions that legitimize their existence. It is, therefore, imperative to ask the reason for this simplification of approach in manuals that are the mirror in which society reflects the image that it intends to give of itself; they are the disseminators of values that the school as an institution, and in least analysis, institutional power intends to transmit. See, as an example, the brevity with which the issue is treated in the Schoolbook whose author is Pedro Almiro Neves:

The dynamics of the Europe of Six and the successes obtained regarding global development of the founding countries motivated other European states to request the adhesion to the EEC. This way, in 1973, the Europe of Six became the Europe of Nine, with the adhesion of the United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark. In 1981, Greece also joined the Community and in 1986, Portugal and Spain followed suit. The Europe of Nine soon became the Europe of Twelve. With the joining of Austria, Sweden and Finland, in 1995, we moved forward to the Europe of Fifteen. In 2004, some other countries of Eastern Europe moved in, such as Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovenia, Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Cyprus and Malta. Since 2004, European Union is constituted by 25 Member-States<sup>5</sup>.

This theme perfectly exemplifies the little attention given to Contemporary History by Schoolbooks. The small valorisation and the erasure of contemporary age reveal the difficulty of establishing a relation with the most recent historical memory, but also the little or non-existing interest, already traditional when it comes to the Portuguese case, on the approach of current affairs, observed by a logical that lasts since the New State regime. It is also important to point out that the analysis of contemporary is assigned to the final part of the programs, already recognized as being extensive and hugely

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<sup>5</sup> NEVES, Pedro Almiro, MAIA, Cristina, BAPTISTA, Dalila, AMARAL, Cláudia - *Novo Clube da História 9*, Part 2. Oporto: Porto Editora, 2004, p. 70

descriptive and particularized, facts that end up making the study of contemporary era a mirage.

## 2. THE ISSUE OF THE ENLARGEMENT IN EUROPEAN SCHOOLBOOKS

In French Schoolbooks, the study of the European Union enlargement is proposed in the program of the subject *Histoire* of the *troisième classe* of the *premier cycle* of the *enseignement secondaire*, in the second part “Élaboration et Organisation du Monde d’Aujourd’hui”, in the fifth chapter, “De la Guerre froide au monde d’aujourd’hui”, in the point dedicated to the study of the “Construction européenne”<sup>6</sup>.

It is also included in the *Histoire* program of *terminale class* of the *second cycle* of the *enseignement secondaire*, in the second theme “L’Europe de 1945 à nos jours”, in the fifth and seventh chapters, respectively, “L’Europe en construction de 1945 à 1989” and “Les enjeux européens depuis 1989”<sup>7</sup>.

In England, the theme is in the official program of History subject of *key stage 3*, in unity B, *The Twentieth-Century World*, section 5, *A better world?* And of *key stage 4*, section 3, *The Cold War*, chapter 9, *Cold War – Hot War 1950-1972*.

In the French and English schoolbooks, the European enlargement is widely analysed and debated. However, the way textbooks address some issues, such as the English refusal to the invitation of the “Six” to join the EEC and the French vetoes in 1961 and 1967 is extremely representative of the long time rivalries between the two nations. See, as an example, the way Jacques Marseille refers to the United Kingdom, which have always opposed to the creation of some sort of supranational organization and became quite clear that it wasn’t available to give up its privileged economic bounds under the existence of the *Commonwealth*: “attaché au «grand large» et à son rôle de fidèle second des États-Unis, opposé à toute forme de construction supranationale, il rejette la CEE qu’il nomme avec dédain la «petite Europe»”<sup>8</sup>.

Not less singular is the way Derek Heater, in *Our world this century*, describes the successive vetoes of President Charles de Gaulle:

President de Gaulle of France did not like the ‘Anglo-Saxons’ (that is, the Americans and British). In 1960 he prevented Britain from becoming a member. In 1967 the Labour Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, started talks again. Again, de Gaulle refused to allow Britain to enter.

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<sup>6</sup> CHAMPIGNY, Danielle, LOUBES, Olivier, BERNIER, Michel (dir. de) - *Histoire Géographie 3<sup>e</sup>*. Paris : Nathan, 2003, p. 2-3

<sup>7</sup> MARSEILLE, Jacques (dir. de) - *Term/L-Es-S/Histoire. Nouveaux programmes. Nouvelles épreuves du Bac*. Paris: Nathan, 2004, p. 2-3

<sup>8</sup> MARSEILLE, Jacques - *Histoire. Term. L, ES, S*. Paris: Nathan, 2004, p. 210

In 1970 Edward Heath became prime minister. By this time de Gaulle was dead. The negotiations succeeded<sup>9</sup>.

Moreover, life and military-political career of the former French president are exhaustively analyzed<sup>10</sup>, at this point, by English schoolbooks. We can't avoid quoting Peter Lane's book, which explains Charles de Gaulle's options regarding his external policy in the following terms:

De Gaulle distrusted the USA and Britain because of this wartime experience. He insisted on an independent French policy. This led to:

- withdrawal from NATO;
- the creation of a French nuclear force;
- opposition to British entry into the EEC;
- good relations with Russia, Eastern Europe and China;
- refusal to sign the Test Ban Treaty of 1963<sup>11</sup>.

