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GENOA, VENICE AND THE TURK IN THE BLACK SEA AREA

Alexandru SIMON

Abstract: *Venice attempts to end the Pontic monopoly of her Genoese rivals increased in number and in impact in the late 1420s and early 1430s in the context of the mounting tensions between the Republic of Saint Mark and the Otto-man Empire (the traditional protector of the Genoese in the East). These attempts were supported by the rapprochement initiated after years of conflict between Venice and Buda (the traditional anti-Ottoman center of East-Central Europe), as well as by a significant decrease of Hungarian-Moldavian hostilities (the Moldavian fought to diminish the control of the Genoese over their colonies which had come under Moldavia's nominal rule). These evolutions set the stage for John Hunyadi's later policy as well as for most of the later conflicts of the 1440s, when the eventual failure of anti-Ottoman crusading and of the Union of Florence helped to maintain the Pontic balance of power in favor of the Ottoman state and its associates.*

Keywords: *Genoa, Venice, Ottoman Empire, Murad II, Moldavia, Crusade*

In the 1430s, Venice re-attempted to establish herself in the Black Sea. The Ottoman conquest of Thessalonica compelled her to look to the north. The glory days of the Genoese, the 'rulers' the Pontic area, often with Muslim (Ottoman, Tartar) support, seemed gone. Byzantium needed all the aid it could get. Venice had apparently also overcome the enduring adversity of Byzantium's 'western protector' and Genoa's traditional ally, Sigismund of Luxemburg. Buda, officially at peace with the Ottomans (1429-1437), and Krakow, since the 1380s on a predominantly pro-Ottoman political course, had difficulties in controlling their 'eastern extensions' to the sea: Lithuania, Walachia and Moldavia, gradually turned into battlefields. There was also increasing talk of Church Union. The Council of Basel and the Roman papacy fought over the 'acceptance' of the *Greeks*. In late autumn 1432, Venice, not known for her tolerant attitude towards the *Greeks*, even wrote to Wladislaw II Jagiello, king of Poland and grand-duke of Lithuania, asking him to continue supporting *Walachia* [i.e. Moldavia] *and the Walachians, who are Christian Catholics <fallen> under the power and rule of the Turks*¹.

¹ *Codex epistolaris saeculi decimi quinti* (= *Monumenta Medii aevi res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, II, XI-XII, XIV), II, 1382-1445, edited by Anatol Lewicki (Krakow, 1891); no. 209, p. 305 (November 13, 1432); Șerban Papacostea, 'Une révolte anti-génoise en Mer Noire et la riposte de Gênes (1433-1434), *Il Mar Nero* (Rome-Paris), I (1994), p. 279-290; Matei Cazacu, 'Venise et la Moldavie au début du XV^e siècle', *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie* [Studies and Materials in Medieval History] (Bucharest-Brăila), XXI (2003), p. 131-138; László Veszprémy, 'King Sigismund of Luxemburg at Golubac (Galamboc)', in *Worlds in Change*, I, *Crusading and Church Union in the 14th and 15th*

After his failed attack earlier that year against Elias I, the successor of the late Alexander I, Murad II, though he could not yet enthrone his favorite, Stephen, had forced Elias into submission. After years of conflict, the half-brothers, Elias and Stephen had to settle (1433-1436). Nominally, only Elias was ruler, but the land was divided, including the former Genoese colonies in Suceava's 'custody'. Chilia, at the Danube Mounds, went over to Stephen II. He took Moldavia's 'Hungarian part', according to the partition proposed by Sigismund of Luxemburg and reluctantly accepted by Wladislaw II in 1412. Elias, the uncle, by marriage, of the new Polish king, Wladislaw III, kept Cetatea Albă, at the Dniestr Mounds. By 1440, Stephen II won this harbor too, viewed (afterwards), together with Chilia, as the *harbors of the Hungarian*. In 1442, Stephen II blinded and dethroned Elias I. He profited from his rival's blunders. Anxious to fortify his reign and to regain the status of accepted monarch (duke) of his predecessors (1370s-1380s), Elias had placed his state under Eugenius IV's protection (1435-1436). This caused resentment in Constantinople, engaged in delicate talks with Basel and Rome, still at odds with Buda. Byzantium thus aided Stephen. Soon after 1439, the latter revealed himself as one of the adversaries of the Union of Florence².

I. The Genoese Harbors in the Black Sea Area and Crusading

The year of Elias I's fall was marked by John Hunyadi's anti-Ottoman rise (which costed Vlad II of Wallachia, Stephen's brother-in-law, his throne) and by the first well-structured anti-unionist Byzantine actions, supported by Murad II. Hunyadi's victories progressively turned the tables in favor of the crusade. His *Long Campaign* in the Balkans (1443) was a triumph. But the subsequent Ottoman-Hungarian peace of Oradea-Szeged, sworn by Hunyadi, in the name of his king, Wladislaw III, was broken. The peace brought great advantages to the crusaders and meant the restoration of the Serbian despotate, occupied by Murad. In exchange for the huge Hungarian estates of George Branković, the father of Mara, Murad's wife, Hunyadi had accepted to endorse the peace. Yet, like his king, convinced by the papal legate, cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, that there was more to win from fighting the *Turk* (John, voivode of Transylvania, was promised the crown of Bulgaria too), he broke his oath, but kept the estates. An enduring feud with fatal consequences for the crusade and for Church Union erupted. In 1443, George and Mara had played a major role in

Centuries (=Transylvanian Review, XVIII, suppl. 2; *Mélanges d'Histoire Générale*, Nouvelle Série, IV, 1), edited by Christian Gastgeber, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Oliver Jens Schmitt, Al. Simon (Cluj-Napoca, 2009), p. 253-270

² M. Cazacu, 'Les Ottomans sur le Bas-Danube au XV^e siècle. Quelques précisions, *Südost-Forschungen* (Munich), XLI (1982), p. 27-41; Emilian Popescu, 'Compléments et rectifications à l'histoire de l'église de Moldavie à la première moitié du XV^e siècle', in Idem, *Christianitas Daco-Romana. Florilegium Studiorum* (Bucharest, 1994), p. 461-466; Andrei Pippidi, 'Din nou despre inscripțiile de la Cetatea Albă [Again on the Inscriptions of Cetatea Albă], in *In honorem Paul Cernovodeanu*, edited by Violeta Barbu (Bucharest, 1998), p. 83-84; Al. Simon, *În jurul Carpaților. Formele și realitățile genezei statale românești* [Around the Carpathians: The Forms and Realities of the Genesis of the Romanian States] (Cluj-Napoca, 2002), p. 419

determining their Al-banian relative Skanderbeg to rebel against Murad II and side with John³.

Rome, Buda, Byzantium and Venice (officially at peace with the *Turk*) prepared the final attack. Murad had abdicated in favor of his son Mehmed (seemingly involved in the Ottoman-Serbian conspiracy that had led to the murder of Alaeddin Ali Celebi, Murad's designated heir, by Skanderbeg in 1443). A favorite of Poland's true lord, cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki (a sup-porter of Rome's conciliarist adversaries), Stephen II had to draw closer to John. In order to avoid the more effective Hungarian suzerainty, Moldavia was Poland's traditional vassal since 1387. But at the end of the Hungarian civil war which had brought young Wladislaw III of Poland to the throne in Buda, Hunyadi had asked (1441) and Wladislaw had accepted that, during his reign, as king of Hungary and Poland, Moldavia should be only under Hungarian suzerainty. Elias tried to react by an alliance with Wladislaw's brother, Casimir (IV), duke of Lithuania (1442), pushing Stephen II towards the 'crusader party' of Hungary. Aided by Casimir, Elias re-attempted to win the throne in May 1444. This attack 'sealed' the rapprochement be-tween Hunyadi and Stephen. Stephen needed Hungary's support, while Hunyadi wanted the harbors of Chilia and Cetatea Albă for the crusade⁴.

Stephen focused on the classic disputes between Moldavian authori-ties and the Genoese elite. Unlike Vlad II, recently restored to power by Hunyadi, Stephen did not sent troops on crusader campaign that ended at Varna. He did not want to take any perilous Ottoman or Lithuanian chan-ces. Instead, instigated probably by the Venetians, to which he had been in contact ('taken from Elias I) for almost a decade and which had not abandoned their Pontic plans, he attempted to increase his control, namely over Cetatea Albă. The Genoese were already perceived as the *Latin* trai-tors of the cross due to their Ottoman alliances (in 1444, with or without their metropolis' consent, the eastern colonies decisively aided Murad II, as the Venetians failed to close the Straits). Stephen II's Pontic target was the powerful Garibaldi family who quickly asked the metropolis for support.

[...] *Intellecta relatione scripta facta ab Egregio Officio Mercantie/ Comunis Ianue super concessione represaliarum petitarum ab Angelo Iustinio/ de Garibaldi contra Stephano Vaivodam. Decre-verunt et ipsi Officio/ Romanie presenti et intellegenti domisere-unt: ut totum ipsarum represaliarum/ processum*

³ E.g. Joseph Held, *Hunyadi. Myth and Reality* (Boulder, 1985), p. 92-95; Pál Engel, 'János Hunyadi and the Peace of Szeged (1444)', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest), XLVII (1994), p. 241-257; Mihailo Popović, *Mara Branković-Leben und Wirken einer Frau an der kulturellen Schnittstelle zwi-schen Serben, Byzantinern und Osmanen*, PhD Thesis (Vienna, 2005), p. 144-146; *The Crusade of Varna. 1443-1445*, edited by Colin Imber (Aldershot, 2006)

⁴ For instance: F. Pall, 'Ciriaco d'Ancona e la crociata contro i Turchi', *Bulletin de la Section Historique de l'Académie Roumaine* (Bucharest), XX (1938), p. 29-47; Al. Simon, 'The Captain and the Superba: Crusader Moments in the Relations between John Hunyadi and Genoa (October 1444–September 1455)', in *Between Worlds*, II, *Extincta est lucerna orbis: John Hunyadi and his Time* (=Mélanges d'Histoire Générale, NS, I, 2), edited by Ana Dumitran, Loránd Mádly and Al. Simon (Cluj-Napoca, 2008), p. 333-364; O.J. Schmitt, 'Die Allianz der Häuser Hunyadi und Kastrioti im Krieg mit den Osmanen', in *Worlds in Change*, I, p. 271-278

inspiciat atque examinat; et sumptis instructionibus ad/ eam materiam pertinenti-bus referat que mueneris eqonomom sibi/ pruidendum videatur petitioni dicti Angeli. Seque faciat mita dies octo proximos (Genoa, 16th of October 1444; passage from the decision of the Council).

Still, similar, if not greater, conflicts took place until the fall of Caffa in 1475. Yet this conflict (apparently never actually settled) took place on the eve of Varna and seemingly costed Stephen Cetatea Albă. In 1445, the Burgundian crusader ships arrived in Cetatea Albă met no Moldavian authorities there. But the Hungarian-Burgundian-Walachian 'Danubian crusade' in response to Varna was a failure. Vlad II too thus decided to change sides⁵.

II. The 'Moldavian Gift' of Sultan Murad II

After Varna, Murad II re-abdicated. The events of 1445 strengthened the northern position of the empire, but also that of Murad's II adversaries, grouped around his son Mehmed II. Constantine, the son of emperor John VIII Palaeologus, seemed to win the domestic battle with his brother and rival, Demetrios a friend of Murad II and an Orthodox ally of Stephen II (in 1445, Stephen broke off relations with the crusader camp and Damian, metropolitan of Moldavia, rejected the union he had signed). The Hungarian crisis ignited by Wladislaw's death at Varna seemed to settle. In early 1446, the hostility of Branković, Vlad II and Stephen II towards Hunyadi allowed Murad to focus on the Eastern Mediterranean, while his main targets were further to the north-west, and to successfully conclude his return journey to the throne. In spring he subdued Mytilene (Lesbos) and Aenos ruled by the Genoese Gattilusi, related to both the Palaeologoi of Constantinople and the Comnenoi of Trebizond. At about the same time an Ottoman attack on Genoese Colchis in the Crimea probably took place, while an unnamed (otherwise unknown) daughter of Dorino I Gattilusio, lord of Mytilene, was sent by Murad to Stephen II (married to a lady from the Limbădulce clan)⁶.

⁵ Archivio di Stato di Genova, Archivio Segreto, *Diversorum*, [reg.] 38/533, 1444, c. 94^r (October 16, 1444; further data in Nicolae Iorga, *Acte și fragmente cu privire la istoria românilor* [Documents and Fragments on the History of the Romanians], III [1399-1499] (Bucharest, 1897), p. 11, 16-21; Gian Giacomo Musso, 'Russia e Genovesi del Levante nel Quattrocento', in Idem, *La cultura genovese nell'età dell'umanesimo* (Genoa, 1985), p. 197, note 17); [Jean de Wavrin] John de Wavrin, lord of Forestel, *A Collection of Chronicles and Ancient Histories of Great Britain, now Called England*, editor W.E.L.C.P. Hardy, V (London, 1891), p. 45-46; Sandra Origone, 'I mercanti e la crociata (Caffa Genovese, sec. XIV-XV)', *Studi Genovesi* (Genoa), NS, V (1987), p. 3-10; Klaus P. Matschke, 'Italiener, Griechen und Türken im Umfeld des Kreuzzuges von 1444', *Il Mar Nero*, III (1997), p. 159-177

⁶ Archivio di Stato di Milano, Archivio Ducale Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, *Ungheria*, cart. 650, [1441] 1452-1490, fasc. 1 [1441], 1452-1457, nn (April 28, 1446; passage from a Milanese secret copy of an unauthored Venetian intelligence re-port); Franz Babinger, Franz Dölger, 'Mehmeds II. Frühester Staatsvertrag', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Rome), XV (1949), p. 225-258; F. Pall, 'Skanderbeg et Janco de Hunedoara', *Studia Albanica* (Tirana), VI (1968), 1, p. 103-117. The Visconti of Milan were in very good relations with sultan Murad II since the late 1420s.

[...] *De novo abiamo asay et bone et optime nove per che par certo essere tuti isti reali, zoe Imperador* [Frederick III, he was only king of the Romans until 1452] *e Re/ d'Ungaria* [Ladislas V, the underaged son of Wladislaw III, Hungarian predecessor, Albert of Habsburg, in the guarded custody of his uncle, Frederick] *el bran-cho tuti uniti proposti de andar contra isto inimicho de Dio ch'el Turcho* [here, both Murad II and son Mehmed II] *e cusi/ el brancho haveva za pinciprado a la caxon. Araccordandone unammitear che se torbello none vene fra/ isti regali presto metera a isto ne-amigo de Dio. E de questo scrive certo el Santo Padre* [Eugenius IV] *na havuto lettere/ dal cardinale* [Juan Carvajal] *che se trovava li in Ungaria. Etiam anchora da lo Imperador et da Re e da Janus* [Hunyadi]; *et per/ el file no venuto messo entra lettere de qui a la nostra Illustrissima Signoria* [Venice], *de che sa fato de solompente feste per questi acordi sequenti sopradicti.// Come per altre Ve disse el Turcho* [here Murad] *ha impresona el Signor de Heno* [Palamede Gattilusio, lord of Aenos] *messo el suo pa-lazzo a fochol et levate tute le famiglie del tuto luogo.// Et an-chora la fato quel medesimo del isola de Metelino* [Mytilene] *che la levato tute la famiglie et despochato tuto/ che Romani deshabi-tato nel luogo che era grassissimo et utile. La figlia del Signor de Metelino* [Dorino I Gattilusio, Constantin's former father-in-law] *ha mandata a un Signor de Mondavia* [Stephen II] *che e de soto da la Valachia. In questo ato, el dicto Turcho ha fato/ coxa contro suo natural haver fato tanto ben che la mandata quella garzona; epa-rame da novo el non la/ metesse in el suo saraglio dove el tene tute le altre sue femene concubine.// Et non se sa miga anchora de fermo che l'abra spogliado tuta la isola de Metelino, ma dice apa-rachiva la sua/ hoste per andar a far sachomanzo de tuta quella isola; emetela in precipitio et preda* (Venice, 28th of April, 1446).

The negotiations leading to the 'Concordat of Vienna' of 1448 had begun. Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini and then Juan Carvajal secured Rome's position against her rivals in Basel, previously favored also by Frederick III. An entente between him and Eugenius IV posed an immediate threat for the Turk. A treaty between Frederick, the guardian of Ladislas, Hungary's rightful king after Wladislaw's death, and Hunyadi, the clear choice for re-gent until the six year old became legally adult, increased the threat. Venice too leaned towards the crusade. Murad thus struck Buda's (Moldavia) and Byzantium's (Mytilene) flanks and potential West Balkan (Aenos) and Cri-mean crusader links, all at Genoese expenses. By this, both in fear and in anti-Genoese profit, he might have also hoped to win over Venice. His 'Mol-davian' gift should have been a great hit. The Pontic Genoese had to give in to him and his 'representative', the contested Stephen. He received Mu-rad's support in an astonishing manner for the contemporaries (and was thus left without alternative options). Through him, Vlad and now the Geno-ese, Murad blocked Hunyadi from using the Danube and Dniestr Mounds⁷.

⁷ For instance: Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and Levant (1204-1571)*, II, *The Fifteenth Century* (=Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, CXXVII) (Philadelphia 1978), p. 92-95; Ivan Djurić, *Le crépuscule de Byzance* (Paris, 1996), p. 273-278, 329-339; Al. Simon, 'The Walachians between Crusader Crisis and Imperial Gifts (Mid 1400s and Early 1500s)', *Annuario del Istituto Romeno di Cul-tura e Ricerca Umanistica* (Venice), IX (2007), p. 143-194 (namely p. 159-165)

Still, Murad's gamble backfired. The Gattilusi's only 'Moldavian ties' had been the Dorias, their relatives by politics and marriages (Ilario Doria, Ma-nuel II's *gambros*, had played a major part in the talks leading to Molda-via's turn from a *Latin* Duchy into a *Greek* state and to the first Ottoman-Moldavian treaty; 1387-1390). Before Hunyadi could even intervene, Elias' Polish party attacked by surprise and beheaded Stephen II (1447). In 1448, after eliminating Vlad, Hunyadi subjected Moldavia, who lost Chilia placed under Hungarian-Walachian joint-rule for 16 years. By then, the daughter of Dorino I and Orietta Doria had perhaps reached Murad II's court with Ste-phen's son Alexander (?). The latter was apparently Mehmed II's candidate for the Moldavian throne in 1476 (in 1462, prior to his Walachian campaign, Mehmed had put an end to the Eastern Mediterranean rule of the Gattilusi). In 1497, after crushing (with Ottoman and Habsburg aid) the 'Polish cru-sade', Stephen III, Rome's and Venice's *Greek* rite *athlete* inaugurated the new church of the Neamț monastery, a staunch center of anti-Latin resis-tance. The church had a new burial chamber for one person: Stephen II⁸.

⁸ E.g. William Miller, 'The Gattilusi of Lesbos', in Idem, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), p. 340-349; Thierry Ganchou, 'Ilario Doria, le *gambros* génois de Manuel II Palaiologos: beau-frère ou gendre?', *Revue des Études Byzantines* (Paris), LXVI (2008), p. 71-92; Al. Simon, 'Annus Mirabilis 1387: King Sigismund's Ottoman and Greek Rise', in *Sigismund of Luxemburg and the Orthodox World* (=Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, CCXXII), edi-ted by Ekaterini Mitsiou, Mihailo Popović, Johannes Preiser-Kapeller and Al. Simon (Vienna, 2009), p. 125-150. The only other ruler known to ever have received such an imperial 'bridal gift' was Bogdan III in 1513, but from Maximilian I of Habsburg.

A NOBLE FAMILY OF ROMANIAN PRIESTS FROM TRANSYLVANIA AT THE END OF 17TH CENTURY

Mihai GEORGÎĂ

Abstract: *Priest Gavril Ilea from Bârgăul de Sus was ennobled by prince Mihai Apaffi at his fortress in Fagaras on 19 February 1682. Thus, he and his family, their descendants too pass from the common serf state to the noble families with all rights, privileges, freedoms and distinctions which are advantages in case of ennoblement. Like any other noble man he received a noble chevron described in his diploma. It is about a shield gun signs on an azure field, where sits a man dressed in priestly garments, holding in his hands the book of Scripture; the shield is stamped by a military helmet with dark visor, covered by a royal crown, adorned with precious stones and pearls.*

Keywords: *priest, noble, Romanian, prince, Transylvania*

Particularly important for the short biography of noble priest Gavril Ilea from Bargaul de Sus, it is the information absolutely unpublished provided by a letter of Istvan Apaffi's widow, Larantffi Katalin, which is presented in the annexe, translated from Hungarian. The letter is addressed from Sieu to the county mayor and the jury from Bistrita on 29 March 1679 and reports on the fact that priest Gavril Ilea, who hasn't been ennobled yet, looked for the noble lady, mistress of the land of Bargaul de Sus, to complain of the abuses of highly placed men in Bistrita from Bargau Valley, who wanted to see out of the house Gavril's son, priest Doroftei, who lived in the former house of Hodos Petru from Bargaul de Sus, situated on the land of Apaffi's family. Therefore, as mistress of the land and equally protective of the land's people, Larantffi Katalin challenges the city leaders to make their submissives leave alone Ilea's son, priest Doroftei, otherwise, she'll bring investigation with the county authorities to do justice¹.

There is not much information in this letter, but it is even more valuable as it is extremely rare and it makes possible to outline the biography of this noble priest. First, we find out that he had a son, a priest too in Bargaul de Sus, who had himself a family and lived in a separate house, disputed now in a heritage. Therefore, in a good Romanian tradition from Transylvania another form of priestly dynasty came to set up in this village, because in almost all villages of Transylvania Romanian priests transmitted their vocation to descendants in the male line. We don't insist on all motifs for such a procedure is preferred, we just remember that as clergy, they enjoyed some exemptions from the common people,

¹ Arhivele Naționale-Serviciul județean Cluj, fond *Primăria orașului Bistrița*, (ANSJC-POB), doc. 46(19301)/1679.

which was an advantage in material terms. Then, it's not less to see how priest Gavril managed to make sense of his son, to help him finding a house, as it is known in historical demography, especially for Middle Age, the prevalence of extended households and families, where members of several generations lived, compared with the family consisted only of spouse and children. Another historical reality revealed once again in this document is the number of many Romanian priests in villages, a typical reality of Middle Age and Transylvania². But what is remarkable about the future nobility of this priest is the fact that, although his son was priest like his father, therefore he could appeal himself to the mistress of the land, but it was his father who went to complain to the mistress. Thus, we can see that Gavril Ilea was much more appreciated by the court nobles. We can realize how good and close his relations were with Apaffi's noble family seeing the diploma by which Gavril Ilea was ennobled by prince Mihai Apaffi three years later, at his fortress in Fagaras, on 19 February 1682³.

Thus, he and his family, their descendants too pass from the common serf state to the noble families with all rights, privileges, freedoms and distinctions which are advantages in case of ennoblement. Like any other noble man he received a noble chevron described in his diploma. It is about a shield gun signs on an azure field, where sits a man dressed in priestly garments, holding in his hands the book of Scripture; the shield is stamped by a military helmet with dark visor, covered by a royal crown, adorned with precious stones and pearls. In the virtue of customary, he could make use of the chevron and the noble signs from now on in order to mark his nobility on various weapons, such as shields, flags, seals, rings, houses and tombs, but mostly on administrative and official activities.

We can see from the wording of the diploma, which we present in the appendix translated from German, the only option which was kept, by a certified translation of original Latin, that the priest Gavril Ilea didn't receive the so called priest outfit, it means that he was not given land in an estate as it used to get in traditional ennoblement. The wording of this diploma is similar to that used for a new class of nobles, so called „armales” . It is known that these nobles received through the diploma only privileges and exemptions, without any dowry⁴. It couldn't happen otherwise for this petty but numerous nobility. Gavril Ilea, already on a noble land, was submissive to a noble family, who led the destinies of the principality.

This diploma was not meant to increase wealth, just to offer him some distinctions and privileges over the common people. However, it was particularly valuable, since it became a huge temptation for the clergy and his parishioners, who tried various ways to get in its possession. The diplomas were given mostly for military honours or different services to the principality. There is a great

² Ștefan Meteș, *Istoria bisericii și a vieții religioase a românilor din Transilvania și Ungaria*, Sibiu, 1935, p. 457-458

³ *Transilvania*, 1894, an XXV, nr. 3, p. 72-74

⁴ Ionuț Costea, *Solam virtute et nomen bonum. Nobilitate, etnie, regionalism în Transilvania princiară (sec. XVII)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2005, *passim*

effervescence of ennoblement during Mihai Apaffi's reign which was a period dominated by relative silence. From the analysis of ennoblement on the 17th century, done only on data collected by Ioan Cavaler de Puscariu, results that almost 50% were made during the nearly 29 years of reign, and of this percentage more than six sides were priests⁵. Certainly, the data from the diploma's registrations are not complete, but there is information in the context which help us to make a coherent opinion. The works of Diet from 1678 inform about this reality, when measures were taken against the Romanian priests and those who obtain armaleas diplomas without release from their masters, moreover they win home places and estates without the knowledge of the land's master and the recognition of Diet. The Diet resolutions are quite categorical in this sense, and religious discrimination emerged clearly from the subtext: Greeks and Romanian priests can't be ennobled from now on in this principality and for no reason they can't acquire or possess estates or inheritances. And those who had already been ennobled or possessed estates had to prove with certificates⁶. After two years, the diet brings again in discussion the situation and, since she found out that most of them did not come with proves, asked prince Apaffi to cancel all the privileges of Romanians, Greeks and their priests⁷. Therefore, the increase in number of Orthodox ennobled but mostly of their priests, which according to the laws of the principality they were only tolerated and didn't enjoy the rights of other nations and confessions, dissatisfied the members of Diet, because in this way they became emancipated and made a real competition. However, Mihai Apaffi is going to ennoble in the same proportion Romanian priests as well. Gavril Ilea, included among these priests, was ennobled two years later by the provisions of the last decision of Diet. Certainly, the prince could not take so easily against the grain the Diet's decisions, unless there was a very serious motivation. We saw that Gavril Ilea had been close on Apaffi's family and probably at his relatives' insinuations the Prince ennobles him.

It's not about a certain motivation resulting from military merits, as stated in recent studies which were used in their analysis only very summary data published by Ioan Cavaler de Puscariu⁸ or it was completely wrong said that the text of diploma contains explicitly the merit for brilliant feats of guns⁹. The detection of diploma, published in 1894 in Transylvania magazine in the German version that was preserved until then, under the title „The document regarding Romanian noble family Ilea”, helps us understand the true official motivation. Diploma opens with the following motivation: „both by our advisers'

⁵ Ana Dumitran, Gudor Botánd, *Înnobilarea românilor în epoca principatului autonom al Transilvaniei și semnificațiile sale religioase*, în „Medievalia Transilvania”, III, nr. 1-2, 1999, p. 33

⁶ *Monumenta comitialia regni Transilvaniae*, vol. XVI, p. 571

⁷ *Ibidem*, Vol. XVII, p. 77

⁸ Ioan Cavaler de Pușcariu, *Date istorice privitoare la familiile nobile române*, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 99

⁹ Ana Dumitran, Gudor Botánd, *op. cit.*, p. 37; Ana Dumitran, *Preoți români ortodocși din Transilvania înnobițați în secolul al XVII-lea*, în „Cultura creștină”, seria nouă, an VII, nr.2-4, 2004, p. 203

recommendations, and by the merits and facts commendable and enjoyable, of the venerable Gabriel Illye, a true spiritual shepherd of the wallachian church from the upper village of Bargau... and no less because of the faith shown us and the principality of Transylvania, a faith which he and his sons has already proved and will always prove it". So here are two main reasons: the loyalty and the meritorious deeds proved to prince and principality as well, especially his merits as sheperd of the Romanians' church in Bargaul de Sus. Therefore, we can fit him in the gallery of the Romanian priests ennobled for religious and cultural merits¹⁰. It is the chevron symbolism that comes to support this statement, which is usually determined by the quality or merit of the ennobled. The priest with the Bible in his hand who appears in the center of Gavril Ilea's noble shield clearly proves his religious and cultural merit, a merit which was rarely granted to Romanian priests, mostly being rewarded with ennoblement for military facts. The ennoblement of Romanian priests by Calvinist princes, especially for cultural merits, was cataloged until recently in historiography as a reward for embrancing Calvinism and his propaganda among the Romanians, without serious reasons. If it happened like this, there were completely isolated cases during the Calvin fierce proselytism of Rakoti princes and took place in the powerful centers of Calvinism¹¹. It wasn't the case of priest Ilea, who lived in a border area having strong links with Moldavian orthodox monarchism, a redoubtable opponent of Calvinist propaganda. What recommended him to the title of nobility is rather his preparation as scholar and clergyman in a community dominated by the members of Apaffi's family, and with his authority was able to keep the community's cohesion, to maintain good relations between master and his submissives, always ready to leave if the master dissatisfied them. He certainly knew to read and write in the native language and probably was able to speak at colloquial level in Hungarian or German, abilities which helped him in the relations with the authorities. We can deduce from the diploma's text that he was an elder man, already had 6 sons Silvestru, Dragota or Doroftei, Longhin, Grigore, Ioan and Toader, some of them married, as priest Doroftei was, - probably transcribed in German script like „Drafota", from where comes the alternative of a possible translation in Dragota. His qualities and also his age turned him into a great personality. But, we have to emphasize that despite his qualities, he had very little chances to be elevated to the rank of noble unless he was on the land of Apaffi's family. For example, he could never be a noble in the Romanian land of Nasaud, a free land, but administered by Bistrita town, that was in fact a real master, what over decades will lead to the outbreak of terrible conflicts. That things happened like that, it is proved by another paper age, reported in a summary by Nicolae Iorga¹², without being explored on the whole its content. It is about the oath letter of priest Tamas from Salva addressed on 14 December 1672 to the county mayor

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 34-35

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 31-39; Ana Dumitran, *op.cit.*, p. 192-196; Valer Hossu, *Nobilimia Chioarului*, Baia-Mare, 2003, *passim*

¹² Nicolae Iorga, *Documente românești din arhivele Bistriței*, partea a II-a, București. 1900. p. 81

of Bistrita city. This priest tried, like many others, to get an ennoblement diploma and managed to get one from the princely chancellery, but he didn't announce the officials of the city, who regarded with hostility the ennoblement and didn't want it on their land and as members of the Diet voted against the Romanian priests ennoblement. Consequently, he was threatened to be expelled from the village, from his house and from the district of Bistrița, thus losing all the property and the validity of diploma. That's why, the priest sees need to declare under oath the village elders surety, also that of priest Lazar from Salva, and not to dare anymore to pretend the title of nobility¹³. Therefore, we are not surprised at all that Ioan Cavaler de Pușcariu didn't manage to collect any information from Nasaud for his famous work regarding Romanian noble families. Instead, he recalls, besides Bargau, only the ennoblement of Grigore Cavaler de Bota from Ragla made in 1855 for his merits and braveries like officer in the border regiment. The most noble families from Bistrita are found on Bargau Valley. Thus, besides the priest Gavril Ilea he mentions, for example, the noble families Sabau, Duseanu from Joseni, Rus from Rusul Bargaului, Axente from Suseni or Nemes and Buzdug from Tiha Bargaului. Even if there aren't other details about these noble families and we can't find out from his work when they were ennobled¹⁴, we can deduce that on Bargau Valley it was possible the ennoblement of Romanian families. Probably, their attachement to a princely family explains that, because only the prince or his wife were able to ennoble.

There were not found data yet about the noble priest Gavril Ilea. We just know that at 1691, in Bargaul de Sus, there was a priest called Toader, a literator, who sent on 3 March to the county of Bistrita two letters¹⁵ of testimony and surety. By name, it might be one of Gavril Ilea's sons, so mentioned in the diploma of ennoblement.

Anexe

I.

Szolgálatomat ajánlom (keglteknek) mint jó akaro szomszéd sok jokkal jó Egészségek algja megh (Isten) (keglteket) kívánám

Levelém preséntalo Felső Borgai Popa Gabor talala megh, ez okon, hogy ennek előtte Hodos Peter lakvan egy házban ugjan ot Felső Borgon, az mely ház az mi részünkre való földön ugjan mostan immar felljeb megh irt Popa Gabor fia Pap Dorofte lakik benne, az (kegltek) embérei ugj mint Persa Platon ki akarja tudni az házból az Popa Gabor fiatt, azért edes szomszéd uram (kegltek) incze megh kézé alat való embéret hogy békit hagjanak annak az Papnak az ki az házban mostan lokik, egjeb árant, nem engedem ha külömbön nem az nemés vármegjenek tiszteitt oda küldöm s vallatok felöle az kié leszen az az föld és ház az igaszság meg

¹³ ANSJC-POB-documente românești, doc. 199/1672

¹⁴ Ioan Cavaler de Pușcariu, *op.cit.*, p. 99-100

¹⁵ ANSJC-POB-documente românești, doc. 319, 347/1691

mutattja, ahol kel (keglteknekis) magátt tartani, ha ugjan (kegltek) annak is nem enged az mi (kegltek) urunkott is megh talalom felöle mivel az az Apaffi részen valo föld és ház is. Tudom hagj eö Nagjsága is, az magáitt sem (keglteknek) sem magnak nem engedi, kirem ez iránt (keglteknek) embereinek megh parancsollja szegeni emberünkek békit hagjanak (kegltekis) nékem más dologban parancsolljon mint jo akaro szomszéd uraimk szolgálni ügjekezem (keglteket). Ezek után ajanlom Istenek oltalmaban keglteket. Nagj Sajo die 29 martis anno 1679.

(Kegltekek) jo szivel szolgálj nehaj F: nemzetes Apaffi István ur megh hagjátot eözvedgje Lorántffi Katta.

Îmi ofer serviciile Domniilor Voastre ca unor buni vecini, cu mult bine, cu multă sănătate, Dumnezeu să vă binecuvinteze.

În scrisoarea mea de față vă aduc la cunoștință, că am fost căutată de popa Gavril din Bârgăul de Sus și mi s-a plâns că unii supuși ai Domniilor Voastre, cum ar fi Persa Platon, vor să-l vadă scos din casa din Bârgăul de Sus pe fiul său popa Doroftei, casă unde înainte a locuit Hodos Petru și care se află pe pământul nostru, de aceea ca un scump vecin al Domniilor voastre rog pe Domniile voastre să-i determinați pe supuși Domniilor Voastre să-l lase în pace pe preotul care locuiește acum în casă, de altfel nu accept să fie scos din casă, iar dacă nu, autoritățile nobilului comitat vor fi trimise acolo să facă anchetă a cui e pământul și casa și așa adevărul să iasă la iveală, iar domniile voastre trebuie să țină seama de ceea ce vor stabili anchetatorii, că această casă se află pe pământul familiei Apaffi. Sunt încredințată de altminteri că nici stăpâna domeniului și nici Domniile voastre nu acceptați nedreptatea și de aceea vă rog să porunciți Domniile voastre supusilor Domniei voastre să-i dea pace sărmanului om. Deci și Domniile voastre în alte cauze să-mi porunciți ca unui binevoitor și supus vecin. Dumnezeu să vă aibe sub paza lui.

Data la Șieu, 29 martie 1679. a Dumneavoastră supusă cu inimă bună, semnez eu Lorantffi Katalin, văduva răposatului nobil Apaffi Istvan.

II

Wir Michael Apafi mit Gottes Gnade Fürst des Siebenbürgerlandes und der Theilen Ungarn wie auch des Seklerlandes Graf etc, geben zu wissen mit gegenwärtiger Urkunde allen denen, die es zu wissen angehet: dass wir theils durch die Anempfelung unser getreuen Räthen, theils auch wegen erzeugten und ruhmwürdig ausgeübten und wohlgefälligen Thaten und Verdiensten des Ehrwürdigen Gabriel Illye, dermalen in dem Comitat Borgo-Dobocen, und in dem Dorfe Felső der walachischen Kirche eines wirklichen geistlichen Hirten, nicht minder wegen der uns und unserem Reiche Siebenbürgens erwiesenen Treueheit, die er sammt seinen Söhnen anhergeleistet, und immer zu leisten bereit ist. Derohalben haben wir Ihn Gabriel Illye und Szalavestar, Drafoa, Logynum, Gregorium, Ioannem und Theodorum seine schon gebornen Söhne, wie auch aus Gottes Segen andere nachkommende, aus dem gemeinen Stande, in welchem Sie geboren und bisher gestanden sind, aus besonderer Gnade und unserer fürstlichen

Vollmacht gütig in den adeligen Stand erhoben, und nicht minder in die Zunft und Zahl der wahren, gebornen, unzweifelhaften und bezeichneten Adeligen des Reiches Siebenbürgens und dessen zugehörigen Theilen beizuzählen, einsammeln, einzuverleiben und zu schreiben, beschlossen, und wirklich auch beizählen, einsammeln, einverleiben und zuschreiben, und mit gegenwärtigen Adelbrief ausdrücklich beschlissen, dass von nun an, und in zukünftigen zeiten, jederzeit, dieselben, nämlich gabriel Illye wie auch Szalavestar, Drafo, Logyin, Gregorius, Ioannes und Theodorus seine Söhne und Erben und auch deren beiderlei Geschlechts Nachlömmlinge für wahre, geborne, unzweifelhafte und bezeichnete Adelige gehalten werden sollen.

Zum Zeichen aber eines solchen und desselben wahren und vollkommenen Adels ist Ihnen das Wappen und das himmelsblaue Kriegszeichen entrichtet worden: in dessen Feld oder baum ein mensch mit geistlichen Kleide angezogen, in seinen Händen das Buch der heiligen Schrift hält. Oben des Wappens aber ist eine ganz geschlossene Kriegsbügelhaube aufgestellt, und mit einer königlichen Krone, die mit Edelsteine und guten perlen geziert ist, bedeckt.

Dieses alles was in gegenwärtigen Brief zu ersehen ist, ist durch eine künstliche hand abgemahlet und von uns mit reifer Überlegung, und aus erhabenen Beweggründen und unserer fürstlichen Freigebigkeit obbelobten Gabriel Illye wie auch Szalavestar, Drafo, Logyno, Gregorio, Ioanni und Theodoro seinen Söhnen, Erben und deren Nachlömmlingen von beiderlei Geschlechtern gnädig mitgetheilt, gegeben und geschenkt worden. In gleichen bewilligen wir und erlauben, dass dieselben dieses Wappen, und das adelige Zeichen nach dem Gebrauche und Gewohnheit anderer wahren, gebornen, unzweifelhaften und bezeichneten Adeligen sowohl an allerlei Waffen, Schildern, Fahnen, Insiegeln, ringen, Häusern und Gräbern, und Hauptsächlich bei Allen, was immer für Standes Würderpersonen, als wahre, geborne, unzweifelhafte und bezeichnete Edelleute gehalten und anerkannt werden sollen. Sie sollen ingleichen alle Ehrenbezeugungen, Gnaden, Ausnamen, Freiheiten und Vorzügen als andere wahre, geborne, unzweifelhafte und bezeichnete Adelige in immerwährende zeiten theilhaftig sein, geniessen und sich erfreuen.

In Urkunde dessen und wahren Glauben und ewige Standhaftigkeit haben wir gegenwärtige unsere Schrift, mit angehängten echten Unsern Insiegel bekräftiget, obgemeldeten Gabriel Illye wie auch Szalavestar, Drafo, Logyno, Gregorio, Ioanni und Theodoro dessen Söhnen, schon gebornen, wie auch in Zukunft den Nachkommenden und beiderlei Geschlechtserben und Nachkömmlingen gütig gegeben und mitgetheilet.

Gegeben in unserem Schlosse Fogoras den 19 Februar im Jahre 1682.

Noi Mihai Apafi din Grația lui Dumnezeu principe al Transilvaniei și a părților Ungariei, comite al Secuilor etc., dăm de știre prezenta diplomă tuturor acelora, căora li se cuvine să știe, că noi atât prin recomandările consilierilor noștri, cât și datorită meritelor și faptelor făcute, demne de laudă și plăcute, ale venerabilului Gabriel Illye, un veritabil păstor spiritual al bisericii valahe în satul

de sus al Bârgăului, din comitatul Dăbâca, și nu mai puțin datorită credinței arătate nouă și principatului nostru al Transilvaniei, pe care el împreună cu fiii săi a dovedit-o și este gata să o dovedească mereu. De aceea, noi, binevoitori, prin grația deosebită și prin autoritatea noastră princiară l-am ridicat pe Gabriel Illye și pe Silvestru, Drafoță, Longhin, Grigore, Ioan și Teodor, fiii săi deja născuți, precum și pe ceilalți, care grație harului divin se vor naște, la starea de nobilitate din starea iobăgească, în care ei sau născut și au stat până acum, și nu mai puțin, am hotărât să-l trecem, înscriem, asimilăm și încorporăm în categoria și numărul adevăraților nobili înnașcuți, neîndoielnici și distinși din principatul Transilvaniei și într-adevăr pentru aceasta îl trecem, înscriem, asimilăm și încorporăm în mod expres cu prezenta scrisoare de înnobilare, ca de acum și în viitor, oricând, aceștia, anume Gabriel Illye și fiii săi, Silvestru, Drafoță, Longhin, Grigore, Ioan și Teodor, moștenitorii și urmașii acestora de ambele sexe să fie considerați ca adevărați nobili înnașcuți, neîndoielnici și distinși.

Ca semn al unei asemenea nobilități adevărate și desăvârșite li s-a conferit scut și însemne armale pe fond azuriu, în câmpul căruia este reprezentat un om îmbrăcat în haine preoțești și ținând în mâinile sale cartea sfintei Scripturi. Scutul este timbrat de un coif militar cu viziera închisă, acoperit de o coroană regală, împodobită cu pietre prețioase și perle.

Acestea toate ce se pot vedea în prezenta scrisoare sunt pictate de o mână artistică și sunt cu milostenie date, dăruite și acordate de către noi din înțeleaptă chibzuială, din motive mărețe și din generozitatea noastră princiară venerabilului Gabriel Illye, precum și lui Silvestru, Drafoță, Longhin, Grigore, Ioan și Teodor, fiii săi, moștenitorilor și urmașilor acestora, de ambele sexe. Totodată, aprobăm și dăm voie ca însemnele acestui scut și alte însemne nobile să poată fi utilizate după uzanța și obișnuința altor adevărați nobili înnașcuți, neîndoielnici și distinși, atât pe diferite arme, scuturi, steaguri, sigilii, inele, case și morminte, cât și, în principal, la toate isprăvile oficiale, și de toți cei care au fost recunoscuți și considerați mereu în starea persoanelor demne, ca adevărate persoane nobile înnașcute, neîndoielnice și distinse. Ei trebuie, de asemenea, să fie părtași și să se bucure de toate demnitățile, milosteniile, privilegiile, favorurile, libertățile și prerogativele în toate timpurile ca și ceilalți adevărați nobili născuți, neîndoielnici și distinși.

În diploma acestuia, spre credință și statornicie veșnică, am întărit scrisoarea noastră prezentă cu sigiliul nostru autentic, atârnat, și am conferit-o și acordat-o cu milostenie sus-menționatului Gabriel Illye, precum și fiilor acestuia, deja născuți, Silvestru, Drafoță, Longhin, Grigore, Ioan și Teodor, moștenitorilor și urmașilor acestora de ambele sexe.

Data în castelul nostru din Făgăraș, în 19 februarie 1682.

INVENISSEM SI VIVISSEM. THE DEVICE OF JOHN OF HUNYAD DRAWN BY OTTAVIO DA STRADA, AROUND 1591

GYULAI Éva

Abstract: Among his preserved manuscripts, several could be found in which he collected the *impresas* of the rulers and prominent personalities of his age, which provided the base for Aegidius Sadeler's engravings and for the Prague emblem book (1601–1603). Among the emblem drawings King Matthias Corvinus I's father, John Hunyadi is also represented with his device depicting a shield and motto (INVENISSEM SI VIVISSEM). Neapolitan poet, Bernardino Rota (1508/9–1575) mentions a love emblem of his contemporary, Antonio Severino, which consists of a black shield bearing the following motto: *INVENISSEM SE VIVEREM* (= 'I would have found it if I lived'), so Strada was wrong when he attributed this motto to Hunyadi. It can only be suspected that this was due to Strada's mistake who wanted to commemorate the military leader, well-known in the 16th century, as well. Although John of Hunyad could not match the Italian, German or French war lords of the 15th and 16th centuries in popularity, and therefore, his emblem is not known with the exception of the one that was presumably drawn erroneously by Ottavio Strada, John Hunyadi was a well-known and acclaimed personality in the late Renaissance on the one hand, as a hero defeating the Turks, the winner of Belgrade, and, on the other hand, as the father of King of Hungary Matthias Corvinus.

Key words: John of Hunyad, Ottavio da Strada, manuscript, drawing, *impresa*

Iconography of John Hunyadi (Thuróczy Chronicle)

Despite the political campaign of his age and the memory of posterity, the iconography of John of Hunyad or John Hunyadi (1407?–1456, in Romanian: Ioan de Hunedoara, in Hungarian: Hunyadi János, in Latin: Johannes Hunniades) is very poor as no portrait depicting his features was painted of him in his lifetime. His only known portrait dating back to the 15th century was first published in 1488, during the reign of his son, Matthias Corvinus I, King of Hungary (1458–1490), in a xylograph in John of Thurocz's Chronicle, first in Brno and then in Augsburg. The incunabula published in Brno and Augsburg are the versions of the first book printed in the Kingdom of Hungary, *Budai Krónika* (Johannes de Thurocz: *Chronica Hungarorum*, Buda, 1743). *Budai Krónika* included no pictures but the later editions were published with xylographs as illustrations. In the Brno xylograph (Fig. 1–2)¹, Hunyadi, encased in armour, is holding a straight sword in his right hand while he is

¹ Johannes de THWROCZ: *Chronica Hungarorum*. [Conrad Stahel–Mathias Preunlein], Brünn, 1488 (*Illustrimorum Hungarie regum chronica In inclita terre Moraue ciuitate Brunensi lucubratissime impressa... Anno salutis MCCCCLXXXVIII die XX Martii*) f 107^v

resting his left hand on a *pavise*, a Gothic infantry shield. In the illustration, the defeater of the Turks, voivod of Transylvania and governor of Hungary can be seen with a helmet perching on top of his head, leaving his long hair falling free. The xylograph of Hunyadi in the Augsburg edition, published in two versions, is very similar except for the Gothic helmet decorated with an enormous feather, covering almost the whole head of the person depicted, called *sallet*/*salade* from the German name 'Schallern' (Fig. 3–4).² In the Augsburg xylograph, the *salade* only leaves the eyes of Hunyadi somewhat free so the portrait in armour can rather be regarded as a late Gothic representation of a knight than an authentic portrait of John Hunyadi.

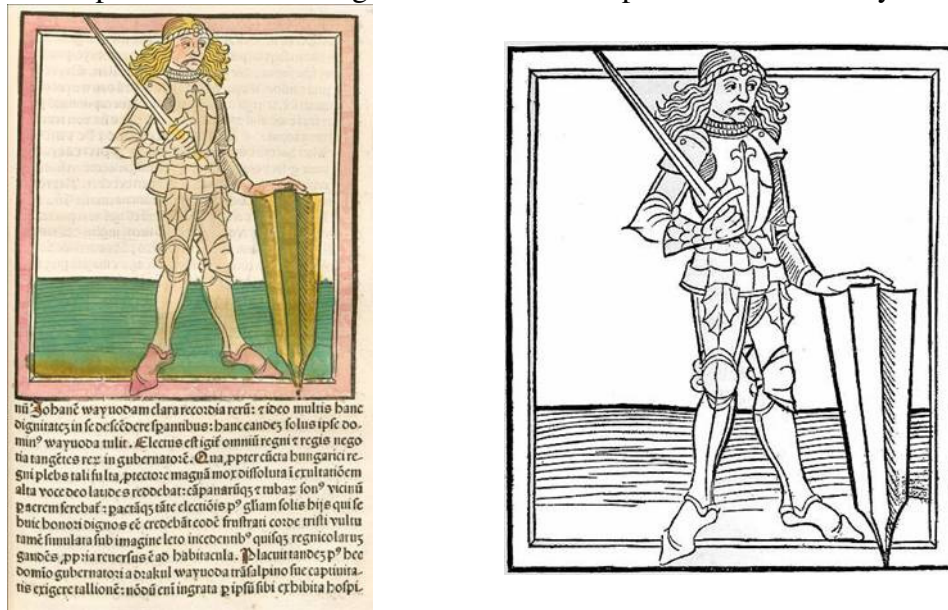


Fig. 1 - 2. John of Hunyadi in the Thuróczy Chronicle, 1488. Johannes de THWROCZ: *Chronica Hungarorum*. Brünn, 1488, f 107v

There are portraits in xilography published by Sebastian Münster in mid 16th century picturing John of Hunyadi as noble western European courtier of that time, but these woodcuts are imaginery postraits not characterizing the real feature of Hunyadi (Fig. 5–6).³ In many Latin, German and French language editions of his *Cosmographia*, the German cartographer Sebastian Münster depicts Vaivode Hunyadi's famous deeds and acts done mainly in the 15th century campaigns and during Belgrade's siege against the Turks.⁴

² Johannes de THWROCZ: *Chronica Hungarorum*. Theobald Feger–Erhard Ratdolt, Augsburg, 1488 (3th June) F r6. One exemplar of the Augsburg edition was printed in parchment kept in the National Library of Hungary: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest (OSZK) Inc. 1143.

³ Sebastian MÜNSTER: *Cosmographia universalis*. Heinrich Petri, Basel, 1552. 880., 962.

⁴ *Iohannis Huniadiis egregia facta. Vir autem Iohannes Huniades Buthi Valachi filius, in paterno pago matre Graeca natus, quem nostra tempestate Coruinum uocant et Holllós. Híd industria et uirtute supra omnium opinionem eminebat, genusque suum illustrauit, parentibus nequaquam obscuris editus. Nomen Huniadiis habuit ab agro Huniadicó, quem a Sigismondo nono acceperat: quin et in edito monte castellum erexit, arte ac natura usqueadeo munitum, ut nullum hostilem impetum reformidaret.*

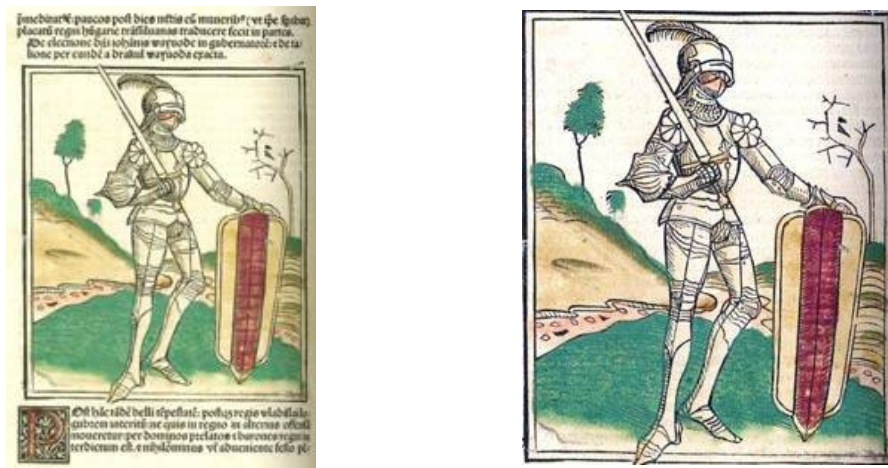


Fig. 3–4. John of Hunyadi in the Thuróczy Chronicle, Augsburg, 1488. Johannes de THWROZ: *Chronica Hungarorum*. Augsburg, 1488, F r6

John Hunyadi hardly appeared in visual arts works later, either, while his son, King Matthias Corvinus laid great stress in his royal representation on the general public getting familiar with his image. Following the fashion of his age, Matthias I, King of Hungary also found it important to have his emblematic representation in several codices of his famous library, *Bibliotheca Corviniana* and his emblems appeared on the floor tiles of his palace in Buda, too.⁵ Matthias learned the use of emblems, devices and impresas, or insignia connected to a person, from his wife, Beatrice of Aragon, Princess of Naples (1457–1508), Queen of Hungary: 1476–1490), daughter of Ferdinand (Ferrante) I of Aragon (1423–1494, King of Naples: 1458–1494) as in the royal court in Naples, just like in the other 15th-century Italian cities and principalities, a great cult of emblems had developed.⁶

Hic Transsylvaniæ provinciam cum imperio ob rem optime gestam impetrauit, atque Vaiuoda cognominatus est. Ipse conducto exercitu lacessit omnes nobiles igni ferroque, quos pupilli Ladislai partibus nouerat infestos. Poste Vladislao Polono confoederatus, multis stragibus Turcas affecit. Nam uicies cum Tura prospere conflixit, bis tantum prae militis inopia cedere coactus est. Ladislao uero rege adulto, cum idem gubernationis officium quod magna cum laude gesserat, resignaret. Ladislaus eum procerum consensu cimitem Bistricensem declarauit. Instante uero adhuc regis pueritia, Triumuii creantur, qui omni gubernent, Coruinus Vngarium, Pogebratius Bohemiam et Vlrucus Ciliae comes Austriam fortitur. Summa tamen rerum apud Vlricum moderatorem regis remansit. Sed rex puer persuasus a quibusdam, accito comire Ciliae Vlrico, curiam interdicit ei, potestatem abrogat, consiliiarii regii nomen antiquat. At ille inuidorum maledicentiae se regia curia explodi clamitans, in patriam abire coactus est. Genuit Iohannes Huniades duos filios, Ladislaum et Matthiam, qui post ladislaum factus fuit rex... Sebastian MÜNSTER: *Cosmographiae universalis Lib. VI. in quibus, iuxta certioris fidei scriptorum traditionem describuntur*. Heinrich Petri, Basel, 1552. 880.

⁵ About King Mathias' emblems cf. CSAPODI 1990; ZENTAI 1974; PIETRO LOMBARDI 2005; KELEMEN, 2006; GYULAI 2009/a

⁶ On Queen Beatrice of Aragon's emblems cf. DE MARINIS 1947; MIKÓ 2008; FÉNYES 2008; GYULAI 2009/b



Fig. 5–6. John of Hunyadi in Münster's *Cosmographia*, 1552. Sebastian MÜNSTER: *Cosmographia universalis*. Heinrich Petri, Basel, 1552. 880., 962.

Several emblems were attributed to Matthias Corvinus by posterity as well as by 16–17th century Renaissance emblematic art and literature, among which there appeared the ring decorated with precious stones known from the coat of arms of the Hunyadi family, which is also known as the decoration of the king's codices, which means that Matthias used the diamond ring independently as an emblem. Matthias Corvinus' diamond ring emblem first appeared in the book of emblems at the very beginning of the 17th century, on a page in volume I of *Symbola divina et humana*⁷, published in Prague (Fig. 7).⁸ The three-volume work first appeared in Prague in 1601–1603. Its text was written by Jacobus Typotius, a courtier from the Netherlands of Rudolph II, and then by Anselmus de Boodt, but the first volume was already printed in 1600 with the engravings of Aegidius Sadeler in advance, without any text. Sadeler's copper engravings were made after Ottavio Strada de Rosberg's drawings.⁹ It turns out from the title of the very first edition of 1600, including only engravings, that Sadeler's emblems came from Ottavio da Strada's collection (*ex Musaeo Octavii de Strata*).