It is of general knowledge that schoolbooks tend to stimulate positive and negative reactions, leading to mixed feelings of love, hate or respect, proposing identification models; contributing to the construction of identity, they aim to make ideas acceptable, guiding and enforcing the self-love. Therefore, it seems clear to us that in this specific point, the analysis of French and English schoolbooks allow us to obtain a clear image of the collective past of both countries, regarding feelings, attitudes and beliefs. Schoolbooks, as active transmitters of ideologies and dominant perspectives, help to fix and shape memories, including the own historical memory and even the identity(ies). That is why we question ourselves: aren't schoolbooks of these two countries operating as silent but powerful means of forming the thoughts of entire generations, we would dare to say, even entire nations, directing their empathies?

To leave no doubts whatsoever regarding the answer to this question, let's pay attention to the astute and incisive satire made Plantu, reproduced in André Gauthier's textbook:

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<sup>9</sup> HEATER, Derek - *Our world this century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 153-154

<sup>10</sup> Peter Lane's schoolbook proposes the study of the following issues: "De Gaulle", "Career during the second world war", "Post-war career", "The 1958 crisis", "The fifth republic", "His algerian policy", "His imperial policy", "His foreign policy", "His internal policy", "1968, the year of crisis" e "1969, the year of defeat and resignation". Vide LANE, Peter - *Revise world history. 1870 – 1988. A complete revision course for GCSE*. London: Letts, 1982, p. 117 – 11

<sup>11</sup> Idem - *op. cit.*, p. 118



*Dessin de Plantu illustrant les difficultés de la CEE avec les britanniques.<sup>12</sup>*

But the issues regarding the European enlargement treated by French schoolbooks go far beyond the singular quarrel between France and United Kingdom. In a country which has the habit of provoking reflection and the debate, the books focus their analysis on questions as important and complex as:

- The problems brought up by the adhesion of Southern and Eastern Europe countries, by the Berlin Wall's Fall and by the instability in the Balkans.
- The reform of the European institutions, indispensable for their strengthening, mainly of the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union;
- The discrepancies verified regarding the economic development by the several member-states;
- The social and environmental concerns;
- The European policies of defence and security;
- Globalization;
- The upsurge of new political actors, the regions, emergent protagonists in the national and European stages, claiming for more autonomy and better representation at the European institutions;

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<sup>12</sup> GAUTHIER, André - *Histoire. Terminales*. Rosny: ABC Éditions, 1995, p. 160



- The problems brought up by a possible Turkish adhesion, as well as the geographic situation, the human rights offences (of Kurds, of women, problems of tortures...), the religious issue, among others;

- Europe as a federation of nation-states or as a confederation of states, similar to the Helvetic model.

On the other hand, the Italian schoolbooks,<sup>13</sup> in a very similar way to their French congeners, and given the role of Italy as a founding member of European Union, propose a thorough analysis of this issue, calling the attention not only to the five enlargements registered until 2004 (the study of the last enlargement occurred on 1<sup>st</sup> January 2007 is not yet included in schoolbooks) but also to the several advantages and disadvantages of the widening of the community.

Therefore, they underline the benefits of a broader internal market, of the new opportunities for workers and companies, the strengthening of the international role of Europe, namely at a commercial level, and the cultural enrichment.

Despite this, they also discuss the problems caused by the successive enlargements: the persistence of the “*sacche di arretratezza*” in Southern Italy, in Portugal and in Greece; the unemployment growth, specially in the agricultural sector; the rise of organized crime, of Islamic terrorism and of drugs abuse; the increment of clandestine immigration of extra-communitarian countries, which creates, according to the schoolbooks, generalized situations of misery, of social rootlessness and a new criminality; and the very poor living conditions of the lower social-economic branches of the population.

Other difficulties focused by the schoolbooks are the harmonization of penal codes, the definition of a united environmental strategy, the suppression of the national armies and the creation of a European armed force under a unified command. For schoolbooks, it is difficult to imagine the amount of fear raised by this last and delicate issue: countries should disarm themselves while nations and deliver their own defence to the care of the *Unione Europea*. According to the textbooks, it is predictable that the rise to a commanding job, in all the major responsibility functions of the future European government – from the army to the central bank, passing through diplomacy – raises competition and tension.

Schoolbooks, as we have already mentioned, through the selection of matters and of texts, through the organization and hierarchy of contents, which obey to political, moral, aesthetic and even ideological principles, are the

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<sup>13</sup> The analysis of the political construction process of the European Union is included in the official program of the subject *Storia da Scuola Secondaria de Primo Grado* in the theme “Il mondo contemporaneo” in the eighteenth sub-theme “Verso l’Europa unita”. In the Liceo program is included in the fifth module “Gli ultimi decenni” in the twenty-first theme “L’Europa occidentale verso l’integrazione”.