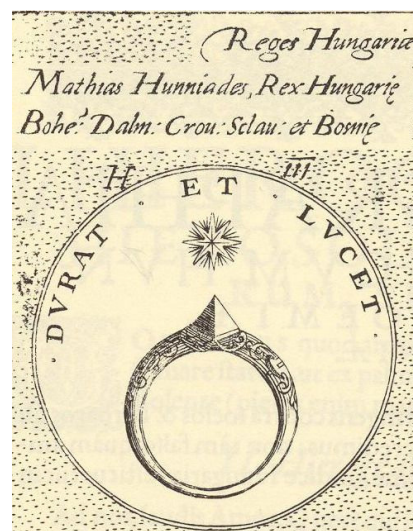


Fig. 7. King Mathias's Emblem in Prague Emblem Book, 1601. TYPOTIUS 1601–1603, I. 55.

⁷ TYPOTIUS, Jacobus: *Symbola divina et humana pontificum imperatorum regum ex musaeo Octavii de Strada civis Romani. Accessit brevis et facilis isagoge Jacobi Typotii*. Prague, 1601–1603. (Reprint: Akademische Druck-Verlagsanstalt, Graz, 1972. *Instrumentaria Artium*, Bd. 7)

⁸ TYPOTIUS 1601–1603, I. 55.; GYULAI 2009/a. Fig. 44. (p. 95.)

⁹ SADELER, Aegidius: *Symbola divina et humana pontificum, imperatorum, regum ex Musaeo Octavii de Strata etc.* Curavit E. Sadeler, Prague, 1600

The impresa drawings of Ottavio Strada

Following the example of his father, art collector Jacopo da Strada (1507–1588), *Ottavio Strada a Rosberg* (Nuremberg, 1550–Prague, 1606) was one of the best known antiquarians or art collectors of his age. Both Stradas served the Fuggers and the Habsburgs, as well. Ottavio Strada became the paid courtier (*Hofdiener*) of Rudolph II, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and followed the ruler to Prague as the official antiquarian of the court. Just like his father, Strada not only collected works of art for his lord but established a special collection by collecting and preserving antiquities with copies and drawings made by himself. He compiled several manuscripts drawing particularly medals and the portraits on the medals but he had jewel designs, as well. Among his preserved manuscripts, several could be found in which he collected the *impresas* of the rulers and prominent personalities of his age, which provided the base for Aegidius Sadeler's engravings and for the Prague emblem book mentioned. Ottavio Strada was not only a talented Renaissance antiquarian but also a great businessman as he prepared his *impresa* collection drawn in the 1580s and 1590s in several versions and himself offered them to the art collector rulers of the age including King of Spain, Philip II, the Princes Medici and Gonzaga, the German prince electors and also the senates of the cities Nurnberg, Venice and Wroclaw for not insignificant amounts of money.¹⁰ Over 30 of his *impresa* manuscripts have been preserved in a wide variety of European collections.¹¹

In these manuscripts drawn from the middle of the 1580s, he collected and copied the emblems of princes spiritual and temporal, and it turns out from his dedications to the manuscripts that in these drawings, he wanted to hand down the events of his age to posterity with a historiographic attitude. One of the numerous manuscripts can be seen in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,¹² which copy was dedicated by him to the consuls and senators of the city of Regensburg and was preserved in the library of this city (*Regensburg Stadtbibliothek*). The text of the codex does not include the year of preparation but in the first page, Regensburgers made a note that the council of the city had paid 25 (imperial) reichs-guldens to the author for the book,¹³ for which *terminus ante quem* was 1591.

Using the several hundred *impresas* collected and drawn by him, Ottavio Strada made up different collections in the different manuscripts depending on whom he offered them for purchase but wrote the same introduction to the devices.¹⁴ From Strada's dedication to the leaders of Regensburg, it turns out that following the example of his forefathers (that is, his father), he compared himself to nobody less

¹⁰ VAN DER BOOM 1988. 21.

¹¹ VAN DER BOOM 1988. 21.; REUTER [2007]; cf. KRISTELLER 1977–1991. passim; SIDER–OBRIST 1997. 120–121.; OSZCZANOWSKI 2004. 11.

¹² *Ottavio Strada: Symbola Romanorum imperatorum (imperii) occidentalis et orientalis etc.* [1591] Manuscript, paper, red ink, ff. 1–100. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB), Handschriften und Alte Drucke, Codices Iconographici (BSB-Hss Cod.icon.) 425.

¹³ 1591. / die 12 Augusti aus beuelch aines / Erbarh Raths dem Authori so her- / nach benennt gegen disem Buch / verehrung geben / 25 F. BSB-Hss Cod.icon. 425. f 1^r

¹⁴ VAN DER BOOM 1988. 21.

but Iulius Caesar and Septimius Severus, who had also written the history of their age, when copying the emblems of prominent personalities supplying them with complementary material taken from medals and pictures and explaining them.

CLARISSIMIS, NOBILIBUS, CONSVLTISSIMIS ET CIRCVMSPECTIS VIRIS AX DOMInis Consulibus et Senatoribus, Liberae Imperialis Ciuitatis Ratisbonensi, Dominis suis obseruandissimis.

Omnibus ferme mortalibus, Nobiles Clarissimi ac Domini mei omni obseruantia colendi, innata est libido sciendi et imprimis Antiquorum Historias, quibus adeo delectamur, vt earum lectione, uel narratione, quamuis fictae essent, sepius taedium temporis fallamus, et animi aegrotudines curemus atque obliuiscamur, sicuti patet in potentissimis illo Persarum rege Ahasuerus marito Esther, de quo legimus in sacris liberis, eum nocte quiescere non posset, sibi Chronica legi iusserit. Antiquitas etiam mos fuit Graecis (Homero teste) in conuiujs Regum et Principum ad exhilarandos animos heroum laudes decantare. Id autem non solum Historiis, sed atiam fabulis acceptum ferre solemus. Quod considerantes plerique doctissimi viri, multum olei et operis, inscribendis ac transferendis historiis atque fabulis inspumpserunt. Praeterea natura insita est nobis cupido nostri memoriam apud posteros propagandi, quod etiam summi Imperatores exoptarunt, qui non solum res a maioribus gestas, sed victorias propria industria partas in lucem ediderunt. Cuius rei, ut alios silentio praeteream, exemplo nobis esse possunt. Cum Caius Julius Caesar primus Romanorum Monarcha cuius Commentarii de bello Gallico et Civili, in omnium doctorum virorum manibus teruntur, tum Lucius Septimius Severus Imp(erator), qui non solum sua facta et vitam, sed et adversariorum suorum, quos bello diuicit, res testas moresque aliteris et memoriae mondauit, ut veteres historici testantur, quamvis huius scripta iniuria temporis interierint. Dum haec animo mecum reputarem, etiam mihi aliquid antiquitatis conscribere in mentem venit. Quod nam autem potissimum memoriae traderem, consideranti cum animadverterem iam plurimos vitam et res gestas summorum Pontificum ac Imperatorum in lucem edidisse paucos vero de simbolis Illustrum Virorum tractasse, eandem ipse elegi talem materiam, quam maiores mei aliquando non sine laude tractarunt. Et quae ad me quasi haereditario iure peruenit; Delineaui igitur simbola atque significata Illustrum Virorum ac Mulierum omnium gentium, despectumque a ceteris ordinem colui, atque multo labore ac temporis impendio, partim ex monetis ac picturis antiquis desumpsi, quae simbolis anexui ac oculis conspicienda subieci. Cum autem iam a multis seculis receptum sit, ut illi, qui aliquid librorum edunt, et in lucem emittunt, id Illustrissimis Principibus et Magnificis Viris, tanquam patronis et bonarum artium assertoribus et defensoribus dedecent: Ego quoque antiquorum morem uiolare non debui. Porro animo mecum euoluenti, cuinam potissimum hosce meos exiguos labores offerrem et dedicarem

deligere. Post longas autem consultationes nullos magis Idoneos inueni, quam Clarissimas et Nobilissimas Dominationes vestras, quas Antiquitatibus et liberalibus artibus ac earum sectatoribus et studiosos deditas et addictas esse a plurimis fide dignis percepi. Illas itaque maiorem immodum rogo et obtestor, ut hasce qualescunque ingenii mei primitias pro innata uestra erga Antiquitatum studiosos clementia et humanitate suscipere, aequi bonique consulere uelit, neque dignitatem illarum (quae nulla est) sed potius humillimam et promptissimam dantis voluntatem spectare dignemini. Sic, quae sub nominis uestri auspicio tractare caepimus, Vestro fauore prosequemur. Vt autam dicendi finem faciam, hisce Clarissimas Nobilissimasque Dominationes vestras Dei opitimi Maximi et filii eius Domini et summi Pontificis nostri Jesu Christi curae et tutelae commendo, ipsum summis precibus indesinenter orans, ut eas ad Sacrosanctae Ecclesiae suae incrementum et salutem subdirorumque emolumentum seruet incolumes.

*Clarissimarum Nobiliumque dominationum vestrarum Obseruantissimus
Octavius de Strada S(acrae) C(aesareae) M(aiestatis)
Aulicus et Ciuis Romanus.*¹⁵

As far as it is known, the diamond ring emblem of King Matthias first appears in Strada's Regensburg impresa collection, drawn and copied in the last decade of the 16th century.¹⁶ It requires further research to reveal in which other Strada codices, preserved in different collections, it can also be found. Among the emblem copies, however, King Matthias Corvinus I is not the only member of the Hunyadi family appearing in Strada's collection of the insignia of the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, western and eastern kings, prince electors, archdukes, dukes, princes and marquesses'. The king's father, John Hunyadi is also represented with his device and motto (*INVENISSEM SI VIVISSEM*) among the princes of Hungary and Poland (*Duces regni Hungariae et Poloniae*). The unexpected appearance of John Hunyadi in emblematics is a real surprise as earlier, impresa collections and emblem lexicons had not even mentioned his emblem but at most, his coat of arms, including the figure of a raven, in connection with his son, King Matthias of Hunyad. The impresa of John Hunyadi, 'defeater of the Turks' could not be put anywhere else but next to that of Gjergj Kastrioti, called Skanderbegh by the Turks after Alexander the Great (*Fig. 8*).¹⁷

¹⁵ BSB-Hss Cod.icon. 425. f. 1^{rv}

¹⁶ *Reges Hungarorum Bohemorum et Polonorum*. BSB-Hss Cod.icon. 425. f. 36^v/2; cf.: GYULAI 2009/b, Fig. 42. (p. 91.)

¹⁷ BSB-Hss Cod.icon. 425. f. 62^r

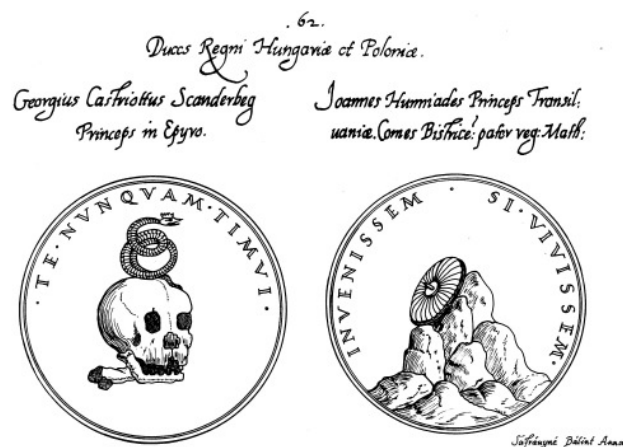


Fig. 8. Ottavio STRADA: Emblems of John Hunyadi and George Castriote, 1596. BSB-Hss Cod.icon. 425. f. 62r. Drawing of Anna S. BÁLINT

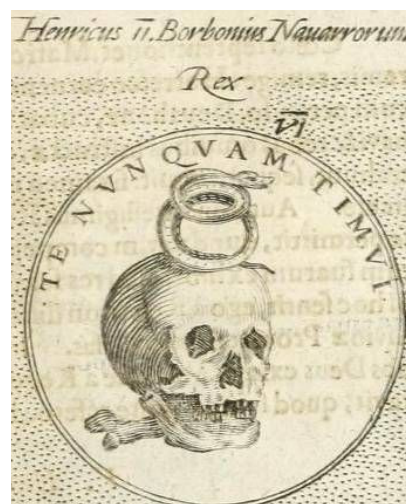


Fig. 9. Emblem of Henry II King of Navarre in Pragen Emblem Book, 1601. TYPOTIUS 1601–1603. I. 133.

In the Regensburg (and presumably other) manuscripts, John Hunyadi is present with an enigmatic impresa: a strange, round object quite similar to a shield is placed on top of a barren rocky mountain, in the legend of which the emblem and Hunyadi's motto: *INVENISSEM SI VIVISSEM* can be seen. The Latin motto is somewhat different from the regular form as the proper *praeteritum perfectum coniunctivi* form of the verb 'vivo' is: 'vixissem', which means: 'I would have found it if I had lived'. It was not in Ottavio Strada's collection that the strange and somewhat incorrect Latin motto and the mysterious picture appeared for the first time as it had already been published in the work on emblematics entitled 'Il Rota' by historiographer Scipione Ammirato (1531–1601), who was born in Lecce, was educated in Naples, and then went to live in Venice and Florence. 'Il Rota' was a theoretical work on impresas, popular in the age and written in dialogue form.¹⁸ The main character of Ammirato's work is a Neapolitan poet, Bernardino Rota (1508/9–1575), who among other impresas mentions the love emblem of his contemporary, Antonio Severino, which consists of a black shield bearing the following motto: *INVENISSEM SE VIVEREM* (= 'I would have found it if I lived').¹⁹ According to Rota, the motto explains the blank (black) shield without any pictures, that is, the owner of the shield has no impresa as he is no longer alive: he was driven to death by the cruelty of the woman he loved. Following Ammirato, in his work published in 1623, Giovanni Ferro gives a similar explanation of the impresa without a motto

¹⁸ AMMIRATO 1562

¹⁹ RO. *Quella certo fu pure bellissima impresa, che portò il sig. Antonio Seuerino fratello del Presidente. Questa era uno scudo nero senza cosa niuna, con queste parole, INVENISSEM SI VIVEREM. Cioè hauerei ancor io trouato alcuna impresa, et qualche concetto dell'anima mia, se io viuessi, ma già son morto, mercè della crudeltà della mia donna, et però non posso ne dire, ne far cosa niuna. CAM. Impresa da affettuosissimo innamorato. AMMIRATO 1562. 75.*

and picture (*pictura*), and also attributes it to a certain Antonio Severino, who was brother of a certain president (*presidente*) named Severino, and lived in the 16th century.²⁰ The noble Severino family was well-known in Naples in the early 16th century. The most successful member of the family was Neapolitan knight (*cavaliere Napolitano*) Geronimo Severino, who was member of 'sedile' (patrician community) *Seggio di Porto* in 1516, and was first elected advocate of the poor on account of his knowledge, and then, after Emperor Charles V occupied the Kingdom of Naples in 1535, president of the Senate of the royal chamber (*presidente del Senato della Real Camera*) in 1541.²¹

On the device of the Neapolitan nobleman, however, the shield is not a *pictura* or organic part of the emblem but the carrier of the *impresa* just like the shield with coats of arms as at least according to Ammirato, Antonio Severino had no *impresa* and his motto also explains this deficiency.

It is a question how the device of Antonio Severino, living in Naples in the mid 16th century and belonging to noble authority *Sedile di Porto*, got to Hunyadi in Ottavio Strada's collection of drawings. An unambiguous answer can be given to this question: Strada was wrong when he attributed the motto, what is more, in a slightly modified form, to John Hunyadi, creating a political emblem from the originally negative *impresa* related to love, which, in this way, might have the meaning that if Hunyadi lived, he would certainly find the shield again and put it on as a weapon. Naturally, Hunyadi would have had to fight against the Turks again as in the age of Strada and Rudolph Habsburg II, at the end of the 16th century, the Turkish danger was still the hottest political issue in Europe. It indicates Strada's error that John Hunyadi's emblem was not included in the work entitled *Symbola divina et humana*, containing engravings made by engraver Aegedius Sadeler, courtier of Rudolph II, after Strada's drawings.²² It reveals Ottavio Strada's inattentiveness or (deliberate?) error that Skanderbegh's *impresa* in his album of drawings with the motto TE NUNQUAM TIMUI had originally belonged to Henry Bourbon, King of Navarre (1503–1555)²³. It is true, however, that later he corrected this error as in the Prague book of emblems, the same emblem appeared under Henry II of Navarre's name (*Fig. 9*).²⁴ Ottavio Strada's error not only reveals the working method of the antiquarian of Rudolph II but also the fact that together with that of Gjergj Kastrioti, John Hunyadi's memory was

²⁰ Antonio Seuerino haueua lo Scudo tutto nero senza niuna altra cosa, e diceua INVENISSEM, SI VIVEREM, cioè hauerei anch'io trouato alcuna Impresa, s'io viuessi, ma già son'io morto per la crudeltà della mia Donna; è poco degna. FERRO 1623. II. 625.

²¹ MARRA 2000. 16., 143. (Note 26.)

²² SADELER 1600; TYPOTIUS 1601–1603

²³ COHEN DE VINCKENHOEF 1853. 35.; CHASSANT–TAUSIN. 1878–1895, 2, 686.

²⁴ VI. Henricus II. Borbonius Nauarrorum Rex. NUNQUAM TE TIMUI VI. Calvaria cum Angue, quem ex cadavere nasci tradunt, mortem hominis vel coecis ostendit. Regis vox audax: Nunquam te timui, Christus enim mortem expavit, non ignarus, quid esset separatio Animae a Corpore. Nec contemnere poenam peccati: nec nimium angi necessitate; hac enim conditione nati sumus; humanum est. Hic scio, quid audiam: Non philosophari Reges. Ad quid magis regium. Non medius fidius delirare. TYPOTIUS 1601–1603. I. 133–134.

vivid in the public in the 16th century as the artist found it important to draw his impresa in his album sent to Regensburg (and perhaps to other places, too), one of the most famous cities in Central Europe, also known as an imperial seat.

It is a question where Strada saw or read about Antonio Severino's strange impresa, which he, in fact, misunderstood as from the original device, he made the shield as the carrier of a non-existent picture and motto the figure of the impresa, what is more, in his composition, he leant it against a mountain, thus giving it a special meaning as if the weapon were waiting for somebody to find it.

Respublica litteraria

Even in his own age, John Hunyadi became well-known to the public thanks to his fight against the Turks, and especially, thanks to his victory in Belgrade in 1456. As early as in 1448, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini wrote about his exceptional capabilities to Pope Nicholas V, quoting Hunyad's heartening words addressed to his soldiers.²⁵ His deeds first became widely known from Thuróczy's chronicle at the end of the 15th century together with his already mentioned portrait, depicting him in armour.²⁶ The Italian Antonio Bonfini, who also wrote about the feats of the king's father in detail, was also the historiographer of Matthias

²⁵ *Johannes, vayvoda... homo Valachus [...] regni gubernator creatus, grandem exercitum in hac estate coegit atque adversus imperatorem Turcorum profectus est [...] Johannes suam magis quam hostium metitus multitudinem, neminem sibi comparem arbitrabatur et quasi feminarum acies adversarios contempnebat, quamvis militaris disciplina sit, nec timere hostes nimium nec parvi pendi oportere, ut comici quoque versus meminisse conveniat: ne quid nimis [...] Terruit hostes Johannis factum, remisso tarnen nomine renuntiant Turci, belli se copiam facturos, incensisque interim undique circa se mapalibus amplius fugiunt. Locuml fortasse oportuniorem querebant, ut adversarios tanto inconsultiores redderent quanto securiores se judicarent. Insequi Johannes vero, successibus elatus, vendi pacem sanguine melius quam auro putans, singula contempsit, quod postquam Turco relatum est, testor, inquit, superos, pugnam invitus in eo nec humani sitio sanguinem; unde quanto nos gessimus humilior, tanto nobis hera bellorum, Fortuna, secundior erit, hortatusque suos, pro patria, liberis ac conjugibus forti animo preliantur, hoc bello finem imponi laboribus dicit, quoniam victi duobus certaminibus Hungari restaurare tertium minime possint. numerositatem sui exercitus ante oculos ponit, hostium paucitatem extenuat, cum eis quoque pugnandum asseverat, quorum germanos in eisdem feri locis ante triennium delevisent. contra Johannes hodie, commilitones, inquit, aut violenta Turcorum dominatione liberabimus Europam aut pro Christo cadentes martyrio coronabimur. quis non ei bello libenter intersit, ubi et vincere pulchrum et vinci beatum? Non morabor vos orationibus, quia virtutem viris verba non addunt; quantusquisque est, tantum in acie se solet ostendere. ex remotis ultro regionibus pugnatum venistis, armati stabitis versus inermes, Christiani adversus infideles educetis gladium. Defendite Christum hodie vestris brachiis et Helespontum ultra rejicite Machmetum. tota vos Christiana religio venerabitur, quamvis ad predam potius quam ad bella descendimus, qui Asiae totius hodie reportabimus opes.* Letter of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini to Pope Nicholas V. Nova Civitas Austriae (Wiener Neustadt), 7. December 1448. FEJÉR1844. 129–131.; FRA 67 (1912). 74–75.

²⁶ *Joannes Thuroczius [...] Erat tunc in regno miles magnanimus, nobili et claro transalpinae gentis de gremio natus, Johannes de Hunyad, homo bellicosus, et ad flectendum arma, dirigendasque res bellicas natus; et sicut piscibus aqua, cervisque umbrosas lustrare silvas, sic illi armorum, bellicae expeditio vita erat. Hunc hominem, ut dici praesumitur, futura pro regni tutela, rebus per ipsum gestis testantibus, fata ab alto elegerant, peregrinisque de partibus regni Hungariae deduxerant intra oras.* FEJÉR1844. 13.

Corvinus I. Bonfini's work was first printed in Basel in 1468 while its second edition, published in Frankfurt, was dedicated by editor Johannes Sambucus to Rudolph II.²⁷ It was also Johannes Sambucus, a Viennese courtier of Hungarian birth, who published the historical work about Hungary written by Pietro Ranzano (1428–1492), Neapolitan envoy delegated to the Buda court of Matthias I, in which the author praised Hunyadi's feats against the Turks following Thuróczy's work.²⁸

The work by Dutch man-of-letters, Gerardus de Roo (†1589) on the history of the Habsburg dynasty, published in Innsbruck in 1592, was certainly read in the Prague court.²⁹ Roo, who was musician, poet and historiographer in the Innsbruck court of Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol (1529–1595), and, at the same time, filled the office of librarian and „Kunstkammerer“ (supervisor of the arts collection) in one of Europe's most famous Renaissance courts and art collections, called John Hunyadi, voivod of Transylvania (*Transsylvaniae regulus*) the terror of the Turks (*genti terrorem*), who had killed several thousand Turks although his army was relatively small.³⁰

One of the most influential authors on emblematics, Paolo Giovio (1483–1552) made mention of John Hunyadi as the father of King Matthias. In the portrait depicting King Matthias in his famous Como museum or collection of portraits, which he later also published in his album of engravings, he wrote about John Hunyadi with great appreciation.³¹ Giovio, who, in fact, included the emblem of

²⁷ BONFINI 1568

²⁸ *Amurathes, Turcorum Tyrannus [...] Jam subacta inferiori Mysia penetraverat in superiorem, cuius portio quaedam Rascia, quam vocitant Serviam. Eam omnem brevi et absque magno suorum discrimine, in suam ille redegit potestatem. Mox egredi parabat in Hungariam, qua ei regioni est contermina ipsa superior Mysia. Et nisi ingentibus ipsius conatibus obviam itum esset opera et armis Joannis Corvini, actum iam prorsus fuisset de re Hungarorum, deque universis Hungariae propinguis, conterminisque regionibus, imprimis de nostra Italia. – Ab Hungaris igitur et cunctis eis finitimis nationibus christianis immortales sunt agenda Joanni Corvino gratiae, qui Hungariam a futura, audacissimaque illa Turcorum irruptione, invasionequae servavit. [...] Vladislaus... habita ratione gestarum rerum, aliarumque multarum virtutum, spectate praesertim multis in rebus fidei Joannis Coruini: magno totius Hungariae consensu, delectus ipse est, qui Regis loco, Vaiuode tamen appellatione, vniversum Regnum, cum imperio moderaretur: ipsumque su illa animi magnitudine illaque in rebus gerendis ei aridente fortuna, tutaretur. Eam electionem secutus est omnium popolorum mirus appalausu, gaudiumque non mediocre, et letitia incredibilis. Tanta namque erat virtutis viri apud omnes Hungaros existimatio.* RANSANUS 1558. Ind. XII–XXIII.

²⁹ ROO 1592

³⁰ *Circa haec tempora Joannes Huniades Coruinus, Transsylvaniae regionis (quam Germani septem castra nuncupant) regulus, rem bellicam contra Amuratem, Turcarum tyrannum, ea cum animi fortitudine administrabat, vt solus fere ex Christianis ferocissimae genti terrorem incuteret, multaque Turcarum millia, paucis admodum copiis instructus, fuderit. [...] Ladislaus Alberti regis filius Posthumus... placuit proregem creari... Eminebat inter competitores Coruinus summa virtute, recentibusque in patriam meritis, ideoque... regni Hungarici Prorex ac gubernator salutatur.* ROO 1592. 195., 198.

³¹ *Patrem habuit Ioannem Hunniadem, secundis pariter ac aduersis, Ducem, omnium qui cum Turcis arma contulerint, longe clarissimum vtpote qui Turcarum fulmineus terror appellaretur, quorum magnam multitudinem in Belgradi fossis prostrauisset. Is natione Semidachus et Valachus, duos habuit filios, Ladislaum et Matthiam. Ladislaus, quod Vldericum Ciliae Comitem Regis propinquum, qui capitales inimicitias cum Hunniade patre semper exercuerat, apud Albam confodisset, a Ladislao Rege securi percussus est, Matthia custodiae tradito, abductoque in Bohemiam, vt ibi de nobilissimi*

Matthias Corvinus I in his emblem collection,³² also mentioned him in his works about the Turkish wars.³³ In his popular *impresa* collection, published in Naples in 1592, Giulio Cesare Capaccio (1550–1634), Neapolitan theologian and historian mentioned in the chapter on the lion, referring to Bonfini, that at the death of King Matthias, all the lions died in the royal court in Buda, and then alluded to it that the king's father, John Hunyadi was also noted for the lion as in addition to the raven of the family, King Wladyslaw I gave him a strong lion wearing a crown to incorporate in his coat of arms as with his heroism, he had preserved the crown of Hungary. However, Capaccio wrongly linked the donation of the 'lion of Beszterce-Bistrita' to John Hunyadi (in fact, Count of Beszterce)'s title as Count of Vienna(?) (*Conte de Vienna*).³⁴ Capaccio also knew it from Bonfini that the Hunyadis, members of the Corvinus family, had worn a raven (in Italian: *corvo*, in Latin: *corvus*) as *impresa* just like the Corvinus family in ancient Rome, thus being similar to the famous Orsini family in Italy *családhoz*, who naturally had a bear as a device (in Italian: *orso*).³⁵ Capaccio, who knew the history of King Matthias very well, as in one of his works, he wrote the history of Naples,³⁶ in which he mentioned the Hungarian king and his wife, the Neapolitan princess several times, spoke about those personalities in his work on *impresas* who were feared even after their death. Among others, he mentioned Conrad I of Germany, the English king Edmund Ironside and John Hunyadi. In relation to the latter, he quoted the following *topos*: the Turks were so much afraid of this great military leader that the Turkish mothers used his name to silence their crying children.³⁷

adolescentis supplicio, extra Hungarorum oculos consideratius atque liberior decerneret. Nam tametsi Matthias eius caedis conscius fuisse putabatur, quod tamen interfecti Ciliensis cruore manus minime polluisset, nec duodeuigesimum attigisset annum, plerosque Procerum ad misericordiam commouebat, quum vnica proles Hunniadeis interitura crederetur. Quid eius viri memoriae ab Hungarica gente vel gratius, vel honestius persolui posset, quam si eius sobolem a teterrima nece seruant; quum Hunniade se toties seruatos, Turcicisque trophaeis nobilitatos esse faterentur. GIOVIO 1551. 157.; GIOVIO 1575. 113.

³² GYULAI 2009/a. Fig. 412. (p. 93.)

³³ *Ioannes Huniades Matthiae regis pater summa militaris artis peritia [...] Mahometes II [...] Ducentis millibus Turcarum secum ductis, Belgradum inuasit, sed uirtute Huniadis egregii Ducis fusus, uulnere etiam accepto machinas aeneas relinquere coactus est.* GIOVIO 1537. B2r, B4v

³⁴ *DEL LEONE [...] Et il Bonfinio dice, che nella morte di Mattia Coruino Re d'Vngheria, morirono tutti i Leoni ch'erano in Buda. «Leone de' Coruini in Vngaria» Ladislao Re di Vngheria e di Boemia, hauendo dichiarato Conte di Vienna, Giouanni Coruino, oltre al Coruo, volse c'hauesse vn forte Leone il qual sostenesse vna Corona, hauuendo egli con la sua fortezza sostenuta la Corona d'Vngaria.* CAPACCIO 1595. f. 4r.; 16r.

³⁵ *Dell'Imprese dell'Orso. I Signori Orsini hebbero per propria Impresa l'Orso, come i Coruini il Coruo, tanto i Romani, quanto quei che regnarono in Vngheria, conde riduce quegli il Bonfinio nel 9. lib. Della 3. Deca...* CAPACCIO 1595. f. 86v.

³⁶ CAPACCIO 1634

³⁷ *Quei, che anco dopò morte danno timore. CLXII. [...] Molti grandi huomini per sommo valore stimati in vita, han conseruato dopò morte ancora vn certo timore di loro stessi nella memoria, de gli huomini. Tal fù Corrado I. Duca di Franconi, che per la robustezza del corpo fatto formidabile nelle battaglie, lasciò per sempre paurosi gli animi di quei popoli, et infino adesso i Turchi par, che temano Giouanni Hunniade valoroso Capitano, in maniera, che col nome di quello, le madri mettono*

John Hunyadi, the 'bogey-man' of crying Turkish children was not unknown in the French-speaking world, either, as his story was mentioned by André Thevet (1516–1590), King of France Henry II's court cosmographer³⁸ in a collection of portraits published in 1584.³⁹ In his famous collection, Thevet included King of Hungary Matthias Corvinus I, as well, together with his portrait, writing at length in the chapter on the king about the king's father, the 'great vojvod', Hunyadi, defeater of the Turks. The name and fate of Hunyadi were linked to those of Franciscan monk Capistrano and the victory in Belgrade, and Hunyadi was well-known for his deep religious faith among his contemporaries. Thevet wrote about King Matthias' father in great detail, probably that is why the portrait of Matthias published by him was often mistaken⁴⁰ for the portrait of John Hunyadi (Fig. 10).⁴¹ In



Fig. 10. Portrait of King Mathias Corvinus, 1584. THEVET 1584. III. 518.

spauento ai loro putti, quando piangono. L'istesso valore e timore attribuitono, quel gran soldato Scanderbeg, et ad Egmondo Rè d'Inghilterra, che chiamarono Lato di ferro... CAPACCIO 1620. 353–354.

³⁸ CANTACUZÈNE 2003

³⁹ *Quant au Waiuode Hunniade, sa prouesse et vaillance estoit tellement redoutée par les Turcs, que les nourisses, pour raquoiser leurs enfans crians, ne sçauoient les intimider que des menaces d'Hunniade, qui les viendroit aussi tost happer. Ceste seul apprehension du nom de l'Hongre faisoit retenir aux enfantelets et leurs cris et leurs larmes.* THEVET 1584. III. 518–519.

⁴⁰ CANTACUZÈNE 2003. 36.

⁴¹ *MATTHIAS HVNNIADE, DICT Coruin, Roy de Hongrie. [...] Il eut pour pere grand Waiuode et general des Hongres, nommé Iean Hunniade, ainsi appellé cause de la ville d'Hunniade, d'où il estoit natif. Ce fut celuy qui fut appellé le vray fleau des Turcs, et vn rempart en Hongrie des Chrestiens, pour la charge, qu'il donna si visuellement sur Amurath et les Turcs, que non seulement il retarda les furies uorable, qu'il fit vne telle des-faite des Turcs, qu'Amurath, se voyant reduit si à l'estroit de ses affaires, fut contraint de se souzmettre à la necessité de demander la paix à ce grand Wayvode. Auquel toutesfois ne voudroie tant deferer, quie retranchasse le los, qui est deu tant au Cardinal Césarin le depescha en Alemaigne et autres region, pous y planter la foy Apostolique Rommaine, et que pour cest effect il esserta des compaignies Chrestiennes les danses, ieux, banquets et autres superfluités, qui seruent plus à scandale qu'à contentement et resiouissance, loisible aux Chrestiens. Tellement profitta-il, que de toutes parts il n'estoit réputé autre que pour sanct Cordelier. Mais, comme il estoit delegué pour planter la religion Catholique, il ne se contente point du feu de la parole de Dieu, ains aussi y adioust le bras seculier, se ceignit de cimenterre, et remua si bien les armes, que quand toute sa vie il n'eaut fait autre chose que de hanter la guerre, il n'eut sçeu plus adextrement bransler la picque, chamailler, commander et en somme faire tous actes plus heroïques et celester, qu'humains. C'est donc vne trop lourde niaiserie, qu'on trouue au nouveau Munster refondu, de dire que le Waiuode Hunniade estoit celuy, qui donnoit la charge aux ennemis, et que Capistran ne faisoit que tenir l'Image du Crucifix entre ses mains, aux prieres et oraisons: il pense (peut-estre) luy faire tort s'il le representoit en guerrier, au contraire ie l'en prise d'auantage de ce que non seulement du plat de la langue, ainsaussi de ses forces naturelles et proïesses il s'est efforcé d'accroistre l'honneur et gloire des Chrestiens. Or pour retourner à ce grand et inuincible Iean Hunniade, il mourut bien tost apres la*

the engraved portrait, a long-haired man can be seen in Hungarian attire holding a sabre, who might just as well be Hunyadi.

Although he could not match the Italian, German or French war lords of the 15th and 16th centuries in popularity, and therefore, his emblem is not known with the exception of the one that was presumably drawn erroneously by Ottavio Strada, John Hunyadi was a well-known and acclaimed personality in the late Renaissance on the one hand, as a hero defeating the Turks, the winner of Belgrade, and, on the other hand, as the father of King of Hungary Matthias Corvinus. Public opinion about John Hunyadi was summarised by Christian Matthiae (Carsten Thiessen, 1584–1655), German Lutheran clergyman, theologian and historiographer, working in the Netherlands, in his world history entitled *Theatrum historicum*, published first in 1629, in which, following Aenas Silvio Piccolomini, he also mentioned that crying Turkish children were silenced with Hunyadi's name:

Exstinctus Uladislaus (aetatis suae, ut refert Leonclav.⁴² a. 25.) locum in regno Hungariae fecit Ladislao Alberti posthumo, quantum aetatis annum agent, quem Hungari, ut pote antea quoque coronatum, post varias longasque deliberationes et concertationes, Regem sibi adsciverunt. Cum autem regno immaturus esset, de Gubernatore Hungariae eligendo agitatum est. Ideoque Hungarorum consensu IOHANNES HUNNIADES, natione Semidacus seu Walachus, Comes Bistriciensis, ingenio dextro, animo magno et excelso praeditus, ac virtutis amator, tradita Rei publ(icae) summa, Hungariae Gubernator aut Prorex pronuntiatus est, quod anno 1445 festis diebus Pentecostes factum esse prodit Bonfinius. Hic Iohannes Ducum omnium, qui cum Turcis arma contulerunt, illo tempore clarissimus, sollers ac sagax in prospiciendis, patiens in exspectandis, celer in arripiendis, acer in persequendis rerum occasionibus, atque in rebus ipsis urgendis pertinax, conficiendis felix ac fortunatus fuit. Adversus duos enim audacissimos ac felicissimos Turcicos Tyrannos Amurathem et Muhamedem divina ope Pannoniam defendit: estque propterea appellatus fulmineus terror Turcarum. Fuit enim non modo, ut de Achille Homerus inquit, Achivorum, sed totius reliquae Europae murus; cuius unius virtus et felicitas tyrannorum impetus repressit, velut obiecta moles exundans stumen. Nec quisquam Regum aut Ducum res maiores et Europae utiliores adversus Turcas gessit. Interim Ladislaus adolevit et A. C. 1452, aetat(is) 13, a Friderico Imp(eratore), sub cuius tutela hactenus fuerat, dimissus est, annoque sequenti Pragae iterum coronatus Rex Bohemiae, die Simonis et Iudae.

victoire obtenuë par les Chrestiens deuant Belgrade, en l'an quatorze cens cinquante six. THEVET 1584. II. 305–306.

⁴² Johannes LEUNCLAVIUS (1533–1593. His works: *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum a Turcis sua lingua scripti*. Apud Andreae Wecheli heredes, Cl. Marnium et Joan. Aubrium, Francofurti, 1588; *Neuwer musulmanischer Histori türckischer Nation*. Andreas Wechels seligen Erben, Claudi de Marne und Johann Aubri, Frankfurt/M., 1590; *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum*. Apud heredes Andreae Wecheli, Claudium Marnium & Ioann. Aubrium, Francofurti, 1591

Peracta coronatione, permissum est cuilibet, ut suo arbitrio, vel sub una vel sub utraque specie communicaret. Ipse tamen Ladislaus persuaderi numquam potuit, ut templa Hussitarum intraret, vel sacris eorum interesset. Regni curam cum suscepisset Ladislaus, totum se dedit Ulrico Ciliae Comiti suo propinquo, ita ut nisi de ipsius consilio et voluntate decerneret et faceret nihil. Quare cum Muhamed A. C. 1456 in Hungariam cum exercitu centum et quinquaginta millium transisset, et Belgradum, quam Albam Graecam vocant, tam terra quam mari obsidione cinctam oppugnare coepisset, Ladislaus Turcis, suasu Ciliae Comitis Ulrici, se opponere non fuit ausus. Sed Hunniades prorex, et Capistranus Minorita legatus Pontificius, exercitu collecto urbem intrarunt: et Hunniades classem Muhamedis in fluvio naves ducentas cepit, reliquas, ne usui essent Hungaris, Muhamed ipse cremavit. Inde ad urbem pugnatum est toto die, et perierunt ad quadraginta milia Turcarum. Factum 6 Augusti: ipse Muhamed, cum oculus eius hasta esset traiectus, sequenti nocte incensis castris cum exercitu fugit, praeda ea tantum relicta, quae igne absumi non potuit. Hunniades, felicissimus Hungariae defensor, (cuius nomen, ut tradit Sylvius, tam terrificum fuit Turcis, ut parentes liberis plorantibus silentium non aliter imperarent, quam Huniadi praesentiam minitando; mortuus est die 10 Septembr(is) non sine veneni suspicione, a Comite Ciliae propinati.⁴³

Hunyadi's shield

It can be no coincidence that in both Hunyadi's 15th century portrait and in the Strada impresa, the shield has a central role as a part of the armour. Hunyadi's shield may have symbolic importance as the Renaissance topos regarding Hungary as the shield (clypeus) and bastion (*propugnaculum*) of Christianity against the Turkish conquest⁴⁴ is known and mentioned many times in historical and literary historical works. In his letter to Emperor Frederick II, Pope Pius II used the expression 'shield of Christianity' (*christianitatis clipeus*) in connection with Hungary in 1459.⁴⁵ This topos had already appeared much earlier - although it is true that with another Latin word (*scutum*) for 'shield' - namely in the diploma of privileges issued by King of Hungary Sigismund of Luxemburg I for the chapter in Várad in 1406, in which he confirmed the chapter, having suffered losses due to the Turkish invasion, in its estates and chose Várad cathedral, where the tomb of King St Ladislaus I could also be found, as his burying place.⁴⁶

⁴³ MATTHIAS 1668. 1010–1011.

⁴⁴ PAJORIN 2006. 20.

⁴⁵ *Quotidianis nuntiis nobis asseritur, seivissimum fidei nostre hostem Turchum magnis apparatibus, quibus per hosce annos idesinenter studuit, statuisse ventura estate, transmisso Danubio, Ungarie regnum et quecumque christianorum loca poterit [...] cum id Regnum totius christianitatis clipeus esse antehac consueverit, nosque illo pugnante ociosam semper securitatem egerimus.* (Pius II Imperatori, ne suggestionibus quorundam seductus regnum Hungariae ambiat) Siena, 11 Aprilis 1459. THEINER 1859. II. № CCCCXCVI. (p. 324.)

⁴⁶ *[i]n diuersis guerris, seditionibus, et disturbiis Turcarum, paganorum, et aliarum nationum barbaricarum, saepius inuadentium regnum nostrum, velut scutum Christianitatis, terris et regnis*

While in Thuróczy chronicle, Hunyadi's weapon followed the 15th century pattern of *pavise*, the shield appearing in Ottavio Strada's drawing has a totally different form: it is round with a spike in the middle. Giovanni Ferro also mentions several different types of shields that may appear in the *impresas* (*scudo*, *brocchiere*, *rotella*, *targa*, *targone*), of these, the weapon in the Hunyadi *impresa* is equivalent to the one called *brocchiere* in Italian. This small shield originating in the Middle Ages (called *buckler* in English) was often used in combats so it was often mentioned in both handwritten and printed handbooks of fencing. In his handbook, first published in Venice in 1570,⁴⁷ which was translated into English in 1594, fencing master Giacomo di Grassi described the buckler as a tiny round shield with a strong iron boss in the middle, from which there protruded a pointed spike. Despite its small size, the buckler was able to protect the whole body (*Fig. 11*).⁴⁸

An exceptionally beautiful manuscript written in Italian by Giovanni Antonio Lovano, born in Milan and later serving as armourer in the court of the King of France Henry III, in which several miniatures and the text also explained how the *brocchiere* and the sharp sword (*spada*) should be used in fencing, is preserved in *Bibliothèque nationale de France*.⁴⁹ In the miniature made around

paganicis a partibus multis et plagis vicinum et proximum, nec non ipsius incolas et bona saepius diripientium, nihilominus bellorum intestinorum et suscitationum inuidiarum... (Sigismundus R. H. priuilegiales Capituli Varadiensis super possessionibus, incendii casu, aliisque aduersitatibus amissas, renouat, confirmat, locumque sepulturae suae in Eccl. B. M. Varisiensi eligit). Sigismundus I. Váradi, 18th October 1406. FEJÉR 1829–1844. X/4. № CCXXXIII. (p. 522.)

⁴⁷ DI GRASSI 1570

⁴⁸ *The Sword and Buckler [...] the Buckler is a weapon very commodious and much used, [...] As the form of the Buckler is round and small, and ought to be a shield and safeguard of the whole body, which is far greater then it: So it is to be understood how it may accomplish the same, being a matter in a manner impossible. Let every one therefore know, that the little Buckler is not equal in bigness to the body simply, but after a certain manner, from which springs this commodity, that he which understands it, shall be resolved of the manner how to bear and handle it, and shall know that in it, which shall not only advantage him in the use thereof, but also of many other weapons [...] It shall be also very profitable, that in the midst of the Buckler, there be a sharp point or stert of Iron, to the end the enemy may be struck therewith when occasion serve. [...] there is required, that about the middle thereof, there be a little strong circle of Iron, well nailed and hollowed from the Buckler.* DI GRASSI 1594. [82–83.]

⁴⁹ *XLI. Mutiano mentito da Torano per rilevarsi dalla ricevuta mentita si conduce seco à duello con spada et brocchiero, et entrato in campo si appresenta con la gamba stanca inanzi in passo, col brocchiero ben fermato in mano et col braccio del brocchiero ben disteso, portando la spada in dietro à basso con una sbarrata. Torano dall'altra parte si fu fermato, con la gamba dritta inanzi, in passo in guardia di dentro, col brocchiero ben accompagnato con la guarnitione della spada. XLII. Menesteo, per non starsi in contumacia del suo honore, sfidò Rutiliano in steccato à spada et brocchiero, dove essendo entrati ambiduo, l'uno dall'una parte et l'altro dell'altra, menesteo attore subito con molta ragione si fermò quasi in guardia di fuori, accompagnando den la spada col brocchiero et tenendo il filo buono della sua spada contra la offesa che gli potesse venire dal nimico. XLIII. Varrone, per non lasciare l'honor suo in pendente, chiamò Ligario in steccato per risigar seco duello con una spada et brocchiero. Et giunti in campo, Varrone si appresentò contra Ligario in guardia di fuori col brocchiero unito benissimo alla spada, secondo la ragione di esse arme. Ligario si appresentò dall'altro lato medesimamente fermato molto bene in guardia di dentro col suo brocchiero giunto alla spada.* Giovanni Antonio LOVINO: *Modo di cacciare mano al spada* [and] *Ragionamento sopra la*

1580, the fencers are using the same kind of shield as the one drawn by Strada in the Hunyadi impresa (*Fig. 12*).

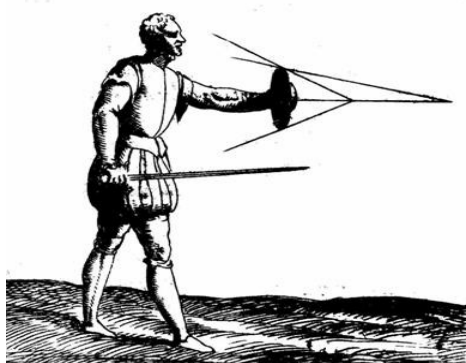


Fig. 11. Fencing with brocchiere (buckler), 1594. DI GRASSI 1594. 82.

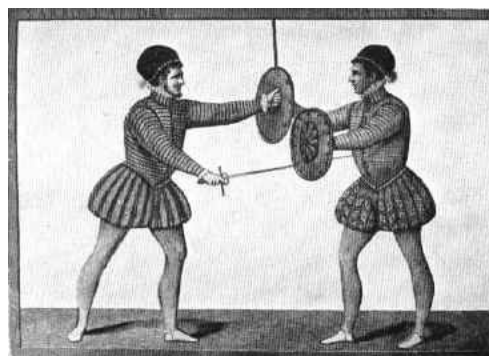


Fig. 12. Fencing with brochiere (buckler), around 1580. BnF Mss Italien 959, f XLI. LOVINO 1909. № XLI.

The buckler was also known in the imperial court, which can be proved by the fact that in the series of xylographs made by Albrecht Dürer and Hans Burgmeir about the triumph of Emperor Maximilian I (*Triumphzug*, Augsburg, 1516–1518), the group of combatants for fencing is equipped with bucklers (*Fig. 13*).⁵⁰



Fig. 13. Combatants for fencing, Triumph of Emperor Maximilian, 1516–1618. Plate № 37 from the Woodcuts of Triumphzug Kaiser Maximilians, 1516–1518. Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz <http://www.uni-graz.at/ubwww/ub-sosa/ub-sosa-druckschriften/ub-sosa-druckschriften-triumphzug.htm>

scienza dell'arme (Traité d'escrime, dédié au roi Henri III, par G.–A. Lovino de Milan) Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Paris, Département des manuscrits, Mss Italien 959. ff XLI–XLIII.; LOVINO 1909. № XLI.

⁵⁰ Hans Burgmeir: *Fechter mit Degen und Rundschildern*. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, Esterházy Collection Inv. No. 1586. In: Dürer und seine Zeitgenossen 2005, Cat. No. 37.; *FENCING*. Pl. 37. Five men with shields, carrying the sword drawn (with fencing-swords and hand-shields). ASPLAND (ed.) 1875. 127.

The shield also had special symbolism in Renaissance emblematics. In a theoretical work on the classification of impresas by Giovanni Ferro, in the dichotomy of the shield and sword, the sword strikes and attacks while the shield defends, the former is revengeful and sheds blood while the latter wards off strikes and protects life. The sword falls together with its bearer but the shield serves the hero even after his death as it represents its possessor on the chariot of triumph. With the ancient Greeks, the shield was the symbol of heroic death as the body of the dead soldier was taken from the battlefield on his shield.⁵¹ All this might as well have been written about John Hunyadi as his most important feats aimed at the protection of Hungary.

In his collection of impresas, drawn in several versions and distributed by himself among the European elite of the late 16th century, in addition to the impresa of Matthias Hunyadi I, King of Hungary, Ottavio Strada also included the device of his father, John Hunyadi. However, in contrast to that of King Matthias, the Hunyadi impresa was not included in the book of emblems published in Prague with Aegidius Sadeler's engravings, indicating that it was an error to attribute the motto *INVENISSEM SI VIVISSEM* and the impresa depicting a round shield to Hunyadi. According to contemporary emblematics literature, the motto (*INVESSEM SI VIVEREM*), written on a black shield without pictures originally belonged to a Neapolitan nobleman, Antonio Severino, living in the first half of the 16th century, and it is not known how it 'got to' Hunyadi. It can only be suspected that this was due to Strada's mistake who wanted to commemorate the Hungarian military leader, well-known in the 16th century, as well.

⁵¹ *SCUDO, BROCCIERE, ROTELLA, TARGA, TARGONE. Stringe la destra la spada, et imbraccia la sinistra lo scudo, colpisce quella, schermisce questa, l'una bramosa e sitibonda di vendetta s'intigne nel sangue, e la vita ne trahe; l'altra riparando a' colpi mantiene la vita, et il sangue. La spada, mentre tu sei viuo, ti può essere di salute e vittoria, caduto à terra, e morto à nulla più ti gioua. Ma lo Scudo oltre allo stare alla tua difesa, essen do tu viuo, ti accompagna poi morto, e ti conduce gloriosa bara alla patria; anzi per carro di trionfo, e di gloria, come già fece al prode Epaminonda, ti serue. Stimò quegli più l'hauere appresso morendo il suo scudo, che non temette la sua morte; perche in quello s'hauea da dipingere come valorosamente della Matrona Spartana, AVT CVM HOC, AVT IN HOC, dato da lei a suoi figliuoli...* FERRO 1623. II. 624.

THE BIHOR COUNTY'S ABANDONED LANDS (PRAEDIUM) AFTER THE THERESIAN URBARIAL REGULATION

Edith BODO

Abstract: *After the urbarial regulation of 1770-1772 the lease contracts concluded between the area master and community or between the area master and individual farmers will increase significantly. In the Committee of Bihor, on the domain of Oradea there were 27 abandoned lands, on that of Beliu 16, and on that of Beiuș a single one, and on that of Vașcău none. The usage of the abandoned lands was more profitable than that of the serf's lands, because it presumed a more available usage of the land, and the obligations were less oppressive.*

Keywords: *abandoned land (abandoned field), lease contract, official register notes, arable, hayfield*

Both in the official register notes of 1715, 1720, 1728, and of those domains, as well of the urbarial regulation documents, the conscriptors also remember about the abandoned lands being in the use of the localities. For researchers, it would have been ideal as the conscriptors had always mentioned the manner how the abandoned land was used. In most cases, however, they indicate only the number of days of robot performed. For example, in the committee subdivision of Salonta, the most frequently mentioned abandoned land is of Össi (Ioșia)¹. "Apart from the mentioned obligations, I have served for six days for the entire Capitle, in its abandoned land of Össi near Oradea" declare those of Berechiu²; "in the abandoned land called master's Eösi, that is immediately near Oradea, each host [provides] five days" (Lupoia³), just the same saying those from Forosig⁴, too. More precise information regarding the works performed in the

¹ Do not intermingle with the abandoned land of Össi (Pata) along Tulca of the Roman-Catholic Episcopacy of Oradea. Locality sited in the co-estate of the Capitle even since the 16th century, was definitely destroyed during the sieges on Oradea city, its name surviving by the abandoned field nereby the town. At the beginning of the 18th century falls again in possession of the Capitle. After 1849 this part of the domain contained 905 yokes of arable lands, 77 yokes of pasture, 36 yokes of hayfield and 30 yokes of forest and from an administrative viewpoint belonged, together with the neighboring abandoned land, Iclod, to the locality of Sântandrei. (Emödi András, *Bihar megyei kéziratos térképek (1754-1888) (Hárți manuscrite din Bihor 1754-1888)*, Partium Publishing House, Oradea, 2007, p.XL). Moreover, the National Archives - Bihor County Directorate store the maps to regulate the waters in 1794, 1809, 1810 and 1818, a part of the abandoned land being regularly flooded by the creek Peța and maps of the abandoned land in 1816, 1820, 1823 and that around the years 1820-1830 (*Ibidem*, p. 161-163)

² Bársony István, Papp Klára, Takács Péter, *Az úrbérrendezés forrásai Bihar vármegyében, II. A szalontai és a váradi járás (Izvoarele reglementării urbariale în comitatul Bihor, II. Plășile Salonta și Oradea)*, Debrecen, 2003, p. 26

³ *Ibidem*, p. 34

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 42

drudgeries we find in the declarations of the locals of Cheşa: “beginning with the year 1785, the master commanded that each entertainer to grub six days in the abandoned land of Eössi, which is near Oradea, but we grubbed only 5 days”⁵; “each entertainer to grub [for Capitle] in the abandoned field called Eössi, which is near Oradea, a week” say those of Miersig⁶; “we ought to grub six days in the abandoned land of Össi found at 1 ½ mile” say those of Şauaieu⁷. In addition to deforestation, the aforementioned abandoned land they also practiced mowing. “I have mowed a piece of hayfield near Oradea, in the abandoned land named Eössi of the honorable noble Capitle ... each entertainer is bound to three days ...” according to the locals of Sititelec⁸. The locals of Salonta, who had not enough arable land used to lease together abandoned lands “on money squeeze”. They also said that having no hayfield in the border of the village they mow “in those leased abandoned lands, of which some are at a mile, others half a mile from us ... we get them all of the abandoned lands”⁹.

After the urbarial regulation of the 1770-1772 1772 the lease contracts concluded between the area master and community or between the area master and individual farmers will increase significantly¹⁰. But it is clear that these contracts were concluded only in the case of the rural communities with sufficient material possibilities and, in many cases were renewed only until the areas interests not oblige the owners to exploit them in another direction¹¹. The increased interest for this kind of land, the historian János Varga will include it in the class of the remanencial lands (*prediális remanencia*), was also due to the fact that the obligations were far less than those provided by serfs parcels¹². It is to be noted that the status of these abandoned lands was that of the allodial land.

In the Committee of Bihar in 1778, on the domain of Oradea there were 27 abandoned lands¹³, on that of Beliu 16, and on that of Beiuş a single one, and on that of Vaşcău none, so a total of 44.

The official register note of 1778¹⁴ of the domains of the Roman Catholic Episcopacy of Oradea recorded beside the abandoned lands components also their

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 73-74

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 106

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 123

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 137

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 136

¹⁰ Barbu Ştefănescu, *Tehnică agricolă şi ritm de muncă în gospodăria ţărănească din Crişana (sec. al XVIII-lea şi sec. al XIX-lea)*, vol. I, „Cele Trei Crişuri” Cultural Foundation Printing House, Oradea, 1995, p. 147

¹¹ Papp Klára, *Biharország jobbágynépe. A magánbirtok és jobbágysága a XVIII. században (Iobăgimea Țării Bihorului. Domeniul laic privat şi iobăgimea în secolul al XVIII-lea)*, Csokonai Kiadó, Debrecen, 1998, p. 117

¹² Varga János, *A jobbágyi földbirtoklás típusai és problémái 1767-1849 (Tipurile şi problemele de posedare a pământurilor iobăgeşti, 1767-1848)*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1967, p. 19-20

¹³ Magyar Országos Levéltár (Hungarian National Archives), *fund E 156. Urbaria et Conscriptiones*, fasciculus 125 (hereinafter: MOL, *U fund et C*, fasc.125), no. 1/6-1/21, f. 1-2560

¹⁴ Magyar Országos Levéltár (Hungarian National Archives), *fund E 156. Urbaria et Conscriptiones*, fasciculus 125 (hereinafter: MOL, *fund U et C*, fasc.125), no. 1/6-1/21, f. 1-2560

recovery manner. Most were made up of arable lands¹⁵ and allodial hayfields¹⁶ to be added, as appropriate, pastures, forests, bulrush, and reed mace and even wetlands or whitethorn fields. The largest arable lands have been registered in the abandoned land of Macea (3700 metrets of Pojon) Köllesér (2600 metrets of Pojon) and Alcsi (2240 metrets of Pojon)¹⁷. Regarding their manner of use, usually part of the arable land is kept up by the master for himself and, the other part is leased to the vassals in exchange for the nonas (the serf annually paid a ninth to the lord)¹⁸. In the case of the abandoned land of Macea they also specify the plants to be cropped both in the part kept by the master (wheat, rye, lentils) and, in the part cultivated by peasants for nona (wheat, barley, oats, corn and hemp). Other abandoned lands are entirely leased. The abandoned land of Benke is leased for 178 Renan florins per year, the master only retaining his right to cut the bulrush for himself, a work performed by vassals for the third part. The hayfields, arable land and “quite cleared” areas forest in the abandoned land of Lattobár forest are leased for 180 R.fl. The abandoned land of Somogy is entirely leased for 150 R.fl.; the arable land and hayfield of the abandoned land of Bicăcel is leased for 55 R.fl.¹⁹, and, during the years when the oak trees give fruit, a charge of 4 fl. is taken up; there are also leased the arable lands and hayfields of the abandoned lands of Kiss- Káránd and Össi-Pata. The abandoned land of Köllesér with Attyás, Barmód, Szil, Péterháza and Gejza were leased to the Bourg Salonta for 1050 R.fl. which was more completed with three calves, 100 shafts of melted butter and 200 turtles or 7 crowns/piece²⁰. Due to the natural conditions of these abandoned lands, Salonta will excel in livestock, the center being, as it appears, in the abandoned land of Barmód.

Only three abandoned lands also have pastures. Some are leased, such as those in Macea, at an average of 9 R.fl./year, those of Kiss-Rábé the areas master tries, but with little chance to obtain money from them since, “both the pastures, and the arable lands and hayfield are often flooded”, and on those of Alcsi their own animals usually graze. The existing forests on domain are generally of oak, but sometimes of beech, too²¹. The greatest extent is held by those of the abandoned land of Barmod where the area master gives the right of cutting wood both for 70

¹⁵ Besides Nagy- Káránd and Nagy-Száalka

¹⁶ Besides Péterháza and Nagy-Száalka

¹⁷ I. Şuta, *Utilizarea forței de muncă iobăgești pe pământurile alodiale din domeniul de Oradea în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea*, in *Lucrări științifice*, series B, History, 1978-1979, Oradea, 1979, p. 162, Appendix II. Abandoned Lands' Allodial Earth

¹⁸ Kiss-Rábé, Kiss-Száalka, Alcsi, Macea.

¹⁹ 27 years later, the arable land and hayfield of this abandoned land will be leased for 3 years to 29 cotters with house of Calea Mare, for the amount of 213 fl./year. According to the new contract in 1809, also concluded for 3 years, apart from the amount of 263 de fl./year, the serfs and the cotters who were working this land they were also obliged to transport the wine casks to the area pub, to provide works at the brandy cooking vats and transport the empty containers from the pub (Petru Bona, *Situația economică și socială a țăranilor români pe domeniul Episcopiei romano-catolice de Oradea (1800-1848)*, Imprimeriei de Vest Publishing House, Oradea, 1997, p. 26)

²⁰ MOL, *U et C fund*, fasc.125, no. 1/7, f. 364-373

²¹ I. Şuta, *op.cit.*, p.162, Appendix II. Abandoned Lands' Allodial Earth

serfs of Salonta for the charge of 1 fl / person / year, but also for foreigners, for the same charge, cashing annually from them about 30 fl. The pannage usually was given on lease. The community of Ianoșda has leased the abandoned land of Pata, both in 1805²² and 1810²³. It is interesting that the pannage charge decreased from 351 to 40 R. fl. It may not just be a reduction but, the 40 fl. to represent only a part of charge, as often recorded also payment arrears.

In some abandoned lands there were also different buildings, such as the taverns and area cellars of Buzașd²⁴, Benke²⁵, Kiss-Szálka²⁶, Alcsi²⁷, Macea²⁸, Barmód²⁹ or a damaged area house in Régény³⁰ or houses for watchmen in Kiss-Szálka³¹, Alcsi³², Macea, Rădvan and stables in the Kiss-Szálka and Barmód.

Regarding the abandoned lands of the domain of Beliu between 1721 and 1733, their number will increase from 12 to 22 as until 1778 to fall down to 16. Some of them will become localities³³, others will remain abandoned lands³⁴ and others seem to disappear, they will no longer appear in the official register notes or is likely to be merged with any locality³⁵. Also in this area, most of the abandoned lands were composed of arable lands and allodial hayfields which were either leased or given their own vassals, from the neighboring villages for nona. In the case of the abandoned land of Tălmăciu also is indicated that “this obligation is required [area master] when in nature, when in money”. There were also areas forests at Bochia, Bozul, Megyes, and Telmegye. The largest abandoned land of the domain, Voivodești could be bypassed in two hours and half, but a part of it was covered with thorns and rosehip bushes. Such vegetation was present in most of the abandoned lands.

²²National Archives - County Bihor Directorate, *Roman Catholic Episcopacy Fund Oradea. Economic Documents* (hereinafter: A.N.-D.J.Bh., *Roman Catholic Episcopacy Fund ...*), inv 246, inside. 407, f.119

²³*Ibidem*, dos. 412, f. 268

²⁴„A pub in the area that sells wine and brandy” (MOL, *U et C fund*, fasc.125, no. 1/12, f. 1242)

²⁵„A wooden pub in the area, with cane roof ... the basement would be built properly, but has no roof” (Idem, no. 1/6, f. 67)

²⁶The pub „is made of wood with shingles roof ... the domain measures here wine and brandy” (Idem, no. 1/7 f. 193)

²⁷„In the abandoned land there is a small ruined building for the area pub; yearly for 12 fl.” (*Ibidem*, f. 224)

²⁸„A small pub which already is deteriorating very hard whom” also a basement belongs to” (*Ibidem*, f. 232)

²⁹„A big pub, built properly with measurements and basement”, buildings assessed by the conscriptors at 1052 fl.R and 53 cr. (*Ibidem*, f. 366-367)

³⁰Idem, nr. 1/6, f. 64

³¹„Made of wood covered with shingles” (Idem, no. 1/7, f. 194)

³²„A cottage shaped small house for the field watchman” (*Ibidem*, f. 224)

³³Chișlăca, Coroi, Șiad, Rogoz, Călăcea, Olcea, Benești.

³⁴Băndăraș, Bochia (it was abandoned land, too), Bozul, Buzașd, Cseri, Hodișel, Cărand, Mocirla Mare, Mocirla Mică, Clit, Megyes, Poclușța, Susag, Tălmăciu, Telmegye, Voivodești.

³⁵For example, the abandoned land of Răcătia (Rakattya) that in the official register note of 1721 was leased for 8 fl.R (A. Ilea, Gh. Mudura, V. Covaci, *Conscrierea domeniului Beiuș la 1721*, in *Crisia X*, Oradea, 1980, p. 443) in that of 1733 appeared as belonging to the locality of Tăgădău and the commune of Câmpanii de Jos was leased for 30 fl.R (Ana Ilea, *Conscrierea domeniului Episcopiei romano-catolice de Oradea din anul 1733. Șpanatul Groșeni-Beliu*, în *Crisia XXIV*, Oradea, 1994, p. 297-298), in 1778 was no longer noted

If in 1733 the abandoned land of Cseri and Voivodești were leased by Groșeni for 26 R.fl./ year³⁶, in 1801 Cseri will be leased by Ioan Antal from Beliu for 145 R fl.³⁷, and Voievodești by the clerk of Hășmaș for 165 R.fl. and 20 cr.³⁸. In 1810 the situation is changing, not only the lease increases to 300 R.fl., for the first abandoned land mentioned, but more over the leaseholders, the locals of Beliu will be obliged to provide 100 days of manual robot to clean the places with whitethorns from this place³⁹; the abandoned land of Voievodești will be given again to the community of Groșeni for 320 R fl.⁴⁰. So within nine years, the lease price of both abandoned lands almost will double and instead of a single person, who, as it is evidenced by the documents, did not observe the contract, to the end of the year having a back payment of 36 R.fl., and 15 cr.⁴¹, so in 1810 the leaseholder will be the entire community of Beliu. The same happens with the other abandoned land, the clerk of Hășmaș also being recorded at the end of the year 1801 with a back payment of 135 R.fl. and 20 cr.⁴² However, the abandoned land of Susag was leased throughout the whole period, to the locals of Chișcău. For the beginning with 6 fl. (in 1733)⁴³, the amount “jumped” then to 480 R. fl.⁴⁴, as in 1810 to reach 1150 R.fl., to which was also added the requirement to carry 80 stones with ash to the glass manufacturing⁴⁵. The abandoned land of Hodișel leased to the community of Brădet by the amount of 360 R. fl. 30 cr. (1801)⁴⁶, will reach to pay in 1810, 720 R.fl., furthermore the transportation of 90 stones with ash to the glass manufacturing⁴⁷. The abandoned land of Tălmăciu, both in 1801⁴⁸ and 1810⁴⁹ was leased to the serfs Panda Petru, Panda Micula and Dolga Văsălie (Volfangus! In the document of 1810). But later, the terms of the lease are changed, they owing beside the amount of 350 R.fl., 30 R.fl. more than in 1801, to transport 22 stones with ash to the glass manufacturing. The abandoned land of Buzașd has been always leased to the locals of Ginta⁵⁰.

In some cases it was leased only one field system (calcatura “trampling”), and later to take on lease the entire abandoned land. The locals used to organize a second or third field system (calcatura “trampling”) in the neighboring abandoned lands because of the narrowness and poor quality of the own border⁵¹. In the abandoned lands of Bozul and Bochia they have always leased, only the field systems (calcatura

³⁶ Ana Ilea, *Conscrierea domeniului Episcopiei romano-catolice de Oradea din anul 1733...*, p. 292-293

³⁷ A.N.–D.J.Bh, *Roman – Catholic Episcopacy Fund...*, dos. 1660, f. 13

³⁸ *Ibidem*

³⁹ A.N.–D.J.Bh, *Roman – Catholic Episcopacy Fund...*, dos.1668, f. 29v

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*

⁴¹ A.N.–D.J.Bh, *Roman – Catholic Episcopacy Fund ...*, dos. 1660, f. 257v

⁴² *Ibidem*, f. 258

⁴³ Ana Ilea, *Conscrierea domeniului Episcopiei romano-catolice de Oradea din anul 1733...*, p. 310

⁴⁴ A.N.–D.J.Bh, *Roman – Catholic Episcopacy Fund ...*, dos. 1660, f. 13

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, dos.1668, f. 29v

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, dos.1660, f. 13

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, dos.1668, f. 29v

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, dos.1660, f. 13

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, dos.1668, f. 29v

⁵⁰ In 1801 for a fee of 516 fl.R. and 50 cr., and in 1810 for 850 fl.R.

⁵¹ Varga János, *op.cit.*, p. 20

“tramlings”) with the same name. In 1801, the field system (calcatura “trampling”) of Bozul was leased to Laurențiu Lébl of Beliu⁵² and, in 1810 to the community of Craiova⁵³ and that of Bochia, to the locals of the locality with the same name in 1801 and for “not too many locals” in the same locality in 1810. If in 1733⁵⁴ and 1801⁵⁵ was leased only the field system (calcatura “trampling”) of Clit, in 1810 the entire abandoned land will be used by the community of Hășmaș for the amount of 150 R. fl. The abandoned land of Bândăraș was used in 1733 by Petru Petrila, the span of Ucuriș, then in 1801 by the community of Craiova, in 1810 succeeding in leasing only the field system (calcarura “trampling”) of Bândăraș, this time also by the inhabitants of the village already mentioned.

On the domain of Cheresig, Adrian and Marghita, belonging to the Csáky family, in 1799 there were seven abandoned lands⁵⁶, which, according to practice until then, they used to give them on lease. But at that time, some changes will occur in the direction that they will no longer lease entire abandoned field, but the usable parts, one by one and usually for a minimum of one year, which will enable the growth, very slowly indeed, but permanently of the amount of lease⁵⁷. The abandoned land of Körmösd on the domain of Csáky was leased in 1728 to the communities of Săcălășău and Berekböszörmény for 900 florins for 30 years, and then after the termination of the agreement the new leaseholder will be Mrs. Laczkovics who will pay 5000fl./year for 25 years. In 1776 she will extend the agreement for another 25 years, paying the same amount as previously⁵⁸.

In conclusion, we can say that the leased lands were very important. The usage of some leased abandoned lands was more profitable than that of the serf's lands, because it presumed a more available use of the land, and the obligations were less oppressive. In lots of places they used to lease the abandoned lands because of the smallness of the border or its infertility. The leaseholders, mainly serfs or even cotters, had a more favorable situation than those providing on the basis of the urbarial.

⁵² A.N.-D.J.Bh, *Roman Catholic Episcopacy Fund* ..., dos.1660, f. 13

⁵³ Idem, dos. 1668, f. 29v

⁵⁴ By Judge Simion Nicodim of Hășmaș for 10 fl.R (Ana Ilea, *Conscrierea domeniului Episcopiei romano-catolice de Oradea din anul 1733...*, p. 295)

⁵⁵ By the community of Hășmaș for 60.R.fl. (A.N.-D.J.Bh, *Roman Catholic Episcopacy Fund* ..., dos. 1660, f. 13)

⁵⁶ Boldog Aszony Teleke, Kenéz, Mezőfalva, Nagy-Tóti, Kiss-Tóti, Kiss-Telek, Zeőtsked (Central Historical National Archives, *Hungary Microfilms Collection Fund*, R.629, C.106)

⁵⁷ Papp Klára, *A bihari Csáky birtokok gazdálkodása a XVIII. században (Economia domeniilor Csáky din Bihor în secolul al XVIII-lea)*, in *Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltár Évkönyve*, XXIX, Debrecen, 2002-2003, p. 60

⁵⁸ Idem, *Biharország jobbágynépe...*, p. 42

DIFFICULTIES INCURRED BY THE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN CRISANA REGION DURING THE 19TH CENTURY

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Abstract: *The elementary education faced in 19th century with a lot of problems, such as: school-master's inadequate salary, lack of vocation, inappropriate behavior (mainly due to alcoholism), insufficient training of the school-master, lack of school buildings and their condition inappropriate, lack of supplies and textbooks, great absence of children's missing from school classes. Despite of all these decreases of the educational system, the primary education recorded significant progresses in this time, as general. The authorities assumed responsibility for increasing standards of public education, so that a vast majority of village children should attend school. More and more children from rural communities had the chance to acquire reading and writing skills in order to leave the world of oral culture behind and join the literate minority.*

Keywords: *elementary education, school-master, insufficient training, school building, frequency*

The evolution of public elementary schools from 19th century was affected and, especially, slowed down by a series of realities from rural Romanians communities. Historians must take account of these for having a complete image upon educational system. The state of the instruction from Crisana and Transylvania was already analyzed with several occasions with its bad or good aspects¹. Through this essay we want to point out some angles that drew back

¹ For the general frame of the problem, there is a various bibliography, such as: Nicolae Firu, *Date și documente cu privire la istoricul școalelor române din Bihor*, Tipografia diecezană, Arad,, 1910; Lucia Protopopescu, *Contribuții la istoria învățământului din Transilvania 1774-1805*, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, București, 1966; Vasile Popeangă, *Școala românească din părțile Aradului la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea, 1821-1867*, Arad, 1979 (further on: Vasile Popeangă, *Școala românească din părțile...*); Domokos Kosary, *Culture and Society in Eighteenth -Century Hungary*, Corvina, Budapesta, 1987, Ioan Marin Mălinaș, *Situația învățământului bisericesc al românilor în contextul reformelor școlare din timpul domniei împărătesei Maria Tereza (1740-1780), a împăraților Iosif al II-lea (1780-1790), și Leopold al II-lea (1790-1792). Contribuții privind relațiile româno-austriece*, Editura Mihai Eminescu, Oradea, 1994; Anca Câmpian, „Restructurarea învățământului în imperiul habsburgic în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea. Dezbateri și reușite”, în *Libraria*, 2004, Târgu-Mureș (<http://www.bjmures.ro/publicatii/anuare/Anuarul%20III-2004/LucrCâmpian.htm>), Iacob Mârza, „Câteva aspecte ale controlului statului în Transilvania secolului luminilor: școlile românești”, în *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica*, 9/I, 2005, Valeria Soroștineanu, „Conferințele

elementary education. In particular, we are interested in Crisana region in 19th century.

Generally speaking, the education records happily progresses. But the reality reveals particular and complex cases. The negative aspects are many such as: lack of school buildings and their inappropriate condition, lack of supplies, textbooks and writing materials, lack of school furniture; the absence of cooperation between local school and local church authorities, situation that creates strained relations between the school-master and the priest (it can not still deny the important role the church as institution has in the primary school); poverty of rural communities, which can not always insure the salary of the school-master, or the existence of an appropriate school building; due to the hard living, the parents has not the possibility to procure for their children books and writing material; above these children are drawn in agricultural works; some school-masters are accused of lack of vocation, inappropriate behavior (mainly due to alcoholism), insufficient training. Beside the “defections” of public elementary education, more serious is the fact that it was necessary a long time period to pass through all these minuses and founded solutions were defective or bad applied.

The access of Romanians to elementary education depends on the capacity of the rural communities to attend a school building and a school-master. With the intercession of the church and of the state, that had a great role in the instruction process, the number of rural schools and school-masters increases along the 19th century. The lack of funds is problem that puts limits in the application of reforms in the instruction system.

School textbooks, which parents would have the obligation to by, were often missing due to material lacks of the parents. Villagers from Homorodul de Mijloc (Satu Mare county) are a rare but happy case; they endeavour themselves to let their children to got o school, to by them textbooks and other things – says the local priest in the year 1852². The only thing is that the documents from that time do not record too many similar cases.

A problem that affects negatively the educational process is the way of ensuring the payment of the school-master

Usually, hiring school-teachers should be done on the basis of a contract completed by the district school director and the village representatives, stating that the villagers would provide the repair of the school building and purchase of items necessary for the proper conduct of educational activities (table, chairs, tables etc.). The salary varies from location to location, the peasants pay in money

învățătoarești din arhiepiscopia ortodoxă a Transilvaniei (1901-1906)”, în *Identitate și alteritate*. Vol. 4 *Studii de istorie politică și culturală*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Argonaut, 2007

² The original text is: „[...]se silescu acum [în anul 1852] asu da pruncii la scola, le cumpara carti si alte midloace necesarie ca se pota umbla pruncii loru numai la scola si feciori si fetele la catechisatie” (National Archives – Bihor County Direction (further on: AN-DJBh), *Fond Episcopia Greco-Catolică de Oradea* (further on: *EGCO*), inv. 881, dos. 1368, f. 52)

and goods (wheat, barley, oats, corn, vegetables, salt, candles, meat, hay, wood)³. There are not rare cases when the community not provides the school-master what was in the contract, no money or natural products (especially when the inclement weather compromised natural crops). So, in order to maintain, themselves and their families, the school-teachers are forced to, outside of the classroom, have other concerns, particularly agriculture. The Greco-Catholic Bishop of Oradea, in theory, can support the school-teachers' income in the Romanian elementary schools, of the *Religion Fund*⁴; however, it is not a rule to be applied to all the Greek Catholic communities, not to mention the elementary schools which are found under the guardianship of the Orthodox Church, leading to unequal income.

In places such as Girișul Negru (Bihor County), Tauț, Prunișor (Arad County) in the 1825-1826 schoolyear, Tăut, Hidișelul de Sus, Olcea (Bihor County) in the 1834-1835 schoolyear was not a school-teacher, because he could not be "provided materially" or because of the "small donation"⁵. But usually, the community was supporting the school-teacher's pay, as Iosif Papp Silagiy said, when he was director of the Romanian schools in Hungary, during 1848-1849: "legislation in vigor establishes [that payment] to be supported by the residents of that village". The pay of a school-teacher of Beiuș (Bihor County) is in cash, grain and wood, but they are insufficient to live from these and they turn to all community members, who themselves live under the poverty line⁶. Hence results the reason of high absenteeism of children in school, because if parents do not send them to school, they do not pay the school-teacher for them. Other schoolmasters are better paid by receiving money, a chariot of wood for fire from each house of the village, the community forcing itself to help him with the agricultural work (like in the case of the school-master from Suncuius – Bihor County⁷). In other cases, the contract provides also that the villagers should take care that the school building to have everything necessary for the proper conduct of lessons. That the teacher depends on the community in which he is living is not in his favor, because there is the possibility that people to banish him if he does not comply with their expectations: "the people assumes its supremacy over the school-teacher, gives and takes payment, or invites the little children to go to school and have books, threatens with

³ Vasile Popeangă, *Rețeaua școlară a districtului Oradea în anul 1825-1826*, in „Ziridava”, XIII, 1981 (further on: Vasile Popeangă, *Rețeaua școlară a districtului...*), p. 256

⁴ Ioan Horga, *Contribuții la cunoașterea Jozefinismului provincial. Debutul Episcopiei Greco-Catolice de Oradea (1777-1784)*, Editura Universității din Oradea, 2000, p. 136

⁵ Vasile Popeangă, *Rețeaua școlară a districtului...*, p. 251-255; Idem, *Rețeaua școlilor confesionale ortodoxe din Banat și Crișana în anul 1834-1835*, în „Ziridava”, XV-XVI, 1987 (further on: Vasile Popeangă, *Rețeaua școlilor confesionale...*), p. 299-302

⁶ „[...] 6 florini, 6 căbele de grâu, 6 m steri de lemne, e lucru ușor de priceput că era imposibil de trăit din aceasta. La fel de clar, se înțelege că ajutor din altă parte nu pot primi, așa că se apelează la credincioșii greco-catolici din localitate, pentru a compensa aceste salarii mici, cu donații anuale, sumele de bani oferite fiind trecute pe o listă, sub semnătură” (Blaga Mihoc, *Justiție și moralitate*, Editura Logos '94, Oradea, 2000 (further on: Blaga Mihoc, *Justiție...*), p. 108

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 114

the dismissal of the village, does not send the children to school and invents accusation against him and, if parents so admonish the teacher's image, how the children will honor him" – the Bishop Iosif Papp Silagiy notes in 1868⁸.

Frequently the poverty made impossible to Romanians communities to honor the obligations to the local school-principal. The non-payment in time or lack of the school-teacher's salary led to his involvement in certain occupations out of school which were not the most compatible with the status of school-teacher, such as the field work and breeding. The school-master's duties were primarily those of a cantor rather than of a teacher. But sometimes, even that the school-master was also cantor couldn't be any longer regarded favorable, as for the performance of the second function there was necessary much time, especially when the school curriculum became more extensive⁹.

Similar situations were in Orthodox but also in Greco-catholic communities. We mention here just some examples, such as: Chișlaca, Cociuba, Săcal, Jaca (Arad County) – in years 1825-1826¹⁰, Apateu, Gepiu, Saca, Tărian (Bihor County)¹¹, Ardasat, Samacea Aciua, Bușag, Fărcașa, Bozinta Mare (Maramureș County), Miniș, Rogoz (Arad County), Drăgești, Giriș, Săcălășeu (Bihor County) – in the middle of the 19th century¹². In other situations, if the school-teacher is missing, the priest or the cantor could take his place till other person will be hired on this function. Also, it is possible vice-versa – that the school-master replaces the cantor. In Borlesci (Maramureș County), after the death of the cantor Grigore Fatial, the school-teacher Teodor Bun acts as this "high dignity" too¹³. Members of the community admit openly that they want this accumulation of functions. The reason is most probably financial one – "Villagers [from Arieșul de Câmpie] a lot would want to have a school-master who should be in the same time a cantor too"¹⁴. The first page of an *Antologhion* from Andrid (Satu-Mare County) keeps the records of several school-teachers and cantors, who have written their names without a chronological order: „Emanuelu Papp teacher and cantor 1865. Georgiu Sopronyi teacher cantor 1755. Alesandru Albota school-teacher and cantor 1880. Michailu Perenyi teacher cant. 1850. Petru Papp teacher. cant. 1860/1. Emanuelu Papp teacher 1865/6. Michail Papp teacher cant. 1861/4"¹⁵.

This custom, in which school-teachers were also cantors and vice-versa, kept till at the end of the 19th century, was spread all over the territory of the Hungarian

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 130

⁹ Istvan György Toth, *Literacy and Written Culture in Early Modern Central Europe*, Central European University Press, Budapest, 2000, p. 12-13; in this work, the author enumerates other school-master's secondary occupations, such as: functionary at charitable institutions, postman, drinking house holder, bank functionary or public notary.

¹⁰ Vasile Popeangă, *Rețeaua școlară a districtului...*, p. 250-255

¹¹ Idem, *Rețeaua școlilor confesionale...*, p. 298-302

¹² AN-DJBh, *EGCO*, dos. 1368, f. 2, 3, 4, 32, 64, 214, 316, 318

¹³ *Ibidem*, f. 2

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 5

¹⁵ Elena Bărnăușu, *Carte românească veche în colecții sătmărene*, Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, Satu Mare, 1998, p. 65

kingdom. To teach the children was for these school-masters a complementary job (if we agree that the principal job was the cantor one) which gives additional earnings¹⁶. A proof in this direction it is given us by the Greco-catholic administrator from Negru village, Georgiu Iuhasz in 1854 – “*From the Religion found [the school-master] is endowed with 29 florins – from the people with 30 florins – And the endowment is scant to could have a a self-contained cantor*”¹⁷.

The school-masters’ inappropriate behavior was a cause of important reduction from education. The cantor from Ariesul de Campie who should be “*a school-teacher too – is not worthful to accomplish this high dignity not being blessed with required qualities*”¹⁸.

The Greek Catholic Bishop of Oradea, Vasile Erdeli, notifies the deanery of the diocese by a circular of 10 March 1845, that the school-teachers must be a model for the other members of the community, “*to honor themselves and so to behave more politely, for example to people, protecting them from habits that, higher states are impolite*”. “*That’s why - it is also said - the cantor-teachers, as us, in all stories, will defend their rights, so we will touch no one in church-serving, who by his behavior will show to that exemption privilege unworthy giving all the dean the power to miss them of the church serving those who would note themselves with some impolite facts*”¹⁹. Accordingly of an order given by the royal Council of Lieutenancy from Oradea in 1855, the Bishop Erdelyi requires that the Greek-Catholic schools cannot employ any school-teacher “*if he won’t be able to produce testimony about his qualification*”²⁰. The Greco-catholic community from Negru village has no teacher and cantor in 1854. There was a young man from Suncuius who had been “delegated” by the educational district inspector in the function of school-teacher for a year, in the time he was still being in 6th gymnasia class. The problem is that he has not the necessary qualifications. This situation could be solved if the young man would be accepted in a normal school²¹.

We have to mention as a positive fact that after the establishment of the normal schools in Arad and Oradea the number of the school-masters trained increases. Thus, gradually decreases also the role of priests or cantors in the training activity for children. People show their confidence in the young school-teachers, graduates of a normal school; the priest of the village Boghiș

¹⁶ Istvan György Toth, *op.cit.*, 12-13

¹⁷ AN-DJBh, *Fond Protopopiatul greco-catolic de Beiuș* (further on: PGCB), dos. 17, f. 105

¹⁸ Idem, *EGCO*, dos. 1368, f. 5

¹⁹ The original text is: „*De aceea pe cantorii-dascăli, precum noi, în toate întâmplările, drepturile lor le vom apăra, așa nu vom suferi nici pre unul în servire bisericească, care prin purtarea sa se va arăta acestui privilegiu în scutiri nevrednic, dând tuturor protopopilor putere de-ai lipsi de servirea bisericească pre acei care pre sine, cu niște fapte necuviincioase s-ar însemna*” (Blaga Mihoc, *Justiție...*, p. 105).

²⁰ Idem, *Directoratul lui Iosif Papp-Szilagyi*, în „Cele trei Crișuri”, seria a III-a, nr. 11-12, 2007 (further on: Blaga Mihoc, *Directoratul...*), p. 36

²¹ AN-DJBh, *PGCB*, dos. 17, f. 105

(Maramureş County) says in 1858: “*the school-teacher is new and teaching training alumnus – hope that he will make enough*”²².

The willingness of supervise the school-masters’ periodically training came along with state’s intercession in scholar curricula. So, the authorities tried to obligate school-masters to teach certain objects and also to participate to scholastic conferences. Through these “school district conferences”, they debate all kind of educational problems in order to make children’s instruction more attractive and bring it at least to the standards of the time. Here it is discussed issues such as: “*where the Romanians ignorance for school is coming from?, And which would be the spiritual non-diligent means to exhilarate the Romanian for school?* “, “*How the school-teacher will make school more pleasant for young and children?*”. Methodological problems are discussed in the frame of these meetings, too²³. In all these conferences, the central figure is the school-teacher of elementary schools in villages. Also, for retraining the school-teachers there were held in Oradea in the years 1859, 1860, 1863, 1864 refresher courses that have addressed methodological issues, child psychology, all in order to make “*school more pleasant for the young people*”²⁴. Although, for many times the school and the education system was more than a problem in itself, the political and confessional being often involved, the school conferences highlight the great interest of the school-teachers for education and methodic and less for the political and historical purpose of the teaching approach²⁵.

Other frequent problem, which affects negatively the augmentation of the profundity of literacy and the raise of culture within the pale of rural communities, is the children’s absence from the school. It is a certain fact that the progress of education largely depends on the improvement of the scholastic frequency. In 1826 the Hungarian Council of Lieutenancy asked to be confirmed the information that in the same school year, not even a third part of the peasants’ children from the duce of Modena’s domain have not frequented the school. In the next place, Arad County’s authorities considered that the instruction have not progressed in the wanted rhythm, because the educational district it was too vast and hardly could it be substantially controlled (besides often it was proposed the foundation of a school direction in Arad)²⁶. In this time, in several schools like the ones from Cinteş, Drauţ, Dud, Olari, Groşi, Crocna, Cuied, Lupeşti, Mândruloc, Răpsig, Seleuş (Arad County) etc., the rate of the children who were going to classes was 50% or even under this value²⁷. This situation existed by the reason of the children’s implication (especially the ones from 3rd grade) in different household and agricultural activities, especially the tending of animals.

²² „[...] înveţitorul e nou şi preparand absolvent – nedejde e că va face destul” (AN-DJBh, EGCO, dos. 1368, f. 299).

²³ Blaga Mihoc, *Justiţie...*, p. 242-244, 245

²⁴ Vasile Popeangă, *Şcoala românească din părţile ...*, p. 195-199

²⁵ Valeria Soroştineanu, *op. cit.*, p. 142

²⁶ Vasile Popeangă, *Reţeaua şcolară a districtului...*, p. 256

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 257; Idem, *Reţeaua şcolilor confesionale...*, p. 302

In the educational district of Oradea, according to the statistic realized by the inspector Eugen Giurcovi on the year 1847, the children's frequency was still very low – under 50% - despite of the growing of the school buildings²⁸.

If we compare the frequency of boys and girls, we observe that girls' absences are greater than boys'. So, in 1847 the situation in educational district of Oradea was like this: 39.9% from counted boys and only 16.7% girls were sedulous frequented the classes. Not even in the next years the situation does not become better: in 1854-1862 the registered frequency is 36.6%²⁹. As per a notification made in 1849 by the protopope from Beius to Iosif Papp Silagiy, who was then the school general-director in the district, about "*Greco-catholic elementary schools belonging of the Beius region*", results that from a total amount of 120 pupils (81 boys and 39 girls) only 35 were going to the school (25 boys and 10 girls)³⁰.

We exemplify this problem with some particular cases. Children from Ardasat could make "*goodish advancement but they go very rare*" to the school³¹. Although here is a new school building in Salsig, children do not frequent the classes – it is said in a notice from 1852³². Often the situation is like this by the reason of parents. The Greco-catholic protopope complains that in Samacea "*the children not really go to school, because the parents' carelessness*"; the children from this village hardly go even at the catechetic teachings in Sunday afternoon, and only "*forces*" could be gathered in the church³³. Parents from Sanmiclaus show themselves "*neglectful*" of sending their children to the school and to the catechetic teachings - it is said in a report from 1859³⁴. To be sure that all parents let their children to assist classes, the Hungarian school jurisdiction informs the Orthodox Consistory's director, Atanasie Botco, whom is considered responsible with the "*common [good] and the our people's advancement in culture*", that it was taken the decision to surcharge those parents who do not send their children to the school³⁵.

But not only parents are considered to be responsible of great absence of pupils from classes. For example, the school-master from Maraus (Arad County), Stefan Popovici is accused that because of this negligence and inability of teaching, he did not have pupils in the school year 1825-1826³⁶.

²⁸ Idem, *Scoala românească din...*, p. 86-89

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 86-89

³⁰ Blaga Mihoc, *Justiție...*, p. 109

³¹ AN-DJBh, *EGCO*, dos. 1368, f. 2

³² *Ibidem*, f. 52

³³ *Ibidem*, f. 4

³⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 263

³⁵ The original text is: „[...] *ca pentru netrimiteră pruncitilor dela 6 pana la 12 ani la scoala pedeapsa in bani se cruiașca; adică: la initia netrimiteră de la 3 pana la 10 cr. in argent se se pedepseasca; care intră aceia intamplare deaca pruncutii nici dupa aceasta pedeapsa nu sar trimite la scoala, si pena cu 15 cr. in argent sa fie respectivii parinti pedepsiti*” [Idem, *Fond Episcopia Ortodoxă de Oradea* (further on: *EOO*), dos. 37, f. 296].

³⁶ Vasile Popeangă, *Rețeaua școlară a districtului...*, p. 253

The school-teacher is required to be actively involved in increasing the school attendance of children by parents' awareness of the benefits that teaching brings. The director of the Romanian schools in Hungary in the period 1848-1849, Iosif Papp Szilagyi sends a circular that suggests to the school-teachers ways to gain the parents' trust and appreciation, and in this way, the school to be attended. *"Go, therefore, from house to house and offer your services to parents, won the hearts of children so that they cannot be kept away from school"*. For, *"the school-teacher without pupils demonstrates that or, he does not to teach, or is not appropriate for this profession, being unable to attract the children to earn their love, to become worthy of parents' trust"*³⁷. In addition, they are not subordinate to the priests and the *"School-Teachers who do not attract pupils to attend school and those who do not cooperate with the priests will be dismissed"*³⁸.

The pedagogical tact, which was asked to school-masters by superior authorities, how it can be seen above, must be combined with qualities of a good psychologist, of morality, of faith, of a hardworking farmer and the last but not the last, of a good expert of social realities.

In a pastoral letter from 25 of August 1863 Iosif Papp Silagiy, become bishop, wants to impress parents to let their children to learn in school. So, he says that God will punish those parents who keep children home, because without education, *"indwelling live"* will not exist. And the bishop continues: *"You have to know that terrible labors will suffer in hell those who kill the children's soul, such as parents who dispose of their kids only like beasts, to their own purpose, to their own work and who do not take care about the Christian upgrowing in school, from where their redemption will come"*³⁹.

The lack of school building from the village, or its inappropriate state for a place where children can be gathered together and taught, is another reason which affects negatively the education progress.

Very important for those who study educational problems from 19th century, was the disposition with the number 4827 emitted in 1813. This document asks the foundation and the reorganization of Romanian Orthodox schools. All the community and even *"the land lords"* must contribute at the building of a school, in case that there exists enough children. Through this disposition are regulated the

³⁷ „Mergeți, deci, din casă în casă și oferiți-vă serviciile părinților, câștigați inimile copiilor, astfel ca aceștia să nu poată fi ținuți departe de școală [...] învățătorul fără învățăcei demonstrează că ori nu dorește să predea, ori nu este potrivit pentru această profesie, nefiind capabil să-i atragă pe copii ca să le câștige dragostea, să devină demn de încrederea părinților” (Blaga Mihoc, *Justiție...*, p. 88-89, 221-223).

³⁸ „Învățătorii care nu-i atrag pe școlari să frecventeze școală și aceia care nu colaborează cu preoții, vor fi destituiți” (*Ibidem*, p. 88-89, 221-223).

³⁹ „Să știți că munci groaznice vor suferi în iad cei ce ucid sufletul, precum părinții care întrebuințează pruncii săi numai ca pre dobitoace, spre folosul său, spre slujba sa, neîngrijindu-se de creșterea lor cea creștinească în școală, de la care atârână mântuirea sufletelor lor” (*Ibidem*, p. 128).

relations between the school-master and the community and also the way in which the first one must teach during classes and behave outside the curricula activities⁴⁰.

In June 1831, Greco-catholic priests are advised that in those places where do not exist schools, “*People in the Church or, in the filiations where Church can’t be found, in the parish House*” will be taught about those things that a true Catholic Christian must know, such as faith and “*catechetical knowledge*”. This situation will go on till schools will be build⁴¹. The district school director, Dimitrie Constantini, remarks that in the schoolyear 1841-1842, in Arad County from 101 existing schools, only 73 have proper buildings and the rest of 28 do not dispose of their own places. In the last situation, classes were taught in the school-teachers houses or in rented buildings⁴². In Bihor County often we meet exactly the same situation in 1854; we mention with this occasion only some villages: Finis, Pocola, Ianosfalva, Suncuis, Ghelani⁴³; in 1858-1859 – Cosdeni, Nadar⁴⁴ etc. In Busag village, due to the carelessness of the local community there is no school⁴⁵.

Often the lack of school is associated with a “*middle*” moral and religious state. The non-existence of building proper for a school can be owed to the indifferentism of the local authorities; in Petrani (Bihor County) there is no school, by the reason of “*the dullness of the community heads*”; in this situation, children who go in the cantor’s house (who is also the school-teacher) are in small number; the superior authorities’ notification about this problem do not have any result⁴⁶. Cases like this, when the lessons are taught in the school-master’s house, are frequent: Olari, Craiva, Nădab, Covasd (Arad County), Spinuș (Bihor County) – in the schoolyear 1825-1826⁴⁷, Craiva, Groși, Măderat, Măraș, Slătioara, Văsoaia, Cilul de Jos, Ciuntești, Olari (Arad County) – 1834-1835⁴⁸, Buzești (Maramureș County), Drăgești (Bihor County) – 1852-1858⁴⁹. In Drăgești, where a school do not exists the pupil gather in the cantor-teacher’s house; but only few of them have a place to sit⁵⁰. A corresponding situation is in the parish Dumbrăvița Mică (Bihor County), where the young cantor-teacher with the age of 22 teaches the children in the parish house in the absence of the school. In 1867, it can be noticed that young people from Seliste (Satu Mare County) do not know the priors; the causes invoked are: they don’t have a school in the village and the closed one is too far away; neither a church is there, and all these generate between those people “*a lot of immorality*”; without any fear the peasants spend the holidays “*drinking and dancing*”, they go to work in forests, they go to the mill, they go to buy salt or they do other “*things*”

⁴⁰ The integral text of this document can be read in Nicolae Fîru, *op. cit.*, p. 22-30.

⁴¹ AN-DJBh, *Fond Parohia greco-catolică Vășad* (further on: *PGCV*), dos. 1, f. 18v

⁴² Vasile Popeangă, *Școala românească din părțile...*, p. 89

⁴³ AN-DJBh, *PGCB*, dos. 17, f. 85, 102, 104, 110; dos. 18, f. 73

⁴⁴ Idem, *EGCO*, dos. 1368, f. 153, 163

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 3

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 32

⁴⁷ Vasile Popeangă, *Rețeaua școlară a districtului...*, p. 251-255, 258

⁴⁸ Idem, *Rețeaua școlilor confesionale...*, p. 302

⁴⁹ AN-DJBh, *EGCO*, dos. 1368, f. 2, 32, 318

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 318

which will be in the profit of their living”⁵¹. In Petrani, the priest Demetrius Papp reports in 1853 that a great problem is that the village has no school, and the local community has no interest in building one⁵². Samuil Farkas, the administrator from Pocola parish, informs his superior over the state of the religious and scholar building from the village: here, a school does not exist and the lessons are taught in the school-master’s house⁵³. The priest from Fizes, Mihai Moldovan, shows with details to the protopope from Beius, that people do not send their children to school because the building is inappropriate to have this function⁵⁴.

The situation does not undergo essential changes in the second half of the 19th century, as is evidenced by the comments that the Bishop Iosif Papp Silagiu makes in a pastoral, on 12th of May, 1862, which recalls all the problems facing the elementary education: the schools are in a deplorable state, children do not go to school, teachers leave schools to deal with the field work (as an alternative to providing livelihood for himself and his family), many school-masters are poorly trained. He explains the school-masters their essential role in “*raising the intelligence and morality of the Romanian people*”, reason for which they are obliged and “*duty to God and government, to submit with all powers, learning and scholastic growth of people, and where its authority will not be enough to remove the obstacles, seek assistance from political high dignity promised, which would deny you, you soon make me a relation, that I will help*”⁵⁵. The same bishop also noted in 1865 that “*the greatest shortage of school- teachers, so that not only many parishes are without suitable cantors and teachers, but we are forced to tolerate also those who are not worthy of this high dignity, having no person who put in their place, this year only 3 graduators of the Teachers’ Training Schools*”. Therefore, he suggests to the Greek Catholic parishioners to give a small contribution in money, which would support the education of the future school-teachers”⁵⁶.

Slowly, the benefic effects of education can be seen in the rural society with all its aspects in this time period we are interested in. The authorities assumed responsibility for raising the standards of public education, so that a vast majority of village children could attend school. More and more children from various social strata had the chance to acquire reading and writing skills in order to leave the world of traditional oral culture behind and join the literate minority.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, dos. 1369, f. 10, dos. 1370, f. 24

⁵² The original text says: „*Precum in padiescu S. Beserica asia crestini religiosi, cu buna moralitate sunt in acestu poporu, cu multi stricati corumpu cu neascultarea si pacei nevinovati din deseptu (?) regulatei invatatura, care aru debui prin altuirea tinerimei in scola, care prin lenevintia capilor comunali inca nu e infiintata, cumca pucini prunci umbla la casa cantorului, despre tote dand incogatore instiintare la Dnu Magistratuali pana acum fara rezultat*”. (AN-DJBh, EGCO, dos. 1368, f. 32).

⁵³ *Idem*, PGCB, dos. 17, f. 4

⁵⁴ Blaga Mihoc, *Justitie...*, p. 114

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 126

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*

THE CONTRIBUTION OF NATIVE TRANSYLVANIANS TO MUSIC LIFE

Andra ARMEAN

Abstract: *During the nineteenth century were significant changes in the cultural Transylvania so that in the music has been a "reformer." These changes were due to musical talents who complete studies in the West, returning home (Transylvania) with innovative ideas, they become promoters of the establishment of cultural establishments. Creating this state of affairs began to visit us for great concerts by internationally renowned musicians and among them were Franz Liszt, but also recognition of the great stages of musical talent of young musicians in Transylvania.*

Keywords: *Transylvania, classical music, cultural center, musical soiree, music schools*

A most important part in the development of the music life has been played by social reunions and musical societies. The Central European influence on the musical repertoire of Transylvanian halls began to crystallize in the second decade of the Nineteenth Century.

We cannot analyze the association of Romanian ambiance and occidental music as a singular process. We must see it as a complex, dynamic, holistic process that suffered multiple influences.

In order to establish the most perceptible influences, we must first consider Transylvania's ethnical structure. It is common knowledge that this particular region was inhabited by Romanians, Germans (*Sachsen*), Hungarians (*Székeleyek*), as well as by the upwardly mobile Romanian aristocrats - as music consumer public. Examples of how strong the foreign stimulus was in Romanian music life would be the Italian and French influences in theatrical music, the influence of music professors and musical directors from Austria, Germany, and Bohemia. The various inspiration sources derived from the multiethnic structure, including the so-called bourgeois aristocracy, but also from the latter's life style. We must keep in mind that the cosmopolitan aristocratic life entailed numerous and frequent trips in various countries as well as having foreign musicians working as private professors. We need to mention as well the tours that famous western musicians embarked on that changed the existing preferences.

The first half of the Nineteenth Century has been an extremely intense period, in which the Romanians have strengthened their relationship with the occidental circles that were similar in the matter of social standards: diplomats, bourgeois politicians, intellectuals, artists - circumstance which lead to a progressive

assimilation of occidental culture. Private musical gatherings, for example, represented efficient methods of proliferating liberal ideas. Transylvanian guests have been seen, with increasing frequency, in Parisian, German, or Austrian halls, and the upwardly mobile contributed, along with their acquaintances, to the formation of ties with social networks from far away. The “hall” socialization became customary in cities as Cluj-Napoca, Sibiu, and Brasov, quite similar to European bourgeois halls although it preserved a local flavor - the “multiethnic eclectic trait” we mentioned earlier.

The western music appeared as a relatively new „cultural product” in the ears of Romanian public. The families that had a certain financial status, used to open their doors to honored guests. They used to hire foreign musicians as music tutors or professors so that they could practice themselves playing the piano, harp, flute, or violin¹.

In the first half of the Nineteenth Century, there were very few public music schools. This is the reason why up until 1850 musical education has been the prerogative of the fortunate few who afforded private lessons. Since music was being taught privately, as we already established, the market for foreign music teachers expanded. Musicians of Austrian origins took the most important positions. Some of the private professors were future music directors in musical theatres or military bandmasters.

Although the occidental music has not been completely set apart from the „eclectic-indigene” one, while in *Țara Românească* and *Moldova* (historical Romanian regions) recurrent have been the Turkish and gipsy rhythms, in Transylvania folklore has been the dominant trait. Foreign music writers living in Romanian territories had to write pieces that reproduced folkloric motives throughout the Nineteenth Century.

By taking into comparison different musical pieces pertaining to that period, we can safely say that we are dealing with different musical taste in the Western Europe and in the Southeast. The difference represents a consequence of the experience of one and social ethnical structure of the other. We can still declare that the western musical culture has started to sink in, slowly but surely, in the first half of the Nineteenth Century. The process proved to be reciprocal since oriental influences found their way into the work of occidental musicians such as Bizet, Debussy, Ravel, and Delibes just as the same influences became to fade in our country².

Thus, musical soirees have assisted the „cultivation” of a different taste in music than the one Transylvanians had been used to. The aristocratic evolution towards educated music began with this soirees in the first decades of the Nineteenth Century and grew by the end of it into full musical reunions.

The passages above show that even the latest of the arts started to spread in Transylvania, in wider and wider circles where the population was part German. The conclusion we might reach is that in those times there were plenty of music

¹ www.romaniacultural.ro

² *Ibidem*

lovers but few knowledgeable people, even among intellectuals. The Romanian musical development from a primitive to a sophisticated stage is easily noticeable.

The extension of educated music in Transylvania did not occur effortless because the education here was mostly public in the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, as we emphasized earlier, and the musical education took place privately, in the homes of high society that could afford it.

A different turn of events takes place in the second half of Nineteenth Century, when the number of musical reunions increased, evolving from the smaller soirees. These reunions developed under the impulse of the climb registered by the cultural progress of the population. The advancement of musical life had an assorted, heterogeneous nature, aligning musicians and amateurs, opera and private, chamber music. The Transylvanian fight for social and national freedom took various shapes. Ever since 1860 in Transylvanian cities and villages functioned Romanian choirs. In 1868 in Orăștie, in 1875 in Oradea was founded „Hilaria” Choral Society. In Sibiu, during Dima’s headship began the activity of Music and Singing Reunion. In 1861 Mocioni inaugurated „The Romanian Cultural Association of Arad”, and in 1874 Targu-Mureș was launched „Music Lovers Association”.

Educated music spread in Transylvanian social life in a different time and through different means. In Cluj and Brasov the onset of this area occurred at a latter time, the same affirmation cannot be sustained with regards to Sibiu. The Baron Samuel from Brukenthal a heartfelt music enthusiast who designed for himself an airy music hall. The tradition inaugurated by Samuel lasted through the Centuries housing tours of all desiring great European artists, such as the great Liszt. The crowd was not an easy one, not in the Transylvanian capital, nor in the territory - the incidents during Liszt’s concerts speak volumes on this issue³. Still, we can argue without a doubt, that Sibiu and Brașov societies have been the pioneers of Transylvanian movements - the Romanian aristocrats began to organize their efforts toward music. A strong association began between Romanian and German populations. Sibiu’s activity had a steady course courtesy of Dima, while in Brașov society things fluctuated. Both cities registered an improvement when Dima left Sibiu for Brașov.

The Romanian Singing Reunion of Sibiu, was formed in 16th of November 1878 with the purpose of nurturing classical music, and was formed of 69 members. When Dima took the lead in Brașov and organized the first concert on 15th of august 1881 – R Weinworn Serenade and established a collaboration with The German Orchestra Reunion. In the Reunions’ activity, we can distinguish between two stages: 1881-1889 and 1889- 1900. The main factor during the first period consisted in cultivating a medium difficulty romantic repertoire. Dima managed to form a professional group, competent enough to tackle more difficult pieces, like Beethoven and Rossini.

³ Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Hronicul muzicii românești*, vol. IV, *Romantismul (1859-1898)*, București, Editura Muzicală, 1976, p. 110

Romanian Reunion Tour in Sibiu resulted in lively admiration echoes, while the press attributed the merits to Dima. There were also concerts organized in the cities in the area of Western Mountains⁴.

Braşov's Reunion, older than the one in Sibiu - dating since 1873 named Romanian Gymnastics and Singing Reunion - developed from the Romanian Gymnastics Reunion founded by Professor Teclu Nicolae. Two concerts a year were set in its activity displaying folkloric music as well as educated music. The latter one has been received with skepticism. A good example is the public notary Nemeş, who labeled educated music as „German music”⁵, clearly demonstrating it's bias towards folklore. In parallel, existed a similar Reunion of German clerks from the Empire that associated with local Germans and Romanians in forming a Philharmonic.

In the most successful concerts, the performers were artists born in Braşov, living outside the Country - Lula Gemeiner Miess began one of the greatest lied singers in Germany. In Braşov we can identify three musical centers: City Orchestra, Romanian Reunion and German Reunion. The choir held two mandatory rehearsals a week. The members were excluded upon the third gratuitous absence. In 1883, they formed the first elementary school of music. The Reunion held two kinds of expression: collegial conventions, three or four times a year, manifestation that took two stages - the first up until 1876 when universal pieces caught the spot light, after which the emphasis was set upon Romanian music.

The choir directors were Pantelimon Dima between 1881-1883, 1883-1887, J. Mureşianu between 1873-1885, and Niki Popovici between 1887-1895.

The Transylvanian reunions of Romanians, Germans, and Hungarians have been frequent and gathered a broad public. The Reunion registered numerous successful events characterized by a strong bond in the activity of music directors and composers. This activity represented the original start in cultural and national development that had some of the most uplifting bearing on the Romanian musical past⁶.

Romanian musicians' connection to European cultural area was set during the Nineteenth Century and the first decades of the Twentieth Century. One of the strongest attachments is the one to Lipsca (the old Latin name of Leipzig university art centre)⁷. Here, Romanian merchants, some from Transylvania, contributed to the first Romanian periodical („Fama lipschi”).

Even though we do not actually have the documents to verify the names of the young people helped in this way, we know that some important Romanian musicians attended the classes of Royal Conservatory of Music in Leipzig, such as George Dima, Iacob Mureşianu, Rudolf Lassell, Ioan Dăianu, Ioan Scarlatescu, Paul Richter, Aurelia Cionca, Mihai Jora, Emanoil Ciomac. Eusebie Mandicevschi achieved here the title „Doctor Sine examine”⁸.

⁴ *Ibidem*

⁵ www.brasovul.mitzanu.ro

⁶ Ion Iliescu, *Corul de la Orăştie*, Comitetul de Cultură şi Artă al Judeţului Hunedoara, 1968, p. 92

⁷ Constantin Catrina, *Muzica şi muzicienii Braşovului în secolul al XIX- lea*, Bucureşti, Editura Muzicală, 1986, p. 100

⁸ *Idem*, p. 101

For Transylvanians, the schooling of young talents in European music centers wasn't the manifestation of their ambition to carry on old commercial relationships. It was all about the aspiration to get the world acquainted with Romanian musical art as well as the ambition to create culture centers such as those in the Occident.

One of the musicians that facilitated the affirmation of Romanian culture was Tiberiu Brediceanu. He was born on April 2nd 1877 in Lugoj and passed away on December 19th 1968 in Bucharest. He was a Romanian composer and folklorist, and the brother of the Romanian diplomat Caius Brediceanul. He studied music in a high school in Blaj and then attended Law School in Cluj-Napoca. Here he was music director of the recently build National Theatre, the music director of the Conservatory and Romanian Opera in Cluj and later on he was the president of „Astra” Conservatory in Braşov.

For his merits and assistance of the eruption of Transylvanian musical culture and cultural centers, he was awarded on different occasions such as The National Award for Music in 1927, Nations' Artist in 1937 and so on. Since his creation was dedicated entirely to the amateurs, his language had to be accessible. His passion for folklore determined him to write over 2000 folkloric songs. Besides being a great musician, he helped forming many new talents through „Astra”. Tiberiu Brediceanu was too a student of Leipzig Conservatory. Although the school of Leipzig studied composing, interpreting and theory of universal art and was known for it's sobriety, it still allowed the access first of Romanian artists, and in time, of Romanian folklore. Supporting this statement is the fact that *The State of Our Music in Transylvania and Banat* was published in *Allegemeine muzikalische Zeitung* no. 46, 47/1814 and 30/1821⁹, but most of all professors' Gustav Weingand's mail connection to George Bariţiu and Artur Gorovei determined by the professors' desire to learn Romanian language¹⁰.

Young musicians were not only present in Leipzig, as it is the case with Tiberiu Brediceanu. They could also be found in other Western cities, such as Dresda, where, in the first decades of the Twentieth Century, during the Romanian Music and Poetry Evenings, the work of Bertei Bock, Rudolf Lassel, Paul Richter and George Enescu was widely appreciated.

Romanian music ensemble in the European concert was assisted by the efforts of musician Paul Richter (1875 - 1950), who, as music director and composer on the stages of Czechoslovakia, Austria, Germany, harnessed once again the talent of young Romanian musicians. Gifted interprets such as Aurelia Cionca - first pianist - who managed to promote Romanian music worldwide,¹¹ Octavian Beu, and George Dima found no difficulty in catching critics attention attracting only praises and admiration.

⁹ Corneliu Buescu, *Scrieri şi adnotări despre muzica veche*, Editura Muzicală, Bucureşti 1985, p. 125

¹⁰ Constantin Catrina, *Studii şi documente de muzică românească*, Editura Muzicală, Bucureşti, 1994, vol. II, p. 8

¹¹ Nina Cionca, *Aurelia Cionca*, Editura Muzicală, Bucureşti, 1986, p. 106

All the young musicians we mentioned earlier have studied in Occident and promoted through their recitals the Romanian music. Further, we will focus on the one young musician, who because of his talent and green age caught the spotlight of Romanian musical life on European stages. The wonder child is Carl Filtsch. He was born in 1830 in Sebeșul Săsesc, and had he not died at such a young age, he would have definitely been recognized as a genius of Romanian music.

Wonder child started his music life at the age of three, with the first piano lessons delivered by his own father, Pastor Joseph. At the age of seven, his father who recognized the son's talent, took Carl to the Imperial Court where the child became learning and play mate of Franz Joseph.

At eleven years old, Carl successfully performed his first concert, that led to countless tours in different cities such as Budapest and Sibiu.

In December 1842, in Paris, he was known as Frédéric Chopin's favorite student. Carl worked with Franz Liszt as well while the master was replacing Frédéric Chopin. Liszt quickly realized the value of the little musician whose talent was mentioned in all the important publications of the time in Paris and London.