Vide CALVANI, Vittoria, GIARDINA, Andrea - *Dentro la Storia 3, Il Novecento, Corso di Storia e di Educazione Civica per la Scuola Media*. 1st ed. Milano: Arnaldo Mondadori Scuola, 1999, p. V-VI e CARTIGLIA, Carlo - *Storia e Ricerca, Il Novecento*. Milano: Loescher, 2002, volume 3, p. 318-319

reproducers of values and principles that school and, in last analysis, instituted power want to transmit. As a consequence, they bring up some aspects and points of view, but ignore or silence several others.

In Spanish schoolbooks<sup>14</sup>, it is interesting to verify that the issue of European enlargement, on the contrary of what happens with other themes related to the European construction that are widely analysed and debated, is brought up with the same brevity and lightly as the way it is treated in the neighbour country, Portugal. Illustrative of the celerity of that study is the activity suggested by the schoolbook of Antonio Garrido González:

Indica qué países fundaron la CEE y cuáles se adhirieron a ella, citando el año en que lo hicieron.<sup>15</sup>

In a country dealing with deep internal political problems, it doesn't seem appropriate to blame chance by the fact that schoolbooks ignore or silent the difficulties put by the successive enlargements. On the contrary. We strongly believe that this erasure tends to reflect what is aimed to do at an internal level, i.e., to avoid the debate and the reflection on a country which integrated, throughout history, several nationalities and regions that today, despite being autonomous, continue to aspire independence. This omission is based, as we see it, in the premise of a Spanish nation union, homeland of all Spanish, trying to hide a secular problem of the country: the democratic claims of nationalities and the relations (not always easy) of the central government with them.

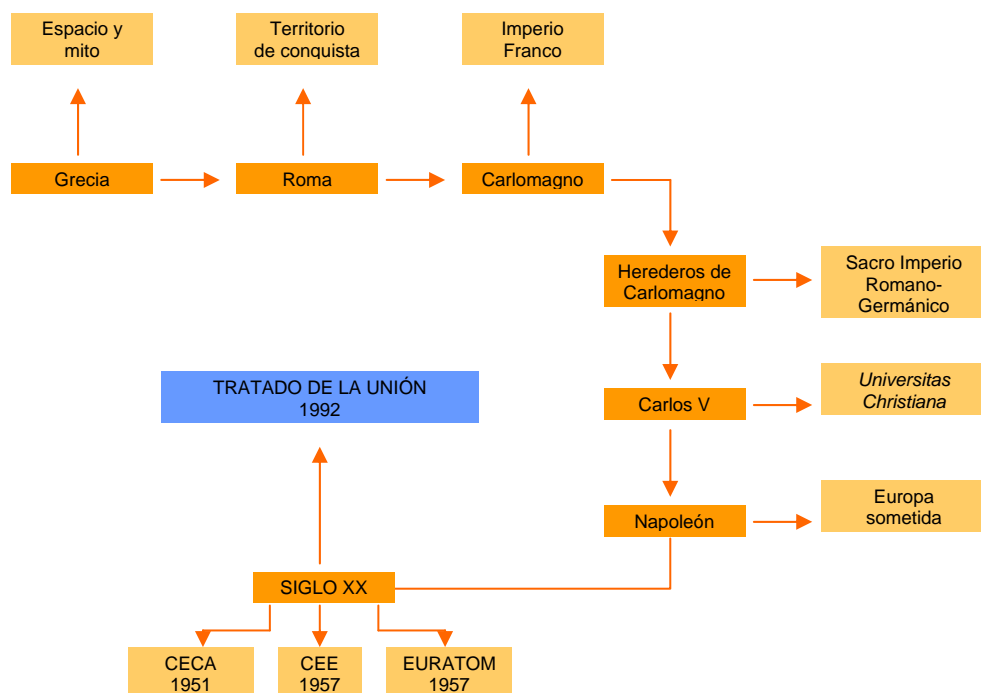
It is also curious the wide focus on the long path set by Europe since Roman-Greek antiquity, towards the Union, consecrated in Maastricht Treaty. We think that it is possible to establish a parallelism between that path and the one made by Spain, since Middle Age until our days, since the fractioning until the indissolubility of the Spanish nation. Pay attention, as an example, on the scheme presented by Rafael González Calvo, Maria Carmen González and Ignacio Robles Garcia manual:<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>The theme of the political construction of the European Union is included in the program of *educación secundaria obligatoria*, in the module "El Mundo Actual", which comprehends five chapters: the first dedicated to "Segunda Guerra Mundial y sus consecuencias"; the second chapter dedicated to "El mundo occidental"; a third one that includes the study of "Mundo comunista"; a fourth devoted to "España durante el franquismo" and a fifth and last chapter, consigned to "España democrática. La transición. La Constitución de 1978 y el Estado de las Autonomías. Gobiernos democráticos y la integración en Europa". Available at WWW: <URL: [http://iris.cnice.mecd.es/kairos/enseanzas/eso/actual/transicion\\_00.html](http://iris.cnice.mecd.es/kairos/enseanzas/eso/actual/transicion_00.html)>

<sup>15</sup> GARRIDO GONZÁLEZ, Antonio (dir. de) - *Historia 4 ESO*. Barcelona: Edebé, 2003, p. 217

<sup>16</sup> GONZÁLEZ CALVO, Rafael, GONZÁLEZ SANTOS, Maria Carmen and ROBLES GARCÍA, Ignacio - *Geografía e Historia 4. Ciencias Sociales. 2.º Ciclo de ESO*. Madrid: Ed. Everest, 1998, p. 214



It is also singular the title of the unity in which the study is proposed “Cómo se concreta un sueño” and the introduction presented by the same unit, which we allow ourselves to transcribe:

Europa no há existido como unidad en ningún momento de la historia pasada. A pesar de ello, los pueblos que la han constituido se han sentido vinculados por elementos comunes aportados por algunos de ellos. Así, podemos destacar el pensamiento filosófico griego, el latín como vehículo de comunicación, el Derecho Romano, el Humanismo cristiano, la gran corriente cultural renacentista que cambió la forma de entender el Estado, el liberalismo, el marxismo, los hallazgos científicos que dieron paso a la Revolución Industrial, etcétera.

Varias veces, a lo largo de los siglos, se intentó la integración europea, aunque sin éxito. En nuestros días, en los que tanta fuerza tiene lo supranacional, se han conseguido los primeros logros. Pero queda mucho camino por andar aún y, tanto los Estados como los individuos, hemos de unir nuestros esfuerzos si queremos hacer realidad el sueño que tan bellamente supo expresar el europeo Víctor Hugo:

«Vendrá un día en que todas las naciones del continente, sin perder su personalidad, os fundiréis estrechamente en una unidad de orden superior creando la Fraternidad Europea. En el siglo XX habrá una nación extraordinaria que será grande, ilustre, rica, pacífica y libre, una nación que se llamará Europa».<sup>17</sup>

Wouldn't the transcription of Victor Hugo's speech be a warning to the interior of the country itself?

<sup>17</sup> Idem - *op. cit.*, p. 198-199



## KURT HOREDΤ – IN MEMORIAM<sup>1</sup>

*Sever DUMITRAȘCU*

**Abstract:** *I publish these two documents into Romanian as a respectful homage to our professor, particularly because, after his family's departure from Munich, "there were several disciples" who started to "gossip", making impermissible and unjust allegations against the one who could not defend himself (it was after 1973). Those who unjustly were using and had used the support of the Great Old Man, Constantin Daicoviciu, were attacking again. The world was as it is today – we know that from Eminescu – and we are like it. Gramaticii certant !*

**Keywords:** *Professor, Horedt, disputes, memoriam, documents*

A man of his time, Kurt Horedt was a professor at the University of Cluj. He was one of my professors. It was him who coordinated my BA thesis on *Cultura Criș și Ceramica liniară – raporturi culturale între Centrul și Sud-Estul Europei* (Cris Culture and Linear Ceramics – cultural relations between Central and South-Eastern Europe). The thesis was purely archaeological and focused on the neo-eneolithic epoch and the clear origins of Europe.

I also had a dispute with him concerning the spurs from La Tène (a fragment from the old chronology of Jahn). Kurt Horedt supported – maybe according to his master in Bonn, Kurt Tackenberg – the *sole* vandal origin and dissemination of these iron artefacts. I supported the thesis that there also were *in Dacia* and its use by the Dacians – which is proved by the discoveries in the many fortresses citadels in Dacia. He got angry with me and did not greet me for about two years, "gossiping" me in the Romanian archaeology "cafes". When he wrote that, I replied. After a while – it was in the Library for Classic Studies in Cluj – he came to me, offered his hand and said:

"Tov' (comrade) (this was how we were joking), you were right and you did not even take out the "hard artillery". We laughed and became friends again. It was his – German, Saxon – way of pondering the archaeological and human reality.

I publish these *two documents* into Romanian as a respectful homage to our professor, particularly because, after his family's departure from Munich, "there were several disciples" who started to "gossip", making impermissible

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<sup>1</sup> We use this opportunity to thank Mrs. Lucia Daicoviciu, who offered us the opportunity to find and publish these *two documents*.

and unjust allegations against the one who could not defend himself (it was after 1973). Those who unjustly were using and had used the support of the Great Old Man, Constantin Daicoviciu, were attacking again. The world was as it is today – we know that from Eminescu – and we are like it. *Gramaticii certant !* However, there are moments of truth, honesty, and mutual respect, irrespective of scientific opinions that have separated, or still separate, us, as it is *natural* in any honest research.

Hence these lines written in the memory of our German-Saxon Professor from Cluj – Sibiu whom we have respected and will always respect. However, we will not idolatrise him, as he *did not* and *does not* need it.