The little genius could not express himself for long, and the interested public soon missed his talent and Carl's skillful interpretations, because he grew ill with tuberculosis and died in 1845, in Vienna¹².

In his 15 short years of life, he completed several valuable compositions. One of his concerts that was considered lost, was recently found in 2008. The exposure of Romanian musical culture that started in connection with Carl's name has been perpetuated through the Competition-festival that was named after him.

The great number of Romanian musicians who performed in foreign countries have been widely praised in the press of their time and awarded in European festivals. Iacob Mureșianu won the Mendelssohn-Bartholdy award in 1883, in Leipzig and later, in 1889, the gold medal for his *lieds*.

We can draw the conclusion that Romanian musicians as well as composers enjoyed the connoisseurs' and large public's attention abroad, while in our country this type of music was barely perceived in the Nineteenth Century¹³.

Countless travelers with noticeable names crossed over the Romanian land. Their passing through our territories marked their work. We can mention Franz Liszt in connection to Romanian folklore.

He got to Transylvania in 1846, at thirty-five years old. He was welcomed in Cluj-Napoca, Sibiu and Banat the way he would've been welcomed in Budapest, since the territory was under Hungarian leadership. Triumph arches, an honorific citizens diploma and all the high authorities were present to welcome the master.

The purpose of Liszt's visit was mainly politic: the indisputable proof of the supremacy of Hungarian genius over the other Transylvanian nations¹⁴.

¹² www.wikipedia.org

¹³ Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Hronicul muzicii românești*, vol. IV, *Romantismul (1859-1898)*, Editura Muzicală, București, 1976, p. 22

¹⁴ Octavian Beu, *Franz Liszt în țara noastră*, Editura Krafft și Drotleff, Sibiu, 1933, p. 10

Even though through his work he often found himself associated with Hungarian fiddlers, his origin and his music have never been Hungarian.

With too many political accents - disruptive even for a Hungarian artistic performance - Liszt's triumphal trip through Transylvania pleased most of the Hungarians here. There have been exceptions though. In Timisoara, the Germans realized the hidden agenda behind the tour. The theatre director solicited the tour organizers 340 guildens to close theatre. This attitude set off a conflict between Hungarians and Germans. In Arad, Franz Liszt performed on two occasions.

The first contact of Liszt with the Romanian public happened in Lugoj. Hearing about his success in Arad and Timișoara, Romanians dared to ask Liszt for protection, and he took his time to listen to their complaints¹⁵.

In Sibiu - German city - Liszt didn't get the warm welcome he got in Arad and Timișoara because of the 1848 Revolution that emphasized the political tensions. Franz Liszt was considered a German here enjoying Hungarian patronage. Liszt himself displayed distance and a frosty attitude towards the population in Sibiu, and his secretary committed a major blunder by typing the concert tickets in Hungarian.

On November 20th 1846, Franz Liszt was interpreting „Lucia”, „Norma”, „The Puritans”, and some Beethoven pieces. Gradually, his presence became more and more a political statement, and the public hissed Liszt when he refused to play Schubert's „Erlkönig”.

Franz Liszt's stop in Sibiu is meaningful since he had here the opportunity to draft his famous opera „Romanian Rhapsody” with a theme of a Romanian circle dance is entitled „Hermannstädter”, which means „From Sibiu”¹⁶.

To get over the unpleasantness he dealt with in Sibiu, Franz Liszt comes back one more time to Cluj-Napoca, to perform on more than one occasion. The balls and soirees thrown in his honor became national holidays. Liszt's work has been inspired by Romanian folklore and even his „Hungarian Rhapsody” reflects it.

After the tour in Transylvania Franz Liszt left for Țara Românească, and then Moldova¹⁷.

His literary work in 1859, „The fiddlers and their music in Hungary” draw a lot of sympathy from his Hungarian protectors that could not forget him afterwards¹⁸. The most important mention of Franz Liszt activity in Romanian lands and his profound influence on our music life can be found in the chronicle of Gheorghe Asachi and Cezar Boliac¹⁹.

In 1846, Franz Liszt was entitled by Cezar Boliac in *Romanian Courier* „the piano god”²⁰. The two chroniclers noted the impact of Liszt's concerts as well as the ambiance the musician created, hypnotizing his public. *The Transylvanian*

¹⁵ Idem, p. 11

¹⁶ Idem, p. 13

¹⁷ Idem, p. 17

¹⁸ Idem, p. 33

¹⁹ Idem, p. 41

²⁰ *Ibidem*

Newspaper of January 6, 1847 and February 13, 1847 stated that „what Liszt realized, cannot be translated into words”, and *The Bee* managed to fully describe the impact of Liszt's tour²¹.

Cezar Boliac and Gheorghe Asachis chronicles are the only known documents that evoke Franz Liszt's great skill²².

The notes of the German press in Sibiu and Braşov managed, with tact and diplomacy, to depict Franz Liszt's arrival to Transylvania as a true benefit and not as a Hungarian political tool. *Der Siebenbürger Bote* of November 26, 1846 mentioned Liszt's appearance in Sibiu, with subtle traces of irony. *Scitellet des Siebenbürger Wochenblattes* and *Temesvarer Wochenblattes* compared on the 26th of November 1846 Liszt's welcome in Braşov to his arrival to Arad. The incidents in Sibiu, triggered a certain level of anxiety, and the press wrote that Liszt provoked many enemies in his own country.

The „Romanian Rhapsody”, inspired by the Romanian folklore, was composed by Liszt as he found himself at a cross road – the interest for his work suddenly dropped. Later on, Aurora Cionca contributed to a rebirth of his work on December 17, 1931 in the Athenaeum Hall in Bucharest²³.

Up around the nineteenth century, Romanian people in Transylvania have been deeply passionate about folklore. Slowly, the Romanians managed to get away from the villages and form in the cities the first compact intellectual gatherings²⁴. Musical culture has also been the object of the scholar's fascination.

Starting with the end of Eighteenth Century, German nomadic performance groups opened the appetite for music and theatre in Hungarian and German cities like Oradea, Sibiu, Cluj, Braşov²⁵.

As a reaction, amateurs formed bands in the heart of Hungarian and German population, thus influencing cultural societies. Romanian population attended with great interest the shows of the nomad bands. The Hungarians and Germans have quickly advanced through their interest in educated music, to interpreting, even in the amateur bands pieces from Haydn or Handel.

1848-1849th Revolution fueled the musical culture. Between the years 1850-1890 in Transylvania, were founded the choral reunions of bourgeois societies and the outskirts of the towns they inhabited²⁶. By 1880, Romanian music life had suffered due to the lack of experience.

Cultural centers, developed from soirees and reunions. As we already noticed, the soirees started during the Eighteenth Century, after the piano became fashionable. In that time, the socialization was profoundly different from the one in Nineteenth or Twentieth Century. At soirees, there were many participants that

²¹ Idem, p. 52

²² Idem, p. 65

²³ Idem, p. 95

²⁴ Ana Voileanu-Nicoară, *Gheorghe Dima. Viața. Opera*, Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă, București, 1957, p. 13

²⁵ Idem, p.15

²⁶ Idem, p. 17

could sing, dance, and eat. There were also some moments in the evening when the men and women separated in order to talk. The soirees gradually transitioned into musical reunions and finally, cultural centers.

In Transylvania, the evolution happened a lot faster than anywhere else in the country, mostly because of the domination that governed this part of Romania. The Transylvanian cultural environment has been a lot more prolific with regards to the number of musical reunions.

We can mention the „Singing Reunion of Braşov”, the „Musical Reunion in Cluj” - founded in 1887 by Brassai, with the purpose of supporting symphonic and chamber music²⁷, but that became extinct in 1895, because of it's lack of progress. In Sibiu, things were different, and the Reunion was successful²⁸. For most of it's part, the musical life has been pretty much the same in all Transylvanian cities. Where the Reunions had a smaller impact, the music life was animated by fanfare and musical theatre. In Cluj-Napoca, musical theatre performed successfully until around 1880, when the Conservatory took over the concert organization. The last concert organizes by the theatre was the one in 1879, honoring Franz Liszt upon his arrival in the city. We have to mention that in those times, the theatre was Hungarian and not Romanian.

The theatre had a rather small orchestra that managed to enchant the public with symphonic concerts and compositions written by orchestra members.

The musical activity dropped in the second half of the Nineteenth Century - the period between 1862 and 1868 presented itself rather impoverished.

In 1868, Carl Felix Pichler took over the management of the theatre and thing suffered a positive turn that unfortunately did not outlast Carl Felix's directions. During this period, the theatre housed the first symphonic concert.

The fluctuating leadership of the Transylvanian reunions, musical theatres and fanfares determined the rocky route of concerts. Things settled in the last decades of the Nineteenth Century when the Conservatories became true cultural centers.

Birth and evolution of the cultural centers can, no doubt, be attributed to musicians that studies in Occident and were inspired there.

Tiberiu Brediceanu, born on April second 1877 in Lugoj, studied in Blaj, then Cluj, and then was one of the founders of The National Theatre, Romanian Opera House in Cluj, one of the supporters of the Conservatory and it's evolution into the Music Academy²⁹, and the president of „Astra” Conservatory in Braşov. He contributed to many great musical careers through “Astra”.

We can attribute his openness to classical music and the determination to found cultural centers to his years spent in Leipzig Conservatory.

His merits in the development of the musical life did not slide unnoticed. In 1927 he received the National Award for Music, in 1954 the Title of Master Emeritus of Art, and in 1957, the title Artist of the people, for his interest in the

²⁷ Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *op.cit.*, p. 98

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 104

²⁹ www.wikipedia.org

Romanian folklore, with over 2000 songs collected. He died on December 19, 1958 in Bucharest.

George Dima was another great contributor to the development of the cultural centers in Transylvania. He was born on October 10, 1847, one year before the Revolution of forty-eight. He went to high school in Vienna, and then studied to be an engineer in the Technical University of Karlsruhe without finalizing his studies due to his new attraction towards classical music³⁰. Having been born in Braşov he was familiar, ever since his childhood, to the vocal and instrumental German concerts, whose old choired and steady orchestra City Hall the City Hall has funded³¹.

During his studies in Germany, in 1863 has been founded in Braşov the Gymnastics and Singing Reunion, whose music director he was going to become in 1875. Young Dima, returned to his country after finishing his Occidental studies and started organizing a series of concerts in Transylvanian cities such as Braşov, Sibiu, Făgăraş, Alba, Abrud.

His musical career continuously ascended from the Braşov Reunion, to the one in Sibiu, to teaching as a professor at the Seminary and the School of Sibiu, to having offered the director position in Cluj Conservatory, by no other than Tiberiu Brediceanu.

Through his earnestness, talent and devotion he transformed the Conservatory in Cluj in one of the most prestigious cultural center, that carried on the dedication of the master with regards to his work in shaping the new discovered talents³².

The conclusion we can easily draw is that the Nineteenth Century suffered various changes due to the cultural „revolution”. The change occurred due to the inhabitants of Transylvania, but especially young musicians who have gone abroad, in Western Europe to study. In our country, the interest in classical music appeared rather late and at a small pace.

It is most probable that without the Hungarian administration, the classical music's entry in our culture would have been delayed even further, and the young talents left wanting. Fortunately, this was not the case and we can now talk about all the personalities mentioned in connection to classical music, who played such an essential part in the formation, evolution and management of the emerging cultural centers. Tiberiu Brediceanu and George Dima are only some of the best examples.

³⁰ *Ibidem*

³¹ *Ibidem*

³² A. P. Bănuţ, *George Dima*, în *Supliment Muzica*, 1955, nr. 9-12, p. 11

SOME FACTORS OF DEVELOPMENT OF VITICULTURE IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES FROM CRIȘANA

Adrian DUME

Abstract: *Viticulture was one of the major occupations of the inhabitants of Crisana, ever, occupying an important place in the material and spiritual culture. The essence of winemaking in Crisana of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is that growing area, it is the pinnacle of a culture that is present in the cultural structure of the inhabitants of this area. Development is caused by several factors, most important being the natural factors and conditions offered by this area for growing vines but this study will not insist on this subject, another separate research will develop this industry.*

Keywords: *viticulture, Crisana, history, the Habsburg Empire, Romania*

Besides natural factors so important for making a favourable ambient to the culture of the vine are necessary some other factors too. Vine growing was an old concern for the inhabitants of this area. Geto-Dacians, inhabitants of the lands from Danube, Black Sea and Carpathians particularly valued wine and vine was one of the most account of their wealth. Back Burebista, wine became a big passion for dacians that the leader of the dacian stat take the action of uprooting vine.

With all the measures Burebista would take on romans arrival in Dacia, vine cultivation was practiced on large areas of lands. Romans brought in Dacia new varieties of vine, introduced new methods of cutting and wine making practices. brought in Dacia new varieties of vine, introduced new methods of cutting and wine making practices. The win-growing cultural patrimony preserved in the Romanian area residents age related basic terms about the culture of the vine and arrangement of the wine. Those terms are in majority very old, inherited from Latin: vineyard (vinum), wine, (vinum), vine (vitea), must (mustum), rope (chorda), tap (cippus), uva – dialect word for “grape”, calm (linus), brandy (vinaceus), etc. Others ancient wine terms like: grape, grapevine, stem, stored probably from preroman period. In connection with the origin of those terms in Romanian language have had many discussions among philologists ¹.

Subsequently, over centuries, vines continued to show great interest and a basic concern of native peoples. Its cultivation has not ceased during migration. Many centuries ago, the Tisza parties settled for a while damages, which are

¹ Athanasie Bulencea, *Viile și Vinurile Transilvaniei*, București, 1975, p.15

known to become large consumers of wine. In a work known as the "Lexicon of Suidas" there is a passage which says that one of the reasons that caused the weakening power of the Avars was "addict." It's more likely that the vineyards were damaged their thirst in the Banat and in the lower Mureș². Arrival of the Hungarians who stabilized the political and the military zone was merely to provide another pillar for the development of this branch of agriculture which have become friends³.

Soo, vineyard and wine was always present in the civilizations that lived over time in space Crisana. We can say, without fail, that life is a part of identity Crisana's residents. The main factor may be, therefore, the place they occupied Zoom, but especially the wine, the Crisana companies, which, regardless of ethnicity, not rejecting this divine gift.

Basic occupation of the inhabitants from this province, viticulture becomes part of their cultural heritage and because Christianity, as viticulture and Christianity have historically gone together. They lived and agitated during the Middle Ages and during periods of peace have evolved to the highest levels of which traces can be seen today. This heritage to be developed during the Habsburg rule over this area, but that its entry into possession of the Court of Vienna was not just a space conducive to such crops. Crisana is presented in the first descriptions like an ravaged area by frequent military operations during the Austro-Turkish war, the constant mobility of troops in transit, which will overlap periods of epidemics and famine. Fear of war was strongly present in Bihor county population, which had to accommodate many troops of the Habsburg army, during the siege of the city of Oradea, as well as after her occupation, but especially after the defeat of the rakocziene revolt⁴. Whatever the origins armies that visited the area, whatever they were Christian or Muslim, news of their approach aroused panic among the population, which was faced with two options: to see how it is requisitioned the necessary resources to survive or to escape with his belongings from the front of the military forces. The fact that a significant proportion of the population chose to run from the front of the army is shown in the 1692 register published and interpreted by the Hungarian historian Mezösi Karolly⁵. He noted that of the 482 localities of Bihor only 112 were inhabited, while a number of 370 were empty and deserted. However, the fact that the human habitats had been temporarily abandoned by their inhabitants is revealed to us into the tithe records of Bihor county, in the years 1695 - 1699 which include people who are perceived as a tithe in deserted villages previously⁶. Austrian State hitting these realities of

² Mihai Macici, *Vinurile României*, București, 1996, p.105

³ Bogdán István: Régi magyar mesterségek <http://www.mek.oszk.hu/04600/04683/html/rmme0038.html>

⁴ Gheorghe Gorun, *Implicații sociale și economice ale ocupației militare austriece în Bihor în prima jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea, în Crisia VIII, Oradea, 1978, p.131*

⁵ Mezösi Karoly, *Bihar vármegye a török uralom megszűnése idejében (Comitatul Bihor după încetarea stăpânirii turcești)* Budapest, Magyar Történettudományi Intezet, 1943

⁶ A.N.-D.J.Bh Fond Episcopia romano-catolică Oradea, Acte economice, dos. 2606, 2607, 2618, 2619

Crișana, becomes aware that "not enough to conquer, to transform and unify"⁷ and therefore the Austrian Government will initiate a set of measures intended to give the empire opportunities to reduce the differences between this area and its western parts. Habsburg state modernization policy for Crișana will include among other aspects of agriculture the expansion of areas planted with vines too.

The eighteenth century is unquestionably one watershed in the evolution of human communities in space Crișana, a century during which this area are still evolving at the boundary between medieval and modern. After the siege of Vienna (1683), Turks are gradually driven out of Pannonia and military conflicts will move thereafter, until 1711, the Transylvanian area, with casualties and material nature, which was affected by developments in society. After the siege of Vienna (1683), Turks are gradually driven out of Pannonia and military conflicts will move thereafter, until 1711, the Transylvanian area, with casualties and material nature, which was affected by developments in society, fund demic country. Entry Habsburg armies in Transylvania, clashes with the Turks, fighting the army of Francis Rákóczi II after 1703 and until the Peace of Satu Mare, in 1711, were events that have caused huge human and material losses, poverty population, low population number⁸.

Regarding space Crișana from administrative point of view, the situation was unusual. Hereby, while most of the region held the principality of Transylvania, the western mountain area, the assigned counties of Bihor, Arad and Zarand entered into the structure of the eastern, "parts" being separated from Transylvania and after that, being counted Hungary⁹.

The first two decades of the nineteenth century is evident, including the Crișana as a typical time of crisis, the international conjuncture background of the Napoleonic wars, the contradiction between population and slow growth outpouring of resources put into an acute form of frequency of years with anomalies, with climate accidents, leading to the Great Famine of 1813-1817 years¹⁰. To overcome this last major crisis in the Transylvania, were necessary about two decades of recovery in all areas.

The integration of space Crișana in the frame of the Habsburg rule brings the connection to a new political system in which the capitalization of economic resources will be made in a intensive way. Is clearly that first time in Crișana, the principal economic sector which the Imperial Court of Vienna gives a great attention was agriculture, which was the most important branch of economy of a

⁷ Pierre Chaunu, *Civilizația Europei clasice* (în continuare: Pierre Chaunu, *Civilizația Europei clasice*), vol.I, Editura Meridiane, București, 1989, p.179

⁸ *Istoria Românilor*, V, București, 2003, p. 471.

⁹ Barbu, Ștefănescu, *Lumea rurală din vestul României între medieval și modern*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2006, p.27

¹⁰ Idem, *Tehnică agricolă și ritm de muncă în gospodăria agricolă din Crișana (sec. al XVIII-lea și începutul sec. al XIX-lea)*, I, II, Oradea, 1995 (în continuare: Barbu Ștefănescu, *Tehnică agricolă...*), I, p. 26.

Hungarian space still medieval where the feudal relations based on land and serfs work is found here in full strength and wouldn't show any possibility that it can be dissolved in short term¹¹. That didn't stop the power from Vienna to prepare developments plans purpose land cultivation in a rational way, spread cultivation of new crops or application of new crop systems to enhance production and implicitly the imperial revenue. In space of Crisana the development of agriculture was made both by increasing cultivate area, It takes place from deforestation, grubbing and drainage or by returning population in areas previously inhabited after completion of military hostilities in that area. These activities have been completed by the imposition of new farming systems and better organization of villages and land. Legal clarification of property was a priority, and lands in incorporated areas of the Viennese Court, the vast majority have no control, were declared "newly acquired" and entered into tax administration until the right owner does not reclaim land. Since the occupied territories by force, Emperor Leopold I found them to be at his personal disposal, therefore, not recognizing the competence of the Hungarian nobility in areas where appreciation rights, he has given power to resolve any disputes and demands newly created „Commissio Neoacquistica”. The activity of that commission wasn't extended to Transylvania itself, because Article six of the Leopoldine diploma established that the land recovered from the enemy, would be restored masters of law, disposition, after some tax debt difficulties, remained valid after 1711¹². Space envisaged by the present study is remarkable in terms of property by restoring large areas of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Oradea and Oradea Capitle, considered to be the major beneficiaries of integration into the Habsburg Empire, because the new policy might consider the Roman - Catholic Church as its main confederate in the imposition of its economic policy. It emphasizes in this space the role of the large domain, the greatest expansion having the ecclesiastical ones, followed by the treasury and then secular private areas whose extension fields share the church could not been claiming¹³. Therefore, Crisana entry into the Habsburg power frames lead to a regional agricultural development among others will benefit the the viticulture. Clarify the legal situation of land, expansion of cultivated areas, the end of military operations in the area and follow the imperial revenue growth, were factors which included in the agriculture of the region the expanding areas cultivarte with vines too. The tone of this extension will give the principal landowner of the area Crisana, the Roman Catholic Church, that including the lay owners involvement in the development of this industry. The European viticulture

¹¹ David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* (În continuare: David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus...*), Editura Enciclopedică, București, 1998, p.366-369

¹² Bodo Edith, *Lumea rurală din Bihor după reglementarea urbarială tereziană(1771-1820)*

, Teza de doctorat , Oradea, 2009, P12-13

¹³Papp Klára, Stadiul cercetării și concepțiile de lucru în investigarea relațiilor agrare și a istorie țărănești din comitatele Szabolcs, Sătmár, Bihor, Kiilso-Szolnok, Csongrad es Csanad în secolul al XVIII-lea, în Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj, XXXI, 1992, p.166

is primarily ecclesiastical because the large vineyards were born at the conjunction of an episcopal seat and a navigable stream¹⁴, episcopal areas are among major producers of wine in average and modern age because of the many of its possessions and liturgical needs¹⁵. In the area of Crisana and Transylvania, religious life took place amid political changes that going on after crossing the space occupied by the Habsburg Empire. Offensive Catholic Church, supported the new political power, having then as an ally the Greek Catholic cult, against Calvinism, led to a weakening of the secular majority in the Orthodox religious parties. Thus, among the measures taken to strengthen Catholicism can mention the granting of new donations and return churches and estates previously held by the cult, which allowed restoration of the old Episcopate of Oradea at 1692 and Episcopate of Alba at 1715. Another action was the increasing number of Catholics mainly by attracting Orthodox believers in union with the Church of Rome. This attraction was done amid difficult economic situation of the Orthodox clergy, which was treated serfs, as motivation belong to a religion receive¹⁶. Carrying out these actions in the Crisana area was beneficial on viticulture because an important component of its territory was passed after the space integration in the Habsburg Empire in possession of the Roman Catholic church which had a rich tradition in terms of vine cultivation, tradition conscious for the economic benefits of this occupation. Thus, since 1693, by the decision of the Emperor Leopold I from November 24, all goods that were possessed previously to expropriation calvin to be restore to Roman Catholic Diocese and the Roman Catholic Diocese Capitle from Oradea, representing in this way some of the largest areas of the monarchy¹⁷. Viticulture activity in areas of the Roman Catholic Church from Crisana is a traditional one and can not be limited to properties of the Roman Catholic Diocese and the Roman Catholic Diocese Capitle from Oradea. Another example may be the Capitle from Arad, which possess, in the early fourteenth century, vineyards in the Desc locality; from in 1379 gave a part to pledge to the countant Alexander. Abbey of Bulci is also holding vineyards, the documents mentioned about a donation of vineyards from Lipova belonging to that abbey. Another donation is made to ban Paul from the city Şoimoş the church of St. Mary of the city, which brought Augustine monks. Donation refers to some live curd, Beth and Bud, the last two unidentified¹⁸. Churches and monasteries have increased the area under vines and purchase. Edificatore in this regard is a

¹⁴ Jean-Fracois Gautier, *Civilizația vinului*, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, p. 52

¹⁵ Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, *A history of food*, 1994, p.277-279, <http://books.google.com/books?id=i4xuO9TsHf8C&pg=PA277&dq=wine+and+monasteries&ei=k60rSqXrAYKEygSG1vyqBw&hl=ro#PPA279,M1>

¹⁶ Micea, Păcurariu, *Istoria bisercii româneşti din Transilvania, Banat, Crişana şi Maramureş*, Cluj-Napoca, Imprimeria „Ardealul ” 1992, p. 195

¹⁷ Barbu, Ştefănescu, *Lumea rurală din vestul României între medieval şi modern*, Editura Universităţii din Oradea, Oradea, 2006 , p.46

¹⁸ George Manea, *Podgoria Aradului în feudalismul dezvoltat (secolele XIV-XVI)*, în *Ziridava* XV-XVII, 1987, p.93

statement attesting to the Pauline monks in Cladova who in 1374 bought a vineyard located on a hill, some of Stephen from the same location, for 33 marks and another living in 1383 with 36 marks¹⁹. Each field cultivate their own vines, necessary both for religious service and mesal or daily needs, the Bishop must take care a vineyard named *intra-muros*²⁰. Also, there were periods in which ecclesiastical matters were developing the culture of vines, a case like that is the Roman Catholic Diocese of Oradea, where in period 1750 - 1775 are planted vineyards on an area of 214,020 square hamper, amounting 1,071,925 vines. In the field of Oradea, plantations were on the hills of Oradea belonging to that period to Diocese Bihor and comprises an area of 14,245 square hamper logs representing 71,225 vine. This plantation was done in two stages: first in 1750 and the second one in 1761²¹. Planting is done at the initiative of Bishop Adamou Patachich and consists entirely with cuttings of Tokay²². Another plantation was done in the area Saldabagiu de Munte in 1761 with the initiative of the above mentioned Bishop on an area of 16795 square hamper totaling 83975 vines²³. In 1763 are planted another two vineyards in the Oradea domain too, at the desire of Bishop Adamou Patachich: to Santimreu comprising an area of 33702 square hamper representing 168510 vine and to Cetariu an area of 13188 square hamper means 65905 vines, from those a parte were vines of Tokay, the other ones being localy vines²⁴. These were freehold vineyards, them being completed by the freehold vineyards from Hugo, where have been planted 110950 logs vine over an area of 22198 square hamper²⁵.

The production of the freehold vineyard on the Oradea domain is significant, respectively vineyards, beside the new ones will produce in 1835 a quantity of 2763 urns of wine (Csylla - 40 urns, Cziffra - 306 urns, Săldăbagiu-462 urns, Episcopia - 121 urns, Hago - 460 urns, Sântimreu - 997 urns, Cetariu - 374 urns)²⁶, in 1836 this quantity discrased to 702 urns (Cziffra - 111 urns, Săldăbagiu - 114 urns, Episcopia - 70 urns, Hago - 200 urns, Sântimreu - 166 urns, Cetariu - 40 urns)²⁷, a year later, in 1837, the production goes to 1212 urns (Cziffra - 135 urns, Săldăbagiu - 106 urns, Episcopia - 95 urns, Hago - 223 urns, Sântimreu - 576 urns, Cetariu - 73 urns)²⁸.

Is noted that all plantations made untill 1763 are in the Oradea domain. After this time the areas planted with vines will expand to other areas too. Thus, in

19 Ibidem, p.94

20 Jean-Fracois Gautier, op.cit., p. 52

21 Ileana Șuta, Ileana Șuta, *Preocupări privin cultivarea vieți de vie în Bihor în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea*, în *Lucrări științifice*, 1976, Oradea p.30-31

22 A.N.-DJ.Bh, Fond Episcopia....., r. 300, dos. 3200, f.83

23 Ibidem

24 Ibidem

25 Ibidem

26 Ibidem, r. 302, dos. 3205, f.69

27 Ibidem, f.81

28 Ibidem, f.95

1769 are planted 14750 square hamper representing 73750 vines to Comanesti, locality from the Beliu domain, where in 1771 will made other plantations too on 161000 vines²⁹. And to Vintere into the Holod domain is mapped out in 1771 a promontory about 123012 hamper square, which were already planted 89,112 hamper square, approximately 670 diggers, the remainder followed to be planted³⁰. Here are produced annually 135 wine urns, urn of two florins, resulting in an income of 270 florins, which does not cover the value of working days, respectively 712 days with animals and 7604 by hand³¹. Viticulture has been for centuries an important pawn for the Crisana's economy. Following the development of the internal market and thus increase marketing opportunities for wine, cultivated areas have expanded and started planting grapes in other areas too of the zones where viticulture was a traditional occupation. Extending the vine crops are often achieved at the expense of forests were cleared, such cases can be mentioned in hill of Oradea, where in 1722 is requested permission to clear the part known as Hago³².

Along with this system, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the bishopric, as a feudal lord, will move to extend the vine crops using paid labor. Otherwise, in the years 1771 - 1772 for planting the freehold vineyard Holod, belonging Beliu area, participated residents of villages Olcea, Călăcea, Tăgădău, Beliu and Ucuriș. They provided a total of 330 working days for which they paid 67 florins and 30 kreutzers returning 12 kreutzers for one day work³³. In those 330 days were planted 10 plots of vines totaling 40,584 square hamper. Plots were separated by paths and by the middle and all around was a way for carts.

Another important factor for the development of viticulture in this area is cheap labor. Transylvania and Crișana remain among the last bastions of central and eastern Europe, where the feudal system is stored and where the land owner, whether it was noble or clerical field, he could have a significant number of people to perform different tasks within feudal obligations. Thus, work which does not require a particular specialization is done by drudgery and serfs into account under the supervision of boars. All drudgery account serfs were required to handle drums and a series of work in clavigerate addition, especially during harvest. In some villages between the obligations of land records was giving the raffia to tie calves, stake for vine and staves for barrels. Some of these obligations are canceled during the 1769-1772 in Bihor county because of the regulation of land records. Thereafter, the new land records is prohibit giving raffia and barrels transport outside the time of drudgery³⁴.

29 *Ibidem*, r. 300, dos. 3200, .83

30 A.N.-DJ.Bh, *Fond Domeniul Episcopesc român-unit Beiuș*, dos. 2

31 *Ibidem*

32 Ileana Șuta, *op.cit.* p. 30

33 *Ibidem*

34 *Ibidem* p.32

Regardless of the legal regime of vineyards, their maintenance require efforts from both the dependent peasants and the feudal owners. But when serf families had to work hard in order to gather fruit, noble households, with the provision of dependent peasants days of drudgery, especially resorted to them for their work on freehold vineyards. Work obligations were contained in the days of drudgery, cartings, etc. Days of robots continued to be the most important obligations and were met either with their tools and livestock, or arms, when animals were not working or when they are demanded in this way. In the second half of the eighteenth century we witnessed a considerable increase in job duties, mainly because of the role you had in highlighting the arable and freehold shrewdness, in vine cultivation, in ancillary jobs, in manufacturing, in conditions in which the feudal fields is driven by an ever larger scale in trade relationships³⁵.

Quantities of wine held by owners of increase in area and then by charging sharecrop basis or none, which is often added the census to wine production of serfs in Crisana. Tithe of wine is recorded in almost all villages in Cri, where lands were planted with vines. Wine as the tithe of grain but vary from year to year, depending on what production and serfs said during tax assessments in this area. "We pay tithe of all the food sickle: from corn, wine, hemp, flax, lamb, the goat kids, the hives, but because they hang from the annual production, he can not fix the amount"³⁶. Nona wine, where is in use, take the way and extent to which yield was measured and vine hills custom (*jus montanum*, *hegywim*) must measure like the nine part, under the laws of the country, with the measure named Pojon, or pail. Increase was also prohibited under Article 97 of the 1715's. And for the vine hills customs can not be increased unduly, in all places where it is collected, it was necessary to record vineyards serfs and a due amounts in Pojon measure. These records, bearing the seal of the county, were brought to the master field and the serfs and were kept in the county archives³⁷. Where vine hills would not produce anything, the serf should give this tax to the proprietary of the field hills of vineyards in the same amount, but because it can not be seen only in money but must, serf will be obliged to give this tax from next year's harvest³⁸.

The phenomenon of participating people from surrounding areas, especially those in agricultural work in the West Mountains in Crisana plain could be incurred mainly due to natural conditions of these areas of complementarity. On this basis was built later economic complementarity, giving rise to socio-economic harmony between mountains and plains³⁹. Geographical aspects of the problem

³⁵ Ileana Șuta, *Utilizarea forței de muncă iobăgești pe pământurile alodiale din domeniul de Oradea în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea* în *Lucrări științifice*, 1978-1979, p.157

³⁶ Ștefan Meteș, *Viața agrară, economică a românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria*, vol. I, București, 1921, p.69

³⁷ A.N.-D.J.Bh., *Fond Prefectura județului Bihor*, inv.4I, dos.275, f.14;

³⁸ Bodo Edith, *Lumea rurală din Bihor după reglementarea urbarială tereziană(1771-1820)*, Teza de doctorat , Oradea, 2009.,p.49

³⁹ Barbu Ștefănescu, *Tehnică agricolă și ritm de muncă în gospodăria țărănească din Crișana(sec. al XVII-lea și începutul sec. al XIX-lea,)*vol I, p. 179

related to climate gap between the two forms of relief, which is worth about 2 weeks between periods of vegetative plants. Under these conditions, the agricultural labor movement, calling on rich resources of the plain, not affect too much in his household, the peasant being able to return home in time, to carry on working the own household.

Responding to adjacent areas to address deficits (especially grain) structure is part of mountain agriculture. Plain is, in the ages studied, the field of culture mainly wheat. It opens both flocks wintering down here especially extra work (human and animal) derived from the Western mountains, whether we speak about Western Plain or the central part of Transylvania basin. In early nineteenth-century phenomenon will receive a mass character, immediately ordered to appear negative consequences, such as it was, leaving their land fallow, while the stakes are higher yields on plain⁴⁰.

With the commercial availability existed in the plains and which is offering people in the mountains, they have responded by offering a large number of reapers in the lowland villages, developing peasant handicrafts, by trade fruit, how to seize the surplus grain existing here. But with all its spectacular, this phenomenon was not sufficient to ensure food security in mountain area, the goal permanence tried to achieve but scarcely ever achieved.

Complementarity is a special feature of agriculture in this area, a relative individualism with other types of agriculture. At first look and a casual eye this complexity could be misleading. She was born as a result of the presence in the highlands of various resources but were in quantities too low to facilitate the option to specialize in a particular area of workly.

High consumption of wine in that period may also be an important factor in the development of this industry. The numbers showing the sale of wine in the years 1730-1732 on the area of Roman Catholic diocese of Oradea reflect a reality in this way, so the 5 pubs in Oradea areas (al Portem, Medio, Emporio, Aurea Corona și Domo Venceliana) consumed in 1730 - 950 wine urns⁴¹, in 1731 - 1218 wine urns⁴², so that in 1732 consumption to rise to 962 urns⁴³. In Episcopia, in 1730 consumed 290 wine urns in taverns, in 1731 the wine passed of 434 pub polls, while in 1732 was drunk a quantity of 343 urns of wine.⁴⁴ In Biharea consumed 430 wine urns, in 1730, while in 1731 to sell 411 urns, and in 1732 to 488 urns of wine drinking⁴⁵. In Cetariu wine is also the highest price as in 1730 it's consumed 312 urns of wine tavern, then in 1731 to reduce consumption to 176

⁴⁰ Idem, *Participarea țăranilor din zona Beiușului la muncile agricole din câmpie* (I), în *Crisia*, XV, Oradea, 1985, p. 362.

⁴¹ A.N.-DJ.Bh, *Fond Domeniul Episcopesc român-unit Beiuș*, dos. 1/1733, p.21

⁴² *Ibidem*

⁴³ *Ibidem*

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p.42

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p.65

urns, as in 1732 to drink a quantity of 191 urns⁴⁶. In the village Santimreu is consumed in 1730 an amount of 145 urns of wine, then in 1731 in the tavern is drink a quantity of 114 urns of wine, and in 1732 a quantity of 125 urns⁴⁷. In Sannicolau the wine consumption in the pub is presented like that: 1730 – 63 wine urns, 1731 – 54 wine urns and in 1732 - 58 wine urns⁴⁸. To Buduslau the wine consumption in the pub is presented like that: 1730 – 53 wine urns, 1731 – 64 wine urns and in 1732 - 50 wine urns⁴⁹. In Săldăbagiu wine consumption in the pub is presented like that: 1730 – 101 wine urns, 1731 – 122 wine urns and in 1732 - 98 wine urns⁵⁰. In Barand the tavern sold in 1730 – 212 wine urns, 1731 – 178 wine urns and in 1732 - 249 wine urns⁵¹. In Tulca, were sold in 1730 – 97 wine urns, 1731 – 69 wine urns and in 1732 - 59 wine urns⁵². At Beius were sold in 1730 – 411 wine urns, 1731 – 414 wine urns and in 1732 - 305 wine urns⁵³. As you can see, we are dealing with a fluctuating consumption, production and price determined by the wine, but we say that in some areas the downward trend is due to wine consumption in this period in parallel development of fruit growing and eating therefore a different type of drink. Phylloxera emergence in 1883 has created a big problem for vine owners. In a few years, mostly of the vineyards from Crisana were destroyed. But, with greater or lesser support received from the state, plantations could be reload. But were not the only problem with that winegrower had to face, they having to control and disprove the vineyard pests. One method of fighting is that of Francis Vulcan described in an undated document: “After more evidence has been made in vain in the grape disease, medical doctor Francis Vulcan was so lucky that he found a new and simple method by which grapes covered by mouldiness with little expense and without great labor could be cured and the widen mouldiness heal and can completely remove. This method is based on the following: plant parasites (drivens, deleteriouses , stiflings, blotters plant) is not placed on animal materials. Using this principle, the doctor has demonstrated the good end and any vine pledg who are more exposed to disease, the so-called Furmind. I mean one and the same pledg were in mid-June grapes which were as pea beans, covered by mold, with an unpleasant odor, with a gray color (facia), and when the hull was full of black spots, the leaves shriveled, connoisseurs can tell the beans were to crack in 4 weeks. What did Vulcan? He took 40 cups of water, two irons and a half rende glue that used by the carpentry (Tislerii Asztalos). Boil them in that quantity, he left to melt well, to cool until it becomes a composition not too hard or too thin,

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p.91

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p.110

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p.113

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p.115

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p.160

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 144

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 213

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 264

resembling lye. He put the grapes in that substance and saw the seeds of grapes after 48 hours have own good color glossy, dark green abject as that of healthy grapes, which in September reached their normal size, or baked and are given more delicate fruit. On the same shoot were three grape including one to fully soak in substance made, the second not at all soaked and softened and the third to half. The result was that the first grapes, that the dip in full, grew very well, the second has not increased at all its beans snapped after 4 weeks. Grains of the third, which were half increased, taked one side green and the the other one, unsoften moldered. The same test was done with another vine whose, where rope and grapes were the highest of disease. And here was all too good success. Even so it was that sick from a grape or two tears soaked, which the other does not, then they showed that the grains grew soaked at the right size and have swung the other. Of several patients who were vine all the same type and also ground in full in this state were planted around, they chose one whose grapes have soaked then cures. From here they got the month of September the most beautiful green, the grapes unsoked are all broken on the month of July. Such countless tests were made by the doctor and every ones were ended very well and I had the privilege of seeing one. Also not working too hard and not soked difficult, no expense because on a vine that gives a hundred decilitre of wine per year, is spent on treatment 6 fl. After making several tests with the best end, I was also challenged to come and see that only withVulcan barrier method can make grape disease to mealt down Peak glue is undoubtedly not bad for wine, it is because the clarification of wine employ glue. The second benefit that brings water with glue is that the caterpillar and worms who had great damage in vine disappeared all with this water”⁵⁴. The document is relevant to the methods for treating diseases and interest in the grapes and vines, earlier occurrence of phylloxera. Also, learn to use glue in winemaking, but also an ongoing reporting costs.

Viticulture is from the eighteenth century increasingly appreciated, so it requires discipline of study and teaching in the Faculty of Agriculture of the University from Budapest⁵⁵, but will also lead to the establishment of viticulture in specific schools from Diosig and to Minis in the second half of the nineteenth century. The emergence of schools in these two localities boars show the importance of this occupation in the local economy. The appearance to Minis of a school of viticulture is not just coincidental because on the domain Government financial administration from Minis was since 1835 a model vine near the castle

⁵⁴ Arhivele Naționale Direcția Județană Bihor, *Fond Episcopia romano-catolică Oradea, Acte economice*, r. 298, dos. 3191, f.14; Documentul este tipărit în trei limbi: germană, maghiară și această română arhaică . Nedatarea, nementionarea autorului, precum și forma sa, poate indică o retranscriere ulterioara a unui manuscris din secolul al XIX-lea antefiloxeric întrucât documentul descrie o boală considerată foarte importantă fără a face nici o referire la filoxeră și la eventualul efect asupra rădăcilor viței de vie.

⁵⁵ Adrian Apan, *Domeniul contelui Stubenberg 1700-1948*, teză de doctorat, Universitatea din Oradea, 2007p.237

cellar, where locals and other winemakers in vineyard have mastered knowledge useful to practice this activity⁵⁶ but the role of the schools that begins its work on 1 October 1881 with 24 students in particular will increase the post-blight age. Another factor was the development of viticulture as a careful study of vine variety and choice during the years varieties such appropriate to this activities. Certainly one effect of this is natural selection which will be made until the XVIII century among local varieties but the introduction of new varieties of living areas from the Tokay wine or Western.

As a consequence of the existence of boars, but the emergence of viticulture schools appear a number of innovations in traditional viticulture. First, the manure starts to be used in viticulture to obtain better productions.. The manure administration was made in the spring. It was believed that vine fattened with manure better resisit to hoarfrost, hubs being more forceful. Peretsényi, by experience, argues that beef manure chaff, grass and other plant debris, well rotted, is the best fertilizer. Fattening vineyards became the chief concern of growers, recommended to be repeated in three years, but felt shortage of manure. Chemical fertilizers, which was recalled in 1872, there were few, and sometimes missing altogether⁵⁷.

Also, innovations appear in the groves renewal of life or cuttings propagation, they differ, however, from one vineyard areal to another. In groves renewal of life, the field Diosig plantations were divided future productive sectors on 10 to 12 sectors each with 10 hold, and yearly 6-10 hold for planting new vineyards were loose, but land manuring used for raising productivity of old plantations until the total renewal. Until the end of nineteenth century's was not practiced the manuring method land even in field crops by peasants (the only way to preserve the quality of land was crop rotation)⁵⁸. In 1859 to Minis were used several methods of propagation of the vine. The first of these was seedlings (seedlings, "collapse") is a full bed of old hub, which, by force, will result in 2 to 3 hubs. This method has been criticized by the years 1883-1885 and rightly so, for her shortcomings as an old vine is not used for the production of new logs, fragile plants are obtained, which penetrate only the top layer of soil, roots insufficient and fruit-bearing capacity is low. The operation was deemed that "a botch". The second method was called "the inheritance", when the parent hub pulling a rope, and after rooting (one year) is detached from the parent plant. Peretsényi considered better suited to the inheritance varieties with long and vigorous cord: Mustoasă, Dinca, Bacator, Verde de Sirmiu (Szerémy zöld), Bakar and Ardeleanca. The method of planting cuttings smooth (no ingrowing) represent the third method used. Cuttings recolt is made in autumn from the hubs with circle which have fructyfing and are planted end of March - early April into the holes made in autumn or winter. This process was most often practiced, especially where vine

⁵⁶ Virgil Valea, *Miniș. Istorie și cultură*, Arad, 2006, p.82

⁵⁷ Mihalca Al., Lazea Emil, *Tradițiile și experiența culturii viței de vie în zona Aradului*, Ed.Ceres, București, 1990, p.99

⁵⁸ Adrian Apan, *op.cit.*, p.261

was poor and there were no logs to collapse. New hubs rode after 3-4 years. If planting is made somewhat later, is practiced the elling into a potato cuttings to maintain humidity. To establish new plantations are used this method to cuttings selected, no ingrowing, 2 on each hole, with manure. The fourth method is done by cuttings rooted in school for 3-4 years, after that period, they are polanted in the final place. This method was considered expensive. They later set up nurseries of rooted cuttings, like the one in Păuliş, where a landlord in 1865, had sales of 25000 cuttings ingrowing, from the next varieties: Furmint, Cadarca and 68 other varieties. Another method was grafting, where weak or ill floral varieties, is quite common practiced. Peretsényi shows that to Mocrea varieties the tailings or scattered their flowers like: Madári (gibberish) Harslevelű (lime leaf), Lefedek (low vine) varieties are grafted with Bakar (Ardeleanca) Allantermő (Mézesfehér, silky white) Mádlay (Madelaine), Szemendriai (Dimyat), Buda (small white), Bihar (Furmint) Tőkszemű (Dodrelabi) Csatári (Chasselas Cioutat). Cleft grafting was done in a distance of 8-10 cm from the dusty earth. It was used two slips, and after binding with, the string heap. Grip was 90% and producing fruit the second year graft⁵⁹. In Diosig area, multiplying the vine will achieve the following procedure:⁶⁰ in preparation, the chords for planting due to warm winters lately are cut only in late February on the block, and after cleaning (away remnants of carcasses, keeping eyes) is cut (shaping) as a measure of 18 fingers (over the mesh ¼ finger healthy), taking care to maintain eye-rich bottom chords (if possible with a piece of pins, especially for the success of bakator root chords). Of such strings were tied 200-300 pieces arranged together and stored six weeks in a semi-shadow place and a splat of water. Planting in schools was as follows: the land previously sloppy (loose) is one after another were digging in a straight line, some ditches 11 / 2 x 11 / 2 steps, which are then bevel edge with the hoe. In these grooves the strings sat at a little distance apart and being covered with earth over the last eyes of a little thick (it anthill). Previous trench filled with earth removed from the next trench. Chords sitting here a year, until rooted. Remove from first road planting, removing soil and careful isolation of hand and pocket knife. In cuttings for planting the rooted cuttings final places are usually out of school come fall and planted in permanent plots or fall or spring. If planted in spring, their roots are not cut and were buried in silos outdoors without special protective packaging to hibernation. If they were planted in autumn, their roots are short on 1/4 finger. Planting was done in a mold using special tools, catching the bottom of the cuttings in more knotty forked bottom gear. So this plant cuttings or parallel to the hole forming tool, or after a prior hole, then filled the hole by pushing down the columns of two parts. Planting was done always in wet ground and the meshes hub were well in bud. Cuttings were then covered with anthill. In planting productive hubs were planted at 1 - 1.2 meters (to defend each other from direct sunlight). Roads among vine were marginal by “lugoşuri” cut by Guyot system (was observed that the best for “lugoşuri” were

⁵⁹ Alexandru Mihalca, Emil Lazea, *op.cit.*, p.99

⁶⁰ Adrian Apan, *op.cit.*, p.263

Riesling varieties being resistant to frost in 1871). New plantations were established on land at 2-21/2 steps deep mellow. From these plots, each 800 square hamper each boar were given for the amount of 25 HUF⁶¹.

So, another factor in the evolution of viticulture in Crisana given by the technical innovations which has penetrate in this area. We can not omit from this series of reasons that no persons in the plaintiff would acquire land in growing areas of Crisana. I remember the first family Zichi and Anton Grassalkovich, prominent personalities of the economic life of the Habsburg Empire, but ecclesiastical personalities too, like Bishop Patachich Adamo, responsible for the viticulture freehold extension in charge of Oradea. Increasing cultivated in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, resulted in increased surface area Crisana with vines planted mainly due appreciation it has received.

⁶¹ Adrian Apan, *op.cit.*, p.263

MUSIC IN BRAZIL: THE ATLANTIC AS A BOUNDARY¹

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Abstract: *An ethnomusicological approach about the transposition of a musical culture through a boundary longer than the separate territories. How the dances of black people became the basis of the musical Brazilian culture. Critical history of Brazilian Music; the different stages of its socio-cultural development since the conquest by the Portuguese up to the current period. Text added of a chapter, "The dances of black people in Brazil", dedicated to the themes discussed in colloquy of Lunéville (NAFTES/2009), "Nouvelles Approches des Frontières Culturelles", such as: the role of dance in border demarcation, in occupation of the land, as legitimation of power, as strength and balance demonstration; as mobilization, differentiation and in mark of identity.*

Keywords: *black people dances, Brazilian music, ethnomusicology, Portuguese America*

Distracted we'll win

For lack of a History about itself, the Brazilian ruling class⁴ has always received European ideas out of context, using them as mere ornamental ostentation, and the popular classes were responsible for the creative aspect⁵, with a skepticism toward dogma well translated by Leminski's⁶ verse "Distracted we'll win", and the lyrics of some Sambas like Zeca Pagodinho's *Caviar* (2002):

¹ Roundtable speech in 2009 September, 28, Salle Poirel, Nancy, France. Promoted by "Stanislas Ensemble, 25 years" and Nancy 2 University, led by Didier Francfort (UN 2), with Marcos Câmara de Castro (USP) and Anaïs Fléchet (Universidade de Paris I – Sorbonne). Text enriched by the themes that emerged in Lunéville colloquy.

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⁴ "A ruling class with administratif and consular character, socially irresponsible about the people (...) who produces what he doesn't consumes and that expresses himself culturaly only like a *marginalia*, out of the erudite civilization in which he is imerged" (RIBEIRO, 1995, p. 179). "The dominant class reminding the roman consulates, with its local ambassadors of a foreign power (...), irresponsible about the population's destiny" (ibid. pp. 255-256). "The tradition of the *latifundium* property in which the owner regards more their external clients than the workers and the internal market, and still continues mostly like heir of the formely sugar culture" (MONBEIG, 1968, p. 46).

⁵ As Ribeiro says, "there is also, in the erudite field, a Brazilian reaction. But it's not a kind of nativism. Their creations are conquests of human genre that could appear in any place but fortunately are born here, as Brasília architetur by Niemeyer, in Villa-Lobos's music, in Portinari's paint, in Drummond's poetry, in Rosa's novels and so on" (1995, p. 263).

⁶ *Distraídos venceremos* (1983), Paulo Leminski, 1944-1989.

Do you know what is caviar?
 I never saw or ate, I only hear about
 Or Martinho da Vila's *The petty bourgeois* (1969), in a self-made-man way:
 What Happiness
 I passed the entrance exam
 But the college is private
 (...)

Books so expensive
 a lot of fee to pay
 My money very rare
 Someone had to lend it me
 I lived in the suburb
 I went by late train
 From work would go to class
 No dinner and very tired
 But back home at midnight
 I always had to wait
 A handful of problems
 And kids to raise
 (...)

Fortunately
 I got my degree
 But even of my graduation
 I could not participate
 Lacked money to beca
 And also for my ring
 Neither the bald director
 Handed my certificate (paper tube)
 And after so many years
 Only deceptions, disappointments
 They say I am *bourgeois*
 Very privileged
 But you're the *bourgeois*!
 I'm only a poor man
 And who wants to be like me
 Will have to work a lot
 (...)

The Brazilian Culture was constructed under a popular image of the nation,
 in opposition to the aristocratic manners⁷ of the *élite* which was always the

⁷ An analogy with what Francfort has said about the Czech culture (2009, p. 13): "The construction of a Czech culture is made up through a popular image of the nation, in opposition to German aristocratie". In this case, the Brazilian process was different from Argentina and Uruguay with their "reproductions of European humanities and landscapes". Four million Europeans (labor surplus in theirs countries) surpassed the basis built by about 800 thousand indians and Mamluks

manager and administrator of the settlers' interests. Contesting racism⁸ and the "dialectic of resentment"⁹ the Brazilian popular imagination reduced everything to the *Sambódromo*¹⁰. Bringing the "sublimity of the dominant"¹¹ to the avenue, the Brazilian Carnival became a superproduction of the Cultural Industry, with its adaptations of Portuguese, African and Venetian traditions; added to typical characters of the French novel and scenic elements of all origins (see LESSA, 2008, p. 249), well described by Chico Buarque's samba *Vai passar*¹²:

A popular samba will go through this avenue
 Each paving-stone (*paralelepípedo*) of the old town will shake tonight
 Reminding that here immortal sambas passed through,
 That here our ancestors danced and bled under our feet,
 An unhappy page in our history,
 Passage faded into our new generations's memory,
 Our motherland slept so distracted
 Without realizing she was subtracted
 In tenebrous transactions.
 Her children wandered as blind around the continent,
 They carried stones like penitent
 Rising strange cathedrals
 And one day, after all, had the right to a fleeting joy
 A breathless epidemic that was called Carnival
 (...)
 Claps for the line of hungry barons,
 The block of the black Napoleons
 And the pygmies of the boulevard.
 My God, come to look, come closer to see a singing city
 The freedom's evolution, until day rises
 Oh what a good life!
 The flag of the general sanatorium will pass by!

who has conquered, organized and led their independence" (cf. RIBEIRO, op. cit., p. 110 and p. 452).

⁸ Blacks and whites rub shoulders and mingle with a spontaneity that baffles the North American and European (MONBEIG, Pierre. *Le Brésil*. Paris, PUF, 1968, p. 79).

⁹ Cf. BOURDIEU, 1975.

¹⁰ The avenue of carnival parade.

¹¹ See BOURDIEU, 1979, p. 574: "Et l'on comprend mieux que (...) l'imagination populaire ne puisse que renverser la relation qui est au fondement de la sociodicée esthétique: répondant au parti de sublimation par un parti-pris de réduction ou, si l'on veut, de dégradation, comme dans l'argot, la parodie, le burlesque ou la caricature, mettant cul par dessus la tête toutes les "valeurs" dans lesquelles se reconnaît et s'affirme la sublimité des dominants, avec le recours à l'obscénité ou à la scatologie, elle nie systématiquement la différence, elle bafoue la distinction et, comme les jeux de Carnaval, réduit les plaisirs distinctifs de l'âme aux satisfactions communes du ventre et du sexe".

¹² Music by Francis Hime (1984) — a kind of a true national anthem, in samba rhythm.

Thus, one plays the game of culture with bluff, resourcefulness and good humor, making assume a real familiarity with the *habitus* of the dominant culture.

"The adventure of an unclassifiable music"¹³

The Spanish created over the sixteenth century, in their American colonies, several universities. However, the Portuguese — who had a large colonial experience — did not want an educated elite¹⁴, the same thing for the press, forbidden or controlled by the royal monopoly until the independence in 1822. The colleges of the Jesuits were therefore the primary responsible for teaching, and their expulsion in 1759 opened a large gap in the already poor education of the colony¹⁵.

The music in the early schools of the Society of Jesus in Brazil in the sixteenth century was far from the splendor of European choral music that was the center of religious life, and the music of the blacks and the lower classes was often cited by writers and travelers with no concern of notation. Any music score survived from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The documents talk about dance music and collective singing played by Portuguese "gaita" (bagpipe), flute, tambourine, *adufe* (square Arabic tambourine), *conga* and anglerfish, the Braga guitar (Viola)¹⁶, the jaw-harp, castanets and trumpets. For religious rituals, the organ for hymns, the plainchant, and a kind of Iberian primitive polyphony (*canto de órgão*)¹⁷.

The urban song accompanied by the Braga guitar already appears in the middle of the seventh century, with Gregório de Mattos¹⁸, and the musical teaching was done through the *Artinhas* — theoretical treatises manuscripts that circulated in colonial Brazil and the first amateur orchestras come to light only in the eighteenth century. All of this mixed with indigenous songs, collected by foreign

¹³ Being the civilization process the only unity among a constellation of cultural fields (see RIBEIRO, 1995, p. 254).

¹⁴ We must expect the year of 1934 (300 years after Harvard's foundation!) for the foundation of our first university conceived such as, idealized as an integral institution, the São Paulo University (USP). The so called Universidade do Brasil (University of Brazil) was a mere amount of already existent colleges, created to confere the *Honoris Causa* degree to the king of Belgium, at the time of his visit, in 1923, certainly to found the Belgo Mineira Steel Company (today ArcelorMittal Aços Longos).