#### DOCUMENT № 1

„K. Horedt,

Conf. Catedra de Istorie Universală,

Sp(ecialitatea): Istoria societății primitive și arheologie

Din actele de la dosar reiese că tov. Kurt Horedt ocupă funcția de conferențiar la Facultatea de Istorie și Filozofie a Universității Babeș-Bolyai (Catedra de istorie universală) din anul 1949. El este licențiat <<magna cum laude>> al Universității Clujene din anul 1936 și a îndeplinit funcția de preparator și asistent la Institutul de Studii Clasice al acestei universități. Referenții științifici – Acad. Emil Condurachi, profesor la Universitatea C. I. Parhon din București; Gheorghe Ștefan, membru corespondent al Academiei, profesor la Universitatea din București și prof. Mihail Macrea, de la Universitatea din Cluj – examinându-i activitatea didactică și științifică, apreciază că tov. Kurt Horedt întrunește condițiile de a i se acorda gradul de conferențiar.

Într-adevăr, Kurt Horedt este un bun dascăl, pasionat cercetător și un valoros specialist în domeniul istoriei societății primitive, al arheologiei acestei epoci și al perioadei prefeudale. În unele sectoare el e considerat ca cel mai bun cunoscător al problemelor. Contribuția lui la redactarea volumului I al *Istoriei României* a fost prețioasă. Lucrările lui - în număr de peste 60 – publicate în țară și străinătate, fie articole, studii sau lucrări de sinteză mai mari, au rezolvat multe probleme legate de trecutul țării noastre, deși unele au suscitât – după cum e și firesc – discuții contradictorii fără a se putea nega însă probitatea și nivelul strict științific al argumentării autorului.

Ca șef de șantier a condus o serie de săpături arheologice metodic și organizat, servind ca școală pentru cei mai tineri. Și în cadrul Catedrei și Institutului de Istorie al Academiei a creat câțiva elevi buni. E bine orientat ideologic.

Consiliul Științific al Universității din Cluj în ședința sa din 22 XI 1960 a propus cu 27 de voturi pentru (5 voturi contra și 3 voturi anulate), acordarea gradului de conferențiar.

Subcomisia noastră își însușește această recomandare și propune Comisiei Superioare de diplome să i se acorde tov. – lui Kurt Horedt gradul superior de conferențiar în specialitatea istoria comunei primitive și arheologie.

Subcomisia apreciind atât faptul că tov. Kurt Horedt și-a trecut doctoratul, în anul 1939, în Germania cu lucrarea *Cultura Wietenberg, o contribuție la cronologia epocii de bronz din Transilvania*, obținând nota <<bine>>, cât și valoroasa activitate științifică desfășurată de dânsul în continuare recomandă Biroului Comisiei și recunoașterea titlului de doctor în științe istorice al tov. Kurt Horedt.

Președinte:

Membrii:

București, 6 III 1961

#### DOCUMENT № 2

Sus în dreapta scris cu roșu, olograf de C. Daicoviciu: „S-a acordat gradul în 1963”.

#### Referat

în legătură cu întâmpinarea tovarășului conf. univ. Kurt Horedt de la Universitatea din Cluj prin care solicită reexaminarea situației sale.

Subsemnatul prof. C. Daicoviciu, în calitate de membru al Comisiei superioare de diplome și referent pentru problemele de istorie în cadrul Subcomisiei de științe filologice și istorice, am alcătuit un referat documentat și favorabil recunoașterii gradului de conferențiar tovarășului K. Horedt.

Acest referat a fost însușit, după câte știu, de întreaga Subcomisie și supus votului secret al Comisiei superioare de diplome.

Nefiind prezent la aceea ședință (ținută aproximativ acum doi ani), nu am putut da lămuririle necesare în legătură cu unele aspecte negative ce s-au ivit prin discuțiile purtate în jurul persoanei și activității celui propus. Astfel s-a întâmplat că tov. K. Horedt n-a obținut majoritatea recunoașterii gradului.

Întâmpinarea de față a tov. K. Horedt (pe care o face, cu lăudabilă modestie, după scurgerea unui lung răstimp) îmi oferă prilejul să susțin din nou propunerea inițială, rugând Comisia superioară de diplome să țină seama de meritele reale ale solicitantului care îndreptățesc cu prisosință acordarea gradului cerut și propus.

Ca unul ce i-am fost profesor, iar apoi decan, director și rector, îl cunosc pe tov. K. Horedt ca pe un cercetător de valoare, de mare valoare, model pentru atâția tineri pe care i-a format și continuă să-i formeze. În această privință pot afirma că activitatea științifică, pe teren ca arheolog – și didactică, la catedră, ca dascăl și educator – a tov. K. Horedt m-a mulțumit întotdeauna. Atât la Institutul de Studii Clasice al Universității din Cluj (și la Sibiu!), cât și la Catedră și la Institutul de Istorie al Academiei, D-sa a fost un element de

nădejde, un ajutor neprețuit în toate privințele. Nu pot să nu-i recunosc strădaniile lui sincere și oneste de a lămuri și a se lămuri în problema continuității poporului român – contradicțiile ivite uneori fiind principiale și soluționându-se pozitiv. Meritele tovarășului K. Horedt în această direcție ca și în domeniul cercetărilor privind comuna primitivă sunt incontestabile și de prea puțini egalate.