¹⁵ "There are schools of learning to read and write, where priests teach the indians children and for the more skillfull they also teach them maths, singing and to play the guitar (...). Dancing accompanied by the guitar, the tambourine, drums and flutes" (Father Cardim, apud RIBEIRO, op. cit., pp. 179-192).

¹⁶ "A bad guitar" according to Dumouriez, a French traveler in 1766 (see TINHORÃO, p. 1998, p. 87).

¹⁷ Far from the style of Morales or Victoria. Here, a supposition by Enio Morricone could be illustrative: in the *Ave Maria Guarani*, a sound track of the film *The Mission*, directed by Roland Joffé, recorded by Virgin Records, 1986.

¹⁸ See TINHORÃO, 1998, p. 57.

travelers as the French Jean de Léry¹⁹ (sixteenth century) and the Germans Martius and Spix, in the early eighteenth century.

Among the forms practiced by the lower classes and the bourgeoisie of the nineteenth century, there were the erotic and sarcastic *Lundu* and the lyrical *Modinhas* — little songs like the French *Ariette* or the German *Lieder*.

We find already "the adventure of an unclassifiable music"²⁰ when a chronicler of the XIXth century says: "The sacred music of religious festivals is often mixed with the popular rhythms, Portuguese and Spanish, proving that the territories between sacred and profane, popular and scholar had not yet been established"(cited RICCIARDI, 2000). Because "Without history (...) and less submissive to the weight of rules and conventions, the Brazilian urban society [nineteenth century] was much more dynamic about their exchange between classes" (TINHORÃO, 1998, p. 117).

The golden age²¹

In the eighteenth century, the exploitation of gold in Minas Gerais was "immortalized by its classical music legacy"²². The colonial population increased tenfold with the migration — causing the depopulation of the productive Portuguese basis - and the import of one million Africans as slaves (see LESSA, 2008). A network of towns was created and the *Irmandades*²³, the assemblies, the chambers and Church promoted a high-level musical practice. Several opera houses were founded from north to south. For lack of women, the miscegenation is stimulated in large scale²⁴ and most of the composers were mulattoes and black people who had just purchased his freedom through the process of *coartação*²⁵. Vila Rica de Ouro Preto was the seat of the district and had the same population of London at the time (LESSA, 2008), and Rio de Janeiro became the administrative center of the entire Brazilian coast.

The first musicological studies were made at the turn of the XIXth to the XXth century and in 1959, Régis Duprat discovered the Recitative and Aria written by an anonymous composer from Bahia (1759) - considered the oldest musical score until

¹⁹ Ricciardi says that probably Villa-Lobos has been inspired by the Lery's book (in the Rio de Janeiro National Library, where his father was engaged) to compose his first indian song, in 1922.

²⁰ FRANCFORT, 2008

²¹ "As the ports of North East [sugar], the mining towns were centers of intellectual and artistic activity" (MONBEIG, 1968, p. 50).

²² GIRON, 2004, p. 23.

²³ These "Brotherhoods" were a "kind of pre-capitalist socialist forms" and differed from the European *mecenat* by their influence onto the contemporaneity of the musical taste. Their specific character of designation, that is to say, to the celebration of determined event, impeached the redoing of a commissioned work (see DOTTORI, 1992).

²⁴ Without engendering absolutely, even afterwards, the apartheid.

²⁵ About the *coartação* process, see Carlo Monti, apud DIÓRIO, in *Anais do XIX Encontro Regional de História: Poder, violência e exclusão*. ANPH/SP-USP. São Paulo, 08 a 12 de setembro de 2008: <http://www.anpuhsp.org.br/downloads/CD%20XIX/PDF/Autores%20e%20Artigos/Renata%20Romualdo%20Di%F3rio.pdf> (acces in february 9, 2010)

recently²⁶ -, first recorded in 1965, by Chantecler, with Marília Siegl (soprano) and the Chamber Orchestra of Sao Paulo, under the direction of Olivier Toni.

Among the major composers from Minas Gerais, the mulatto Manuel Dias de Oliveira (1734/5-1813) had his motet *Miserere* (1787) reconstructed by Frisch²⁷ in 2001 and recorded by Chemins du Baroque, Ensemble XVIII-21 Musique des Lumieres.

D. John VI: the court in Brazil

To become worthy of the real presence and be the capital of the Portuguese Empire, the Royal Chapel²⁸ was created in Rio de Janeiro, in 1808. High salaries have been paid for the *castratti* of the Opera. Maria Leopoldina of Habsburg-Lorraine (1797-1826), married to Pedro I, discloses the work of Mozart, despite the success of Jomelli. Without any editing of the colonial classical composers, in 1833, a Modinha of Father Garcia was published²⁹: *Beijo a mão que me condena* (I kiss the hand that condemns me).

A French mission was invited to develop the fine arts, as opposed to the British presence in trade practices and sports. Surrounded by slavery, the imperial elite lived *à la française*, putting the piano in the room and the guitar in the kitchen. The rich went to the theater - replica of the Paris Opera - dressed in tails and fur coat, in full heat of summer in Rio. Everything was done so that Rio was the "Paris of the Tropics" and the poor people are driven toward the hills and there built the suburbs and slums [*favelas*] (LESSA, 2008). Chico Buarque, in his song *Suburb* (2006), paints a picture of this reality, today:

There is no breeze
 No blue-green
 No freshness or daring
 There, is not on the map,
 On the back of the mountain, is a labyrinth
 It's counter-password is the face slap
 Hello, *Penha*³⁰
 Hello, *Irajá*
 Hello, *Piedade*
 Hello, *Acari, Vigário Geral*
 Hello, *Piedade*
 Houses colorless
 Dusty streets, a non make up city,
 Without vanity

Make hear the chords of the *choro* song

²⁶ Untill the discovery, also by Duprat, of the Mogi das Cruzes manuscript, dated from few decades before.

²⁷ About Oliveira, we must refer the important work by Ricciardi (see bibliography).

²⁸ "So it was proved that Brazil could live without Portugal" (MONBEIG, op. cit., p. 52).

²⁹ About publishing in colonial Brazil see: <http://www.livroehistoriaeditorial.pro.br/pdf/monicaleme.pdf> (access in January 31, 2010).

³⁰ In italic, the names of Rio's suburbs

Brings the girls and the samba round
Dance your funk, rock, *forró*, *pagode*, reggae
Your hip-hop
Speaks the language of rap
Displace the other one
Who is proud
Of being so wonderful

There are no golden girls exposed,
Your *Exus* wander naked,
There are not tourists
There are no photos on magazines
There is Jesus
And he is on his back
Hello, *Maré*
Hello, *Madureira*
Hello, *Pavuna*
Hello, *Inhaúma*
Cordovil, *Pilares*
Spread thy voice in the vicinity
Carry your cross
And your drums and go on
Make hear the chords of the *choro* song (...)
Say something
Give an idea
For whom makes a shadow on you
There is not *chiaroscuro*
The light is hard
The plate is hot
What future has
All those people?
Thinking of you
I walk in a circle
It's stick, it's stone
It's the end of line
It's wood, it's fire, it's the fuck

Hello, *Penha*
Hello, *Irajá*
Hello, *Encantado*, *Bangu*
Hello, *Realengo* ...

Hello, *Maré*
Hello, *Madureira*

Hello, *Meriti, Nova Iguaçu*

Hello, resignation ...

The republic, the late romanticism and the modernity

The Brazilian national empire did not allow the fragmentation of the Portuguese America³¹ and installed a monarchy headed by the heir to the throne, Pedro I, which proclaimed independence in 1822. The republic was thus created no enemy, no people, no university and no industry. Since one has been acquainted that there was people in Brazil, there has not been the need "to kill the tribe build the nation"³²: the exotic elements were borrowed and reworked to show the world that we are civilized: Villa-Lobos is succeeded in the Paris of Stravinsky and Bossa Nova (musical separation between the petite bourgeoisie and the popular class) will be recognized as daughter of Jazz. A good example is the Fabio Caramuru's CD *Tom Jobim piano solo*, MCD, 1998.

From colony, Brazil became an independent nation, and from monarchy to republic, but the order of latifundium was not affected³³ and popular classes were not part of it. (RIBEIRO, 1995, p. 219). No popular education program was created to compensate the creation of schools for the elite. Brazilian people remained illiterate (ibid., p. 253). The Conservatory of Music of Rio de Janeiro³⁴ was created in 1841 by the author of the national anthem (in 1831), Francisco Manuel da Silva (1795-1865) and the romanticism begins in 1861 with the opera *Noite do Castelo* by Carlos Gomes (1836-1896).

Among major Romantic composers, Alexandre Levy (1864-1892) composed the first symphonic Samba in 1890, recorded by Festa in 1969, with the Brazilian Symphony Orchestra, under the direction of Souza-Lima. Modernity begins with the *Uirapuru*³⁵, by Villa-Lobos (1915), recorded by Stokowsky in 1971 by Fermata, with the New York Stadium Symphony Orchestra. Many composers, however, remained faithful to the romantic aesthetics, as Henrique Oswald (1852-1931) who composed his *Requiem* in 1925, recorded by Radio MEC, 2005, with Grupo Calópe, under the direction of Julio Moretzsohn.

Among modern composers, Fructuoso Vianna (1896-1976), pupil of Oswald, composed his *Dança de Negros*, published by Maison Sénart in Paris in 1929, and recorded by Arsis, in 1984, with Miguel Proença.

³¹ "While the Spanish America was divided and, in each part, an inviable nation was founded " (RIBEIRO, op. cit., p. 157). "Acknowledged abroad and imposed internally, a "nation" was created against the interests of its own people" (ibid. p. 252). "There has not been even a people's concept, including all working class and his rights. Not even the elementary right to work, feed, dress and inhabit" (ibid., p. 447).

³² As Samora Machel's Moçambique.

³³ "Brazil was divided in great private properties since colonization and that's almost five hundred years all agriculture has been developed on this basis. It is untill now the second country of the world where the division of land is the most unequal". "Sans terre de la planète, unissez-vous", in L'Humanité, septembre 30, 2009, p. 15.

³⁴ The Rio de Janeiro Conservatory became the National Institut of Music in 1890 (Republic) and, in 1926 has been incorporated to the University of Brazil (see footnote 12).

³⁵ Whose theme was probably borrowed from the English ornithologist Edmund Selars (1857-1934).

Conclusion

If all musical genres are so well represented in Brazil, one can not mention a true contribution to the classical heritage before the nineteenth century. Brazil has not experienced, as in Europe between 1870 to 1914, the identification between composer and nation³⁶, since the European musical tradition has not been neither a matter of national identity such as soccer, carnival and samba, nor even adopted as in the United States, Canada or Australia, with their top orchestras and high level musical education³⁷. The passion for soccer - sport that socializes Brazilian childhood - created national heroes and, like the Baroness Bernstein of Oscar Wilde³⁸, it's believed that classical music is written in German...

Without social and collective memory, up to present days, Brazilian classical music remains a "phenomenon of transposition", as indicated by Mário de Andrade³⁹ in 1942, in his *Short History of Music*, and the practice of "music strictly faithful to an erudite logic of distinction"⁴⁰ has neither a continuous tradition nor an effective recognition by people⁴¹. Classical music is still practiced with the same snobbery that had once ruled with manufactured European products brought to Brazil (cf. MONBEIG, p. 102).

Is Brazil doomed to be this "happy people" that will "free Europe of its History", as Valéry said, in 1895⁴²? A country with no history is not necessarily a happy nation if there is not critical information and reference sources. It's not a matter of liberate Europe of its history but to share a common heritage, "things able to live under skies far from their origin, that crossed the Atlantic and created roots in a land largely virgin" (VALÉRY, 1938)⁴³.

³⁶ Cf. FRANCFORT, 2004.

³⁷ The intellectual song being the music of most the dominant class and *intelligenzza*. Not Brahms or Villa-Lobos. About the opera, it is not because of music but the lyrics (see FRANCFORT, 2008).

³⁸ WILDE, Oscar. The critic as artist, 1890: (...) *Besides, I took the Baroness Bernstein down to dinner last night, and, though absolutely charming in every other respect, she insisted on discussing music as if it were actually written in the German language.*

³⁹ Although he believed "the subservient colonial spirit" has been overcome by the nationalist school of Villa-Lobos, Guarnieri and others, the nationalistic ideology is however imported from Europe. Francfort, in 2004, refers to the European nationalism, when the music stops of being universal to become a national art and, under the soundtrack of the instruments, people went to the First War during the 1914 summer, putting in evidence the influence of songs and music on the public opinion. <http://www.chapitre.com/CHAPITRE/fr/BOOK/francfort-didier/le-chant-des-nations,663429.aspx> (access in january 31, 2010)

⁴⁰ FRANCFORT, 2008

⁴¹ Like Algebra or Biology, the acknowledge of the Music as a Science, by the popular classes, is necessary to its legitimation as a field of the human knowledge.

⁴² "Ne sachant nous défaire de notre histoire, nous en serons déchargés par des peuples heureux qui n'ont point ou presque point. Ce sont des peuples heureux qui nous imposeront leur bonheur". "Grandeur et décadence de l'Europe", in *Regards sur le monde actuel*, 1895, Oeuvres (Pleiade), Tome II, p. 930. Mayenne, Galimard, "Bibliothèque de la Pléiade", 1968.

⁴³ "Les choses les plus capables de vivre sous des cieux très éloignés de leurs cieux d'origine qui ont passé l'Océan, et qui ont pris racine dans une terre qui était en grande partie vierge". In *L'Amérique, projection de l'esprit européen*, ibidem, Tome II, p. 989.

As Ribeiro says , perhaps the Brazilian vocation would be to unify the Latin American nation, envisioned by Bolívar, and not repeat Europe. Like the song "in portuñol" by Chico Buarque and the Cuban Pablo Milanés (1978), *Canción por la unidad de Latinoamérica*⁴⁴:

The birth of a world was delayed by a moment It was a brief period of time, for the universe just a second However it seemed that everything was going to end

With the implacable distance that had separated our lives.
 They worked to separate our hands
 And do the brothers see each other with fear
 With the passed years the rancor increased
 Forgot the love, we looked each other like foreign
 What a suffering distance, how a separate world
 We would never had found ourselves without bringing new lives
 And who says that History is an abandoned cart
 At a side of a road or in an inglorious station
 The History is a happy car full of happy people
 And runs over everyone who denies its existence
 It is a train drawing rails, opening new spaces
 Waving many arms, swinging our sons
 They who shine by itself, with its own light, no one can extinguish it

⁴⁴ El nacimiento de un mundo se aplazó por un momento
 Fue un breve lapso del tiempo, del universo un segundo
 Sin embargo parecía que todo se iba a cabar
 Con la distância mortal que separó nuestras vidas
 Realizaban la labor de desunir nossas mãos
 E fazer com que os irmãos de mirassem con temor
 Cuando passaron los años se acumularam rancores
 Se olvidaram os amores parecíamos extraños
 Que distância tão sofrida que mundo tão separado
 Jamás se hubiera encontrado sin aportar nuevas vidas
 E quem garante que a história é carroça abandonada
 Numa beira de estrada ou numa estação inglória
 A história é um carro alegre cheio de um povo contente
 Que atropela indiferente todo aquele que a negue
 É um trem riscando trilhos abrindo novos espaços
 Acenando muitos braços balançando nossos filhos
 Lo que brilla con luz propia nadie lo puede apagar
 Su brillo puede alcanzar la oscuridad de otras costas
 Quem vai impedir que a chama saia iluminando o cenário
 Saia incendiando o plenário, saia inventando outra trama
 Quem vai evitar que os ventos batam portas mal fechadas,
 Revirem terras mal socadas e espalhem nossos lamentos;
 E quem paga o pesar do tempo que se gastou, de las vidas que costó
 De las que puede costar
 Já foi lançada uma estrela, pra quem souber enxergar
 Pra quem quiser alcançar e andar abraçado nela.

Its brightness can reach the darkness of other places
 Who will prevent the fire to light the scenario
 Burn the plenary, get inventing another game
 Who will prevent the wind knock the badly closed doors,
 Turn the badly worked land and spread our cries
 And who pays the sorrow of the time that was spent,
 The lost lives and that which still can lost
 It was already released a star, for those who want to see
 For those who want to reach and walk embraced in it.

To the classical heritage, Brazil can contribute, maximum, adding the spice of the tropics, like *Agô Lonã*, a choral piece composed by Marlos Nobre, published by Tonos (Darmstadt, 1973) and recorded by the Bachiana Brasileira Company, 1994, under the direction of Ricardo Rocha. Written in 1964 on a Candomblé theme, it's an African theme treated as a four voice fugue⁴⁵, interspersed with two improvised duets (*bicinium*⁴⁶), and the female voices draw the attention to its difficulty, with their polytonality and atonality. This piece ends with the augmented main theme in the bass voice, while the others continue their animated counterpoint.

A panorama of contemporary Brazilian classical music shows the same mentality that waited for the "lyric messiah" Carlos Gomes in the nineteenth century, who was supposed to be more Italian than the Italians (see GIRON, 2004, pp. 199-200), or who created the Villa-Lobos myth (cf. FLÉCHET, 2004), always trying to participate of the international non-geographic market of classical music - some more than others succeed - without caring about the construction of a true national culture of classical music, which inevitably will include a large education project from kindergarten to all levels of public school, that, to the surprise of all, was not done yet.

The dances of black people in Brazil⁴⁷

The dances of black people in colonial Brazil came up as a try of an impossible reconstruction of the fragmented cultural practices of different African nations in American ground, because the slaves were brought from different cultures and linguistic groups, gathered into the negreiros ships, without understanding each others, during the long and dangerous trip across the Atlantic.

In Lunéville colloquy, dance appeared as a boundary demarcation; a manner of appropriation of land; and also as a legitimation of power and equilibrium; mobilization and differentiation of a nation, or a mark of identity. In

⁴⁵ Fugue is a most cerebral and complex musical constructions. Consacrated by Bach, till now it is a demonstration of one's composition skill. Another example of tropical joy merged in a architetonic structure is the choral *Moacaretá*, written by Sérgio Vasconcelos Corrêa, built upon three indians themes collected by Léry (XVIth century) and Roquete Pinto (XXth century), recorded in the same CD.

⁴⁶ *Bicinium* (duet) was frequently used by Palestrina to make lighter the modulatory transitions.

⁴⁷ *Addendum* related to the emerged themes in Lunéville colloquy, in September 25, 2009, Castle of Lunéville.

Brazilian case, there was neither the welcome country (*pays d'accueil*) nor an origin one (*pays d'origine*). When the slaves arrived in Brazil, they were separated all over the enormous continent, without any cultural reference. Thus, they built "templates of neo-Brazilian culture and not African culture restoration" (see RIBEIRO, op. cit., p. 295) — which were generically called *batuques*.

Like ARAÚJO says (cited RICCIARDI, 2000, pp. 73-79), probably the older prohibition of black dance and music dates from 1559 - too much early if we think that the first contingent of slaves arrived in 1538 (cf. FAUSTO, 2007, pp. 49-54 and p. 557). Mário de Andrade tells that D. Tomás de Melo (in 1796) said that the blacks "couldn't be privated of such activity because, for them, it is the only pleasure they can have during their slavery days" (see RICCIARDI, op. cit.).

Rugendas⁴⁸ found afinities between African dance and the Spanish fandango: "Another well known black dance is the *Lundu*, also practiced by Portuguese, accompanied by guitar, and danced by one or more pairs. Maybe the Fandango or the Bolero are nothing but a perfected emulation of this dance" (ibid.). *Lundu* and *Modinha* shape a perfect couple to describe the porosity among the social classes in Brazil, until the urbanization of the XIXth century. The *Lundu* ascends socially and begin to live in the rooms of the bourgeoisie; *Modinha* - an air of aristocratic origins - falls into the arms of the people:

The *Modinha* (...), leaves gradually the chandelier lights to expand itself under the sky of moonlight serenades. It despised the counterpoint of the hapschord, favoring the counter-singing of guitar bass voices. In his turn, *Lundu* - originally a simple beat of black people - went up, swiftly, elegantly and malicious the stairs of palaces, penetrating the layers of the high bourgeois aristocracy. In spite of the noisy percussion of atabaques (drums), already transformed to a solo song by the gently born girls (*sinhás-moças*), accompanied by the hapschord and the piano (apud RICCIARDI, op. cit.).

Spix and Martius⁴⁹ described *Lundu* as a dance, "whose pantomime seems to express the sexual act, has much similarity with the Ethiopic rythm, and maybe has passed from black people to North-american indians". And Rugendas describes "the first gesture"⁵⁰:

The usual black dance is the "Batuque". Since some blacks get ensemble and soon one hears the cadenced beat of claps: it is the sign of call and provocation to dance. The batuque is conducted by a leader and consists of certain over expressive body movements; mainly the hips aggitated, while the dancers make their tongues and fingers crackling, accompaning a monotone singing. The others make a circle around him and repeat the chorus... The black dances go on during several nights without stopping. Because of that, they choose preferencially saturdays and vespers of hollydays (ibid.).

⁴⁸ Who came to Brazil with Langsdorf mission, in 1821.

⁴⁹ German Naturalist travelers, from 1817 to 1820.

⁵⁰ "Le passage de l'un à l'autre, l'entrée dans l'univers non réaliste de la danse peut être repéré avec précision. (...) Il serait intéressant de noter et de comparer systématiquement le premier geste que l'on fait pour entrer dans la danse" (FRANCFORT, 2009, p. 16).

Ricciardi (op. cit.) draws attention to the *a cappella* and *sotto voce* character of these *batuques*, if compared to our days. As an exemple, he cites Debret and Rugendas pictures, where the fingerdrum (*kalimba*) figures beside a great drum, a *pífaro* (little flute) and "maybe a double *charamela* (reed flute). Perhaps the reason of its fall in disuse is the weakness of sound and the pentatonic character that became outdated from the contact with European Music.

The black music in Brazil goes together with the acknowledgement of the black people in society and this process is full of ambiguities: "We face a comndenation of so considered savage practices and, simultaneously, an enhancement of them, exalted as a product of the national originality" (REIS, 2003, p. 244). The "Mostequieu effect" (cf. BOURDIEU, 1980) of the darwinist social criteria was an obstacle to the complete incorporation of black people to the public sphere. However "the cultural black traditions, neglected as a "decadence sign", were already part of the national expression" (see REIS, p. 245).

The Iberian cultural pattern was able to gather, in the same way, the high and the low, the elite and the people, the sacred and the profan, but this Baroque festival loses ground remaining restricted to the popular classes.

All this has brought an enrichment of the Brazilian language through their syntaxis and diction, besides the "instrumental diluvian", as said Mário de Andrade, which black people brought to Brazil. *La Maxixe*, very succeed in France in the twenties of the XXth century, "the Brazilian national dance" came about in the "Little Africa" balls in Rio de Janeiro (1870), vulgarized in the beginning of the XXth, engendering moralist protests by the civil and ecclesiastic authorities due to its lust and lubricity, and to the fact that couples danced promiscuously all the time. The *Capoeira*⁵¹ was criminalized in 1870, by the Penal Code, as a consequence of darwinists criteria — that Bourdieu called *l'effet Mostesquieu*.

As a matter of fact, this cultural traditions were already constitutive part of the national expression... Such ambiguous as the Black's place in society, oscillating between exaltation and detraction, is his social recognition in Brazil. An arduous and conflituos process, since the miscegenation, considered a symptom of degeneration, the "whitening theory" or "eugenic miscegenation" toward a depuration of black characteristics. But, fortunately, there has been too much confraternization among concerned parts: complicity of erudite and popular circles; domestication of black heritage and africanization of white culture. *Samba* and *Candomblé*, in the beginning elaborated by black people, were appropriated by the authors of the national symbols and the mass media.

The famigerous Brazilian Carnival, as known nowadays, seems to have been constituted very recently. In 1920, in Rio de Janeiro, a true profusion of national and international rythms lived together. According to GALLET (apud REIS, 2003), the black dances were rolled in dozens of names. Frustrating all expectations, Ribeiro (1995, pp. 240-241) makes darker predictions: "The Brazilian mullatoes mass is, however, so great and so widely distributed among

⁵¹ A mixture of dance and fighting.

the middle and low classes that certainly will be able to lead the process, opperating as a generator of new contingents more *morenos* (dark) than whites, keeping and enhancing the miscegenation tendency".

In this process there is not an entire opposition among the players of the scene and this supposes a complicity among erudite and popular circles in a cultural round moved by a continuous "domestication" of black heritage and an africanization of the white culture (see REIS, 2003). In this way, the Brazilian Carnival can also be seen as a "colorful battlefield" and a manifestation of the conflicts around behavior patterns, and a dispute for legitimacy of the presence of different groups in the festival, in a tense social dialogue.

BIRTH IN THE SACAL ORTHODOX PARISH ON THE EVE OF THE 20TH CENTURY

Barbu ȘTEFĂNESCU

Abstract: *The present paper presents some aspects regarding the demographical situation in the Sacal (Szakal) village during the 20th century, belonging to a group of villages nearby Oradea whose population is mainly Romanian. The village is situated only a few kilometres away from the city and, after tracing the border with Romania in 1920, it remained in Hungary. Thus, concerning births, we can notice that they subscribe to the demographic behaviour typical of a traditional society. Nevertheless, the generally slight differences in point of distribution of births by months bring to the foreground the trend to overcome seasonal rhythm of marriage due to the influence of the urban and the appearance of elements connected to modern mentality. We can also notice the unbalance caused by war that leads to a lowering number of births and an increasing number of illegitimate births.*

The analysis of the births in Sacal leads to conclusions converging with other broad surveys of historical demographics in the area – the Romanian Bihor – that are still connected to traditional demographic behaviour despite the dislocation caused by modern elements.

Keywords: *demographical history, seasonal rhythm of births, number of births by sex, The First World War, modernizing*

In 1993, together with colleagues from Oradea, Cluj-Napoca, Bucharest, Constanta, and several museums from Hungary, I was on an ethnological research team in places with mixed population from Romania and Hungary: Finis and Remetea in Bihor (Romania) and Apathy (Apateu) and Szakal (Sacal) in Hajdu-Bihar (Hungary). In this context, I found the civil status records in the archives of the Sacal parish dating back to 1824. We consider them “complex historical resources providing a wide research area not only for historical demographics, but also for other fields of history (onomatology, toponymy, social history, economic history etc.)”¹. Despite the fact that they are not complete – certain years or parts of years are missing, dates are illegible on some pages – the research leads to the conclusion of a striking contrast: highly vigorous Romanian and Orthodox life in the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century and a pale crepuscular life at the end of the 20th century.

¹ Sorina Paula Bolovan, *Familia în satul românesc din Transilvania*, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Fundația Culturală Română, Cluj-Napoca, 1999, p. 33

From a historical point of view, Sacal (Szakal) belongs to a group of villages nearby Oradea whose population is mainly Romanian. The village is only a few kilometres away from the city. It remained in Hungary after tracing the border with Romania in 1920. Nowadays, despite the exhibition of Romanian symbols and identity elements in public spaces, the village is mostly Hungarian: in 1993, there were several inhabitants declaring their appurtenance to the Romanian ethnicity and speaking Romanian. Yet, Romanian was only used in exceptional cases in family. Under the circumstances, the main Romanian identity element was the Orthodox confession mentioning that not all Romanian inhabitants were Orthodox. Some belonged to the Hungarian speaking Baptist church. If less than half of the inhabitants declared themselves Romanians during the first census held after 1989, over 70% were Orthodox.

Without approaching the causes of current situation in this context – which are in consensus with the situation of several Romanian communities in Hungary – we can see that over a century ago, according to the 1884 census, 80% of the inhabitants were of Romanian ethnicity and Orthodox religion in Sacal².

We also have to make a preliminary remark: the Sacal Orthodox parish was not perfectly superposed on the Sacal locality in the latter half of the 19th century. The Romanian Orthodox living spread in other localities with Hungarian majorities or at farms in the Hungarian eastern plains belonged to it.

Our aim is to make brief considerations on one of the main demographic events recorded in civil status registry, particularly births, at a time characterised by demographic transition, the decades on the eve of the 20th century. They expressed through an attack of the urban on the peri-urban area and of modernity in general through the interference of the state to control demographic activities through legislation and the action of a major perturbing factor, WWI.

Birth, the “passage from non-existence to existence” is not only a major demographic event. From an anthropological point of view, together with marriage, it is one of the core passage rites altering social status and the “great passage” from existence to non-existence³.

According to the historical demographics methodology, the analysis of births among the Orthodox population belonging to the Sacal parish envisages number, division by sex, monthly and annual distribution and implicitly their correlation with the month of conception and the records on illegitimate births. In order to have accurate data on their evolution, we have divided the half a century period 1874-1923 into decades.

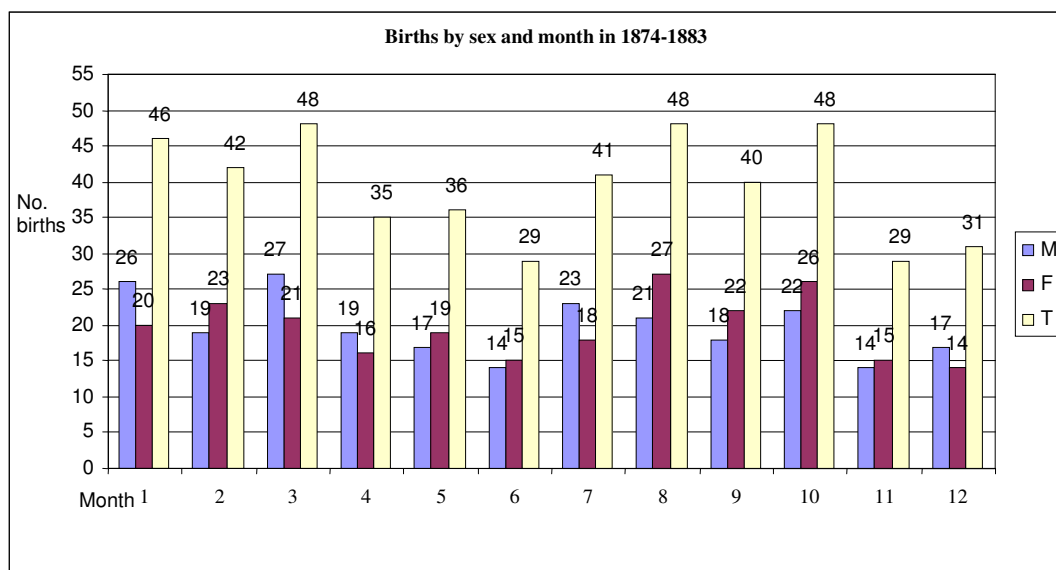
² Barbu Ștefănescu, Aurel Chiriac, *Câteva considerații asupra evoluției comunităților românești din Ungaria în secolele XIX-XX*, in Hans Gehl and Viorel Ciubotă (coord.), „Relații interetnice în zona de contact româno-maghiaro-ucrainiană din secolul al XVIII-lea până în prezent/Interethnische Beziehungen im Rumanisch-Ungarisch-Ukrainischen Kontaktraum vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart/A roman, magyar es ucran nepcsopotik egyimmashoz valo viszonya 18. Szazadtol napjainkig”, Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, 1999, p. 128-132

³ Arnold Van Gennep, *Riturile de trecere*, Translation by Lucia Berdan and Nora Vasilescu. Introductory survey by Nicolae Constantinescu. Postface by Lucia Berdan, Polirom, Iași, 1996, p. 23

In the 1874-1883 decades, 473 children were born (out of which 35 were illegitimate): 237 males and 236 females. Most children were born in 1879 (56). The lowest number was in 1874 (30). Males exceeded females in four years; females exceeded males in four years, whereas their number was equal in two years. From the point of view of monthly distribution, there were two peak periods: January – March corresponding to April – June in point of conception and July – October corresponding to October – January in point of conception.

Number of births by sex and month in 1874-1883

Month of conception															Years	
Year		Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug	Sep	Oct.	Nov	Dec	Jan.	Feb	Mar	1874		
	Month of birth														1883	
	Sex	Jan.	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug	Sep	Oct.	Nov	Dec	Total year	Illegiti mate	
1874	M	2	2	3	1	0	2	0	1	1	1	2	1	16		
	F	4	1	0	0	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	0	14		
	T	6	3	3	1	1	4	1	2	2	3	3	1	30	3	
1875	M	2	1	1	5	3	1	0	4	3	4	0	5	29		
	F	0	1	3	1	1	2	1	2	3	2	1	6	23		
	T	2	2	4	6	4	3	1	6	6	6	1	11	52	5	
1876	M	4	1	6	0	1	1	4	2	3	0	0	5	27		
	F	3	2	4	0	1	1	0	3	4	3	1	2	24		
	T	7	3	10	0	2	2	4	5	7	3	1	7	51	3	
1877	M	2	4	3	0	0	1	2	1	2	2	1	2	20		
	F	3	3	1	2	3	1	2	4	2	2	0	1	24		
	T	5	7	4	2	3	2	4	5	4	4	1	3	44		
1878	M	4	1	3	3	1	2	2	2	3	4	0	0	25		
	F	3	2	3	2	1	2	3	2	2	3	2	4	29		
	T	7	3	6	5	2	4	5	4	5	7	2	4	54	7	
1879	M	1	0	3	3	3	1	1	2	2	3	2	1	22		
	F	2	5	4	3	2	1	4	2	2	6	2	1	34		
	T	3	5	7	6	5	2	5	4	4	9	4	2	56	4	
1880	M	1	1	4	0	4	0	5	4	1	1	3	1	25		
	F	1	3	2	1	3	4	4	4	2	2	1	0	27		
	T	2	4	6	1	7	4	9	8	3	3	4	0	52	5	
1881	M	0	3	1	3	1	1	0	2	0	2	2	1	16		
	F	1	2	2	3	2	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	16		
	T	1	5	3	6	3	1	0	2	0	4	6	1	32	1	
1882	M	3	4	2	1	2	4	5	2	1	5	1	1	31		
	F	3	0	2	1	3	1	0	5	3	1	0	0	19		
	T	6	4	4	2	5	5	5	7	4	6	1	1	50	6	
1883	M	7	2	1	3	2	1	4	1	2	0	3	0	26		
	F	0	4	0	3	2	1	3	4	3	3	3	0	26		
	T	7	6	1	6	4	2	7	5	5	3	6	0	52	1	
Tot. 10 years	M	26	19	27	19	17	14	23	21	18	22	14	17	237		
	F	20	23	21	16	19	15	18	27	22	26	15	14	236		
	T	46	42	48	35	36	29	41	48	40	48	29	31	473		

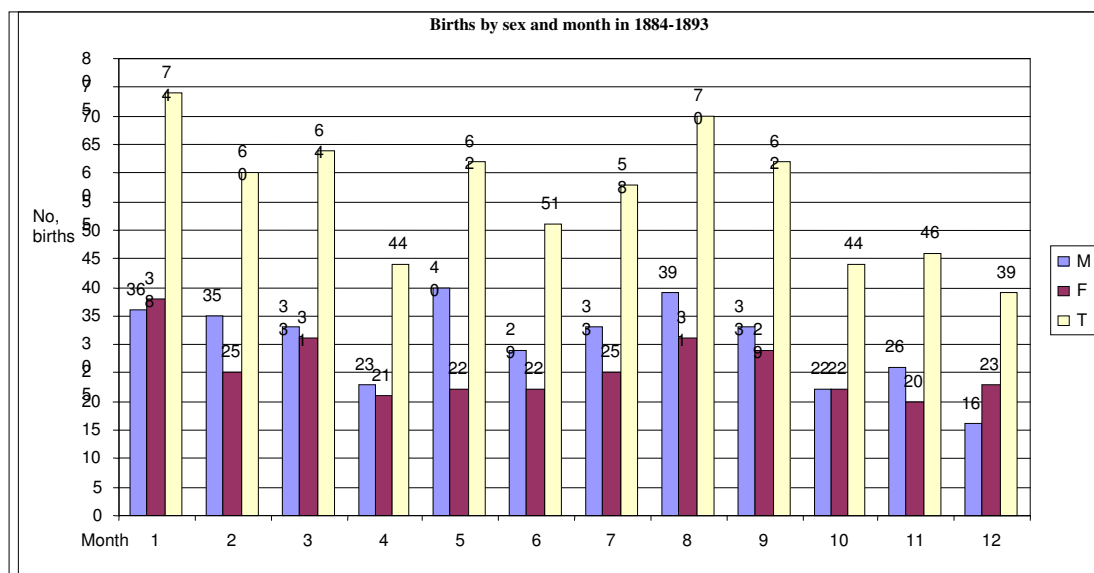


In the following time span, 1884-1893, 674 children were born: 365 males and 309 females out of which 81 were illegitimate (19 born only in 1893). Most births were in 1893 (115). The lowest number of births was in 1884 (32). Throughout eight years, the number of males exceeded the number of females; one year their number was equal and in 1886 the number of females exceeded the number of males. From the point of view of monthly distribution, there was a more diffuse trend for two preferential periods: January – March corresponding to April – June from the point of view of conception, and July – September corresponding to October – December from the point of view of conception to which we add the month of May corresponding to August of the previous year in point of conception. Most males were born in May, while most females were born in January.

Number of births by sex and month in 1884-1893

Month of conception														Years	
Year		Apr.	Mai	Jun.	Jul.	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan.	Feb	Mar	1884 -	
	Month of birth													1893	
	Sex	Jan.	Feb	Mar	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug	Sep	Oct.	Nov	Dec	Total year	Illegitimate
1884	M	0	2	1	0	5	2	2	1	2	2	0	0	17	
	F	1	1	4	2	1	1	2	3	0	0	0	0	15	
	T	1	3	5	2	6	3	4	4	2	2	0	0	32	3
1885	M	5	3	3	4	2	0	3	1	1	2	0	1	25	
	F	1	2	1	2	4	2	2	3	0	0	3	5	25	
	T	6	5	4	6	6	2	5	4	1	2	3	6	50	9
1886	M	4	0	3	1	4	1	1	5	3	0	4	1	27	
	F	10	0	4	4	2	0	2	4	4	2	1	1	34	
	T	14	0	7	5	6	1	3	9	7	2	5	2	61	5
1887	M	3	5	4	0	4	6	2	3	3	2	0	3	35	
	F	4	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	5	3	2	2	33	

	T	7	7	7	2	7	9	4	5	8	5	2	5	68	8
1888	M	3	3	3	3	1	2	5	4	5	0	5	1	35	
	F	2	4	1	1	1	0	3	6	1	3	1	1	24	
	T	5	7	4	4	2	2	8	10	6	3	6	2	59	6
1889	M	5	4	5	2	9	3	5	5	3	1	4	2	48	
	F	2	3	5	2	2	3	2	4	5	2	3	2	35	
	T	7	7	10	4	11	6	7	9	8	3	7	4	83	10
1890	M	5	0	5	6	4	4	2	3	3	0	2	3	37	
	F	3	2	4	1	0	2	3	1	0	1	2	2	21	
	T	8	2	9	7	4	6	5	4	3	1	4	5	58	5
1891	M	2	3	4	2	3	6	2	5	3	4	3	0	37	
	F	6	4	2	3	2	3	2	2	2	5	2	0	33	
	T	8	7	6	5	5	9	4	7	5	9	5	0	70	6
1892	M	5	6	2	3	4	2	4	4	0	4	2	4	40	
	F	3	5	3	0	4	5	5	1	2	2	5	3	38	
	T	8	11	5	3	8	7	9	5	2	6	7	7	78	10
1893	M	4	9	3	2	4	3	7	8	10	7	6	1	64	
	F	6	2	4	4	3	3	2	5	10	4	1	7	51	
	T	10	11	7	6	7	6	9	13	20	11	7	8	115	19
Tot. 10 years	M	36	35	33	23	40	29	33	39	33	22	26	16	365	
	F	38	25	31	21	22	22	25	31	29	22	20	23	309	
	T	74	60	64	44	62	51	58	70	62	44	46	39	674	

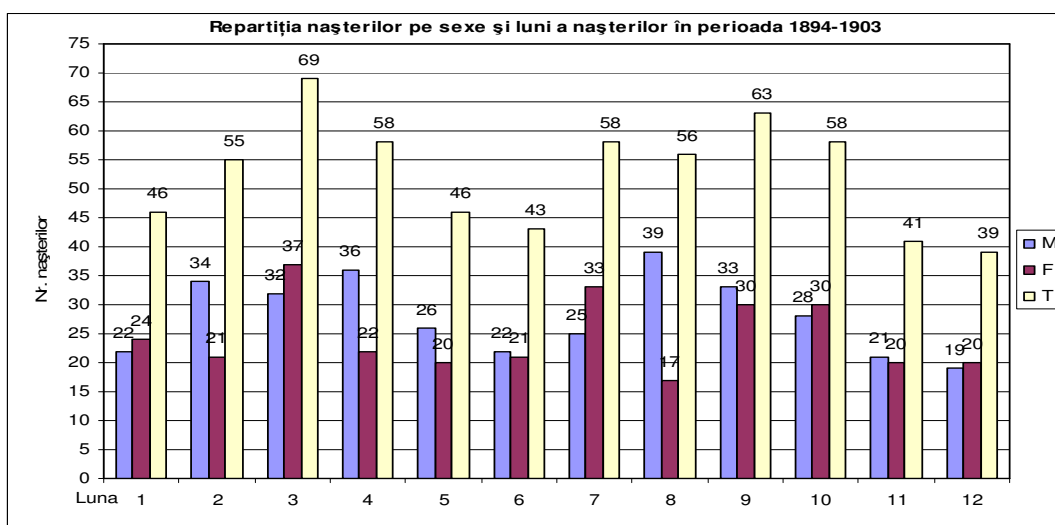


In 1894-1903, 632 children were born: 337 were males, 295 were females, out of which 62 were illegitimate. The year with most numerous births was 1894 (93). The lowest number of births was in 1899 (30). The number of males exceeded the number of females in seven years, whereas a reversed situation was in three years. The greatest difference was in 1898, when 44 males were born as compared to 29 females. The monthly distribution of births shows the same

polarising trend in two intervals: February – April corresponding to May – July in point of conception, and July – October corresponding to October – January from the point of view of conception. Throughout the ten years, most males were born in July and most females were born in March.

Number of births by sex and month in 1894-1903

Year	Month of conception													Years	
		Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	1894	
	Month of birth													1903	
	Sex	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total year	Illegitimate
1894	M	4	12	3	5	1	1	3	3	9	2	2	3	48	
	F	5	6	2	3	3	6	7	1	4	3	0	5	45	
	T	9	18	5	8	4	7	10	4	13	5	2	8	93	13
1895	M	2	3	2	6	3	1	5	5	3	2	0	1	33	
	F	3	3	5	3	1	1	6	2	5	4	1	2	36	
	T	5	6	7	9	4	2	11	7	8	6	1	3	69	7
1896	M	2	3	6	3	4	3	6	8	1	4	3	2	45	
	F	3	3	5	0	3	1	1	1	3	7	5	3	35	
	T	5	6	11	3	7	4	7	9	4	11	8	5	80	6
1897	M	3	1	5	0	0	1	6	7	2	4	2	2	33	
	F	3	1	6	0	0	0	2	6	1	3	1	2	25	
	T	6	2	11	0	0	1	8	13	3	7	3	4	58	4
1898	M	4	6	5	6	4	1	0	5	1	5	2	5	44	
	F	4	1	5	3	3	0	0	2	3	4	2	2	29	
	T	8	7	10	9	7	1	0	7	4	9	4	7	73	2
1899	M	0	1	2	3	4	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	13	
	F	1	2	4	4	2	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	17	
	T	1	3	6	7	6	1	4	2	0	0	0	0	30	4
1900	M	0	0	1	2	1	3	0	1	7	3	3	2	23	
	F	0	0	2	2	1	3	3	2	3	0	2	0	18	
	T	0	0	3	4	2	6	3	3	10	3	5	2	41	4
1901	M	2	4	3	3	5	2	2	2	5	2	2	1	33	
	F	2	1	4	5	1	5	4	2	4	3	2	3	36	
	T	4	5	7	8	6	7	6	4	9	5	4	4	69	8
1902	M	1	1	3	4	2	5	1	4	1	1	4	0	27	
	F	2	4	3	1	3	2	4	0	1	1	1	2	24	
	T	3	5	6	5	5	7	5	4	2	2	5	2	51	5
1903	M	4	3	2	4	2	4	2	2	4	5	3	3	38	
	F	1	0	1	1	3	3	2	1	6	5	6	1	30	
	T	5	3	3	5	5	7	4	3	10	10	9	4	68	9
Tot. 10 years	M	22	34	32	36	26	22	25	39	33	28	21	19	337	
	F	24	21	37	22	20	21	33	17	30	30	20	20	295	
	T	46	55	69	58	46	43	58	56	63	58	41	39	632	



Distribution of births by sex and month in 1894-1903

Number of births

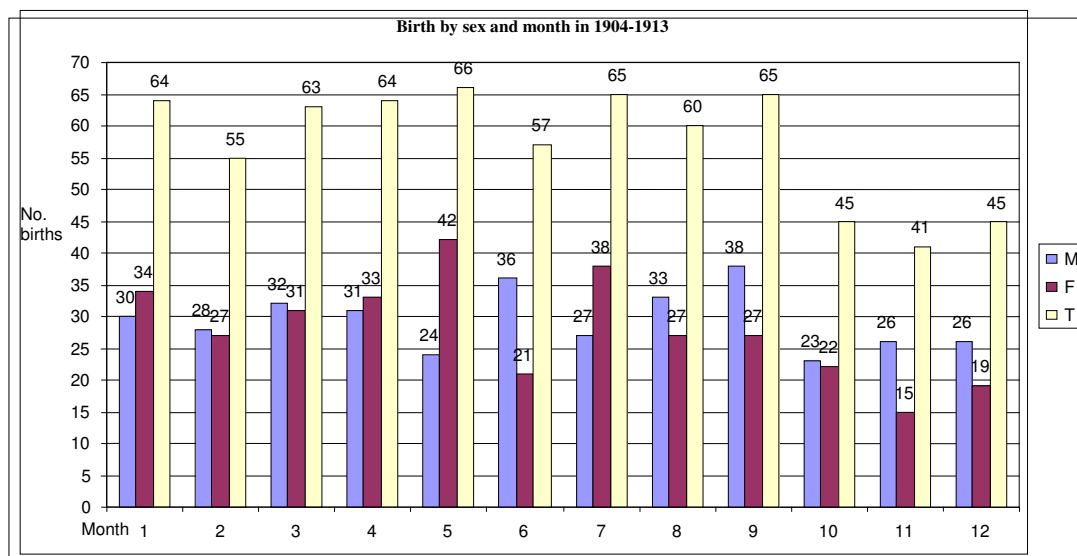
Month

In the 1904-1913 decade, there were 690 births: 354 were males, 336 were females out of which 105 were illegitimate. We can notice a more steady distribution of births by years with a maximum in 1912 (82). The number of males exceeded the number of females in five years, in other five years the number of females exceeded the number of males. The year with most numerous males was 1913 (41) and the year with most numerous females was 1912 (44). The greatest gap between the number of males and females was the year 1907 with 39 males and 28 females. In the monthly distribution of births we can notice a polarisation of months with the lowest number of births in October – December corresponding to January – March for conception.

Number of births by sex and month in 1904-1913

Number of Births by Sex and Month in 1904-1910																
Month of conception															Years	
Year		Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug	Sep	Oct.	Nov	Dec	Jan.	Feb	Mar	1904 -		
	Month of birth														1913	
	Sex	Jan.	Feb	Mar	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug	Sep	Oct.	Nov	Dec	Total year	Illegitimate	
1904	M	4	2	0	2	0	3	3	5	3	3	3	1	29		
	F	3	4	5	3	1	1	5	0	5	1	0	4	32		
	T	7	6	5	5	1	4	8	5	8	4	3	5	61	9	
1905	M	3	3	2	6	4	2	2	5	6	0	2	3	38		
	F	3	1	5	4	3	0	5	3	2	1	1	2	30		
	T	6	4	7	10	7	2	7	8	8	1	3	5	68	15	
1906	M	2	4	3	3	4	5	1	2	2	1	1	1	29		
	F	2	1	6	1	2	2	6	2	5	2	1	2	32		
	T	4	5	9	4	6	7	7	4	7	3	2	3	61	12	
	M	4	6	3	0	2	2	2	3	7	2	4	4	39		

1907	F	2	3	1	3	4	0	4	5	1	1	3	1	28	
	T	6	9	4	3	6	2	6	8	8	3	7	5	67	12
1908	M	3	2	3	3	1	6	3	4	4	4	3	2	38	
	F	4	4	4	2	3	5	3	2	0	2	0	2	31	
1909	T	7	6	7	5	4	11	6	6	4	6	3	4	69	9
	M	2	0	4	1	1	3	2	3	0	3	6	3	28	
1910	F	4	1	2	2	6	3	2	4	9	2	3	0	38	
	T	6	1	6	3	7	6	4	7	9	5	9	3	66	17
1911	M	6	3	5	1	1	4	2	1	3	2	5	3	36	
	F	2	2	3	2	7	5	2	2	0	6	3	5	39	
1912	T	8	5	8	3	8	9	4	3	3	8	8	8	75	10
	M	2	4	6	4	2	4	3	5	3	2	0	1	36	
1913	F	5	3	3	4	5	2	3	3	0	0	0	2	30	
	T	7	7	9	8	7	6	6	8	3	2	0	3	66	9
1914	M	3	0	4	6	5	4	4	3	2	4	1	4	40	
	F	4	6	1	6	8	3	3	4	3	4	1	1	44	
1915	T	7	6	5	12	13	7	7	7	5	8	2	5	84	8
1916	M	1	4	2	5	4	3	5	2	8	2	1	4	41	
	F	5	2	1	6	3	0	5	2	2	3	3	0	32	
1917	T	6	6	3	11	7	3	10	4	10	5	4	4	73	14
Tot. 10 years	M	30	28	32	31	24	36	27	33	38	23	26	26	354	
	F	34	27	31	33	42	21	38	27	27	22	15	19	336	
	T	64	55	63	64	66	57	65	60	65	45	41	45	690	

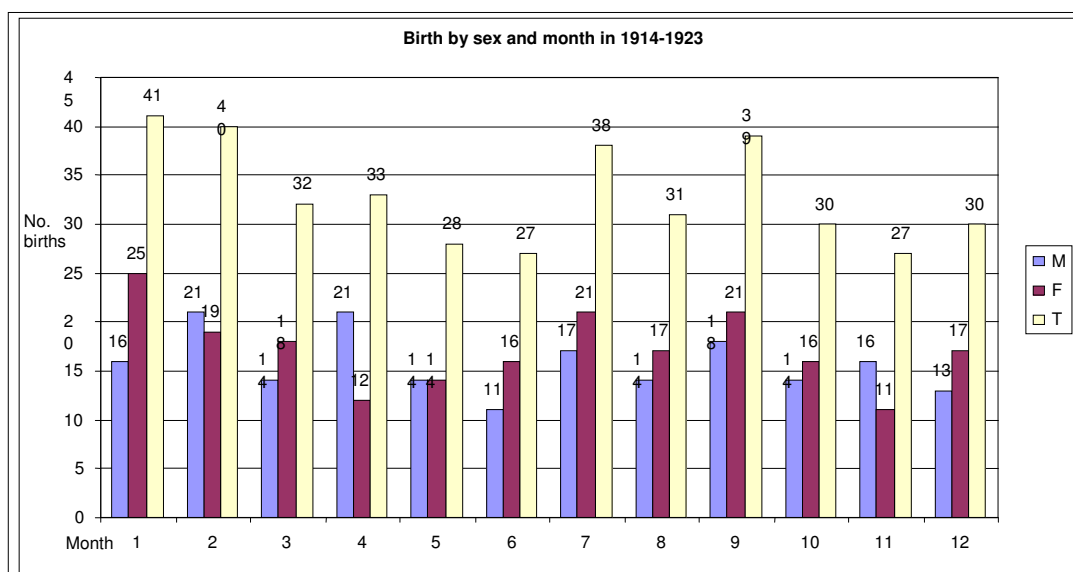


During the following ten years, 1914-1923, superposed on war period and its consequences, 396 children were born and 65 were illegitimate; 189 were males and 207 were females. There was a revival of births in January – February corresponding to April – May in point of conception and July – September

corresponding to October – December in point of conception. The greatest number of males were born in 1919 (39) and most girls were born in 1914 (44). The greatest gap between the number of children by sex was the year 1914 with 44 females and 30 males.

Number of births by sex and month in 1914-1923

Month of conception														Years	
Year		Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug	Sep	Oct.	Nov	Dec	Jan.	Feb	Mar	1914 -	
	Month of birth													1923	
	Sex	Jan	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug	Sep	Oct.	Nov	Dec	Total year	Illegiti mate
1914	M	2	3	2	6	2	2	2	0	6	3	1	1	30	
	F	5	6	1	4	1	3	5	4	4	5	2	4	44	
	T	7	9	3	10	3	5	7	4	10	8	3	5	74	9
1915	M	3	3	5	3	2	3	2	2	0	0	1	1	25	
	F	3	1	3	2	1	2	1	2	7	1	2	1	26	
	T	6	4	8	5	3	5	3	4	7	1	3	2	51	6
1916	M	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	
	F	2	1	0	3	1	1	2	2	0	0	1	0	13	
	T	3	1	0	4	3	1	2	3	0	0	1	0	18	6
1917	M	0	3	1	2	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	13	
	F	3	2	2	0	2	0	4	3	3	0	1	2	22	
	T	3	5	3	2	5	2	6	3	3	0	1	2	35	8
1918	M	1	0	0	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	3	0	16	
	F	3	1	1	1	1	5	2	1	1	1	0	0	17	
	T	4	1	1	2	2	6	4	3	3	4	3	0	33	14
1919	M	1	1	2	1	3	0	4	3	6	6	6	6	39	
	F	5	1	2	0	3	0	1	2	6	2	3	5	30	
	T	6	2	4	1	6	0	5	5	12	8	9	11	69	15
1920	M	3	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	
	F	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5	
	T	4	7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14	2
1921	M	2	1	0	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	2	1	11	
	F	1	1	5	2	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	1	16	
	T	3	2	5	3	1	2	4	0	1	2	2	2	27	1
1922	M	3	4	1	4	1	0	2	4	0	2	3	1	25	
	F	1	3	2	0	2	4	2	1	0	2	2	3	22	
	T	4	7	3	4	3	4	4	5	0	4	5	4	47	2
1923	M	0	2	1	2	0	2	1	2	3	0	0	3	16	
	F	1	0	2	0	2	0	2	2	0	3	0	0	12	
	T	1	2	3	2	2	2	3	4	3	3	0	3	28	2
Tot. 10 years	M	16	21	14	21	14	11	17	14	18	14	16	13	189	
	F	25	19	18	12	14	16	21	17	21	16	11	17	207	
	T	41	40	32	33	28	27	38	31	39	30	27	30	396	



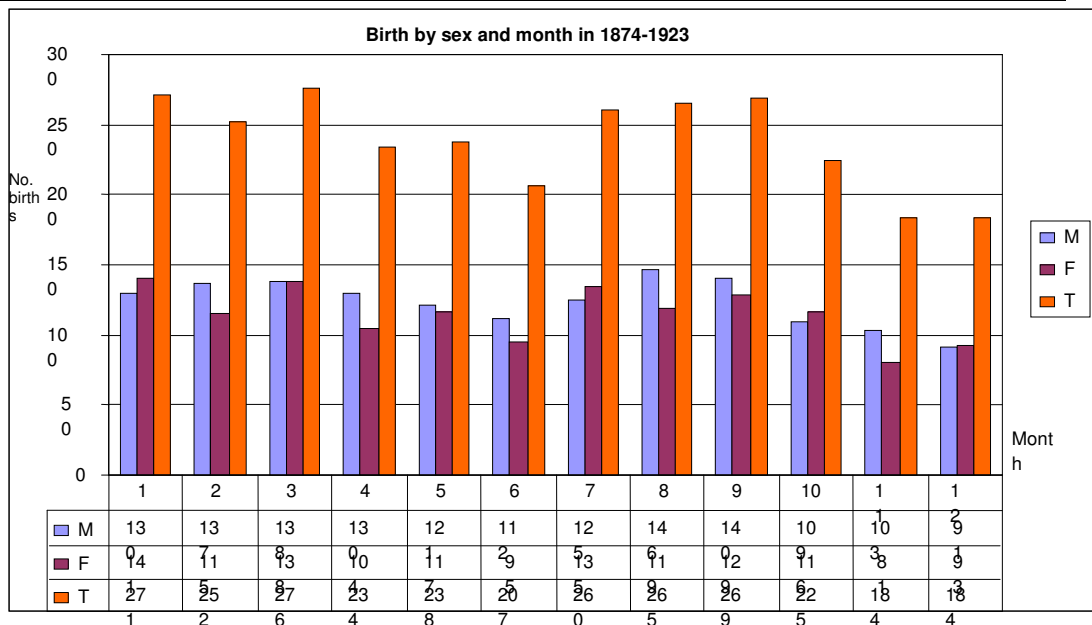
We can see that in four out of the five decades, the number of males was greater than that of females in accordance with a more general situation on the level of the County of Bihor at the time⁴. As we get closer to the eve of the 20th century, the number of illegitimate births was increasing as a reflex of a new family behaviour and the increasing number of recordings on people living in the steppe, where there were numerous cases of cohabitation, the main cause of illegitimate children⁵. Throughout the fifty years, over 8% of the children were born out of legal or religious marriage and had double values (over 16%) for the last interval, when family was seriously damaged as an institution by war.

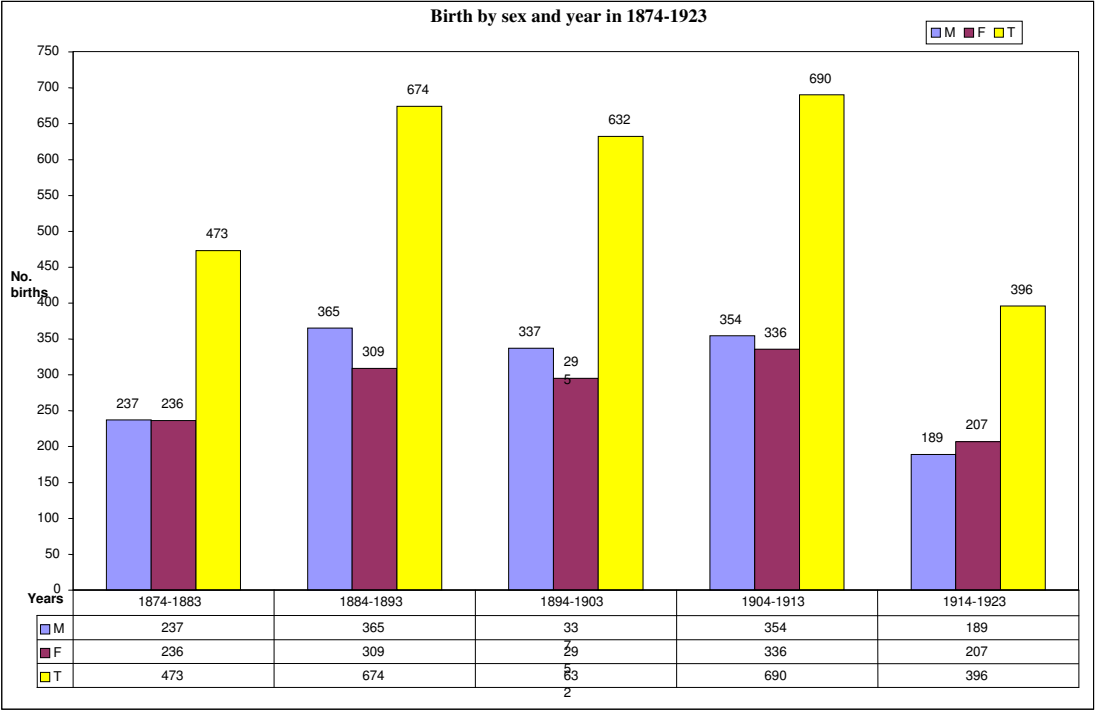
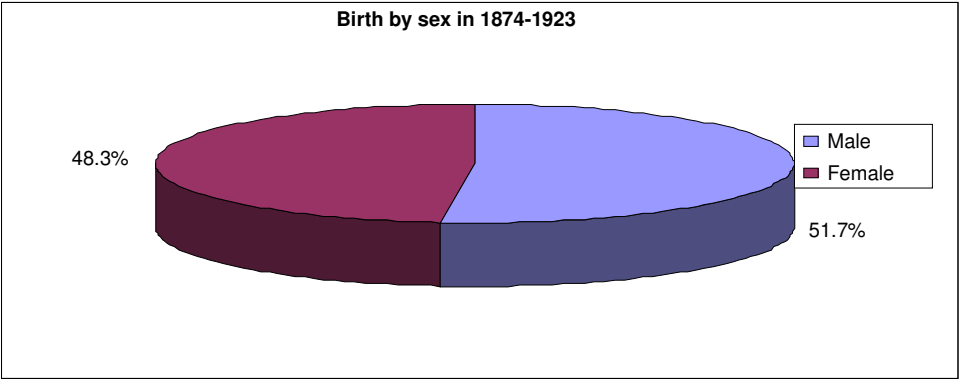
Distribution by sex and months of birth in 1874-1923

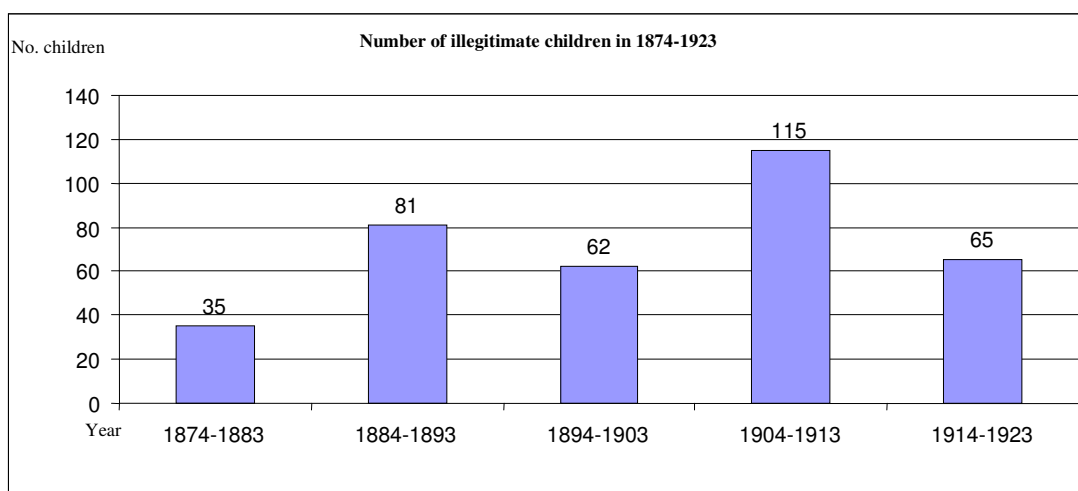
⁴ Mircea Brie, *Familie și societate în nord-vestul Transilvaniei (a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea – începutul secolului XX)*, Editura Universității din Oradea, 2008, p. 246

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 328

Month of conception														Years	
Years		Apr	May	Jun	Jul.	Aug.	Sept	Oct	Nov	De.	Jan.	Feb	Mart	1874-	
	Month of birth													1923	
	Sex	Jan.	Feb	Mar	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sept	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total year	Illegitimate
1874-1883	M	26	19	27	19	17	14	23	21	18	22	14	17	237	35
	F	20	23	21	16	19	15	18	27	22	26	15	14	236	
	T	46	42	48	35	36	29	41	48	40	48	29	31	473	
1884-1893	M	36	35	33	23	40	29	33	39	33	22	26	16	365	81
	F	38	25	31	21	22	22	25	31	29	22	20	23	309	
	T	74	60	64	44	62	51	58	70	62	44	46	39	674	
1894-1903	M	22	34	32	36	26	22	25	39	33	28	21	19	337	62
	F	24	21	37	22	20	21	33	17	30	30	20	20	295	
	T	46	55	69	58	46	43	58	56	63	58	41	39	632	
1904-1913	M	30	28	32	31	24	36	27	33	38	23	26	26	354	115
	F	34	27	31	33	42	21	38	27	27	22	15	19	336	
	T	64	55	63	64	66	57	65	60	65	45	41	45	690	
1914-1923	M	16	21	14	21	14	11	17	14	18	14	16	13	189	65
	F	25	19	18	12	14	16	21	17	21	16	11	17	207	
	T	41	40	32	33	28	27	38	31	39	30	27	30	396	
Total	M	130	137	138	130	121	112	125	146	140	109	103	91	1482	358
50 years	F	141	115	138	104	117	95	135	119	129	116	81	93	1383	
	T	271	252	276	234	238	207	260	265	269	225	184	184	2865	







Concerning the seasons for births and conception, they can be generally framed within a behavior specific to a traditional society with conditionings according to the agricultural and religious calendar, particularly fasting succession.

The distribution of births and marriages by months generally show the existence of two maximal value intervals: the most steady one is during the latter half of summer and former half of autumn (July – September) corresponding to October – December from the point of view of conception, a time for relaxation from agricultural toil, when there are enough supplies. The fasting period is balanced out by a long feasting time. This holds true for all five decades. A second interval with high values is January – March corresponding to April – June from the point of view of conception, which corresponds to the period after Easter fast and the traditional return to biological rhythm. From the point of view of agricultural labour, even if there is ploughing, seeding and weeding in springtime, they are not as overwhelming as subsequent labour. The month with absolute values in point of number of births is March. Minimal number of births is recorded in April – June, which corresponds to the most exhausting months in the agricultural calendar from the point of view of conception, July – September, and November – December, which corresponds to February – March, the Easter fast time.

Thus, concerning births, we can notice that they subscribe to the demographic behaviour typical of a traditional society. Nevertheless, the generally slight differences in point of distribution of births by months bring to the foreground the trend to overcome seasonal rhythm of marriage due to the influence of the urban and the appearance of elements connected to modern mentality. We can also notice the unbalance caused by war that leads to a lowering number of births and an increasing number of illegitimate births.

The analysis of the births in Sacal leads to conclusions converging with other broad surveys of historical demographics in the area – the Romanian Bihor⁶

⁶ Mircea Brie, *op. cit.*, p. 263-264

- that are still connected to traditional demographic behaviour despite the dislocation caused by modern elements.

THE DECLINE OF THE BRITISH CONSERVATIVE PARTY AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY

Daciana Monica ERZSE

Abstract. *This paper aims at showing the causes that led to the decline of the conservative party and the shift of power to the Liberals as they were presented in the Romanian periodicals from Banat and Crișana between 1900 and 1905. The beginning of the 20th century represents a period characterized by a high level of instability and profound changes in the British politics. Two outstanding personalities of the Conservative party at the end of the 19th century, Gladstone and Salisbury leave the political stage; the political life knows new dimensions as a result of the emergence of the Labour Representation Committee, transformed 6 years later in the Labour Party, and of its rapid consolidation by the election of its members in the Parliament; the verdict in the Taff Vale case, by means of which the unions could be reliable for loss of profits to employers that were caused by taking strike actions, was met with outrage by the labour movement and increased the tensions between employees and employers; the founding of the Women's Social and Political Union by Emmeline Pankhurst in 1903 which launched the Suffragettes' protest while the Anglo-Boer war and the more and more aggravating external dangers required the colonial politics and diplomacy to be readdressed. Each party went through its own internal struggles, due to divergence of views in the political, financial or organizational problems that threatened their existence and undermined their position in relationship with other political parties.*

Key words: *Conservative party, power, government, politics, war.*

In the early twentieth century, Lord Salisbury's coalition government received a vote of confidence in the elections held from 25 September to 24 October, 1900 thus strengthening the power of the Conservatives. Despite securing only 5.6 % more votes than Henry Campbell-Bannerman's Liberals, the Conservatives with their Liberal Unionist allies, secured a large majority, using the election slogan "any seat in the Parliament won by the Liberals is a seat won by the Boers"¹ and a false declaration according to which the war was about to end. The governing coalition had 402 seats in the House of Commons while the opposition, made up of Liberals and Irish Unionists, had only 248. The Liberal Party was divided into Liberal Imperialists that supported the government in the

¹ Tuchman W. Barbara, *Trușăa citadelă. O frescă a lumii dinaintea primului război mondial, (The Proud Tower: A Portrait of the World Before the War: 1890-1914).* Ed. Politică, București, 1977, p. 100

prosecution of the war and a Pro-Boer faction consisting of more radical members of the party that denounced the conflict and called for an immediate end to hostilities. The Labour Representation Committee, later to become the Labour Party, also took part in a general election for the first time, getting 29 seats in the Parliament, even though they had only been in existence for a few months. From the very beginning, the Labour Party fought to become part of the English political system and successfully challenged the supremacy of the existing two-party system of Liberals and Conservatives. This struggle sometimes gave rise to internal disputes about the role and direction of the party.

The Conservative Party, which fully presented the characteristics of the aristocracy possessing enormous wealth, used its entire energy for the same purpose, which was to maintain the privileges of its class by all means. Between 1895 and 1905, the party based its electoral power on the vote of the middle class and on more than one third of the working class vote, most of who worked for Conservative employers. Besides jobs, there were more substantial benefits offered by the Conservatives to the working-class voters: fewer work hours for children and women, factory inspection, starting the first award scheme to compensate for loss of employment accidents and the acceptance of the principle of retirement through illness. Equally important was the fact that the party contributed to social welfare through charitable actions. A wealthy candidate for parliament was supported if he sent donations to canteens, coal and clothing to sport clubs and churches or he provided jobs, accommodation and meal tickets. Chamberlain's campaign for protectionism and empire would split the party and would bring about the wrath of liberals and labour unions and would start a real battle within public opinion.

In the late nineteenth century, England started in South Africa one of the first wars that was typical to the imperialist epoch, thus leaving a mark on the last moments of the division process of the world between the great powers. The Anglo-Boer War was criticized by the radical wing of the Liberal Party, the nationalists and the newly founded Irish Labour Party, who suspected that behind this war, there was the brilliance of the gold in Rand gold mines, the rapacious capitalism, commercial interests and profits. According to a document published in *L'Independence Belge* and subsequently published by *Tribuna*, one of the causes of the war was due to Chamberlain family business namely *Kinoch Chamberlain's Ammunition Company* in which Arthur Chamberlain, the brother of the Minister of Colonies and other members of his family had shares worth £ 120,000, *Birmingham Small Arms Company Ltd* run by Herbert Chamberlain and having shares worth a total of 16,000 pounds and the *Bank of Africa for Payments and Credits*, Joseph Chamberlain being the majority shareholder of the bank. The English newspaper *Truth* revealed that Joseph Chamberlain was fighting against his brother Arthur, who was delivering the ammunition for the Boers.²

² *Tribuna Poporului*, 1900, nr 7, p. 2

Chamberlain's colonial policy is harshly criticised and the opposition leader, Henry-Petty Fitzmaurice considered the entire government responsible for the precarious situation the country was in. He expressed his party's support for continuing the war, although he did not approve the policy that was responsible for the war, given the fact that the government was not prepared for war and only wanted to scare the Boer people.

This opposition to the war presented the radical Liberal MP David Lloyd George with the opportunity to make himself known through his speeches (in the form of attacks on the policy, the government, and the Army) in which he suggested starting peace negotiations and accused the Minister of Colonies of having caused the war so that he could achieve his selfish purposes and of having sacrificed the lives of thousands of soldiers for his political demands³.

Following the repeated defeats suffered by the English army and the general nervousness, the English media speculated that the emergence of some parliamentary conflicts would lead to the collapse of the English government and to the coming to power of a government that would rather have the war ended and preserve the British authority unprejudiced in the eyes of the whole world.

Soon, the government started to lose public support as it became more and more apparent that the war would not be easy and unease developed following reports about the treatment by the Army of the Boer civilians such as concentration camps that were inadequately supplied and supervised, lack of proper nutrition, poor sanitary conditions causing a high death-rate and farm burning.

The opinion of the whole world was against war. The French newspaper *Le Temps* criticised the British stubbornness regarding the continuation of the war; despite the human and material losses suffered, England was in the same stage as it had been 11 months before. If it wished, it could have obtained an honourable peace in South Africa on March 1900. Herbert Gladstone said, in a speech delivered in Leeds, that the South African situation was worsening and accused the government of doing nothing to remedy the situation; meanwhile, people all over the country expected the government to come up with urgent and effective measures to end the war. The discontent among the British army was growing because the ordinary soldiers were paid a shilling a day salary while the yeomen were given five shillings. The former were also dissatisfied because they had not received their pay for a long time and those who had returned home sick and mutilated in Africa refused all honours offered by the government for war service. Thus, the English government had to do everything in its power to prevent the soldiers' mass flight. However, the British did not want to accept the peace conditions imposed by Shalk Burger, the interim President of Transvaal, which stipulated the full recognition of the Boer States' national independence and the dismissal of the governor Milner. Instead, the Boer states would have recognized

³ *Ibidem*, nr 115, p 1

Britain's sovereignty in foreign affairs and would have ceded the gold mines territory.⁴

Except for the Irish, all political parties supported the continuation of the war until fully regaining the territories occupied by the Boers. The Irish asked for Chamberlain's resignation and spoke in favour of ending the war, considering immoral a war that was fought in order to enslave a free democratic nation. The Irish MPs protested vehemently against Lord Balfour's proposal to vote a credit of 17 million pounds for the continuation of the war, arguing that they had to pay taxes and contributions despite considerable casualties in South Africa. As a result, the Irish firmly refused to enrol and protested when Balfour, presented the King with a proposal urging the vote of a grant of 100,000 pounds for Lord Roberts as a gratitude gesture for his performance as General in South Africa⁵. But there were also Irish who fought with the Boers against Britain. One example is the one of Colonel Lynch, a member of the House of Commons who had been elected deputy while he was in South Africa. Initially, he had been tried for treason and sentenced to death by hanging according to a law that had been in force since 1352⁶. The verdict caused great sensation and the fear that its execution would create great disturbances in England. However, his sentence was changed into life imprisonment⁷. Not only Irish politicians opposed the war. Irish miners working in Transvaal when the war began formed the nucleus of two tiny Irish commandos.

The end of the Anglo-Boer war led to a decrease in the popularity of the Conservative party and to a huge national debt, but there was the desire to discuss about the difficulties brought about by the war, about the army's lack of professionalism and training and about the fact that the English had been misinformed about the events; therefore, it began to be more clearly the wish for "national efficiency". The army could only deal with national defence and not with a European campaign. For this reason, in 1900, the First Lord of Admiralty George Goschen considered that it would be necessary the introduction of compulsory military service for unmarried men aged between 18 and 30 years old⁸.

When Salisbury resigned from his position as Prime Minister in 1902, his most qualified successor was Joseph Chamberlain, but the latter neither fought for his position nor was appreciated by his party colleagues. Thus, the prime minister position was granted to the former Conservative leader of the House of Commons, Arthur James Balfour, who was Salisbury's nephew and the First Lord of the Treasury. For a while there were no problems during his governing. The Liberal Party was still disorganised over their attitude towards the Boers. The two main issues of the ministerial parliamentary program were the extension of the New Education Act to London and the Irish Land Purchase Act which would advance

⁴ *Ibidem*, 1901, nr 46, p. 2; nr 180, p 2; nr 134, p. 3

⁵ *Ibidem* 1900, nr 13, p.3 ; nr 36, p. 2; nr 187, n3; nr 135, p. 3

⁶ *Drapelul*, 1902, p. 3. According to this law, the culprit is hanged in the public square, but before his death, he was taken off the hanging and cut into 4 pieces.

⁷ *Tribuna poporului*, 1902, nr 102, p.2; *ibidem* 1904, nr12, p. 5; *Drapelul*, 1903, nr 5, p. 3

⁸ *Tribuna poporului*, 1900, nr. 16, p. 3

the capital for enabling tenants to buy land in Ireland. A notable achievement of Balfour's government during this period was the establishment of the Committee on Imperial Defence that was responsible for research and co-ordination on some issues of military strategy. Balfour reshuffled the government so that Charles Thomson Ritchie, one of the most progressive members of the Cabinet, could become the Chancellor of Exchequer, Akers-Douglas became the Home Secretary; Austen Chamberlain became Postmaster General and George Wyndham, the Chief Secretary for of Ireland⁹.

The politics of the Conservative government did not aim at solving the problems faced by the workers as they did nothing to prevent the legal decision of the House of Lords in the Taff Vale case, by which the miners' union was obliged to pay compensation for damages caused to employers by taking strike actions. The employers took advantage of the fact that trade unions, being threatened to lose all funds, could not afford to demand the increase of wages or to prevent their decrease. This made many unions even more willing to go into politics.

The same internal differences reappeared within the Conservative Party with an even higher vehemence. All the hatred between the Nonconformists who were traditionally liberal and the state church exploded when the Education Act was discussed in 1902. The Labour candidates also sympathised with the Liberals on the education question, taking a critical view of Balfour's law which required the State to subsidize primary and secondary education in order to make it more accessible for everyone. Thus, tax relief and scholarships were given so that children from poor and middle classes could study. But that law favoured the Anglican Church schools by providing financial support yet it took the municipal primary schools out of the local control. Balfour proposed that local authorities (county councils or county borough councils) should establish the Local Education Authority that would administer a state centred system of primary, secondary and technical schools. This law angered the Nonconformists and led to the reconciliation of Liberal Unionists with the radical wing of the Liberal Party which had split up because of the issue concerning the Boer war and Irish autonomy.

Another controversial law during the government was the Irish Land Purchase Act of 1903, regarding purchasing agricultural land in Ireland, which made the state buy large Irish estates in order to sell it later to the peasants based on long-term loans. The purpose was to increase the number of population living in the countryside, which was depleted as a result of higher earnings obtained by them in big cities. This law, although it abated Irish national aspirations, solved one of the issues they wanted to be addressed. Through sound organisation of the Irish corporate societies, the social status, foreign trade grew and emigration was steadily falling. The founding of a Catholic university was granted and some credits were given for primary and secondary education. However, Irish nationalists continued to fight for their country's autonomy, even if it meant losing

⁹ *Ibidem*, 1902, nr. 145, p. 2

England's support for the good functioning of social-assistance institutions and good government of the country¹⁰.

The first years of the twentieth century encouraged emigration to British colonies, especially Canada, Australia, New Zealand and, to a lesser extent, South Africa. The large number of immigrants established in England since the second half of the nineteenth century led to increasingly insistent public demand to curb this phenomenon. England was known for the ease with which the population would accept other people to settle down on their territory and for the protection given by its institutions for individual freedom. Many immigrants had come attracted by higher salaries, started families and even reached senior positions in different companies. Jewish people from Russia and Galicia came to England and settled down in big cities, turning the poor districts into ghettos.

In June 1904, the British government came with the idea of providing the association "*Jewish Colonial Trust*" with a stretch of land in British East Africa in the province Naishara so that a Hebrew colony could be established, despite being aware of the fact that the natives were deeply outraged by the possible establishment of the Jews from Russia and Romania there and considering that this would cause problems in the future by violating the rights of the aborigines and that, in fact, the Jewish nation was the cause of all problems of the English people in South Africa¹¹.

The state secretary of the Ministry of Home Affairs introduced a bill that was adopted soon after its presentation by which foreign immigrants were forbidden to settle down on English territory if they were not wealthy, if they had committed a crime in their country for which they would have to be extradited or if they were suffering from a contagious disease. Those foreigners who would commit a crime in England would be expelled from the country. However, the English criminal courts, not having the legal right to expel foreigners after proving them guilty, would have to ask them to choose between leaving England permanently and imprisonment. The proposal was disapproved by Campbell-Bannermann because it did not comply with the constitution¹².

The law concerning the sale of spirits issued in 1904 was discussing whether the authorization issued by local authorities, was a permanent right of the publicans or it could be removed without granting compensation, thereby trying to reduce the number of pubs.

A more serious problem than alcohol consumption was Joseph Chamberlain's proposal to establish a system of preferential trade within the British Empire requiring tariffs on foreign imports coming into the empire. It referred to taxes on imported goods with trade preference given to the Empire, with the threefold goal of protecting British industry from competition, strengthening the British Empire in the face of growing German and American

¹⁰ *Tribuna*, 1907, nr. 110, p. 4; 1912, nr. 24, p. 6-7

¹¹ *Ibidem* 1902, nr 60, p. 7; *Tribuna* 1904, nr 120, p. 3 ; *ibidem*, 1905, nr 53, p. 6; nr 53, p. 6

¹² *Ibidem*, 1904, nr 58, p. 4

economic power, and providing a source of revenue, other than raising taxes, for the costs of social welfare legislation. Tariff reform also had domestic objectives, for Chamberlain felt that finances could be generated from tariffs for a scheme of old-age pensions and other social improvements.

By his campaign, Chamberlain angered all those who shared his basic idea of laissez-faire and brought back to people's minds memories connected with laws that restricted the imports of grain, and increased their fear of increasing food prices. This campaign gave the Liberals the chance of leading a new propaganda "Duty-free food!" Chamberlain considered protectionism as a means to unite the motherland and all its dependent territories in a vast imperial system of tariffs to boost trade prosperity within the empire and England, to strengthen imperial ties, to apply social measures to increase revenues.

Chamberlain's protectionist campaign started to grow on Balfour who switched from a totally different policy to the ideas of the Minister of Colonies. Hoping to split the difference between the free traders and tariff reformers in his cabinet and party, Balfour came out in favour of retaliatory tariffs—tariffs designed to punish other powers that had tariffs against British goods, supposedly in the hope of encouraging global free trade. This change was seen in the preferential treatment given to Chamberlain's supporters in all partial elections for the House of Commons. Although he believed that a certain system of preferential tariffs would help the British industry, his speeches were ambiguous for fear of being compromised or being accused of siding with Chamberlain¹³. Another reason for Balfour's not taking sides was because he did not want to lose the Chancellor of Exchequer, C. T. Ritchie, who strongly opposed to any scheme of Imperial Preference, on the eve of the presentation of the budget. In public, Balfour professed support for neither side, a stance which attracted much criticism from the opposition Liberal Party. However, Balfour's goal, that England should continue to be led by the Conservative Party, was more important than free trade or protectionism. This led to a second split within the Cabinet by the resignation, as a sign of protest, of several dignitaries, including Gerald W. Balfour, the President of the Board of Trade and the Prime Minister's younger brother¹⁴. Then followed a series of debates related to preferential tariffs and export premiums. Despite the praise of the preferential customs tariffs system, Chamberlain could not deny that its results would mean an immediate increase in the prices of food. He hoped that if the Liberals would take power, this reform would demonstrate their inability to govern, thus being replaced by the Conservative party. Despite political differences, Balfour did not accept Chamberlain's resignation thinking that it could lead to the resignation of the entire cabinet¹⁵. The English newspaper *Standard* commented that it was the only decision that "an honest politician and a mastermind¹⁶" could take, especially since the entire public opinion and a part of

¹³ *Ibidem*, 1904, nr. 189, p. 4

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, nr. 15, p. 4-5

¹⁵ *Tribuna Poporului*, 1903, nr. 163, p. 3

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, nr. 168, p. 2-3

his office were against the proposal. After a brief intermission due to Chamberlain's poor health, he intensified his campaign in November 1905, leading directly to Balfour's resignation on 4 December. The Liberal Party leader, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, subsequently took office and dissolved the Parliament.

Another problem the UK was facing in that period was the social one. One third of population was struggling in the most terrible poverty. Sleeping conditions, nutrition, sanitation, life privacy and even air were inadequate to basic human needs. Difficult working conditions and low wages did not allow the workers to miss from work. In 1905, in the light of general elections, the Conservatives appointed a royal commission for labour disputes, wishing to attract workers' votes. This committee implemented, only in London, a law in favour of unemployed workers by which they were helped to find work or receive allowances in certain cases.

Another source of disorder in England was represented by the suffragettes' struggle for women's equality. In the early twentieth century, theirs was a peaceful campaign: they organize themselves in groups, held meetings, sent petitions to parliament and tried to convince MPs to change the law to allow them to vote. 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 women¹⁷; they could be factory inspectors, could even vote in regional elections if they had enough property, they were admitted to universities.¹⁸ 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 Party¹⁹ and some members of the Liberal Party, the women still could not vote for Parliament. 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. By 1905, the suffragists did not make any significant progress towards mobilizing either widespread support or popular enthusiasm for extending the suffrage.

The House of Commons also rejected a bill which granted British members daily allowance²⁰. Balfour threatened to dissolve the parliament if he were not given moral and material support in matters concerning the country. He was aware that the Liberals would win the elections in autumn, but hoped that they would withdraw to make way for a majority of Chamberlain followers and his tax program.

¹⁷ *Tribuna*, 1900, nr. 93, p. 3; *Familia*, 1903, nr. 37, p. 441; nr. 43, p. 513; nr. 45, p. 539

¹⁸ *Encyclopaedia of European Social History from 1350 to 2001*, volume III, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 2000, p.492

¹⁹ They asked for the involvement of women workers whereas middle-class women rarely found their place in the political landscape

²⁰ *Tribuna*, 1904, nr. 86, p. 3; nr. 119, p. 4

Despite the reforms issued at the end of the 19th century, Ireland continued to fight against British rule. In light of the election, the Irish were determined to support the political party that would help them achieve territorial autonomy and contribute to Balfour's overthrow²¹. Meanwhile, Ireland had started a political turmoil and a remarkable intellectual movement led by rural priests, coming from among the people and inspired by the same ideas of liberty. Becoming the head of the parish, they gave up the ideas learnt at the seminar, got involved in politics, adopted the people's ideas and supported the national party against England, despite the resistance of the high clergy who disapproved of the movement toward autonomy. Ireland was ruled by Jesuit congregations who were hoping that England would get near to Rome, which would be a great success of Catholicism. Being granted autonomy would lead to Ireland's economic and cultural prosperity, to halting emigration and to the formation of a free government in Dublin, but the Catholics would be left without representatives in the House of Commons in Westminster.

The emergence of Sinn Fein in 1905 caused anxiety among the powerful Protestant minority in Ulster, favourable to maintaining the union with Britain. Partisans of this trend did not admit Ireland to be included in Great Britain and considered traitors all those who accepted a mandate in the English House or participated in elections. They demanded the convening of the national assembly of representatives counties to decide on the country's taxes and the sum of half a million pounds the Irish MPs received. They thought that the entire sum should be used to reorganize the national public education through the cultivation of Irish language, the founding of a national bank for trade and industry and to establish an army, separated from that of England's²².

The Liberal Party's overwhelming victory in general elections of 1906 led to the end of nearly 20 years of Conservative government. Rejected by voters in 1906, when they suffered the heaviest defeat in the 1832, the Conservative party seemed to fall apart. The following years were very hard, because of the transfer of power in the hands of other classes and the loss of positions held by centuries. However, the Conservative Party would regain its majority in the House of Commons in the 1918 general elections, thus building a formidable electoral hegemony.

²¹ *Ibidem*, nr. 54, p. 4

²² *Ibidem*, 1907, nr. 227, p. 5

IN THE HISTORY OF THE ROMANIAN DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS OF VOIVOZI AND VARVIZ AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY

Radu ROMÎNAȘU

Abstract: *The Transylvanian Romanian national movement has incorporated into its ranks the teacher who had been educated in a patriotic spirit, also capable to design a modern teaching vision in schools through which the so much needed knowledge could be sent to the younger generations for their intellectual, moral and national training. Given these defining attributes, the teacher attempted to integrate effectively into the reality of the rural world, to become – together with the priest - the main factor of progress.*

Despite of the numerous obstacles occurred on the road of its normal development the Romanian religious school on the upper valley of Bistra remained connected to the living social space that had created it. We tried to detect it in its relations with the village community, with the residents' lives. The school appeared in the middle of the rural microcosm as an institution with fundamental role in the training and education process using its own language, as a factor of progress and openness to the outside world. It has represented both the result of the needs felt by the rural community, and that of the work of its construction, equipment and support.

Key words: *school, religion, education, denationalization, laws*

The school and the church were the symbiosis that made possible the growing of the nation consciousness and the unity of all Romanians. The decisive factors that have contributed to strengthening the national entity were two: the Christian faith and the Romanian language.

The Transylvanian Romanian national movement has incorporated into its ranks the teacher who had been educated in a patriotic spirit, also capable to design a modern teaching vision in schools through which the so much needed knowledge could be sent to the younger generations for their intellectual, moral and national training. Given these defining attributes, the teacher attempted to integrate effectively into the reality of the rural world, to become – together with the priest - the main factor of progress. They have placed great emphasis on this aspect, as the priest and the teacher were the most substantial segment of the Romanian intellectuals in the modern era. Both were characterized by a voluminous historiography as true “apostles” of the entity who worked for a noble cause: the reception by the subsequent generations of the cultural ideals, along with those of freedom and national unity. Many of the schools teachers in Bihor County were

the beneficiaries of this type of training that they had assimilated to the Teacher Training Schools established in Transylvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș¹.

Referring to the Romanian denominational schools in Crișana it is clear that they were subordinated to the School Funds Deputation, a body created in Vienna to coordinate the institutions of primary education for the Romanians and Serbs in the Empire.

The school law in the Habsburg Empire was characterized in the first half of the 19th century through actions that obturated the legitimate cultural-national aspirations of the nationalities subject to the Court of Vienna. Education in the mentioned period was still governed by the rules of the educational project *Ratio educationis* (1777) proposed by Maria Theresa, the appointment and remuneration of teachers being increasingly falling under the competence of the large landowners. The difficult situation was also doubled by the acute problem of lack of textbooks and school supplies. An attempt to reform the system was tried after 1845, but the projects have focused only on palliative measures the system remaining virtually inert. The priests served also as local directors and were responsible to the district inspectors, who, on their turn, were required to conduct inspections at least once a year in the territory. The school problems were identified by the curator of this institution, who maintained the contact with the teacher and priest in order to address the issues raised, to support materially the employees, a matter that returned on a large extent to the church and local community².

Only after the revolutionist earthquake a number of substantial changes in the imperial school law occurred. It was imposed a new classification of the schools, which were divided into elementary schools (or popular), “middle” schools (secondary schools) and universities (higher education institutes). The elementary school was to provide the basic education to the young people; this becoming a problem of the community and church (including the teacher’s appointment and salary), the state will be involved only in the control of the educational act. From this perspective, the state bodies had the power to impose the parishes to raise new school buildings, hire skilled teachers, implement through the municipal *antistii*³ fines to the parents who refused to send their children to school.

The Romanian School of Crișana, like that in Transylvania, Banat and Maramureș, has asserted itself as an institution designed to ensure the education of young people in a patriotic spirit. Its character was one confessional par excellence, and became an effective weapon to fight against the tendencies of

¹ Vasile Popeangă, *Școala românească din părțile Aradului la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea, 1821-1867*, Comitetul de Cultură și Educație Socialistă, Arad, 1974, p. 181

² *Ibidem*, p. 90, 112-115; *** *Sate și școli românești din Transilvania la mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea (1867-1875)*(introductory study, tended edition, notes and comments by Simon Retegan), Editura Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1994, p. 7-10

³ *Antistia* (sg.) – an administrative forum that accomplished the decisions of the rural representatives or those arriving from a higher administrative body (the city).

forced Hungarianization of the Romanian population from the area noted; a process began with virulence particularly after the year 1830⁴.

These realities are also reflected in the subject of our investigation, that is, two Romanian villages (Voivozi and Varviz) sited on the upper valley of Bistrita.

According to the documentary sources, in the Voivozi village there was an Orthodox religious school that belonged to the school inspectorate in the Great Oradea. In the summer of 1900 the mentioned institution brought to contest the teacher's post in this locality. The appointed teacher would receive a cash salary of 600 crowns and garden space⁵. To fill the vacancy, the candidate should also support an aptitude test for song and typical church⁶. We note that the appointment of the teacher was based on a contest - fact demanded by the Orthodox Consistory of Oradea - which was organized by the school inspector of the circle whom that school belonged to. All inspectors were also asked to publish the vacancies in the publication *The Church and School*, which received a wide dissemination in the Banat and Crișana⁷.

In 1902 the teaching position wasn't still occupied by a qualified person, the students being trained provisional by the preparatory Alexandru Peleş. Despite of the difficulties encountered with the Romanian community from there, led by the church representatives, has endeavored to support the education process. Thus, they spent money to repair the school fence (7 crowns and 96 fillers), purchase catalogs (1 crown and 30 fillers), lime purchase necessary to paint the spaces for the educational process and for the teacher's pay (16 crowns). Moreover, the Romanians from Voivozi have failed to support financial in 1902 the Boarding House in Beiuș in full construction phase⁸.

The school was involved in almost all the actions coordinated by the Inspectorate of Oradea. Thus, the local Orthodox priest Georgiu Lăpușan of the locality attended the priestly and education conference held on 17/30 August 1902 in Oradea, on the occasion of opening the new school year. During the meeting, it was elected a committee which would prepare for the Orthodox Consistory of Oradea a situation referring to the wealth of the Romanian schools and churches in Bihor. Another question submitted to the participants regarded the priest and teacher's attitude in society, their role in strengthening the morality, faith and literacy among the community. The discussions also addressed issues relating to objects covered in curricula of the religious schools (with emphasis on the biblical history and study of the Catechism), as well the initiation of an action of

⁴ Vasile Popeangă, *op. cit.*, p. 116-117; Dumitru Șandru, Aspecte privind situația școlilor confesionale române și problematica celor mixte din Transilvania în epoca lui Bach, în Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „George Bariț”, 2008, p. 170

⁵ Arhivele Episcopiei Ortodoxe Române Oradea (A.E.R.O.), *Orthodox Consistory Fund ...*, act no. ad 1411/1902, f. 1

⁶ *Biserica și școala*, 1900, no. 27, p. 218

⁷ Vasile Popeangă, *op. cit.*, p. 128

⁸ A.E.O.R.O., *Orthodox Consistory Fund ...*, act no. ad 1411/1902, f. 3; act no. 2198/1901, f. 1; act no. 53/1903, f. 1

organizing the coral formations in as many villages⁹. Such meetings of the teachers in Bihor enjoyed a tradition well articulated as the documents store information about that. Since 1860 refresher courses for teachers, attended by many masters, have been held in Oradea¹⁰.

According to the statistics submitted to the Consistory of Oradea in early 1902, the Romanian school of Voivozi had 114 students. They were divided into age groups as follows: there were enrolled 79 students between the age of 6-12, and between the ages of 12-15 were registered 35 students. Of these, 43 students were attending regularly the school classes - for the first segment of age, and for the second only 18¹¹. In September 1902, the total number of students increased to 124. For the first segment of age 83 students were enrolled, and for the second - 41 students. This breakdown by age shows the efforts of a judicious organizing of the Romanian denominational schools in Bihor, which have improved during their evolution, after the accumulation of a school tradition, towards the development of the institution, based on modern pedagogical principles.

Regarding the regular school frequency, it was maintained in an unsatisfactory note. Both the Orthodox priests and the Greek Catholics, who also cumulated the function of directors of the denominational schools have insisted that the parents should send their children to school, to ensure the frequency stipulated in the state instructions, to hire by contracts skilled teachers able to obtain the best results in the educational plan, to pay them properly and to have respect for the noble mission of the teacher, seen as a light and modeler of consciousness¹².

The main cause of low frequency was mainly due to the students' detention by their families for the field seasonal labor or for solving the household current problems. Also, in autumn, when they were carrying specific tasks, most children were mobilized in the agricultural harvest campaign. It was added the lack of clothing and footwear, especially for the cold season. However, the winter school attendance was fallen in a positive direction, when the agricultural occupations were much reduced.

On November 12, the year 1902, the School of Voivozi received an official delegation which inspected the classrooms and teaching materials used. The teacher was required - to control - the planning of some objects appearing in the curriculum. On this occasion, they have also made assessments about how of the children attend the school. The conclusions were the following: the classrooms were found clean, students' behavior was appropriate, and the teacher taught in accordance with the plan (curriculum). The class inspected was that of "Natural History", and the frequency has been characterized as unsatisfactory¹³.

In the subsequent years (1903, 1904), the publication *The Church and School* announced that the teacher's position in village is vacant. The teacher's

⁹ *Ibidem*, act f. no./1902, f. 1-2

¹⁰ Vasile Popeangă, *op. cit.*, p. 197

¹¹ A.E.O.R.O., *Orthodox Consistory Fund ...*, act f. no./1902 f. 3

¹² *Ibidem*, act f. no./1902, f. 3

¹³ *Ibidem*, act no. 239 Șc./1903, f. 9

remuneration was significantly lower than the previous years, reaching only 132 crowns, the contribution coming from 83 households. It was added the payment in products (a vica¹⁴ of grain), granting a garden area, two cornfields and the revenues from the position of cantor of the church. The remaining 261 crowns and 20 fillers were to represent the state contribution.

The perpetuating situation of the vacancies during some consecutive years has its explanation in the manner of thinking of the local communities, but also in the economic dimension of the Romanian village in the early 20th century. Due to the material shortages, the villagers preferred to employ as “teachers” unqualified persons, especially the church cantors who often offered also school space (a room of his own house), to the detriment of those came from outside, with an appropriate training, but who brought with them costs much more significant. For them the community had to build school building, maintain it properly, to pay the payments stipulated in the contract and the church and school regulations¹⁵.

It is known that after 1867 the Habsburg and dual authorities desired their subjects to be trained, able to integrate effectively into the state bureaucracy. Consequently, they campaigned for spreading the act of culture through the religious school, but with the money and sole expense of the Romanians, and not of state finances. That is that contribution of the state that although was stipulated in all the documents of appointment of teachers, has not been materialized in a tangible manner¹⁶.

On 14/27 April 1914, the school of Voivozi was visited by the inspector Koracsony, the envoy of the Royal School Inspectorate. He announced the school management that beginning with the 1st of September they will also open a state school in the city¹⁷.

The local priest asked the Orthodox Consistory of Oradea to intervene with the Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction to stop this work because around this issue “great excitement among the people” is produced: “... They worked with high agitation and seductions to frustrate the operation of our religious school. That people is not able to support two schools”¹⁸. Despite of the opposition of the priest George Navrea and of the community of Voivozi, the administrative bodies have leased space to open the state school under a Ministerial decision. The location leased for the new school required adjustments which - according to the reports submitted by the orthodox priest to the Deanery of Oradea, - could not be performed due to the outbreak of World War I. Consequently, the school can not launch its courses on 1 September. Moreover, the Ministry has repeatedly asked the state to postpone the opening of the school “to avoid any agitation in the

¹⁴ Vica - measure of capacity for grain equal to approximately 25 kg

¹⁵ Dumitru Șandru, *op. cit.*, p. 169

¹⁶ *Biserica și școala*, 1900, no. 27, p. 218; 1903, no. 27, p. 217-218; 1904, no. 28, p. 178; Dumitru Șandru, *op. cit.*, p. 180

¹⁷ National Archives-Bihor County (further: AN-DJBh), *Romanian Orthodox Episcopate fund Oradea*, dos. 341/1911-1918, f. 70

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 56

people". Finally, it was specified that only the religious school could operate normally during this period, inside the old school building¹⁹.

A similar situation has been registered at the school of Varviz where education was from the outset one religious, the teacher being appointed by the dean of Marghita. His salary was granted by the priest, who was seeing the issue with the representatives of the parish. The local community had also an important contribution to the teacher's compensation. For example, for the school year 1901/1902, they gathered 264 crowns from 87 families.

In the early 20th century there were sensitive issues in the religious education system, the teachers couldn't be able to keep their posts from year to year.

In 1900 a teacher's job was still vacant. To resolve temporarily the situation, Constantin Mărcuț of Ianoșda was appointed as vacant teacher in the village. He was recommended by the school inspector Toma Păcală, dean of the Orthodox Bishop of Oradea. The new teacher came to the institution accompanied by Gregoriu Chiș who presented him to the community. The villagers, in collaboration with the parish committee members, obliged themselves to pay his support, in addition to grant a residential garden space. Constantin Mărcuț worked as a teacher at Varviz in the school year 1900/1901 only²⁰.

Since August 1901 the vacancy was out again for the contest²¹. In the years 1903-1904 the situation was the same²². There followed a difficult period, generated by the Hungarian authorities, which have acted to transform the religious school in state schools (i.e. exclusive teaching in Hungarian). The Romanian community has been subjected to political pressure; therefore Toma Păcală was informed about this situation. He sent a letter to the priest on 28 November / December 9, 1900, in which he urged the villagers not to give up in any way to that abuses political pressure, because there was the imminent danger that the school not to receive anymore an education in the Romanian language. Since the autumn of 1901, teacher was Teodor Oporhan, who held this position until 1906. The school remained further religious, teacher's salary being paid by the parish committee, in collaboration with the villagers. For example, for the school year 1906/1907, a total of 87 families contributed with the amount of 292.70 crowns for the teacher's salary. For the same school year, Dumitru Pavel was appointed as teacher in Varviz. He has not behaved properly, regularly missing classes that what led Toma Păcală to convene the parish committees of Varviz and Spurcani to resolve the situation created. Following the discussions it was decided that the teacher vacancy be filled by Silvia Lazăr, whom the inspector of Oradea has recommended as a serious person with appropriate qualifications.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 54

²⁰ Gabriel Moisa, *Monografia istorică a satului Varviz*, Editura Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, Oradea, 2005, p. 89

²¹ *Biserica și școala*, 1901, no. 26, p. 284

²² *Ibidem*, 1903, no. 27, p. 217-218; 1904, no. 28, p. 178

For unknown reasons she did not appear to the vacancy and, accordingly, as teacher was appointed the parish priest Alexandru Mărcuș²³.

In September 1902 at the school of Varviz-Borumlaca were counted 101 students (51 boys and 50 girls)²⁴. After two months, the school of Varviz had 23 students in composition and was characterized by an inspection carried out in the same month in the following terms: classrooms short, irregular school attendance, being inspected the “Romanian Reading” class²⁵.

Despite of all efforts of the church and local community to promote the education focused on modern teaching practices, the educational statistics have negative results for the early 20th century. In 1900, of a population of 482 inhabitants only 79 people knew how to read and write in the Romanian language, and 77 knew Hungarian. Ten years later, the percentage of the book connoisseurs increased significantly, bringing up to 147 the number of those who knew to read and write. A major contribution to increasing the literacy had the ecclesiastical element (in this case the Orthodox deanery of Marghita), which was closely supported by the local community²⁶.

In the late 19th century and the beginning of the following, the Romanians in Crișana had to cope with the broad process of Hungarianization initiated by the government in Budapest, with extremely serious consequences in political, social and cultural for the non-Hungarian populations.

Law XVIII of 1879 proposed by Agoston Trefort, Minister of Religious Affairs and Education, voted by the Hungarian parliament, stipulated the teaching of the Hungarian language in the religious primary schools of the nationalities in Hungary. The non-Hungarian teachers were available for only four years learning and mastering the Hungarian language, those who failed to comply with the law would be removed²⁷.

On June 5, 1902 Wlassics Gyula, Minister of Religion and Public Instruction, sent a circular order to all deanery (in their capacity as district school inspectors), priests (as directors of religious school) and teachers in Bihor, in which he asked ultimately to compliance and enforcement the school law of 1879. The minister was convinced that the provisions of this law were beneficial for the non-Hungarian nations, the “concern” of the Hungarian dignitary for the “good” of the populations of other nationalities of Hungary joining practically in a system to destroy them: “I hold my duty - indicates Wlassics Gyula - stemming from my position, to emphasize and to obtain, despite of all severity, the sacred provisions of the law in all public schools institutions with non-Hungarian teaching language, not only to respect the law, more before valid, but also because I want to assure the good opportunity, in the interest of the non-Hungarian speaking population, to be

²³ Gabriel Moisa, *op. cit.*, p. 90-91

²⁴ A.E.O.R.O., *Orthodox Consistory Fund...*, act f. n., f. 3

²⁵ *Ibidem*, act no. 239 Șc./1903., f. 9

²⁶ Gabriel Moisa, *op. cit.*, p. 91-92

²⁷ Flaminia Faur, *Manifestările românilor din Bihor împotriva proiectului de lege școlară din 1907. Documente*, Cultural Fundation “Cele Trei Crișuri”, Oradea, 1994, p. 15

in the possession of the Hungarian language, as the language of the state, with the benefits there from, so it does not suffer the disadvantages due to schools”²⁸. Shortly, Vasile Goldiș, at that time secretary of the Romanian Orthodox Consistory of Arad, sent a letter to all school inspectors belonging to the Orthodox Bishopric of Arad, which provide them with detailed information about the decision of the Hungarian Ministry of strict application of the provisions of the circular order of June 5, on the mandatory teaching of the Hungarian language in the Romanian denominational schools²⁹. The reaction of the Romanians in Transylvania was as the categorical attitude of the Hungarian officials of enforcement the school law in 1879. Indeed, in an address of the Ministry stated that the law “has sparked a strong protest from all journalists and other nationalists, [they] also stated that such barriers on the way of nationalists’ language and cultural advancement will be fought with all means at their disposal”³⁰. Moreover, on April 2, 1904, the same Hungarian ministry sent an order to the chief committee of Bihor, on oversight of the movements initiated by the Romanian and Serbian Orthodox confession and the Greek Catholic, trying to attract the teachers against the measures taken by the government in Budapest to enhance the teaching and learning the Hungarian language also in the religious school: ‘I found out ... that would be ongoing a movement initiated by the Romanian-Orthodox, Serbian-Orthodox and Greek-Catholic denominations, by attracting the teachers also under the mask of different teachers’ meetings or of so-called “conference”, which aims to counterbalance the measures promoted by government to enhance the study of Hungarian language ... This movement ... I want to be pursued with the utmost vigilance and crushed in the bud by not taking greater proportions”³¹.

The year 1907 was marked by the attitude of the Romanian intellectuals and peasants in Bihor against a new school law this time drawn by Count Albert Apponyi, a champion of realizing the projects of Hungarianization and denationalization initiated through school by the authorities in Budapest. Through this law, they intended the annihilation of the denominational schools of the non-Hungarian peoples in Transylvania and Hungary, while wishing to set aside their national characteristic, the teachers being forced to abandon the pursuit of an educational activity that was built on the national criterion³².

Under the archdiocesan ordinary council organized in May 1907 in Sibiu, the Bishop Ioan Meținanu presented to the members how the law injured seriously the church autonomy requiring the withdrawal or modification of the project. The Orthodox high hierarch thought that in the future “... we can support our schools

²⁸ AN-DJBh, *Greek Catholic Parish Fund Ghenetea*, dos. 2/1900-1904, act no. 2298/1902

²⁹ A.E.O.R.O., *Orthodox Consistory Fund ...*, act f. n./1902, f. 1-2

³⁰ AN-DJBh, *Bihor County Prefecture Fund*, dos. 112/1904, f. 12

³¹ *Ibidem*, f. 13

³² Viorel Faur, *Viața politică a românilor bihoreni (1849-1918)*, Fundația Culturală „Cele trei Crișuri”, Oradea, 1992, p. 35-36

and the church autonomy [but] if we bring all their free offerings to support the whole state”³³. Finally, they asked for help to support the smaller parishes.

A similar meeting was conducted in Arad – at the end of May 1907 - the Diocesan Synod of the Orthodox diocese of Arad. And here was specified that the project of law that referred to the religious schools and teachers’ endowment flagrant violates the autonomous rights of the Orthodox Church guaranteed by the Article XI of 1868 and the Organic Statute, sanctioned by the Emperor Francisc Iosif I and countersigned by the Minister of Cults and Public Education since the Baron Eötvös Iosif. According to the documents cited, all the religions in the country had the right to establish and support schools of any category, with dispositions to have independently regarding the language of instruction in these schools. It was also raised the Article XX of the law issued in 1848, under which the state was obliged to give all its confessions the material resources necessary to meet the needs of school and church, without prejudice of claims in exchange of their autonomous rights. These stipulations were included in Section VIII of the general provisions of Saguna’s Organic Statute.

Once the decisions of the protest People’s Assembly, the requires of the parish corporations and of the archpriest ships all over the Diocese of Arad and the exposures of the Romanian Bishop in the Chamber of magnates were rejected by the government, and those present to the Synod asked drafting a petition to the emperor, with the express request not to sanction this law project “that threatens our church and cultural interests”³⁴.

The teachers of the Romanian religious schools from the two localities were of the opinion that the application of the study only in Hungarian language will determine the onset of the phenomenon of dropout, and the students will remain in the system “will not know any language: neither the Romanian nor even the Hungarian ... The students will be confined to gabble some words and you stop your ears. That’s will be everything and nothing more ... The purpose of school cannot be the language learning, but the individual improvement, developing his court’s power”³⁵.

Despite of the numerous obstacles occurred on the way of its normal development the Romanian religious school on the upper valley of Bistra remained connected to the living social space that had created it. We tried to detect it in its relations with the village community, with the residents’ lives. The school appeared in the middle of the rural microcosm as an institution with fundamental role in the training and education process using its own language, as a factor of progress and openness to the outside world. It has represented both the result of the needs felt by the rural community, and that of the work of its construction, equipment and support.

National institution by which the nation has grown its language and history, the school was in the modern era a complex phenomenon whose many

³³ *Biserica și școală*, 1907, no. 20, p. 1-2

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 2-4

³⁵ I. Grofșorean, *Propunerea limbii maghiare în școlile noastre populare*, in *Ibidem*, no. 15, p. 4

facets can be known only by a multi plan exploration. Therefore, the education and school question in Transylvania enjoyed the domestic and European public attention; it succeeded to impose itself in the realities of the modern era, in which all the aspirations of national unity were polarized.

ATTEMPTS AT REGULATING THE ROMANIAN-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS AFTER THE TRIANON TREATY. BORDER DRAWING ON GROUND AND COMMODITIES DISPENSATION. CASE OF THE FORMER BIHOR COMMITTEE

Ion ZAINEA

Abstract: *According to the stipulations of the Trianon Treaty - the Romanian-Hungarian frontier has been drawn and the goods of the former committees and places have been dispensed, their territory being fractionized by a new border.*

The problems regarding the goods' apportionment of the former Bihor committee have been debated during several meetings – their results being included in 15 minutes what were drawn up on the Romania's territory, one part, and on the Hungary's territory, the other part. As a result of the negotiations between the Romanian and Hungarian delegations they could put through agreements regarding the repartition key, the district highways and their sideways, the foundations and railway shares, the furniture of prefecture, sub-prefecture and small rural districts, the funds, excepting the allodial and remunerating fund of the notaries. An agreement couldn't be concluded on the following questions: the evaluation of the immovable goods, what – with one accord –were admitted as repartition elements because of the big difference existing between the evaluations of the two parts, the immovable goods of the hospitals, what – according to the Romanian delegation's point of view – weren't forming repartition elements, the furniture of the hospitals, the passives of the district Hospital, the deficit of the allodial and remuneration fund of the notaries, the picture "Princes Zsolt's Engagement" and the Hospital of Beiuș. As a result, all these have been advanced to the Court of Arbitration.