De asemenea trebuie să afirm cu toată tăria și răspunderea că în vremile grele de la Sibiu, în triste zile ale refugiului și ale coteropirii hitleriste, tov. K. Horedt a stat neclintit lângă noi, refuzând sarcini sau misiuni ce i s-au cerut de către forurile politice hitleriste din sânul minorității germane (săsești). Nici un moment nu am avut îndoială că tov. K. Horedt ar fi neloial față de instituția în care servea și față de poporul român.

Rog, prin urmare, pe membrii Comisiei să binevoiască a ține seama de aceste referințe și să acorde vrednicului nostru elev și colaborator gradul superior de conferențiar.

București, 4 aprilie 1963

Acad. C. Daicoviciu”



## CHRONICLE ON THE SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY IN 2008

The year 2008 has been a fruitful year from the point of view of the scientific and professional results for the members of the Department of History at the Faculty of History, Geography and International Relations. The members have managed to a great extent to harmonise to the national and European historiography writing through speciality research, as it has proved to be in consensus with the current historical trends. The books, articles, and surveys that have been published, as well as the participation as lecturers to national and international scientific sessions organised by different institutions complete the image of a young staff that, with the support of university professors with experience in the field, has the ability to efficiently integrate to the national and European scientific circuit through rigorous scientific research.

We also envisage the current interest of the topics proposed for investigation by some colleagues. Thus, within the department, a certain standard of scientific exigency has been imposed that has led to an emulation of ideas beneficial to scientific and professional improvement of the staff.

In the academic year 2008, the following books have been published (or are in print) by the Department of History: Sever Dumitrașcu, Florin Sfrengeu, *Constantin Daicoviciu – o biografie*, Editura Universității din Oradea, 2008 (in print); Radu Romînașu, *Asociațiile culturale românești din Oradea și județul Bihor în perioada interbelică*, Editura Universității din Oradea, 2008, 501 p.; Florin Sfrengeu, *Frontierele spațiului românesc în context european*, Editura Universității din Oradea and Editura Cartdidact din Chișinău, 2008, 483 p. (coordinated by Sorin Șipoș, Mircea Brie and Ion Gumenâi); Florin Sfrengeu, *Nord-vestul României în secolele XVIII-XII*, Editura Universității din Oradea, 2008 (in print); Antonio Faur, *Documente diplomatice franceze cu privire la Transilvania 1944-1946*, vol. I, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2008, 235 p.; Antonio Faur, *Realități transilvănene în rapoartele unor diplomați francezi (1944-1948)*, Editura Universității din Oradea, 2008, 214 p.; Antonio Faur, *Monografia Beiușul și lumea lui*, vol. III, Editura Primus, Oradea, 2008, (collaboration with chapters at pages 145-225, 572-596); Gabriel Moisa, *Studii de istoriografie românească*, Editura Dacia, Cluj- Napoca, 2008, 309 p. (coordinator).

In 2008, the academic staff of the department has published (or is printing) several surveys and articles in speciality magazines in the country and

abroad: Mihai Drecin (6 in print) Ion Zainea (6 out of which 2 published and the others in print), Antonio Faur (12 out of which 3 in English, 7 are published in acknowledged magazines in the CNCSIS database: *Europaea*, category B+ , *Studia Universitas Petru Maior*, *Historia*, in Tg. Mureș – category B+ , *Perichoresis*, *The Theological Journal of Emanuel University*, Oradea, category B+ , *Studia Judaica*, - category B, 2008, no. XVI, p. 221-229, *Banatica*, Timișoara, – category B, *Anuarul Institutului George Barițiu*, Cluj-Napoca – category B, *Cetatea Bihariei*, category D, 2008, no. 1, p. 89-92); Florin Sfrengeu (5), Gabriel Moisa (10 out of which one published in the *Analele Universității din Craiova. Seria Istorie* – category B+, 2008, no. 1, pp. 277-303), Bodo Edith (3), Radu Romînașu (3).