Keywords: *border, dispensation, goods, conversations, arbitration*

In the summer of 1919, according to the decisions of the Paris Peace Conference, four committees of experts - English, French, Italian and American - drew the Romanian and Hungarian borders. Finally, they reviewed the four proposals and, based on several compromise formulas, the final border¹ was set, decision that was notified to Bucharest on October 12, 1919. This was essentially corresponding to the ethnic principle, which led accepted it by the Romanian government. The Romanian-Hungarian border route was included in the art.27 of the Trianon Treaty, of which art. 45 stated that Hungary renounces, as one looks,

¹ *Istoria Românilor*, vol. VIII, (coordinator Ioan Scurtu), Encyclopedia Publishing, Bucharest, 2003, p. 22

in the favor of Romania, “to all rights and titles over the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy beyond its frontiers” and recognized as part of Romania.

The works to draw the new frontier, carried out by a committee made up of delegates belonging to the two interested parts were extended until the end of 1923. The address 4768 of January 30, 1924, the Romanian delegation of the Commission of the Romanian-Hungarian border delimitation informed the Prefecture of Bihor County that the border between Romania and Hungary was materialized in the field, as follows: “The entire border was divided into 10 sections, designated A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, K and L. The end of each section is indicated by a bollard (in trachite) of special form. Along each section can be found, on the border line, steel-concrete bollards and, of two different types. The big ones are called main bollards and the small ones, intermediate bollards. All bollards bear, on two opposite sides, the initials of those countries (R. Romania, M. Hungary). Each bollard is provided then with the letter of the section to which it belongs and, in addition, a serial number. The main bollards begin, in each section, with number one and are numbered independently of the intermediate bollards, following the series continuously until the end of the section where the trachite bollard is to be found on which the number of the last main bollard is engraved. Besides the section letter, each intermediate bollard bears the main bollard number that follows it, and furthermore, the number of order that comes to as intermediate bollard. In some swampy parts the main and intermediate bollards were replaced by impregnated oak pillars bearing the same indication as the bollards which these pillars are replacing. In addition, the streams, canals, etc., i.e. where the border follows an imaginary line, it has been materialized by means of some stones called markers or polygonal, which no bearing as indication than a continuous serial number for each section, apart the initials indicating the quality of the stone: marker, R or polygonal P. In case of the maker stones the border is at half distance between the two markers bearing the same serial number, while where the border is function on polygonal stones, it generally follows the water stream on the main channel / flow /. The bollards are painted (white) and the inscriptions in black”². It is also mentioned that “the point where the three borders meet, of Romania, Hungarian and Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom, is designated by a stone of a particular shape”, while “the confinium triplex point between Romania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, finding at the confluence of the waters Tur and Hodos, was indicated by three markers (one on the territory of each state)”.

On April 18, 1924, the head of the Romanian delegation, Gen. C. Dumitrescu, addressed to the prefectures of Timiș, Arad, Bihor and Satu Mare, to the guard battalions of Timișoara, Arad, Oradea and Sighetul Marmăției, to the guards’ regiments 3 and 4, to the guards’ companies Arad, Salonta, Oradea, Valea lui Mihai, Carei, Halmeu and Chișineu (Arad County) a statement urging them to

² Bihor County National Archives (hereinafter A.N.D.J. Bh.), Fund *Bihor County Prefecture*, dos.. 68/1923-1924, f. 5

inform all the inhabitants of the villages located along the border the following: the owners of the places along the border can work their land only to a distance of one meter from the border bollards. Consequently, "it will have to be found all the time along the border line (i.e. the line joining two neighboring bollards between them) a not worked area cleared of any plantations, shrubs, etc. of a meter width (inward) across each of the two neighboring countries"; as regarding the stones or geodetic signs placed outside the border line, the owners are forced to leave around them a land area with a radius of 1.50 m; the bollards, pillars, stones, etc., which mark the border, are and remain the guarders' task, while the geodetic signs, pyramids, etc. are given in the respective municipal authorities receipt and security; the municipalities are obliged to report annually during the month of April, to the Direction of Cadastre about their status and indicate in particular the signs which incidentally would be degraded or destroyed; the units of guards are obliged to report to the Command Border the disappearance of bollards or pillars, as soon as they found their absence; those who will be found that created, moved or destroyed border signs as those geodesic outside the border line will be prosecuted and punished under the provisions of the Penal Code³.

In order to elaborate the border documents, the Romanian delegation in the Commission of delimitation of the Romania-Hungarian and Romanian-Czechoslovak borders required the prefectures of Satu Mare, Bihor, Arad and Timiș tables with the Romanian names of the frontier bordering towns. Of the Bihor County, there were included in the border documents, registers and maps, with the Romanian new appointments, the localities: Ant (former Ant), Ateaș (former Atyás), Diosig (Bihardiószeg), Bihor (Bihar), Borș (Bors), Cefa (Cséfa), Ciocaia (Csokaly), Cheniz (Érkenéz), Valea lui Mihai (Érmihályfalva), Șilindru (Érselind), Șimian (Érsemjén), Giriș (Gyéres), Ciumeghiu (Illye), Inand (Inánd), Marțihaz (Marcziháza), Salonta (Nagyszalonta), Santăul Mare (Nagyszántó), Sânnicolaul Român (Oláhszentmiklós), Parhida (Pelbárthida), Roit (Rojt), Săcuieni (Szekélyhíd), Sântion (Szentjános), Tămașda (Tamáshida), Toboliu (Vizesgyán), Feleghihaz (Biharfélegyháza)⁴.

The law promulgated by decree 20, of April 28, 1923, prohibited the sale of land and buildings to foreigners in a radius of 10 km from the border. The measure is communicated, on September 27, 1924, to the prime praetors in the subdivisions of Valea lui Mihai, Săcuieni, Sălard, Central and Salonta they will do research and find any cases of misconduct, which notify them to Cluj or Arad Regional Litigation, because it can take measures for annulment of acts.

The memorandum closed on April 16, 1924, between the Romanian and Hungarian delegations ordered that at the latest July 10, 1924, to complete the census of the values administrated by the orphan institutions located in Bihor, Arad, and Satu Mare Counties, whose district was divided by the new frontier. For the compilation of these works, in the committee established for enforcement the

³ *Ibidem*, f. 6

⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 13

Convention relating to the division between Romania and Hungary of the goods belonging to municipalities and counties whose territory was divided by the fixed border after the Trianon Treaty delegates from the three counties were included. From Bihor County, Dr. Victor Fildan, the Secretary of the County, was sent to committee.

The issues concerning the distribution of the goods of the former Bihor County were discussed in several meetings, the result of which was covered in 15 minutes produced some in Romania and partly in Hungary. The first meeting had taken preliminary measures on how the debates were to arise, it was discussed the way how the delegations' conclusions to be drawn up and their induction into the minutes. After the delegations of both countries agreed on the preliminary provisions, they went to enforcement the convention, setting into the key points that will form the subject of the debates. The first point was to establish the sharing ratio. According to the debates result, held in Oradea, in April 1925, the key of division the goods was set for Bihor County belonging to Romania, 60.3% and for Bihor County belonging to Hungary, 39.7%. The real property which, by agreement, formed the subject to division were the palace / prefecture building in Oradea, with all services and prefect and deputy prefect housing, the building called "Cazarma Crișului" in Oradea, the praetors' buildings in the Central, Valea lui Mihai, Săcuieni, Marghita, Aleșd, Ceica, Beiuș, Vașcău, Tinca, Beliu, Salonta, Cefa, Sălard subdivisions on the Romanian territory and Berettyóújfalu, Biharkeresztes, Biharnagybajon and Derecske on the Hungarian territory⁵. They were unable to reach an agreement with the Hungarian delegation on the District Hospital buildings, the Mental Patients Hospital and their intra villanus areas, nor on the Hospital of Beiuș, as the Romanian delegation argued that these buildings and property fell into the art. 191 of the Trianon Treaty and therefore not be subject to distribution. The Romanian delegation showed, with acts, that the Hospital of Beiuș was built from donations and funds rose for this purpose from the population of Beiuș and surroundings and was passed abusively in the record of the land books of the county, which has acquired unlawfully the ownership of this building. In relation to the other goods, although it was agreed that they constitute elements of apportionment, on their evaluation but could not reach any result, as between the assessment price of the Romanian delegation and that of the Hungarian delegation was a big difference. While the Romanian delegation made the assessments of the buildings and built lands taking as basis the provisions of the art.7 and set the middle price of the transactions in the years 1924-1925, the Hungarian delegation evaluated these buildings taking as basic the price of the material, land and construction costs. Accordingly, the matter would be submitted to the Court of Arbitration for resolution.

The Romanian delegation prepared to submit to the Court of Arbitration, an assessment of the buildings, except hospitals. The assessments preparation, made with the help of the county technical bodies and of the engineer Lazăr Vasile

⁵ *Ibidem*, dos. 125/ 1925, f. 1-4

from Cluj, has claimed more surveys both on the Romanian territory and the Hungarian one, not only in the places where they were located, but also in the neighboring localities, to make comparisons to. The works have asked for time and had to make paintings, drawings, and in most places and photographs of similar buildings, and then to obtain contracts on the transactions concluded in the recent years regarding the sales and purchases of such buildings and houses, on the basis of which they can establish a true assessment. The difficulties encountered in preparing these papers were sometimes insurmountable, especially since they could not collect accurate data on Hungarian territory, and secondly because the lack of places and similar buildings they could not obtain data to make comparisons to. The papers prepared by the technical bodies, along with the necessary tables, drawings and photographs were reviewed by the general inspector Costache, delegated by the Ministry of Public Works.

As regards the movable property, the delegations of both countries, after much debate, agreed that pricing for the furniture of the Palace county buildings and subdivision residences to take into account the lower price because of the usage, damages and gaps due to the war and revolution; the asset value of the furnishings, both of those that were purchased until 1914, expressed in golden crowns, and those that were purchased between 1914-1918 and of which inventory value was expressed in currency crowns, to be multiplied by the coefficient 15, the product thus obtained represents the "update" price of the furnishings in lei-currency. This agreement was made but only in relation to the furniture of the prefecture and praetors' houses, without the hospitals furniture, which, as those buildings, according to the point of view of the Romanian delegation, were not the object of distribution. The Hungarian delegation members supported their view that both hospital buildings and their movable property, to form the object of distribution.

The object of long debates was formed by the county roads and their shoulders, their foundations, railway shares, as well dividing the communal assets. Taking into account the deterioration of the roads and their shoulders, on October 31, 1918, in both counties (the Romanian Bihor and the Hungarian Bihor), and taking into account the cost of restoration, "both parties mutually give up to formulate their claims". The agreement reached in this way benefit the Romanian part, as the stoned county road network what came up to it was larger both as extension, and number. Regarding the foundation, it was applied the par. 2 of art. 2 of the Convention, and the railway shares being listed in 1911 in the Hungarian state property, were not object for sharing. On the share of the communal property, the agreement concluded between the local delegations of the both states, that "each to remain in the property of their possession, without formulating any mutual claims" has also brought to the Romanian side a benefit that, according to the balance sheet was of 1,747,910 lei.

The Romanian delegation "extradited" to the Hungarian delegation several paintings, banners, uniforms and griffins. This act urged the Hungarian delegation to ask strongly also the picture representing "Prince Zsolt's Engagement" signed by the painter Feszty Árpád; that was not granted because the Romanian delegation, in

accordance with par. 2, of art. 5 of the Convention considered that this picture presented to the Romanian part a special interest and, being in our possession does not form the subject of dispute to be submitted to the Court of Arbitration.

As a result of the conversations between the Romanian and Hungarian delegations, they could enter into agreements regarding the allocation key, county roads, and their shoulders, the foundations and railway shares, prefecture, sub-prefecture and subdivisions' furniture, the funds, excepting the notary allodial and salary fund. On them, the final balance sheet has been made, taking as a basis when drawing up the property sheet, Romanian experts assess and the point of view of the Romanian delegation on the buildings which form subject of distribution (i.e., without hospitals), for furnishings taking as base the coefficient on which they agreed and which was applied only to the furnishings on which the Romanian delegation considered that they formed an object of distribution (i.e., without hospitals' furniture) and, for funds the result of the management accounts at the end of 1918, taking into account also the allodial fund deficits, which the Hungarian delegation did not accept. The positive elements were taken in Balance, according to the common understanding, again only on those which under the viewpoint of the Romanian delegation were object of distribution (i.e., without the passive elements of the hospital). Based on this Balance sheet, Romania had to pay to Hungary, according to a first evaluation, the amount of 4,421,496 lei, converted into U.S. dollars, with the average rate of 204 lei a dollar, \$ 21 674, respectively, and according to the second evaluation 7,041,672 lei converted into U.S. dollars, with the same average rate, i.e., 34 518 dollars⁶.

They could not enter into agreement on the following issues: the property valuation, which by mutual agreement, have been admitted as evidence of employment due to the large difference between the evaluations of both parts, the real estate in hospitals, which according to the viewpoint of the Romanian delegation, did not form elements of distribution, hospitals' furniture, the passives of the County Hospital, the notary allodial and salary fund deficit, the painting "Prince Zsolt's Engagement" and the Hospital of Beiuș. As a result they were submitted to the Court of Arbitration.

The Court of Arbitration convened under art. 10 of the Convention concluded between Romania and Hungary, concerning the division of the property of the former counties and fractioned cities, during the meeting held on January 24, 1927, in Paris, decided that the painting representing "Prince Zsolt's Engagement" with Menemorut's daughter, signed by the painter Feszty Árpád, owned by Bihor County (Romania) to be extradited in kind to the delegates of the Bihar County (Hungary). The Hungarian delegation came to Oradea on February 14, 1927, to take the picture. There were drawn two minutes, one at the prefecture, on February 14, and another the next day, at the Museum of Antiquities and History Reunion in Oradea, where it was consigned to be kept.

⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 4

The minute concluded at the County Prefecture had as objective the performance of the agreement cleared up between Romania and Hungary on the distribution of the counties, cities and municipalities goods divided by the Trianon Treaty. The Romanian side was represented by Filip Ioan, deputy prefect of the Bihor County and Fildan Victor, prime-notary, and the Hungarian Government by Molnar Emeric, prime-notary of the Bihar County. The parties are aware of the decision rendered by the Court of Arbitration, contained in the minutes ended on January 24, 1927 in Paris. The minutes concluded at the Museum of Antiquities and History Reunion had as object the painting handing over. There were present Emeric Molnar and Iosif Fölker, chief of the county accountancy from the Bihar County (Hungary), Victor Fildan and Gavril Gherlan, county jurisconsult from the Bihor County (Romania), as well the Bishop Ioan Karácsonyi, president of the Museum of Antiquities and History Reunion. The procedure was simple. The bishop, as keeper of the painting, handed it to the Romanian delegation which, on its turn, handed it to the Hungarian delegation⁷.

By drawing the new border between Romania and Hungary, a number of legal entities (foundations, corporations, anonymous companies, cooperatives, assemblies, villages, religious communities, etc.) remained with a part of their movable and / or immovable property on the territory of the Hungarian State. The identification of such cases was made by ads, newspapers and official posters from the County Prefecture, that assets will be recovered. The action started in November 1921, was completed the next summer. They have declared interested in a company / institution in Hungary, or having some property located outside the Romanian borders, 29 legal entities in Bihor County. Of these 12 were credit societies (Suplac, Sântandrei, Beliu, Diosig, Tămășeu, Hodiș, Spinuș, Cetariu, Parhida, Sălard, Tămășda and Salonta), 5 corporations of valorization and consumption (Suplac, Hodiș, Tămășeu, Șișterea and Fegernic), 5 bank institutions (Bank of Storage of Diosig, the Eriu Bank and the People Bank of Săcuieni and the Credit Institution of Gyula) and the locality Salonta. The latter claimed a surface of 3212 yokes; a land area remained in the border of the village Zsada (Hungary). The fortune of the companies and banks consisted of cash (in total 1,087,321 lei) and shares (amounting 108 691 lei) at various institutions in Budapest (Országos Központ Hitelszövetkezet, Pénzügyi Központ, "Hangya" vegyes Értékesítő Szövetkezet)⁸.

Other legal entities owned movable and immovable property to be divided with the remaining institutions in Hungary. Thus, the Sugar Factory of Batăr remained in the possession of 1734 yokes, owned by the Sugar Factory of Sarkand (Hungary), the Institute of Priestly Care of the Reformed Evangelical Church District of Salonta was in the possession of the claims of several inhabitants of Okány, Sarkand and Keresztúr in Hungary, worth of 6570 lei, and the Stock Company "Bihari Helyérdekű vasutak" in Budapest had a canton railway, 12

⁷ *Ibidem*, dos. 76/1927, f. 41-45

⁸ *Ibidem*, dos. 76/ 1921-1922, f. 16

yokes and 1543 ground fathoms in the village Coliu, a canton of railway, 7 yokes and 635 ground fathoms in the village Cadea 1 yoke and 1244 ground fathoms in the village Târgușor, all located in Sălard subdivision. Clara Lovassy, repatriated to Hungary after 1918, reclaimed the surface of 1514 yokes land area in the village border Batăr (Tinca subdivision), while Emeric Horvath of Remetea (Beiuș subdivision) had in village of Bakonyszeg (Hungary) 1.5 yokes and 1577 ground fathoms inherited from his parents. The village Kismarja (Hungary) declared that it had in Romania 277 yokes and 1493 ground fathoms, land that was sold to the inhabitants 10-12 years ago, but which had not been tabulated on their names. The Credit Federation of Salonta declared itself interested in the Credit Regnicolar Federation in Budapest with the amount of 185,624 crowns and 56 fillers. In addition to actions at Hitelszövetkezet (170,000 crowns) and Berezsadolum (250,000 crowns) in Budapest, village Tămașda claimed from the latter 261 yokes of land. From the same locality, Boor Geza claimed 3 yokes of pasture in the village Közegyan (Hungary), the widow Ercsey Ernőne - 261 yokes of land in the locality Vasegyar, Petruța Ioan and Roșu Maria $\frac{1}{2}$ yoke of land in the village Mehloved, Csiko Juliana and Szilaghi Jozsef a house and 2 yokes of land, Kuzasi Gyula a house and 1 yoke of vineyard, Vaczy Jozsef and Pallog Erszebet a house, all in the same locality Kozegyan. Solyom Janos left with a house and $\frac{1}{2}$ yoke of land in the locality Geszo (Hungary), Mozes Sandor a house, Kuso Istvan a house and $\frac{1}{4}$ yoke of vineyard, Fazekas Ianos and Grosz Natalia a house and 2 yokes of land in Sarkand, and Piko Gergely a house and 2 yokes of land in Sarkandkeresztur⁹.

Many of the cooperatives existing in Bihor County had before the war, amounts deposited in the Central of Budapest. According to the data collected by Prefecture, at the end of the 1921, the deposits value, in cash or shares, totaled 2,468,853 lei, belonging to the following cooperatives:

a) Consumer cooperatives "Hangya": Aușeu (550 lei), Luncșoara (500 lei), Telechiu (146,610 lei), Cefa (1100 lei), Inand (250 lei), Suplac (250 lei), Albiș (10 040 lei), Hodiș (1400 lei), Șișterea (15,119 lei), Fegernic (250 lei), Arpad (800 lei), Tărcaia (300 lei), Șimian (amount unknown);

b) Credit cooperatives: Gepiu (800 lei), Biharea (1,250,131 lei), Cheresig (8000 lei), Oșorhei (104,320 lei), Săcădat (1000 lei), Sântandrei (26,000 lei), Tărian (150 lei) Tileagd (5000 lei), Suplac (15,118 lei), Abram (5941 lei), Petreu (15,756 lei), Cheț (30,164 lei), Poclușa (16,000 lei), Tămășeu (1689 lei), Hodiș (19,000 lei), Spinuș (2237 lei), Cetariu (93,402 lei), Parhida (900 lei), Sălard (104,673 lei), Ghiorac (28,793 lei), Tămașda (87,254 lei), Arpad (60,511 lei), Ant (1682 lei), Diosig (32,853 lei), Sâniob (85,000 lei), Sânmiclăuș (1400 lei), Ciocaia (1000 lei), Ginta (72,500 lei), Gurbediu (1685 lei), Miersig (400 lei), Sălacea (62,875 RON), Valea lui Mihai (164,000 lei)¹⁰.

Similar actions were held, during the years 1921-1922 to identify the vehicles disposed of it, carried by the Ministry of Communications, the General

⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 15

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 47

Directorate for Railways, or the property belonging to the Habsburg family. In accordance with the agreements reached at Portereșe between the successorial states of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, decided the mutual restitution of the wagons belonging to the individuals and hire companies being part of the successorial states which wagons had been incorporated in the stock of the former monarchy. The restitution was made only for the wagons that were not included in the lists of wagons claimed by the allied countries as war booty, seizures and truce. As for properties, the Habsburg family, namely the Archduke Iosif, owned in Bihor County a property in the village Tămașda, in the area of 548 yokes¹¹.

On April 16, 1924, between Romania and Hungary was perfected the Trade Agreement for facilitating the local border traffic. Under the agreement, the residents of the border area could obtain three days passes for crossing the border. Benefit from the agreement only the municipalities located within a radius of 10 km of one side and the other of the border. The cities were excluded, even if they were in this area. Of Bihor County, the following villages have been included in the trade agreement provisions: Ant, Arpășel, Boiu, Ciumeghiu, Ghiorac, Homorog, Mădăras, Marțihaz, Tămașda, Tulca (Salonta subdivision), Biharea, Borș, Cauaceu, Episcopia Bihor, Nojorid, Chișirid, Paleu, Săldăbagiu, Sântandrei, Sântion, Sântăul Mare, Sântăul Mic, Seleuș, Giriș, Palota, Uileacul de Munte (Seleuș subdivision), Săcuieni, Ciocaia, Cadea Mică, Coli, Cadea Mare, Diosig and Ianca (Săcuieni subdivision), Parhida, Niuved, Tămășeu, Hodoș, Roșiori and Vaida (Sălard subdivision), Ateaș, Cefa, Inand, Berechiu, Sânnicolau Român, Roit, Cheresig and Toboliu (Cefa subdivision)¹².

¹¹ *Ibidem*, f. 53

¹² *Ibidem*, dos. 60/1928, f. 2

CONSEQUENCES OF THE PEACE TREATIES (1919-1920) ON THE ROMANIAN-ITALIAN RELATIONSHIPS

Lilian ZAMFIROIU

Abstract: *It is known that during the consecution of the works of the Peace Conference (in Paris, 1919-1920), which proposed to open a new chapter in the history of the European continent some disaccords of the interests of the participating countries particularly of the losers became evident. The attitude of the representatives of Italy to Romania was positive, acknowledging the Romanian state sovereignty over the territory of Bessarabia. Nevertheless there were also some positions in the benefit of Hungary (from the Italian Prime Minister Francesco Nitti), which led to a response - entirely justified - of the Romanian officials.*

To defend, with better performances its independent country status and the integrity of the recognized borders at the peace treaties, some countries have devised insurance forms that had been realized until then, using a new Triple Entente, called Little Entente, which was made of Romania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. This was an important consequence of the state of things which were configured, Hungary starting to show revisionist claims, being supported by Italy in its action which lasted throughout the two interwar decades. Therefore Mussolin's diplomacy was in disagree with the Little Entente, which meant a strong defensive force in this part of Europe and opposed to several Italian trends of regional domination. Some disagreements with Italy also came from the application of an agrarian reform in 1921 (when a number of Italian owners were expropriated like other foreign owners), of the manner how the Liberal government implemented its economic policy (customs tariffs imposed to the foreign goods from which the Italian ones were not exempt) and for the indefiniteness, according to the Italian party desire, of the treasury bonds issue. Therefore, the political and economic factors have marked the Romanian-Italian relationships during the first interwar years.

Keywords: *Romania, Italy, relationships, peace treaties, Paris*

It is significant the reality that during the consecution of the works of the Peace Conference (1919-1920), some disaccords disagreement between the victorious and defeated countries became apparent even among the latter. There was not, in all circumstances, accordance between their requirements, Italy being an eloquent case in point that it has openly and strongly expressed some dissatisfaction with the decision taken.

Moreover, it is clear that Italy's attitude toward Romania, favorable in important issues (as it was the recognition of Romania's sovereignty over Bessarabia), it was not the same when in equation also appeared Hungary, for which the Italian politicians have expressed a sympathy declared, the Italian Prime Minister Francesco Nitti asking on June 13, 1920, the review of the decisions just taken at the Peace Conference¹, circumstances which led to a negative reaction, fully entitled, among the Romanian officials.

The same Francesco Nitti published a book entitled *Europe without Peace*, arguing that "many cores of Hungarians and Germans are included in inferior populations (our italics – L.Z.) from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia and Romania"², offending the dignity of the people in the countries mentioned.

Such statements had undoubtedly an impact on the sensitivity of the Romanians, who refused to accept these hostile accents of the called prime minister, and hoped to the establishment of some relations of friendship, as in the past, with the Italian state.

At the Peace Conference were not, of course, solved all the European matters, so that, among many other "things" it left "a heavy legacy"³ for England and France, the two great allied and victorious powers. It was foreshadowed, however, an accordance between France political orientation and that of the successional states, as they had as main objective the safeguarding of the territorial *status quo*.

To defend best their interests, the small and medium states designed formula to ensure their own security, creating a new Triple Entente, whose reasons were the rejection of any trends (of some revisionist states) to amend the boundaries established by peace treaties in Paris. The plan to create the Little Agreement (or the Little Entente, as it was called) belonged (in the Romanians case) to Take Ionescu, the Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs. He visited Paris, London and Rome, to notify⁴ the governments of those countries. It should be noted that the Romanian diplomat found understanding in Rome, both on the part of the Prime Minister Giovanni Giolitti and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Earl Carlo Sforza, who said that "the achievement of the project *also served the interests of Italy*"⁵.

¹ Eliza Campus, *Din politica externă a României (1913-1947)*, Editura Politică, București, 1980, p. 225

² Adrian Liviu Ivan, *Aspecte ale relațiilor româno-italiene între anii 1920-1923 și problema expropriilor în România*, in *Studii de istorie a Transilvaniei. Specific regional și deschidere europeană*, coord. Sorin Mitu and Florin Gogâltan, Cluj, 1994, p. 186; Francesco Nitti, *L'Europe sans paix*, Paris, 1923

³ Valeriu Fl. Dobrinescu and colab., *Relații politico-diplomatice și militare româno-italiene (1914-1947)*, Intact Publishing House, 1999, p. 97

⁴ Eliza Campus, *State mici și mijlocii din centrul și sud-estul Europei în relațiile internaționale*, Editura Politică, București, 1989, p. 98-103; Mihai Retegan, *În balanța forțelor. Alianțe militare românești interbelice*, Editura Semne, București, 1997, p. 28-27

⁵ Idem, *Mica Înțelegere*, Editura Științifică, București, 1965, p. 51 Indeed, even England considered the Little Entente "as a forum serving the interests of Italy" (*Ibidem*)

In an issue of February 23, 1922, the newspaper *Corriere della Sera* noted that: “Romania has the leading role (in the Little Entente – our note), as its geographical situation requires it⁶. However, the same newspaper warned the Romanian government to the fact that Romania’s presence in the Little Entente “will not harm the relations with Italy”⁷. Even since the period of founding the Little Entente, during the years 1920-1921, in Italy there were doubts and suspicions to this new alliance, which opposed to several plans of Benito Mussolini in his policy in the Balkans area.

The defensive and anti-revisionist alliance of the three countries - Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia - it was during the two interwar decades, “a factor of balance and cooperation, contributing effectively to defend the peace”⁸ on the continent.

The edification of the Little Entente was done through some bilateral documents that complied with the Treaties of Paris and the Statute of the League of Nations to be provided the necessary international guarantees. It was concluded, first, a defensive alliance agreement (on April 23, 1921) between Romania and Czechoslovakia, which contained a preamble and seven articles. The governments of the two countries pledged to defend, vigorously, the peace “gained with the price of so much sacrifice and specified in the Covenant of the League of Nations” as well “the order established by the treaty signed at Trianon, on June 4, 1920, between the allied and associated powers, on one hand, and Hungary, on the other hand”⁹. The signatory countries of the convention agreed that in future to consult each other with the international and regional political realities, committing themselves not to carry out any alliance with any third power without a notice to beforehand.

Another *convention* of defensive alliance was concluded on June 7, 1921, between Romania and Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom, signed by Take Ionescu and N. Pasič¹⁰. By this diplomatic approach was made, finally, the Little Understanding between the three small and medium states (Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia), an alliance with defensive and coordination purposes for a proper foreign policy to their major interests, such as the maintenance of the territorial integrity and peace defense.

Therefore, rightly, the Little Entente has played an important role in the European politics, explaining its desire to free speech at continental level of some countries which had to face adversity from several powers that had practiced a policy of domination.

⁶ *Ibidem*

⁷ *Ibidem*

⁸ Idem, *Din politica externă a României...*, p. 256

⁹ *Convențiune de alianță defensivă între Regatul României și Republica Cehoslovacă*, signed in Bucharest (April 23, 1921), by Take Ionescu and Ferdinand Veverka. Note that meanwhile in Prague was also signed a commercial treaty between Romania and Czechoslovakia, establishing in this way strong political and commercial relations between the two countries in Eastern Central Europe.

¹⁰ *Monitorul Oficial*, 1921, p. 2881. It was added a commercial Convention

In other news order, it is to be noted that the economic factor has hall-marked the Romanian-Italian relations, too, “burdening the good relations that existed between the two countries”¹¹. The economic consequences of the peace were unfavorable to Germany, Austria and Hungary, and also to other countries - as Romania was - with direct effects on the Romanian-Italian economic relations. The Minister of Italy in Bucharest, the Baron Pompeo Aloisi, considered (in a report of June 6, 1923¹²) that there were some issues to be cleared on the financial policy pursued by the liberal Vintilă Brătianu (which was qualified as xenophobic) as well on the existing legislation in Romania to the matter of the treasury bills and customs tariffs. They were, in reality, the causes of tension created between Romania and Italy in the years 1920-1923, which were added, of course, the concerns of each country to exit from the economic crisis, which has diminished the interest in improving the bilateral relations.

In early 1923, the Romanian Minister of the Foreign Affairs, I. Gh. Duca received - from the Minister of Italy to Bucharest, Alberto Martin Franklin - a memorandum in which they asked the Romanian government, in a categorical manner, to ensure the equality of treatment of the Italians in Romania, as for English and French, then to be solved the treasury bonds issue, as well some financial disputes between the two countries. The Italian diplomat advanced also the proposition to achieve the economic arrangement to facilitate the bilateral trade relations. More specifically, he spoke about the need to sign an interim trade agreement, which would cause a greater exchange of Romanian raw materials with the Italian industrial products¹³.

In the same memorandum was made raised the possibility of cooperation in the agriculture field, meaning that Italy was prepared to deliver to Romanian agricultural machinery (all types) and specialized labor. It “could contribute” to the mining, forestry, agricultural exploitation of the Romanian soil and subsoil and to a faster reconstruction of the Romanian economy¹⁴.

The amplification of the Italian and Romanian trade relations was based also on the interest shown by the Italy government for the Romanian oil and wood¹⁵. There have been in attention the Italian refineries in the city of Fiume, to which to move large quantities of oil from Romania. In connection with this economic reality a well-known Italian expert also noted: *„In questo ambito, per quanto riguardava le risorse petrolifere romene, erano in atto da alcuni anni tentativi volti ad assicurare all'Italia la partecipazione allo sfrontamento o la*

¹¹ Adrian Liviu Ivan, *op. cit.*, p. 186

¹² ANIC, *Microfilme, Italia*, roller 115, pack XII, vol. 4, f. 111

¹³ *Ibidem*. The Italian historian Giuliano Caroli refers – in his valuable book on the Italian foreign policy between 1919 and 1945 also to Romania’s place in it – to these issues: *„Altra questione a cui l'Italia si mostrava assai sensibile, era quella relativa alla limitata disponibilità del mercato rumeno ad assorbire prodotti industriali italiani, cui si sperava di ovviare con la conclusione di un generale trattato di commercio”* (Giuliano Caroli, *op. cit.*, p. 80)

¹⁴ Adrian Liviu Ivan, *op. cit.*, p. 187

¹⁵ To note that Italy has signed with Romania in July 1921, *an interim trade agreement* with the “mutual application of most favored nation clause” (V. Fl. Dobrinescu and colab., *op. cit.*, p. 144)

*cessione di giacimenti e terreni petroliferi, in cambio di appoggi economici, senza però che a Roma fosse adottata una linea di condotta unitaria e senza aggiungere mai a risultati concreti”*¹⁶.

The land reform in 1921, which attempted to solve one of the fundamental problems of the Romanian society, also affected the Romanian-Italian relations, because of the expropriation of rural properties on the country territory, without taking into account the nationality of their holders (be they Romanian, Hungarian, Jewish or Italian, French, English people, etc.). The European countries, whose citizens were targeted, expressed their dissatisfaction to the way how the reform was applied. Thus, an “internal affair” of Romania has become an international one.

The main cause of disputes that arose, especially between Romania and Italy, was due to the “features” that the historical provinces united with Romania (more specifically: Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transylvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș) have “preserved concerning the foreign subjects”¹⁷.

Among the landowners in the Old Kingdom and the mentioned provinces there were set also many Italians. They have inherited these properties from the marriages that had been made before 1921. Most opposition to the implementation of the land reform was showed by the landowners in Bessarabia. They reached even a conflict situation, an eloquent testimony to this effect being the memorandum that had been submitted on January 2, 1923, by the Minister of Italy in Bucharest, the above mentioned Alberto Martin Franklin, who also made the following comments: „Le gouvernement italien ne peut pas admettre que les Italiens soient traités moins bien que les Anglais et les Français, seulement parce que le Gouvernement italien a reconnu l’annexion de la Bessarabie avec un empressement fraternel sans mettre des conditions. Ce serait plutôt un raison de traiter les Italiens mieux que les autres, en reconnaissance de l’empressement mis par le Gouvernement italien”¹⁸.

So, the Italian diplomat accused the Romanian government because of treating differently the owners of Italian origin, compared to the English and French, and even to the Hungarian „absentees”. It is obvious that some of his opinions, M.A. Franklin situated close to the Hungarian government’s views on the optants, what, certainly, could not go unnoticed, especially since there were other Italian approaches of a definite political pro-Hungarian invoice.

According to the Agrarian Reform Law (July 1921), the articles 7a and 7b, the rural estates of the absentees and foreign subjects would be expropriated entirely. In Bessarabia, after the historic decision (on March 27, 1918) of the Country Hall of union with Romania, a decree was promulgated (the Agrarian Law), on December 22, 1918, which was later included in the text of the Agrarian Law (of 1921), so on this land of the Great Romania the issues of the foreign land owners began earlier.

¹⁶ Giuliano Caroli, *op. cit.*, p. 80

¹⁷ Adrian Liviu Ivan, *op. cit.*, p. 187

¹⁸ A.N.I.C., *Microfilme, Italia*, roller 114, pack XII, f. 16

The radical nature of this reform, praised by those interested and criticized vehemently by the owners concerned, surprised, even shocked, many Italian owners who had lost their property, so they considered the law in question as a form of „violation of their interests in the terms of the consular convention of 1880”¹⁹. Therefore, to defend their right of property, they were addressed not only to the Romanian government, but also to some Italian authorities (Italian Legation in Bucharest and the Government of Italy), protesting even at the League of Nations. For example, the wife of the co-director of the Italian Credit in Paris (V. Proto di Albaneta) Alexandra Sitsüski (born in Chişinău and resident in Paris) addressed both to the Italian government (as Italian subject, after her marriage) and, to the League of Nations on April 4, 1923. In this paper the Romanian government was accused of „it would be unjustly confiscated property held by it in Bessarabia”. Therefore, it asked the Italian government to defend its interests and „claimed the Romanian state an *actual compensation* for its losses”²⁰ (our italics – L.Z.).

Schedeoni Marquise, in turn, insisted that, in her opinion, the Romanian government awarded greater compensation to the French and English citizens than to the Italian ones, treating the latter in a discriminatory manner and violating the provisions of 16 December 1918 and September 1919, which attached importance to the expropriated lands in „ratio with their profitability”²¹.

However, the owner Mario Ruspoli, due to the intervention of the Italian diplomats, received as compensation for his estates of Slobozia, Conachi and Vameş (Covurlui County) the amount of 10,458,976 lei²².

The Hungarian owners in Transylvania, who - after 1919 - have opted for the Hungarian citizenship, called in question, by all means, the land reform in Romania, causing even the involvement in this issue, of the Hungarian government. It was the famous trial of the „optants” which, ultimately, was won by Nicolae Titulescu. Note, however, the fact that one of the first countries „that assisted Hungary in its actions”²³ of protest at the Conference of Ambassadors and the League of Nations was Italy. The Earl Sforza, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, in a telegram (of October 1922) „deems just and legitimate the viewpoints” of the Hungarian Government „in the optants question”²⁴. As argument, the Italian diplomat resorted to the articles 61 and 63 of the Treaty of Trianon²⁵, which - in his interpretation - allowed to obtain the Hungarian citizenship without losing their properties in Romania, which were covered by the agrarian reform in 1921.

¹⁹ Adrian Liviu Ivan, *op. cit.*, p. 187-188

²⁰ A.N.I.C., *Microfilme, Italia*, roller 115, pack XII, f. 146

²¹ Dumitru Şandru, *Reforma agrară din 1921 în România*, SRR Academy Publishing House, Bucureşti, 1975, p. 216

²² *Ibidem*, p. 223-224

²³ Adrian Liviu Ivan, *op. cit.*, p. 188

²⁴ A.N.I.C., *Microfilme, Italia*, roller 114, pack XI, vol. 1, f. 105

²⁵ A.N.I.C., *Microfilme, Italia*, roller 114, pack XI, vol. 1, f. 105

By adopting the posture of advocate of the Hungarian cause, the Italian Ambassador in Budapest, Prince Castagneto, submitted (in August 1922) a memorandum to the Allied and Associated Powers, asking them their support for the Hungarian government while also accusing the Romanian government that it would deliberately rushed the „implementation of the arbitrary and confiscatory measures” to lay Europe over against a *fait accompli*²⁶. The Italian Ambassador to Budapest justified its approach with the following explanation: it is concerned about the fate of the „widows, orphans and small farmers”²⁷ and, as such, must terminate the agrarian reform in Transylvania until the League of Nations will decide the issue.

The Hungarian government was, undoubtedly, stimulated in its actions by the support received from several Italian diplomats. The Prime Minister of Hungary, also an ex-owner in Transylvania, addressed to Mussolini words of thanks for his positive attitude for Hungary: „*Gratitudine del resto tanta più sincera in quanto lui è personalmente assai interessato alla questione*”²⁸. Simultaneously, the Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Daruváry, asked the Italian Prime Minister to give support to the Hungarian approaches at the League of Nations²⁹.

The Hungarian diplomats initiated in this matter, a true European offensive to secure a successful issue. The Hungarian propaganda has been successful in Great Britain, so that the country’s ambassador to Paris intervened with the Ambassadors Conference, asking them that the issue of the Hungarian expropriated owners „to be subject of the decision” of the League of Nations. Meanwhile, the Romanian government to suspend the expropriations³⁰.

Observing the magnitude of the problem in question was awarded, the Italian diplomacy has become more cautious and preferred the expectation, of precise reasons, as they were solving the disputes with Romania (treasury bills, expropriation of the Italian subjects, etc.). The Italian Ambassador in Paris exposed the new viewpoint of his government in a telegram (of December 12, 1922), stating that he will help further the intentions of Hungary only if also other European countries will do so³¹.

Even in the first half of 1923, the Italian diplomats show an obvious interest to restore the good relations with Romania, which they had during World War I. In two important documents which were due A.M. Franklin and sent to the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (a memorandum of January 27, 1923 and a

²⁶ A.N.I.C., *Microfilme, Italia*, roller 114, pack XI, vol. 1, f. 106

²⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 116-118

²⁸ *Ibidem*, roller 115, pack XII, vol. 6, f. 34

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 30

³¹ *Ibidem*, f. 38. The Italian Government has made a single intervention in Bucharest, which refers to the request of Baron Albert Nemes, the Hungarian ambassador to Rome, who was a native of Transylvania and abandoned his properties for their daughters, married to Italian citizens. One of his sons-in-law, Carlo Duca Caffareli, addressed to the Italian Embassy in Bucharest, to intervene in his favor (*Ibidem*, f. 14).

telegram of June 6, 1923), it was pointed out the proximity between the two countries in order to overcome the existing differences, this by more so as the French propaganda in Romania had good results, which did not serve the purpose to Italy (it wanted to replace the influence of France in Romania), plus the policy of the Little Entente, which was directly linked with that of France. It was recognized, implicitly, that France had priority in the area of the relations with Romania.

Italy had to overcome this situation and to recover the lost ground, considering it useful - from this perspective - to enhance the cultural relations with Romania, through the establishment of Italian libraries, granting scholarships in Italy and the introduction of books and newspapers in Romania³². In the second part of 1923 they noted an improvement of the Romanian-Italian relations, evidenced by the „sensitivity”³³ of the Romanian government to the new intentions of Italy.

The Prime Minister of Romania, I. C. Brătianu in a call (on May 7, 1923) with the Minister of Italy in Bucharest, said he is ready to strengthen the relations with the Great Powers, and therefore with Italy. He noted also that the adhesion of Romania to the Little Entente was due to its interest to defend the integrity of the state, as against the danger that the communism represented. Therefore, the charge of Italy that Romania would bind to the Slav bloc is not true.

Knowing the interest of the Italian Government to the the Little Entente, head of the Romanian government stressed that Romania would be „a unique bridge between Italy and the Little Entente”³⁴. Referring to the relations with Hungary, Ion I. C. Brătianu said that he wished to normalize them, on condition that it should abandon the idea of claiming the territories constituting Great Romania: „Ungheria si persuada di non poter nutrire alcun speranza in una prossima ricostituzione territoriale”³⁵. Thus, the Romanian government has shown, also on this occasion, the sensitivity to the manner in which the Italian government has treated the Hungarian revisionist policy, which challenged the integrity of the Romanian state.

Having made these clarifications needed (to no doubt hovering over his attitude, as head of the ruling National Liberal Party, to the relations with Italy), the Romanian Prime Minister agreed³⁶ with the Italian Minister on the thoroughly examine of the bilateral relations, in order to reduce the existing differences on the treasury bills, the access to the Italian capital from the oil exploitation in Romania and the position on Hungary's claims.

During the year of 1923 there was also a situation that worsened the Romanian-Italian relations, apart from the expropriation of the Italian owners. The Italian charge' d'affaires in Bucharest sent to the Prime Minister of Italy, Benito

³² *Ibidem*, vol I, f. 88

³³ Adrian Liviu Ivan, *op. cit.*, p. 190

³⁴ A.N.I.C., *Microfilme, Italia*, roller 115, vol. 4, f. 71

³⁵ *Ibidem*

³⁶ *Ibidem*

Mussolini (who was also the Minister of Foreign Affairs), on January 12, 1923, a report “on the known attacks that took place in those days at the Romanian-Hungarian border”³⁷. The Italian military attaché in Bucharest, colonel Baffigi, was told by the Romanian Army House Guards that, on December 8, 9 and 10, 1922, Hungarian small armed groups (several dozen) – about which it was not set, precisely, whether they were or not belonging to the Hungarian regular army - have attacked border posts in Romania, located near the localities of Toboliu and Chişineu-Criş. After a lively exchange of fire, the attacks were rejected by the Romanians.

These border incidents have not resulted in casualties, which made the author of the report to believe “that it was more than the usual fights that occurred... at border, especially at night and in some wooded areas”³⁸.

The Italian diplomat intentioned to diminish the importance of these Hungarian attacks on the border with Romania, considering them the fruit of a rich imagination of a joking person. He says that this event would be launched by some alarmist persons. More specifically, it was about a Hungarian army captain who would have come to Salonta (in Romania) to visit his family and when he passed again in Hungary, at the border he “said” to a soldier under his command that had gone to Romania “to prepare the barracks spaces for his regiment. He let, therefore, understandable that Hungarian troops would soon enter into the Romanian territory, occupying a part of it.

Such jokes could not remain without effect because there were enough bases that Hungary, being quarreled with the decisions of the peace treaties from Paris, used different forms of expression of this state of mind, including, of course, also the border conflicts. Another Hungarian official, that is the station commander of the border from Kerestes (near the customs of Borş, nearby Oradea), at a meeting with about thirty colleagues, released the news that at the border mergers Hungarian troops, which reached “the ears of Romanians”. The presentation, in a simplistic manner, of what happened in Hungary, led the Italian diplomat in Bucharest in finding the following: “All these burlesque rumors, *which have been spread intentionally* (our italics - L.Z.), have alarmed the Romanian authorities, blurring the calm of Christmas and New Year”.

The second part of the report mentioned already has a documentary consistency of real interest. The information we have reported was transmitted by Captain Ricardo Gigante, the head of the Italian Military Mobile Mission, to the Italian charge’ d’affaires. Coming from Vienna, on January 7, he stopped in Oradea, where he took contact with the “alarming news” that circulated in this part of the country. There was widespread the knowledge that “a body of Italian troops” will occupy the border strip from Satu Mare-Oradea-Arad- Timişoara, “to ensure peace during the forthcoming plebiscite operations”, which were to be held

³⁷ ASMAE, *Le carte del Gabinetto...*, 1923-1929, busta 8, fasc. 12 (Romania): 1923-1926

³⁸ *Ibidem*

in the Romanian area in the Western side of the country to determine whether this territory “should be entrusted”³⁹ to Romania or Hungary.

The Romanian residents were convinced that the “Italian Fascist agree with the Hungarians, to giving them arms and ammunition, ... with the Italian government complicity”. A similar opinion about the possible plebiscite moved also in the Hungarian circles in Oradea, which “did not hide their joy of being able soon to reunite with the motherland”⁴⁰.

The document from which we have quoted captures a local reality of the Western part of Romania, where were spread – follow-up the conflicts from the Romanian-Hungarian border - some news that put Italy in a bad light because of its pro-Hungarian attitude, evident also in the diplomatic efforts of this country, but especially, the fact that it would have agreed to organize a plebiscite in the said regions, which would have been useful to the Hungarian propaganda and hostile to the Romanian state interests.

Moreover, it is stressed that the Romanian government consistently rejected such attempts of the rulers of Budapest, to determine the achievement of the plebiscite invocation (which would otherwise not represent no gain for Hungary, because the Romanian population of Banat, Crișana and Maramureș was larger than the Hungarian one), of the simple consideration that this issue has received the proper and legitimate solution by the Treaty of Trianon.

Therefore, the news (or rumor) that circulated about the possible military guarantees which the Italian government would have given to Hungary, for a possible organization of the plebiscite on a part of the Romanian territory, without existing an agreement in principle from the Romanian authorities, put in a negative posture Italy, affecting its image and having immediate consequences on the bilateral political and economic relations.

On January 31, 1923, Giuseppe Vaccari, the head of the Italian Army House Guards, made available to his Minister of Foreign Affairs (the same Benito Mussolini) a report on the situation in Hungary and Romania, based on information received from Colonel Guzzoni (Chairman of Control Commission in Budapest) and Colonel Baffigi (military attaché of the Italian Legation in Bucharest). In the third passage of the document is emphasized the toxicity of the Hungarian revisionist propaganda directed against the states of the Little Entente. This has intensified lately, prompting the Little Entente representatives to react strongly, sending separate notes to the Hungarian government, which invited him to “suppress more aggressively the events as against the neighboring states”.

About these notes, the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs “definitely”⁴¹ found, so that he was informed. According to Colonel Guzzoni’s opinion, the determined steps - in this issue – of the states governments that were part of the Little Entente were influenced, besides the propaganda of the “Hungarian agitators”, by the news spread particularly by Czech, Yugoslav and Romanian

³⁹ *Ibidem*

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*

⁴¹ *Ibidem*

agents that Hungary “moved to large-scale military preparations to regain in the near future, the lost territories”.

The Control Commission, chaired by Colonel Guzzoni, conducted some researches in Hungary, after which it came, for now, to the conclusion that the called military preparations were not identified. But also it confirmed the existence of “that states of agitation of spirits from which mainly was fed the propaganda against” the Little Entente states.

Colonel Baffigi made references – it is stated in the same diplomatically document – to the measures taken by the Romanian government to “deal with any complications with Hungary”, which were entered in the following order:

1. Recall the quotas in the years 1916-1921, to complete the number of the 12 infantry regiments, 3 of guards, 3 of mountain hunters, 2 of cavalry, 4 of field artillery and 4 of engineering.
2. These troops will be concentrated in “Oradea region”.
3. To be transported as soon as in this part of the country, the freight trains on the line Braşov-Sibiu was suspended.
4. 6 “quotas” of the gendarmerie were also recalled.
5. In the neighboring “regions” with Hungary was proclaimed the state of siege, made stricter by the more stringent measures than those in force during war.

The same Italian officer noted also some news circulating in the circles of Bucharest, which were “widespread”. They said that the Hungarian irredentist propaganda was supported mainly by Italy, which, in addition to grants and aid money, arms and ammunition, would have recently supported a Hungarian proposal for obtaining, in the “territories ... of the Little Entente’s states”, the convening of a plebiscite under the supervision of an Italian commissioner assisted by troops, also Italian⁴².

Of course, such news could produce in the Romanian society nothing else but resentment against Italy. In another report, dated on February 19, 1923, of Giuseppe Vaccari, submitted to the Italian Ministry of War, it was clearly stated the intention of the Minister of Romania to Budapest (Baron Mihai Stircea) to initiate a dispute with the Control Commission (from Budapest), aiming to create reasons to get the participation to the control actions of the representatives of the Little Entente⁴³.

The conflicts from the Romanian-Hungarian border and everything what derived from them, including the hostile mood of Italy that was set up in Romania were, therefore, known by the Italian diplomatic circles: „Mussolini en a été informé tant par le colonel Crezzoni [Guzzoni], par l’intermédiaire du général Giuseppe Vaccari, chef de l’Etat Majeur italien, que par le ministre de l’Italie à Budapest, prince Castagnetto, *qui allait reconnaître dans sa correspondance avec*

⁴² *Ibidem*

⁴³ Adrian Liviu Ivan, *La politique extérieure de l’Italie en Europe Centrale et Balkanique et ses conséquences sur la relation roumano-italiennes et roumano hongroises (1919-1934)*, in „Transylvanian Review”, 1945, no. 4, p. 33-34

le Duc la justesse des protestations roumaines (our italics - L.Z.), sans pouvoir autant les avoir fait connaître à la Commission Militaire Inter-Alliée de Contrôle”,⁴⁴.

Obviously the Romanian diplomacy could not remain silent in the face of such events. Therefore, the Romanian minister in Italy, Al. Lahovary, asked Benito Mussolini, on behalf of the Romanian Government to intervene in Budapest, and Sofia, too, for these countries to take urgent measures to disarm, leading to a good stability in Balkans.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*

ROMANIANS' HISTORIOGRAPHY IN HUNGARY ABOUT THE BEGINNINGS OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNITY IN THE TRIANON HUNGARY

Gabriel MOISA

Abstract: *Beyond the directions and trends professed by the Romanian researchers in Hungary remains the manner how they write the history. Subject of time, they have close views to the general trend of the Hungarian historiography. Thus, for example, when talking about their minorities beginnings in nowadays Hungary they start as early approach to the 17th century.*

But sometimes, but not all, especially taking advantage of the post-communist openings, they write the history according to their beliefs. We learn as about the phenomenon of ethnic assimilation that the Romanians in Hungary are subject to, one extremely stressed beginning with the 60s of the 20th century, or how about the Trianon Treaty of Peace is perceived by them.

Related to this latter aspect is interesting the way how the Trianon is discussed, for the Romanians in Hungary receiving specific connotations. Remaining outside the Romanian state has made that moment to mean for them, from a certain perspective, what it meant for Hungarians.

Keywords: *Historiography, Romanians, Hungary, Trianon, Hungarians*

“Whether we like it or not, Romanians history cannot begin with the year 894 AD, or Hungarians St. Stephen’s coronation”¹. This phrase belongs to the researcher Mihaela Bucin, being inserted in a study on the need for the honest research of the past of the Romanian community in Hungary.

In the absence of some archaeologists coming from the Romanian community in Hungary to pursue the issue of a possible presence of some Dacian-Roman, Romanic and Romanian elements in the area inhabited today by the Romanians in Hungary, the majority views of the Romanian researchers here supports the idea that their ancestors were “colonized” in those areas as early at the late 16th century, as in the 18th and 19th centuries to be based then most of the communities. However they believe that the Romanians in Hungary are “native to these places”². The Romanian historiography has generally a different view, arguing that many historical sources and archaeological discoveries speak about

¹ Mihaela Bucin, *Avem nevoie de istorie?*, in *Conviețuirea (Együttélés)*, year 2, no. 4, 1998 – year 3, no. 1, 1999, Seghedin, 1999, p. 80-82

² Teodor Misaroș, *Din istoria comunităților bisericești ortodoxe române din R.P.Ungară*, Giula, 2002, p. 13-14; Gheorghe Petrușan, Emilia Martin, Mihai Cozma, *Românii din Ungaria*, Editura Press Publica, Budapesta, 2000, p.3, etc.

the presence of some Dacian-Roman, Romanic and later, Romanian elements in the Crisis area since before the arrival of the Hungarians in the Pannonian plain³.

In the absence of some archaeological, but also documentary searches, older than the 18th century, the Romanian authors in Hungary start to rebuild the history of the Romanian community, but only in this century. Basically, the earliest documents used by researchers are created by the Romanian Orthodox parishes. But they are not older than the 18th century, according to their words. As beginning of each Romanian community in Hungary is considered that moment when the parish documents are talking about the parish setting up. The classic examples of this view are the works of Elena Csobai on the Romanians in Bichişciaba⁴, Aletea⁵, Ciorvaş⁶, Giulia⁷, Veched⁸, Cenadul Unguresc,⁹ Bedeu, Micherechi¹⁰ and Bichiş¹¹, but others, too, such as the summaries of the Romanians history in Hungary: Gheorghe Petruşan, Emilia Martin and Mihai Cozma, *The Romanians in Hungary*, editor responsible Ioan Ciotea, Elena Csobai, *The History of the Romanians in the Nowadays Hungary*, discussing issues related to the history of the Romanian communities in Hungary.