The same year, the Department of History has organised a series of local and national scientific sessions: *Sesiunea doctoranzilor în istorie a Universității din Oradea*, Oradea, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, 8 March 2008 (Laura Ardelean, Bodo Edith belonging to the academic staff of the department have presented scientific papers); *Sesiunea anuală de comunicări științifice a Departamentului de istorie – Universitatea din Oradea*, 18<sup>th</sup> edition, 23 May 2008 (all members of the Department have had presentations in different sections: Ancient History and Archaeology, Mediaeval History, Modern and Contemporary History); Scientific Session 1940 & 1968. *De la tragedie la demnitate națională*, Oradea, 28 August 2008 (organiser Prof. dr. Mihai D. Drecin), Session of Scientific Papers *Orașul și Biserica*, Oradea, 26 – 28 September 2008 (organiser on behalf of the Department Prof. dr. Mihai D. Drecin), organised by the Faculty of History, Geography and International Relations at the University of Oradea, the Commission of History of Cities in Romania at the Romanian Academy, the Oradea City Hall, the National Symposium *Din viața și activitatea profesorului economist Victor Jinga*, Săcele – Brașov, 17 – 18 October 2008 (main organiser on behalf of the Department, Prof. dr. Mihai D. Drecin), organised by the Department of History at the Faculty of History, Geography and International Relations and the Faculty of Economics at the University of Oradea, the Romanian Academy – Commission of Economic History and History of Economic Thinking, *Sesiunea națională a studenților în Istorie*, organised in partnership with the „Gheorghe Șincai” Association of Students in History at the University of Oradea, Oradea, 31 October-2 November 2008, *Sesiunea științifică 1918 în istoria românilor*, Oradea, 28-29 November 2008.

The Department has been involved in organising two international scientific sessions. One of them was the International Symposium on *Borders of the Romanian Area in the European Context*. Oradea – Chișinău, Oradea, 8 -11 May 2008 and Chișinău, 11-13 September 2008 (entitled *Historiography and Politics in the East and the West of the Romanian Area*), organised by the University of Oradea, Faculty of History, Geography and International Relations (the Department had as members of the Organising Committee:

Lecturer dr. Florin Sfrengu, Lecturer dr. Radu Romînaşu and Assist. Bodo Edith), the Institute of Euroregional Studies and History in Oradea, the Chisinau State University, the Faculty of History and Psychology, the Romanian Academy – Centre of Transylvanian Studies.

The second scientific session was the International Conference entitled *Processes of Modern European Economic Integration*, Bucharest, 19-21 September 2008, organised by A.S.E. Bucharest, Department of History at the Faculty of History, Geography and International Relations in Oradea (prof. dr. Mihai Drecin was a member of the Organising Committee), Faculty of History at the University of Bucharest, Faculty of History at the “Al.I. Cuza” University of Iasi, Faculty of Economics at the “Stefan cel Mare” University of Suceava, the “Costin Murgescu” Institute of Economic Research at the Romanian Academy of Bucharest.

In the year 2008, the members of the Department have defended several papers at local, national and international scientific sessions. On a national level, we mention the papers by: Mihai Drecin – *Din corespondența lui Silviu Dragomir cu Victor Jinga (1944)*, presented during the symposium *Silviu Dragomir – 120 de ani de la naștere*, Cluj–Napoca, 13 March 2008, organised by „Babeş–Bolyai” University – Faculty of History- Philosophy, University of Oradea – Faculty of History, Geography and International Relations, the Romanian Academy – Centre of Transylvanian Studies; *Vilfredo Pareto în opera profesorului Victor Jinga*, presented at the Scientific Session *Bazele teoriei economice și sociale moderne la Vilfredo Pareto cu prilejul împlinirii a 160 de ani de la naștere*, Romanian Academy, Bucharest, 10 June 2008; *România în contextul invadării Cehoslovaciei de armate ale Tratatului de la Varșovia. Studiu de caz: Oradea*, presented at the Scientific Session *1940 & 1968. De la tragedie la demnitate națională*, Oradea, 28 August 2008; *Repere ale implicării comunității evreiești în viața orașului Oradea* (in collaboration with Gabriel Moisa), presented at the Scientific Session entitled *Orașul și Biserica*, Oradea 26 – 28 September 2008; *Din corespondența lui Victor Jinga cu George Moroianu (perioada interbelică)*, presented at the National Symposium *Din viața și activitatea profesorului economist Victor Jinga*; *Rolul Băncii „Albina” din Sibiu în pregătirea și împlinirea Unirii din 1918 (sfârșitul sec. XIX – 1919)*, presented at the Scientific Symposium *Unirea din 1918 – act fundamental al istoriei României*, Sibiu, 7 – 8 November 2008, organised by the “Nicolae Lupu” Faculty of History and Patrimony at the “Lucian Blaga” University of Sibiu; Ion Zainea – *Învățăământul confesional din Oradea în epoca modernă*, defended at the *Sesiunea științifică anuală a Comisiei de Istorie a Orașelor din România*, Oradea, 25-27 September 2008; *Probleme administrative urbane dezbătute la conferințele de la Constanța (1927) și Oradea (1929) a reprezentanților orașelor din România* at the same scientific session, Iasi, 2-5 October 2008.

The following colleagues have participated to international sessions as lecturers: Mihai D. Drecin – *Vestul românesc – principal centru politic al românilor transilvăneni (sfârșitul sec. XIX – începutul sec. XX)*, presented at the International Symposium on *Borders of the Romanian Area in the European Context. Oradea – Chișinău*, Oradea, 8 -11 May 2008; *Calendarul portativ al funcționarilor de bancă români din Transilvania (1909, 1910) – formă de integrare în rândul funcționarilor bancari din Europa Centrală*, presented at the International Conference on *Processes of Modern European Economic Integration*, Bucharest, 19 – 21 September 2008; Ion Zainea, *Problemele teritoriale și frontaliere ale României la Conferința de Pace de la Paris în corespondența și memoriile lui Alexandru Vaida-Voevod (1919-1920)*, at the International Symposium *Borders of the Romanian Area in the European Context.*; *Târguri din vestul României în relație cu Europa centrală (1921-1924)*, presented at the International Conference on *Processes of Modern European Economic Integration*; Antonio Faur – *Corespondențe inedite ale Consiliului Național Român din Oradea și Bihor cu ministrul plenipotențiar al Consiliului Dirigent la Budapesta (1919)*, at the International Symposium on *Borders of the Romanian Area in the European Context*; Florin Sfrengeu - *Populația romanică din Pannonia în a doua jumătate a mileniului I A. D; Considerații istorico-arheologice privind perioada secolelor VIII-X în Nord-Vestul Transilvaniei*, presented at the same international symposium (Oradea and Chișinău); Gabriel Moisa - *Istoriografie și discurs politic în România anilor 60-80 ai secolului trecut. Chestiunea basarabeană*, at the International Symposium *Borders of the Romanian Area in the European Context*; *Repere economice orădene 1945-1960*, presented at the International Conference on *Processes of Modern European Economic Integration*; *Acțiuni educative ale muzeelor de istorie cu tineretul român studios în anii '80 ai secolului trecut*, at the International Symposium *The Pitesti Experiment – Re-education through Torture*”, 8<sup>th</sup> edition, PERT '08 Pitești, 3-5 October 2008; Bodo Edith – *Plângerile urbariale, formă de protest față de abuzurile stăpânului domenal*, presented at the International Symposium on *Borders of the Romanian Area in the European Context*; Radu Romînașu - *Reuniunea culturală „Cele Trei Crișuri” din Oradea și granița culturală a României întregite*, presented at the same international symposium.

This year, several research contracts have been approved for funding and some of them are developing: joint venture grant A\_C 47/2006-2008 C.N.C.S.I.S. on *The Process of Romania's Integration to the European Economy. Historical and Contemporary Dimensions (19<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>st</sup> centuries)* in partnership with A.S.E. Bucharest, the Faculty of History at the University of Bucharest, the Faculty of History at the “Al.I. Cuza” University of Iasi, the Department of History at the University of Oradea, the Faculty of Economics at the “Stefan cel Mare” University of Suceava, the “Costin Murgescu” Institute

of World Economy at the Romanian Academy of Bucharest (our colleagues Mihai Drecin, Barbu Ștefănescu, Ion Zainea, Gabriel Moisa are involved in the project); local funding contract for the book entitled *Documente diplomatice franceze cu privire la Transilvania 1946-1948*, vol. I (elaborated by Senior Lecturer dr. Antonio Faur).

The following PhD theses have been publicly defended in the year 2008: Mircea Pașca, *Habitatul orădean la începutul secolului al XX-lea*, Ioan Căliman, *Istorie și ceremonial în riturile de trecere din zona Făgetului*, Ioan Viorel Popescu, *Casa bănățeană secolele XVIII-XX*, Ioan Goman, *Meșteșuguri și industrii țărănești în Crișana în secolul al XVIII-lea și prima parte a secolului al XIX-lea*, Emilia Gale, *Aspecte ale religiozității populare în Crișana (secolele al XVIII-lea și al XIX-lea)*, Eugen Gagea, *Vasile Goldiș (1862–1934). Monografie istorică*, Petrică Zamela, *Mitropolitul Vasile Lăzărescu al Banatului (1894–1969). Monografie istorică*, Adriana Coroian, *Politică și propagandă comunistă în regiunea Maramureș (1952 – 1968)*, Ioan Laza, *Anatomia cenzurii comuniste. O perspectivă asupra presei din Bihor (1966 – 1977)*.

Professors Viorel Faur, Barbu Ștefănescu, Mihai D. Drecin, and Aurel Chiriac have been invited to provide references for the PhD theses at famous academic centres in the country.

Finally, we present the list of the PhD candidates in History since 1 November 2008: Teodor Lucian Prichici, Constantin Demeter, Kriza Tamas, Gabriel Gheorghe Căsap, Gergely Zalan, Mirela Vesa (scientific coordinator: Prof. dr. Sever Dumitrașcu); Ioan Răzvan Pinca, Iuliana Sranko (scientific coordinator: Prof. dr. Barbu Ștefănescu); Nicolae Nistoroiu (scientific coordinator: Prof. dr. Viorel Faur); Luciana Teodora Prichici, Vasile Cuc (scientific coordinator: Prof. dr. Mihai Drecin); Mariana Buda, Livia Giurcuța, Iuliu Centea, George Bologan (scientific coordinator: Prof. dr. Ioan Horga); Raluca Ciamaga, Gheorghe Pop Robescu, Hachhanser Ronald (scientific coordinator: Prof. dr. Ioan Godea).

**Radu ROMÎNAȘU**