Elena Csobai reiterates her point of view according to the earliest Romanian colonists settled down in and Giulia and Bedeu, being of Orthodox religion¹². The same views are also embraced by Gheorghe Petruşan in the historic part that he signed in *The Romanians in Hungary*. Both Elena Csobai and Gheorghe Petruşan are the adepts of the two-step colonization of the Romanians in the Eastern sides of the nowadays Hungary. The first stage begins in the late 17th century and lasts for a century, and the second stage begins, they say, in the late 19th century and extends to just around World War II, when by “swarming” a part of the Romanian residents in neighboring areas formed Otlaca Pustă and

³ C.C. Giurescu, Dinu C. Giurescu, *Istoria românilor din cele mai vechi timpuri până astăzi*, Editura Albatros, Bucureşti, 1975, p. 155; Ştefan Pascu, *Contribuţiuni documentare la istoria românilor în sec. XIII şi XIV*, Sibiu, 1944, p. 8-9; Radu Popa, *Zur kirchlichen Organization der Rumänien in Nordsiebenbürgen im Lichte der patriarchalischen Privilegiums von 1391*, în *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 24, 1975, 4, p. 317; Şerban Papacostea, *Românii în secolul al XIII-lea între cruciaţă şi Imperiul Mongol*, Editura Enciclopedică, Bucureşti, 1993, p. 59-60

⁴ Elena Munteanu Csobai, *Aspecte din istoricul românimii din Bichişciaba (metodologia cercetării românimii din Bichişciaba)*, în *Symposium*, I, Giulia, 1991, p. 35-39

⁵ Elena Csobai, *Românii din Aletea*, in Idem, V, Giulia, 1996, p. 112-119

⁶ Idem, *Românii din Ciorvaş*, in Idem, VI, Giulia, 1997, p. 76-90

⁷ Idem, *Aspecte din istoria românilor din Giulia*, in Idem, VIII, Giulia, 1999, p. 65-74; Idem, *Comunitatea română din Giulia germană în secolul al XIX-lea*, in Idem, XIV, Giulia, 2005, p. 68-85; Idem, *Comunităţile româneşti din Giulia în perioada interbelică*, in Idem, XV, Giulia 2006, p. 89-100

⁸ Idem, *Comunitatea românească din Veched*, in Idem, IX, Giulia, 2000, p. 92-105

⁹ Idem, *Comunitatea românească din Cenadul Unguresc*, in Idem, X, Giulia, 2001, p. 108-114; Idem, *Comunitatea românească din Cenadul Unguresc între cele două Războaie mondiale (1910-1945)*, in Idem, XI, Giulia, 2002, p. 95-108

¹⁰ Idem, *Comunitatea românească din Bedeu şi Micherechi pe baza cercetărilor demografice*, in Idem, XIII, Giulia, 2004, p. 107-113

¹¹ Idem, *Aspecte din istoria comunităţii ortodoxe române din Bichiş*, in Idem, XVIII, Giulia 2009, p. 90-99

¹² Idem, *Instituţiile purtătoare a identităţii românilor din Ungaria în perioada dintre cele două războaie mondiale*, in *Lumina*, '90-93, p. 7

Cserekert¹³. It is a view widely embraced also by the Hungarian historiography, the so-called origin of the Romanian settlers being a controversial topic, too. Most authors take easily the phrase “we are living in Hungary for almost 300 years”. Nobody, practically, reflected on this historiographical *context*. Professor Mihai Cozma reported this inert state of things referring to the mechanical assumption of this theory¹⁴. For him this finding is too little thought, simply false, the result of an error. According to his opinion, the statement is completely mantled in a brume “*the denser, the never specified the other country where it is considered that we have moved from to the places today. It would be impossible, because – the historical data convince us - that all Hungary was the country we came from here*”¹⁵. The error, according to Mihai Cozma's opinion, comes from the misinterpretation of the population movements from the mountainous area of Crișana towards the area of Tisza, under well-known historical conditions and already defined - a space where already a Romanian population was. This displacement has occurred, says the author, from Hungary to Hungary, therefore no question of migration from one state to another. Thus, he said “*for our ancestors did not mean a real integration in another state. Way can not be taken seriously when it is about our places of origin, as, for example, no the Romanian in Wallachia, fugitive over the mountains, in Transylvania, was not considered once originating from Turkey, only for that the Romanian Country (his) was under Ottoman occupation. We were and we are Romanians from Hungary in all respects*”¹⁶. Mihai Cozma carries out here a very subtle logical argument of the theory of the Romanian continuity in the Transylvanian area.

However, some researchers, referring to a series of chance archaeological discoveries and documentary information suggest that on the nowadays territory of Hungary, the Romanians' presence can be already documented in the Arpad's times. Teodor Misaroș, for instance, in his doctoral thesis entitled *Of the History of the Romanian Orthodox Church Communities in Hungary*, published in two editions, 1990 and 2002, speaks about the vestiges of a Byzantine church, in Giula, dating from 1295¹⁷, concluding that those who raised this church could only be the Orthodox Romanians. The same Teodor Misaroș showed data over-taken from the conscription of Giula area in 1525 where many Romanian families¹⁸ were recorded, while the Giula borough was beleaguered by the Ottomans in 1566, Romanian locals also attended to defend it¹⁹. The information on Romanian multiply in the decades that

¹³ Idem, *Instituțiile purtătoare a identității românilor din Ungaria în perioada dintre cele două războaie mondiale*, in *Ibidem*, p. 7

¹⁴ Mihai Cozma, *De când trăim în Ungaria? (Reflecție asupra unei erori)*, in Idem, Giula, 1994, p. 22

¹⁵ *Ibidem*

¹⁶ *Ibidem*

¹⁷ Eugen Glück, *Contribuții la istoria comunităților românești din Ungaria*, în *Revista istorică*, 1994, no. 5-6, p. 479; Teodor Misaroș, *Din istoria comunităților bisericești ortodoxe române din R.P. Ungară*, Budapesta, 1990, p. 122

¹⁸ Eugen Glück, *Contribuții la istoria comunităților românești din Ungaria*, in *Revista istorică*, 1994, no. 5-6, p. 479

¹⁹ Eugen Arădeanul, *Giula în atenția Europei*, in *Calendarul românesc*, 1992, p. 132-134

followed, in 1651 being reported even an Orthodox bishop named Sofronie, the so-called “metropolitan of the boroughs Lipova and Giula”²⁰.

Teodor Misaroș’s volume provides new and new information, especially documentary, about the Romanians’ early presence in the Eastern current area of Hungary, outlining clearly the view that beginning with the 15th century, the number of the Romanians has increased considerably by the colonization of a large number of Romanians in the area of the Crișul Alb River, where they settled down definitively²¹.

Very interesting, Teodor Misaroș brought in the support of his suggestions the opinions of some Hungarian historians as Hunfalvi Pál, who argued that even in 1404, the villages Vitha, Keresztúr, Csernetfalva and Zvalt-pusztá were donated by the King Sigismund to Bolya and his sons, populating these abandoned parts with Romanians, which settled down on these lands changing including the names of some localities as Keresztúr in Crîstor²².

Thus, Teodor Misaroș brought evidences including archaeological and documentary which could suggest the presence of the Romanians in the Eastern Hungary even earlier than the data officially accepted by the Hungarian historiography and favorable *wise*, nolens volens by the Romanian scientists. Perhaps precisely because of this, the work could not see the light of print until 1990 when the freedom of speech has created this opportunity.

Late 90s of last century have brought new historiographical talks on the “*dismounting of Hungary*” on the occasion of celebrating the mille-centenary in Hungary.

Even in the first issue of *Conviețuirea*, the late Mihai Cozma opened an exciting bracket on the colonization of Hungary and the “Romanian problem”²³. The study raises questions rather than to discuss them since Mihail Cosma does nothing but to sit in mirror the Romanian and Hungarian historiography in the issue “Anonymus”, being known that the Hungarian historiography does not recognize the veracity of those written by the anonymous notary in opposite with the Romanians presence in Transylvania at the moment of the Hungarian colonization in 896, at the same time accepting the information about Hungarians. Providing the reader with the information of “Anonymus” about the realities in Crișana and Transylvania and the antagonistic views of the two historiographies, Mihai Cozma permits the reader to formulate his own opinions, not before to iterate that the Hungarian historians continue to reject categorically the idea that the Hungarians should have met at the moment of the Hungarians’ “*dismounting*”, besides Slavs, Bulgarians, Moravians, Avars, and Romanians²⁴.

²⁰ Eugen Arădeanul, Lucian Emandi, Teodor Bodogae, *Mănăstirea Hodoș-Bodrog*, Arad, 1980, p. 48

²¹ Teodor Misaroș, *Din istoria comunităților bisericești ortodoxe române din Ungaria*, 2nd Edition reviewed, Budapesta, 2002, p.18

²² Hunfalvi Pál, *Az oláhok története (Istoria valahilor)*, Budapest, 1894, vol. II, p. 57-58

²³ Mihai Cozma, *Descălecatul Ungariei și „problema românească”*, in *Conviețuirea (Együttélés)*, year 1, no. 1, Seghedin, 1997, p. 14-19

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 14

Gheorghe Santău, a prominent member of the Romanian intellectual elite in the postwar Hungary, on his turn, initiates a discussion on the seniority of the Romanians in Crișana, including in the Eastern Hungary, and on the Hungarians “dismounting”²⁵. Formed at the University of Cluj in the ‘40s, Gheorghe Santău, is trenchant in his findings related to the Romanians presence in Crișana. Based on the data provided by early medieval chronicles, he considers that at the moment of the Hungarians’ arrival, the Romanians were living here with the Slavic tribes. Alongside the information of the historiographers’ works, in supporting his views, Gheorghe Santău uses also the toponym²⁶. He points including the fact that some Hungarian historians claimed that the Romanians were in the parts of the nowadays Eastern Hungary when the Hungarians came. Unlike the other Romanian scientists from Hungary, Gheorghe Santău believes that even after the Ottoman Empire conquest of Hungary, the Romanians continued to live in the plain of Tisza, this fact being confirmed by the remarks in the official registers and the notes regarding the villages in the Eastern Hungary²⁷. Gheorghe Santău has an original perspective also on the Romanians alleged massive colonization beginning with the 18th century in the Eastern parts of the nowadays Hungary. He believes that this colonization was not massive and was made entirely by chance, unlike Banat, where this phenomenon was conducted under the state close control. Moreover, he believes that at that time the whole plain between the Mureș, Crisis and Someș Rivers was populated mainly by Romanians and only towards the Tisza River Hungarian communities numerically smaller appeared²⁸. That after two centuries, this area is predominantly Hungarian, and the Romanians are reduced only to a few scattered communities, is due to a Hungarian policy of denationalization of the Romanians and of a systematic colonization of the Hungarians between the years 1800-1910²⁹.

In conclusion we can say that the majority of the Romanian researchers in Hungary, in the absence of some systematic archaeological and documentary investigation, consider the beginnings of the Romanian communities in the nowadays Hungary somewhere in the 18th century. Without taking into account that this is also a point of view dominant in the Hungarian historiography, it must be said that the arguments offered by the Romanian scientists from Hungary, as there is no older evidence, nor archaeological and nor documentary belong to the historian’s logic and instrumentation who cannot pronounce for an opinion or other without arguments. Even they recognize this and support the need for research in those directions that could make arguments in the favor of the Romanians’ presence before the Hungarians’ arrival. The problem is that this is unlikely to happen because there is no Romanian of Hungary to conduct such research. No cultural or educational institution in Hungary has employed any

²⁵ Gheorghe Santău, *Vechimea și starea românilor în Crișana*, in *Simpozion*, VIII, Giula, 1999, p. 75-111

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 77

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 85-86

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 89

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 97-98

Romanian ethnic to make these scientific approaches, and whether this would form in a university in Romania it would remain without employment option. The wishes expressed over time by the leadership of the *Research Institute of the Romanians in Hungary* to be budgeted 5-6 positions for Romanian researchers to investigate aspects of the history of this community were doomed to failure. Basically, thus any attempt of a young Romanian willing to be formed as a historian in a university in Romania, as subsequently to return to research the history of the ethnic he's belonging to, is doomed to failure. The potential youth who would form as historians in Hungary would be and even are tributary to the dominants of the Hungarian historiography regarding the Romanian community in Hungary. The views expressed by Gheorghe Santău and Teodor Misaroș belong to some researchers trained in Romania, the first at Cluj and the second at Bucharest.

The brave opinions expressed by Gheorghe Santău and Teodor Misaroș saw the light of print under specific circumstances. Teodor Misaroș was passed into nonexistence when his work was published, before 1989 this being impossible, and Gheorghe Santău was already retired when the occurrence of study, came practically under any pressure, under the "*lectureship of the Hungarian historians*"³⁰, so without to jeopardize his careers or, at best "*to be tolerated, but also marginalized*"³¹.

Until these goals are not achieved, the Romanian community in Hungary has *established* its beginnings at the earliest in the late 17th century and early 18th century. The question remains whether in future will be one to study the beginnings, and especially, who's beginnings.

³⁰ Gheorghe Petrușan, *O schiță a istoriei românilor din Ungaria*, în *Simpozion*, VI, 1997, p. 91-92

³¹ *Ibidem*

ROMAN CIOROGARIU ABOUT AUREL LAZAR'S MEMORY

Sever DUMITRAȘCU

Mihaela CIOCA

Abstract: *This paper aims to outline, through the revealing power of the documents, the destiny of one of the leading people in Transylvania. We can trace, through the official letters sent or received by Bishop Roman Ciorogariu during 1928-1934, the fate of Advocate Aurel Lazăr, who has campaigned for the unification of Transylvania with Romania in December 1918, in whose house was proclaimed the national independence of the Romanians in Transylvania (October 12, 1918). They are raised the difficulties by passing the family after his death, particularly the precarious financial situation of the widow, left to face the impossibility of the authorities of Bucharest to offer her a minimum financial security, perhaps, even their indifference and disinterest. The documents speak for themselves, i.e., to comment them meaning to take off their accuracy.*

Keywords: *Roman Ciorogariu, Aurel Lazăr, Valeria Lazăr, Lazăr's house, life pension*

There are unforgettable moments, exemplary in our history. As we think, it is that we are trying to introduce among our poor lines. They cover the *Great Greybeard*, Roman Ciorogariu, the man of great character, past, as we know, through the purgatory of the national political and cultural battles of 1918, through the Bolshevik dictatorship of Oradea in 1918, through the sufferings of the bombing of the Romanian Senate, through the hard work of organizing a diocese in Oradea, came as a man and faithful to old age, at the old age pain. But, still Man, he did not forget the fighter and his colleague of 1918, Aurel Lazăr. Not forgotten neither his memory. In that sense he has struggled to preserve his memory, to help his family at hard, to be and to remain and to die as a Romanian. Christianly.

We give below some of his interventions. Just as they were. His lines are anthological, they do not imply any comment. They speak for themselves. To comment them, it would be offset against an honest sincerity and attitude, TERRIBLE, in the mentality and human dimension. With Divine Grace. The letters are tangible:

1928

“Dear Minister,

The burden of the old age does not permit me long trips in full winter to Bucharest to make my obeisance I owe you and to inform you on the exceptional

heavy situation of my diocese. But, please, as before, to anticipate my confidence in the official agendas.

Aurel Lazăr, our mutual friend, tells me that you think to regularize the distribution of the aid to parishes, by bishops. It would be a gesture of supreme understanding of the purpose of this aid.

The Hungarian governments were so condescending to the church to decorate not any priest without prior hearing, that leave, of his bishop and we find with priests - even those convicted by the religious bodies - awarded for political services. As much condescending as the Hungarian governments had to the ecclesiastical authority, should have also the Romanian governments, which have the whole interest the clergy to remain intact to the political abominations.

Another method of political grabbing is distributing the aid for churches, but not following the actual needs of the parishes, known by the church authority, but the political force of the commune, i.e., considering the number of votes in the politics ballot box, because the main thing is to know that the aid means political awards. So are crumbling the fine aid if it available to the consistors, should be given where the need was greatest. For example, I have along the border, from the territory of Sălaj and Sătmar, about eight colonies, from the Apuseni Mountains, especially, about whose misery I know you have heard and, about they do not think anybody, and I'm struggling in my infirmities, to arrange for them at least chapels. There are also the new parishes where we have restored the Calvinist and Catholicize Romanians, as well the black poverty in mountain villages. [...]

Please think about this, when you make the budget on cults and distribute the aid for dioceses.

The ray of my hope is your clean thought to give God what is God's.

Receive, Mr. Minister, the assurance of my special consideration that I've been keeping for you since our youth, up to our old.

Oradea, December 28, 1928.
Mr. Minister Dr. Aurel Vlad. Personal

*Roman Ciorogariu
Bucharest¹,*

1930

“Oradea, December 2, 1930

Dear Minister,

From the late Aurel Lazăr remained to his widow the house you know and a debt on it of more than one million. The house worth two million, as only the new adjustments cost them one million lei, in this situation, fatally it has to reach the historic house where the independence of Transylvania had been proclaimed,

¹ *Roman R. Ciorogariu (1852-1936). Studii și Documente*, Oradea, 1981, p. 288-289

for no price, in the strangers' hands and the widow removed from home, what would be a national shame.

I wrote to Cicio to see to this matter, the house to be bought by state as a historic monument, for a national museum in Oradea, with the price of 3-4 million, payable in 3-4 years, even if it could otherwise in the financial situation today, leaving his widow to live in the house as she will live, because she could not bear the pain to get out of her house and buying it, exempting her from the debts Aurel had made, I could say, largely all on his political propagandas. It wouldn't be a moral object if the widow would be left in the black poverty because of the generous sacrifice that Aurel Lazăr had brought in the fight for emancipation and affirmation of the party he held.

A word of You is crucial before the Government and, you are assisted by a general sympathy of all they knew Aurel Lazăr. Mr. Iorga not only wrote eulogistically in his paper, but also, kindly transmitted condolences to the widow, as he knew to assess the pain of a national hero's widow.

His son, Liviu Lazăr, would be accepted by the Blank bank as jurisconsult on the vacant post of his father and asked me to intervene. I do not know those who are legitimate to make the appointment, rather than I take the opportunity to send you this wish, you who sit on the direction of the Marmorosch-Blank bank.

God give you health so you can resume the working thread for strengthening our dear Romanian.

With deep esteem

R [oman] C. [iorogariu]
Bishop

Mr. Dr. Alexandru Vaida
Former Minister, Deputy, etc.

Cluj"²,

1931

"Romania
Presidency of Council of Ministers

Bucharest, June 29, 1931

Grace Father

I will do the impossible to keep the Theological Academy.

For Mrs. Lazăr's house what shall we do, if money is missing completely?

Please, receive the confidence of my respect.

N. Iorga"³

² *Ibidem*, p. 287-288

1934

“Date in Oradea, June 15, 1934

Alexandru Lapedatu

Bucharest

Dear Minister,

The National Committee, met at Aurel Lazăr's house on October 12, 1918, proclaimed the national independence of the Romanians in Transylvania, and on November 15, 1918, in the same house, Aurel Lazăr took the oath of the Romanian National Committee and Romanian officers for the Romanian domination. Aurel Lazăr's late desire was that this house was to become a national museum, which was devised to keep the memories where was arranged the historic act of dissolution from the bonds of Hungary. Politics and costly disease had not allowed him to secure his widow in her material existence, but he left the house responsible for debts.

Sitting in the face of danger that this historic house to get in the strangers' hands, to the shame of the Romanian nation, it was offered to the government for buying, to pay the debts and to let her into a part of home life, after all, in this way finding a solution to save the house from alienation and ensure the existence of the widow of that who was the Bihor region's animator. His political friends have not found a solution when they were in power. Now she is asking from you a life annuity, as it was given lately, so widely, to other widows of deserving men in the struggle for creation of Great Romania.

As a family friend and, appreciating the high role that the late Aurel Lazăr had in our national struggle under the Hungarian domination and liberation struggle ..., please support the bill for administer a life pension to Mrs. Valeria Lazăr ...

R[oman] C. [iorogariu]
Bishop”⁴

Any comment would become an impiety. Point.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 359

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 270-271

EVOLUTIONARY ASPECTS OF THE BRITISH PRESS DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD

Monica POP

Abstract: *"The purpose of the press is difficult to be distinguished". Like other branches of history in general, such as literature, economics or social movements, the press history cannot be built nor understood without a constant reference to the overall development of the society. Perhaps, of all subjects of historical research, the newspaper is the one that has the closest relations with the political state, with the economic situation, social organization and cultural level of the country and the epoch it reflects.*

The domain boundaries of the periodical press have always existed and become increasingly vague, as compared with other print production, appeared before them since the mid-fifteenth century, as brochures, books, pamphlets, as also compared with other media, belonging to the technical progress, as the cinema, at the late 19th century, the radio in the 20s of the 20th century and television in the 30s.

In province, the development of the national press circulation has not prevented the formation of groups of newspapers, often merged with those in London.

This extraordinary development of the British press was not made without a loss of quality. The fierce competition of the newspapers and of the groups between them led to the exploitation of the sensational that removed most of these publications from the traditions of the English journalism.

Keywords: *evolution, press, British, interwar, newspaper*

*"The purpose of the press is difficult to be distinguished"*¹. Like other branches of history in general, such as literature, economics or social movements, the press history cannot be built nor understood without a constant reference to the overall development of the society. Perhaps, of all subjects of historical research, the newspaper is the one that has the closest relations with the political state, with the economic situation, social organization and cultural level of the country and the epoch it reflects.

The domain boundaries of the periodical press have always existed and become increasingly vague, as compared with other print production, appeared before them since the mid-15th century, as brochures, books, pamphlets, as also compared with other media, belonging to the technical progress, as the cinema, at the late 19th century, the radio in the 20s of the 20th century and television in the 30s. No the notion of periodicity for the first ones, nor the support for other printing, do not allow the

¹ Pierree Albert, *Istoria Presei*, Institutul European, Iași, 2002, p. 8

fundamental differences between the functions and content of the current literature, of the written or audio-visual journalism.

Another difficulty of writing the history of the press belongs to the diversity of its forms. Since the 7th century, the concept of periodical press covered a mass strongly disparate by publications, and in the following centuries, their types and categories were diversified such an extent that the variety and multiplicity of the titles often hid the unit of the assembly.

Beyond the common features of all publications, the primarily legal status, the technical details of the construction, and economic of the exploitation, and beyond the formal aspect of the attitude, the originality of content and the specificity of audience of each title is an obstacle in front of the global study of the press. The history of press should try to reconcile the individual study of each title with the presentation of the press world as a whole. In addition, to the others, it is faced with the difficulty “to describe both trees and forest at the same time”².

The history of press is, more than the purpose shows, an auxiliary science of the modern and contemporary history. “Archives of newspaper”³, the journals are the most comprehensive source and, in their diversity, the most objective source of the general history. The newspapers are documents of considerable wealth, but difficult to use. To its primary function, that is to play the life of the journals and to specify the role they played in the evolution of the societies, the history of press adds a sort of secondary function: to help the historians to use the documents provided by newspapers. One of the major goals of the history of press is that of the “contact found beyond the passage of time, in the pages of the old collections of newspapers, with the events of a stony actuality, with the everyday concerns of the past generations and with journalists’ passions”⁴.

After World War I, the growing diversification of the categories and types of publications makes difficult the general presentation of a development which is characterized by its own complexity. The success of publications like magazine illustrated by general or specialized information make the periodicals of this type direct competitor of the daily press. There were now two media markets. The rapid growth of the interest in radio in the 30’s begins to pose problems to the print media that will prove to be redoubtable especially related to the World War II⁵.

To attract and retain the most exigent customers, the major newspapers, accelerating an evolution already begun in the early years of the 20th century have increased their number of pages, their area of information and have diversified their content to satisfy all tastes. The newspaper did not mean anymore a simply reading,

² *Ibidem*, p. 9

³ *Ibidem*

⁴ *Ibidem*

⁵ In each country, the employers’ organizations have attempted to ban or at least hamper the development of the “spoken journals”. In England the first newsletter was issued in 1923, but the media gets the right the news cannot be broadcast until after 19 o’clock. The journal with radio programs had considerable success (BBC *Radio Times* had a circulation of 3,000,000 in 1937). In 1939 there were 9.8 million handsets in England. Apud: Peter Albert, *op. cit.*, p. 77

but an option for reading and hoped to achieve through its variety of articles, the greatest number and, especially, to interest all family members, including women. Equally, the diversification of the content has been an engine of the media evolution. This was, at the level of the great romance reportages and of the magazine type pages (pages of performances, especially of cinema, literary pages, fashion pages and tips for women, gaming and entertainment pages, automobile pages, sports pages the importance of which was very high), much wider than the immediate actuality pages of information, of different facts, or of great current internal and external challenge that competition played.

One of the results of this development was the relative de-politicization of the newspaper of wide circulation, as the information and political articles would be holding from now on a place reduced proportionately and retained less attention that was drawn to other fields. The relations of the reader with “his” newspaper are found to be modified without his reliability to be equally affected. In many countries, notably Germany and France, the press has lost much of its prestige in the eyes of the readers during the war in 1918 that served as a propaganda instrument. However, they have not given up reading the magazines type “canard”⁶, but their commitment was not anymore supported by a relative adherence to the political ideas of their newspaper, but simply to satisfy the curiosity, the tastes or habits foreign to politics or civics. Politics was increasingly portrayed in the major newspapers “beyond the requirements of the press”⁷. The comics played in a way, from now on, the old serials role, ensuring continuity of purchasing by the curious readers.

The press, which remains an authority, is no longer a power. It can still influence the ways of life and thought, but it is unable, in the mentioned period, to form and lead the public.

The diversification of publications and their increasingly accurate adaptation to the readers’ tastes and curiosity have emphasized the national differences. The political developments, from now divergent, of the Western countries, led to the increase of number of publications in enormous proportions. The birth of the authoritarian regimes and, in democracies the contest of the classical liberalism rules, were re imposing the principles of press freedom. “The doctrines of the new totalitarian parties of the extreme left or extreme right equally repudiated the principles of the democracy and the risks created by their free dissemination of propaganda raised particular problems”⁸.

Blum Government submitted a law project to toughen the punishment for press offenses, in many cases even reaching the criminal cases: it provided also a rudimentary original status for the press institutions and, in particular the substitute of the responsible guarantor with the head of the institution legally responsible for the function of director of publication. The draft was not voted by the Senate in 1937.

⁶ *Canard* in the French language is the name of a duck species; then applied to gender, means he-duck. In addition to these proper meanings *Canard* word also has a third, figuratively, when means: *a piece of news of a story of feeling, a whopping fable of a journal*.

⁷ Pierre Albert, *op. cit.*, p. 88

⁸ *Ibidem*

Concentration through disappear or actually eliminations publications of small print runs, by competition with large circulation newspapers, existed even before 1914. At that time, there were also in the most part of Western countries important groups of press. “The new terms of the journalism in case of newspapers, and the periodicals, obliged, unfortunately, to rather important human and technical means which only the significant press institutions could provide to their own publications”⁹.

The increased concentration through competition has been precipitated by the economic crisis. The currency devaluation has forced the newspapers in most countries, to increase the selling price. These increases were regularly followed by a decrease in sales and only the strongest companies could withstand these blows.

In 1920 the London dailies reprints went from 5.4 million to 8.5 in 1930, and 11.5 million in 1935. The province press experienced a similar development, passing from 2.5 to 6 million, predominantly for evening newspapers. As for the Sunday press, its development was hindered, while its global circulations remained constant at 13 million copies.

Lords Press groups of newspapers have emerged stronger from the war. Lord Northcliffe, the most important newspaper publisher in England, owner of the newspapers *The Times*, *Daily Mail* and many others, played with all the press an important role during World War II, especially in the last year of the war, when he organized the Propaganda Department at the beginning of the year 1918. This department was a separate ministry, absolutely independent of all the other ministries, besides that of War, working jointly, and the only and most famous was the Lord himself. Moreover, Lord Northcliffe refused the Aviation portfolio that Lloyd George had given him, preferring to organize and lead with a rare cunning the Propaganda Department, which brought immense services to the cause of the Allied during the last years of the war.

At the Propaganda Department (then famous Crew-House) is work from morning until night with a method and an admirable enthusiasm under the leadership of Lord Northcliffe, “to throw discouragement and demoralization among the enemy”¹⁰. Lord Northcliffe had around him a number of collaborators from among the most eminent persons of the English journalism. There were, besides Henry Wickam Steed¹¹ also Seton Watson, Sir H. Campbell, Mr. Allen Leeper from the Foreign Office and one of the secretaries of the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, Guest, former director of an oil company in Romania, then Colonel Lord Onslow and Colonel Baker liaison between the British military mission and allied military missions etc. There were also several representatives of the oppressed nations and Austro-Hungary. Lord Northcliffe, who went daily to the Crew House, was seen close to anyone, except Steed, who was his right hand, and other several intimate, which spread to the entire working program which had to be met every day. The Germans’ hate to death to Lord

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 89

¹⁰ George Moroianu, *Legăturile noastre cu Anglia*, Cluj, 1923, p. 73

¹¹ H. Wickham “Stickum” Steed, British journalist and historian, with his full name Henry Wickham Steed was born on October 10 1871 in Long Melford, England and died on January 13, 1956.

Northcliffe was reflected by the publication of the newspaper *Anti Northcliffe Mail* and beating a “medal of hate”¹² on which Lord Northcliffe was represented in the face of the giant in mythology - eater of children.

The allies, whose cause he served with an unwavering faith, with wisdom and patriotism, have retained a vivid gratitude to the memory of the illustrious Lord Northcliffe. This was demonstrated once heard of his death by many events of painful sympathy and deep regrets sent to the London Government and Northcliffe's widow, from all over the world.

The Romanian press has expressed then all its gratitude and piety to the memory of this noble son of Great Britain who also was a steadfast friend and a warm supporter of the cause of the Romanian people. Indeed, in an article - manifesto, published in no. 3 of November, 1918 in the newspaper *Le Matin* in Paris (8 days before the German armistice) article that made it around the earth, Lord Northcliffe, with prophetic intuition reveals the conditions which the Allies were to impose to the Central Powers in the peace which was installing after the collapse of their armies. In paragraph five of the exposure of Northcliffe, the author stated verbatim: *Insurance for all the peoples of Austria-Hungary to take their place among the free nations of the world, and their right to join with their brothers of blood across the boundaries of present of Austria-Hungary. This involves the establishment of the Independent States Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the reduction of Hungary in the ethnographic boundaries of the Hungarian race and the **unity of all Romanians with the current Kingdom of Romania**, etc.*¹³. Northcliffe's death in 1922 amended the physiognomy of the wide circulation press. *The Times* was, after many adventures, sold to Astor (soon to become Lord) for 1.58 million pounds. It created a “Board of Trustees” (supervisory board) composed of eminent persons of the *establishment*, responsible, inter alia, to ensure the independence of the newspaper.

The head editor, Geoffrey Dawson, is moving it towards conservatism, and anticommunism, towards the policy of concessions made to Hitler's Germany. The circulation remains below 200,000 copies. Lord Rothermere¹⁴ takes over the legacy of

¹² George Moroianu, *op. cit.*, p. 79

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 80

¹⁴ Harold Sidney Harmsworth, first Viscount Rothermere (born England 1868, d. 1940 Bermuda) was an aristocratic British owner with his brother Alfred (Lord Northcliffe) of a media corporation that included the *London Mail* and *Daily Mirror*. He was a pioneer of popular media. Its direct descendants still controls *The Daily Mail* and *General Trust*. During World War II he was, for a time, a member of Lloyd George Government. In Romania is best known as a staunch supporter of the cause of Hungarian irredentist. It remained famous in this direction, his article *Hungary's Place under the Sun* in 1927 (published in *London Daily Mail*). In 1928, Rothermere took part, together with Iuliu Maniu, into the missed plot with target to bring to the throne of Carol Caraiman. Among others, he was the one who organized the printing in Hungary manifests containing Carol's proclamation to the country and were scattered in the great meeting organized by Maniu and held in Alba Iulia. Staunchly anticommunist, Rothermere promoted in his papers his policy of conciliation with Nazi Germany (appeasement). In 1934, his papers have promoted British Fascist Union (BUF), the only major newspaper that did it. British intelligence documents, made public in 2005, show that Rothermere wrote to congratulate Hitler for

his brother, Alfred (Lord Northcliffe)¹⁵. In the publications of the group, *Daily Sketch*, *Evening News*, and especially the *Daily Mail*, he defends a very favorable policy of the Nazi Germany. *Daily Mail's* success decreases for this reason and, consequently, in 1937 no longer than 1.6 million copies are printed. The Rothermere group failed in its attempt to launch a network of evening newspapers. Rothermere was forced to abandon in early 30s *Daily Mirror* which compromised his political success. It was acquired by its chief editor, Harry Bartholomew and Cecil King. The circulation to that date was 730,000 copies; under the new management it reaches 1.3 million in 1940, but its success is evident in the war, when it reaches one of the harshest critics of Churchill's action. In 1944, its circulation was two million copies.

Lord Beaverbrook successfully leads the *Daily Express*. The conservative publication drove up to 2.2 million copies in 1937. There took part of the group also *Evening Express* and *Evening Standard*.

Daily Standard, which was condemned by the war to become a weekly, regained some force in 1922, at the time when it succeeded with the support of the publication *Trade Unions*, organ of the Labor Party. The financial difficulties led him to conclude an agreement with *Odhams Press* group that acquired 51% stake in the new company, 49% remained in *Trade Unions*. Under the leadership of J. S. Elias – the future Lord Southwood, who in 1929 replaces Lansbury at the leadership remains loyal to the *Labor Party's* line - the newspaper has reached two million copies in 1937.

The literary press regained its strength by *News Chronicle*, was born in 1930 from the merger of the old *Daily News*, of *Daily Chronicle* and of the venerable *Westminster Gazette*. In 1939, circulation has exceeded 1.4 million copies. As the *Daily Telegraph*, it was bought in 1928 by the Berry brothers who made fortune with the press of province and illustrated press. The first became Lord Camrose and bought *Financial Times*; the second became Lord Kemsley separating of his brother in 1937. Lord Kemsley has rehired some of Lord Rothermere's old newspapers including *Daily Sketch*.

In province, the development of the national press circulation has not prevented the formation of groups of newspapers, often merged with those in London.

This extraordinary development of the British press was not made without a loss of quality. The fierce competition of the newspapers and of the groups between them led to the exploitation of the sensational that removed most of these publications from the traditions of the English journalism.

annexation of Czechoslovakia (1938), and to encourage him to invade Romania. Some of its activities were pro-fascist.

¹⁵ In Britain the first media tycoons, was Alfred Harmsworth and his brother Harold, in 1888 founded the weekly *Answers (Răspunsuri)*, addressed to the working class, combining lightweight articles with stories competition. In 1896, by *Daily Mail* the Harmsworth brothers brought style newspapers containing headlines and images. Later, Alfred Harmsworth founded the *Weekly Dispatch*, *London Evening News* and *The Times*. Thus, Harmsworth had not only the popular newspapers but also the first newspaper of "quality". He received the noble title of Lord Northcliffe and became a powerful and influential figure.

BESSARABIA IN PROFESSOR VICTOR JINGA'S LIFE AND MEMORIES

Mihai D. DRECIN

Abstract: *The economist, academic, politician and minister Victor Jinga, a well-known personality in the interwar Romania, although of Transylvanian origin, of Satulung-Săcele Brașov, was strongly linked spiritually to Bessarabia.*

Belonging to a family of shepherds who practiced transhumance, his grandfather and his father pastured their sheep in the Southern Bessarabia, in the area of the place called Ialpug, then in the village Cioromîrza, Tighina County, even since the second half of the 19th century. Moreover, his grandfather remained buried somewhere near Bolgrad. As a child and teenager, Victor Jinga spent his summer school holidays, then the period of World War I (1915-1918), in this Eastern part of the Romanianity. In his memoirs, still in manuscript, with a genuine talent for storytelling he leaves memorable pages dedicated to places, people and their mentalities, to the political situation in the area, seen through the young eyes, then of the economist who analyzes the labor value in Bessarabia of the end of the 19th century - and early 20th century and thinks its profitable modern formulas.

The wedding godmother of Livia and Victor Jinga's family, Zina Moroianu, was Bessarabian, of an old family of Moldavian intellectuals. It was another reason for Victor Jinga's natural reaction to protest against the occupation of Bessarabia and the Northern Bukovina in June 1940, by the Soviets. Wishing to contribute to restoring the Romanian administration, after the release in the summer of 1941, Victor Jinga, together with the colleagues and students of the Commercial Academy in Cluj- Brașov, makes a study visit in Bessarabia and Transnistria in the spring of 1943.

In 1978, when celebrating the 60 years from the Union of Bessarabia with Romania, Victor Jinga pays a visit to the Bessarabian leader, Panteleimon Halipa, and discuss together about the Bessarabian personalities who have contributed to the Union of 1918.

These wires, says Victor Jinga, "settled down Bessarabia constantly in my affection and my soul, soon after my attachment to Transylvania".

Keywords: *Victor Jinga, Bessarabia, Ialpug, Zina Gore-Moroianu, Panteleimon Halipa*

Professor Victor Jinga, born in 1901 into a wealthy family of shepherds from Satulung-Săcele Brașov, graduated the Greek Orthodox High Commercial School of Brașov, and then the Higher Economic Institute of the University Ca

Foscari of Venice (1920-1925). Here he received his doctorate in economics with a thesis aiming the land reform in 1921 in the Rouned Romania and its effects on the peasant society and Romanian state's agriculture.

Returned home, he involves in the process of accelerating the modernization of the country, amid the national ideal fulfillment. After filling several jobs in the economic institutions at national level and in Săcele- Braşov city, in 1929 becomes a lecturer, then professor at the Academy of High Commercial and Industrial Studies in Cluj. During the refuge of the Commercial Academy in Braşov, after the Vienna Dictate, he will occupy the position of Rector in the period 1942-1945.

Member of the National Peasant Party since 1926, he comes into his political life, from February 1 to November 23, 1939 occupying the position of Secretary of State in the National Economy Minister, responsible for the co-operation field.

Excluded from the higher education by the communist regime in 1947, professor Jinga will have the fate of hundreds of thousands of Romanians who rejected the socio-economic and political model of the Bolshevik type. As a result, he will peregrinate through most political prisons: the camp of Caracal, Codlea Braşov, Văcăreşti, Aiud, the Channel Danube-Black Sea, Jilava, for almost 10 years, with a "break" from August 1954 to March 1959. Released in 1963, he will provide a modest job as a researcher in an institute of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest. He will die on July 1, 1990 being buried in his native village cemetery - Satulung-Săcele Braşov.

Nationalist convinced and determined he will be a defender of the country territorial integrity, suffering enormously for the temporal loss of the Northeastern Transylvania, Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia in 1940, then again, Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia in 1944¹.

Bessarabia, occupied a special place in his soul from several reasons².

Firstly he spent several holidays in the Southern Bessarabia, in the area of the lake Ialpuş, near the villages Cimişlia and Babele, near Bolgrad, where his father and elder brother had rented a large area of grassland, built up a solid household where they grew their sheep and other animals, practicing the traditional transhumance³. From December 1916 to - September 1918, during the German-Austro-Hungarian occupation of the Romanian Country and Dobrogea,

¹ Details from Mihai D. Drecin, *Postface* to Victor Jinga, *Probleme fundamentale ale Transilvaniei*, 2nd Edition, tended by Mihai D. Drecin and Margareta Susana Spănu, Braşov, 1995, p. 703-722

² In memory of Victor Jinga, remaining in manuscript, 289 pages, 34 pages refer to Bessarabia (p.25, 31-35, 37, 41-67). They have been transcribed by Mrs. Maria Jinga since January 26, 1991, after a series of books of Professor Victor Jinga. Memoirs stop at 1939. Professor Jinga memories begin to draw at age 75 years (1976). Without giving them a title, we have called *Reflection and Record Expressions* encountered even in p. 1 records. The material is in our possession, being offered in 1993 by Mrs. Maria Jinga for writing a monograph of the life and work of Professor.

³ V. Jinga, *Reflexiuni şi consemnări*, in mss., p. 32

his whole family withdrew into a close location⁴. Moreover, the material difficulties of Jinga family, which remained in Săcelele Braşov after the outbreak of the World War I when the family head was with the sheep in the Southern Bessarabia and could not send money in Austria-Hungary⁵, located on Russia's other side, determined it to leave Transylvania even since the summer of 1915. After stops at an uncle in Constanţa, at a landholder at Caramorat, then in the spring of 1916 at another uncle - the owner of a domain in Murgeanca, Ialomiţa County, in the situation when the Southern Romania and Dobrogea had been occupied by the Central Powers, the family goes into the Southern Bessarabia, via Brăila-Galaţi-Gura Prutului-Reni on December 6, 1916. This time, Jinga senior rented a domain in the village Cioromîrza, near the station Romanincu, Tighina County⁶.

The descriptions made by Victor Jinga to these lands and their people are special, his pencraft talent being evident. The nature and people - Romanians, Gagauzes (i.e., those persons who belong to a population of the Southern Bessarabia, of Turkish origin, but of Christian religion - our note), Germans or Cossacks are excellent in their essence. Some quotes are needed to convince.

„... The map of the Southern Bessarabia, its narrowing with the sea and the Danube – diffused in a delta with mysterious waters and vegetation, with immaculate and graceful birds, with lovely sunrises and sunsets – the places from there, with high banks and their clean water, refreshed by natural channels that link them to the Danube, the places with golden tiny sandy beaches, and towards sea, the beautiful beach as that from Budachi, the wavy terrain and sometimes, steep, the vineyards and the vegetable gardens watered by wheel set buckets, sometimes huge, moved by horses, the scattered fountain shadoofs carried out by the piety of several good Christians or their intention of perpetuating the memory of any worthy and dear predecessor, the crucifixes at crossroads, the windmills wings - large wooden clocks that measured intermittently the indefinable time and ground the every day bread and polenta flour... In addition, these places people, their bred chosen horses, rapid and with tails-a-land, the abundance of various fish species headed by the sturgeons from the refuge of the Dniester River, and elsewhere ... And so the immediate North of this area rich in water, haunting, often, the predatory drought of Bugeac, everywhere the forests were cut, the fire wood missing – people were burning dung and straw mixtures, straw and corn cobs, and the only working wood was the acacia tree, scattered and lessened”⁷.

The „Moldavians” in Bessarabia are traditionalists (i.e. they did not accept that foreigners of the place to be buried in their cemeteries, be they even Romanians over the Danube or Prut), pious (the church and their language saved them by Russification), gentle and hospitable; although not reluctant to upgrade.

⁴ *Ibidem*

⁵ „Mother, my sister and me (Victor Jinga – n.n.) remained in Satulung without livelihoods”. Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 37

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 41-43

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 34

On the other hand, the Germans are presented as inhospitable, individualistic, and imprisoned in their own community; the Gagauzes inclined to looting and disorder, and the Cossacks instrument of the Russian authorities in maintaining the order and discipline.

Victor Jinga believes that the Russian perfidy exercised on the Romanians in Bessarabia, which gave a misleading and poor individual liberty, but lacking them of the Romanian-language school and church, was „more dangerous than the Hungarian powerless violence” in Transylvania. Perfidy pushes to recklessly, indifference and resignation – attitudes favorable to the ethnic assimilation. Violence arouses the reactions of the aggrieved, urges him to organization and struggle, and reinvigorates his national sentiment⁸.

The economist’s eye penetrates and explains the “dramatic paradox of Bessarabia: its poverty (which) was of the abundance of agriculture and livestock, of the lack of some dispatching markets, the lack of some roads easy passable in all seasons. The peasants had no kind of economic organization, no sales or purchase (co-operatives of West-European type – our note), the contact with the market was depressing and ... inhuman; it was selling, we could say for nothing. ... You could see nearly nowhere, the effective and constructive intervention of the public authorities. There was no special public work accomplished, besides the precarious and few railways.”⁹

In such a situation, the work had almost no value, was not rewarded, and could not ensure accumulation of surplus value, of property. This explains that Victor Jinga’s grandfather and father could not acquire property, ensuring their family only a „weak satiety”¹⁰. In addition, the Russian revolution shattered even the family small economies.

In these circumstances Victor Jinga wondered if the efforts of his father and grandfather, the latter died and buried somewhere in the Southern Bessarabia, the long periods of time when men lived in isolation from their families, were justified? The answer is absolutely negative! What brought on the Romanian shepherds from Transylvania into the Southern Bessarabia, even in Crimea and Caucasus was “an illusion and a routine, a lack of information on the economic realities of this province”. That the sheep breeding made on large spaces, as in Bessarabia were enough, that could be rented at low prices, and the Russian fiscal and administration were lenient – it was a temptation transmitted from generation to generation. They lost sight of the extremely low prices at which the Romanian shepherds sold their products to the wholesale traders¹¹.

Victor Jinga sees the Moldavians in Bessarabia, naturally, a branch of the Carpathian-Danube-Pontic Romanity, cursed by history, resistance by preserving

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 62-63

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 61

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 25

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 61-62

the traditions and language, in which soul of the smouldering national consciousness emerged in all its glory and determination in the spring of 1918.

Bessarabia comes back in the attention of Victor Jinga, as of the entire nation, in June 1940. The dastardly occupation of the province, along with the Northern Bukovina, the USSR wakes the reaction of the university and politician. The more so as the wedding godmother of Livia and Victor Jinga, Zina Moroianu, the wife of the fellow village man and of the former Rector of the Commercial Academy of Cluj - Gheorghe Moroianu, was Bessarabian of origin. In a letter dated Cluj, July 11, 1940, Victor Jinga addressed to their godmother "The sad story of Bessarabia, has brought us – Cita and me – with our thought to you who came among us from the noble Moldavian land beyond the Prut. We know that you have there one or two sisters and, you, especially have all the memories of a beautiful childhood among a family with Romanian deep feelings. And I have in Bolgrad my grandfather's grave and, on the bank of Ialpug several summers thirty years ago lived happily on my father's small domain. Your sadness is, of course, higher. And ours is not lower; it is, however, alleviated by the hope that justice will triumph and the Romanian land of Bessarabia will be ours again"¹².

The liberation of Bessarabia by the Romanian army in June-July 1941, the measures taken by the Romanian leadership for the rapid restoration of the Romanian governance and institutions in province, awake in Victor Jinga's soul not only the childhood and adolescence nostalgia, but even the compunctions of the politician who failed in the interwar years to determine the leadership central institutions of the country to think and apply a general policy in the favor of the development and real integration of the province in the Rounded Romania.

Thus, we find the following assessment in his memoirs: "Those 22 years which have followed (1918 to 1940 – our note) were not for the liberated Bessarabia what they should be. They not brought for this province or enough culture, or enough civilization; they have been too many years without achievements which the oppressed Bessarabia was due to. Neither the Moldavians over there we did not close to our hearts with love, understanding and accomplishments for which they were entitled. Even more, in Bessarabia have hidden some Romanians from over here the Prut only with the thought of catch, at any cost and by any means, as this province is also a place of exile for some dishonest and abusive state employees. Nor there, the violent protest and the steady demands for a better life, for progress and humanity arose. Scattered among various political parties, most of the Bessarabian leaders have pledged to fight for power, some even for rise, neglecting the Moldavian people and its great problems of civilization and culture, of economic advance and of moral and political education"¹³.

¹² Mihai D.Drecin, *Viața politică din România anilor 1931-1940, oglindită în corespondența lui Victor Jinga și Gheorghe Moroianu*, in vol. „Relații internaționale și studii de istorie. Omagiu profesorului Constantin Bușe”, Ed. Universității din București, 2009, p. 317

¹³ Victor Jinga, *Reflexiuni și consemnări.*, p. 64

From the autumn of the 1941 to the autumn of the 1943, the Bucharest government will organize a series of movements of several politics, religion and education personalities in Bessarabia. The aim was to strengthen inwards the province's Romanianity seriously affected by year of Soviet rule, marked by plunder and terror, material destructions and political deportations to Siberia. In this context, as Rector of the Commercial Academy of Cluj- Braşov, Victor Jinga, along his wife, will make a study trip in Bessarabia and Transnistria from April 26 to May 6, 1943. In fact, he will lead a real delegation of 40 people, of which 16 teachers and 27 students. The group of teachers will consist of Prof. Palmieri Ruggero with his wife, Prof. Gheorghe Dragoş, Lecturer Ionel Tamislav, Lecturer Augustin Tătaru, Assist. Alexandru Herlea, Assist. Ioan Tarţa, Assist. Gheorghe Stoica with his wife, and the General-Secretary Vasile Stroie¹⁴. With this opportunity they explored the possibility of acquiring some works of specialty from the libraries of the Universities in Odessa and Tiraspol. As a result, in the period July 24 to August 24, 1943, the teaching assistant Gheorghe Stoica, together with his wife, moves from Tiraspol and Odessa, where from he sends on August 12, 1943, five boxes of books¹⁵. On December 17, 1943, Alexandru Bărbat consigns also from Odessa, another box of scientific books weighing 91 kg.¹⁶. Moreover, the leadership of the Academy had started a real action of endowment with books and periodicals of the Central Library and Commercial Academy and of the Romanian Language and Literature Seminar Library. In this respect they delegate Prof. Olimpiu Boitoş¹⁷.

Over the years, having gone through the ordeal of the detentions in the communist prisons, Victor Jinga not miss an opportunity to recall Bessarabia and its patriots who fought for the Union with Romania. In a delicate moment for the Romanian culture, immediately after the measures taken by N. Ceauşescu in 1971 when it was launched a true "cultural revolution" of Maoist type, Victor Jinga pays, on the evening of March 27, 1978, a visit to Pantelimon Halipa, former Vice President of the Country Council of Chişinău exactly 60 years before. Their discussions were transcribed by Victor Jinga on a ministerial sheet immediately he returned home¹⁸. At his 95 years old, Pan Halipa, perfectly sober, was living in Bucharest on Alexandru Donici Street, no. 34, together with his son, an engineer. On the day of his visit, he was surrounded by 15-20 Bessarabians came to see him and to commemorate the astral day of Bessarabia. Several days later, on April 19, Victor Jinga makes a new visit to Pan Halipa. On this occasion, they can talk quietly about Constantin Stere, Ion Pelivan, Vasile Stroescu, Dr. Radovici, Paul

¹⁴ National Archives - Brasov County, *Fund: Commercial Academy Cluj-Brasov*, file 5, Management of Own Funds on the financial year 1943/1944, Vol III, f. 248, 249, 249 back. Moving cost 100,000 lei

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, file 4, vol II, f. 174, 175, 176-180

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 197

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 153, Delegation no. 3877/17 I 1944

¹⁸ Archive Victor Jinga, Bucharest, *Fund Personnel*, uninventoried. Clear that we have two photocopies of the material.

Gore (Zina Moroianu's brother), about the Memorandum submitted by Halipa in 1975 to the Helsinki conference on the issue of the Romanian Bessarabia kidnapped by Russians. Details provided by the Bessarabian leader connected to different moments in the history of Bessarabia fight for Union, are very interesting, give details about the life of the above mentioned personalities. Victor Jinga finds out that the previous days Pan Halipa was visited by Alexandru Bîrlădeanu who "asked him information about Stere because he wants to edit a book about him".

Finally, Victor Jinga confesses to his host saying that "... being in Bessarabia in 1917 and my father being subscribed to the Moldavian journal written with Cyrillic letters, <Cuvânt moldovenesc> from Chişinău, I sent to this journal my only patriotic poem, which was immediately published. The journal was led by Halipa". At the end of each meeting, Pan Halipa, who was aware of the current situation in Bessarabia, reading both the Romanian and Russian press, rising on his feet, "reaffirmed his love for the land which he had left, the right of Bessarabia to return to the Romania's upcountry and the confidence in the victory of Romanians' claims of this old Romanian provinces, warm words, inspired, fair"- Victor Jinga ends his manuscript notes.

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In conclusion, Victor Jinga, of Transylvanian origin, rose in a Romanian province, in which he fully felt, until his adolescence, the foreign domination, and a knower of Bessarabia even since his early childhood, he knew to appreciate this province from the Eastern Romanianity its same anxiety and desire for union with Romania. Moreover, he writes in his memoirs that "my grandfather's grave in Bessarabia, the long work of my father and my elder brother in this province, the lovely holidays on the bank of Ialpug and, above all, the ancient and majority Romanianism in this land of the ever great Moldavia, the citadels of the Eastern boundary (Hotin, Soroca, Tighina, Cetatea Albă) of the Romanian earth *have settled Bessarabia constantly in my love and my soul, soon after my attachment to Transylvania* (our underline)"¹⁹.

¹⁹ Victor Jinga, *Reflexiuni şi consemnări*, p. 33-34

ASPECTS OF BEIUȘ BETWEEN 1940 AND 1944

Klementina ARDELEAN

Abstract: *The Cooperation Council under the City Hall of Beiuș played a central role in organizing the best possible local administration, in the conditions of the difficulties produced by the consecution of World War II. The gathering under this body of all representatives of the public institutions with the local activity has allowed the coordination of their actions, aiming to ensure the propitious climate as the inhabitants' life of the Southern Bihor to take place in conditions of normality.*

Keywords: *Beiuș, Cooperation Council, administration, population, sanitary service*

As a result, of the “arbitration” of Vienna on August 30, 1940, Romania was forced to cede to Hungary the Northwestern Transylvania, representing 43,492 km² of a territory with 2.6 million of inhabitants¹.

The new historical realities sanctioned the division into two sides of Bihor County, its Northern side – with the residential town Oradea - and the Eastern side, with the corresponding population being that ceded to Hungary. The Southern part of the county, starting with the village Hidișelul de Jos, remained in Romania, so that all county administrative, gendarmerie and military institutions were transferred to Beiuș, a little town that earned until then a justified reputation by its secondary schools and the national and cultural activity of the local intellectuality². By the “arbitration” the county has been missed of 82 notary districts with 182 rural communes, remaining with 61 notary districts with 238 rural communes, plus the urban village Beiuș, which on September 13, 1940, became formally the capital of the county³.

Becoming county residential, Beiuș was forced to assume the accommodation in appropriate buildings as possible, of the main county institutions: Prefecture, County Court, the Legion of Gendarmes, the Military Circle, of the District Police Quaestorship and others. Also, the number of the town inhabitants increased significantly, increasing the demographic pressure, especially with the arrival of many refugees from the ceded territory of the Northern Transylvania, whom had to provide

¹ Silviu Dragomir, *Transilvania înainte și după arbitrajul de la Viena*, „Cartea românească” Printing House of Cluj, Sibiu, 1943, p. 3

² Antonio Faur, *Raporturile militarilor sovietici cu populația și administrația din vestul României (1944-1945)*, University of Oradea Publishing House, Oradea, 2002, p. 170

³ National Archives - Bihor County Directorate, *Bihor County Prefecture Fund* (hereafter AN-DJBh, *fund PJB*)), dos. 32/1940, f. 109-110

shelter and food. Only a few months after the “arbitration”, the population grew from 5071 inhabitants to 6590 in January 1941, to 7744 in July 1941, as in 1942 to reach slightly more than 10,000 inhabitants⁴.

In the autumn of 1940, in close collaboration with the Prefecture of Bihor County, the City Hall of Beiuș initiated a series of measures to facilitate Romanian refugees and officials from various institutions established in the village, finding, at least provisionally, of some housing places, so, there was established besides Prefecture, a rental Office⁵. Also, to ensure an effective coordination between the administrative authorities transferred to Beiuș they decided to establish, in addition to the administrative-territorial unit of Beiuș, an advisory structure, called Cooperation Council. Through this body, between the management of the local governance and the other public institutions would be ensured an obligatory regular contact and a synchronization of the measures designed to eliminate the drawbacks caused by the consecution of World War II⁶.

Its mission was to coordinate the action of the local administrative bodies, dependent on various ministries, in order to ensure the best possible performance of these institutions. Being so, the Council could not take decisions on behalf of the local congregation, as the elected municipal Council decided, which, being out of the community vote, was, its political representation. The representatives of the main local occupations working in the Cooperation Council, together with the local administrative authorities were not elected, but appointed, based on the community consultation, following a summary proceeding. Consequently, by the nature of composition, the role of the Council was only one technical, to coordinate, and not political, to represent⁷.

The sphere of action of the Council was very diverse, since it was bordered not only to the strictly administrative jurisdiction, but was concerned with all matters that directly or indirectly regarded the administrative unit⁸.

The Cooperation Council under the City Hall of Beiuș was chaired by Ioan T. Mureșan, the mayor-in-chief of the village and it was composed of members as such and appointed members. The members as such were confirmed by the decision of the local governance leader and the appointed members were designated by the administrative general inspector of the regional district of Alba Iulia, at the proposal of the city father-in-chief.

Through its membership, the Council expressed the needs of the various sectors of local activity and debated, under the direct leadership of the mayor, the

⁴ AN-DJBh, *Beiuș City Hall fund*, dos. 129/1941, f. 5; *Ibidem*, dos. 124/1940-1942, f. 57, 229; *Ibidem*, dos. 35/1942, f. 103

⁵ *Ibidem*, dos. 127/1941, f. 363

⁶ AN-DJBh, *Beiuș City Hall fund* (hereafter AN-DJBh, *POB fund*), dos. 161/1944 - 1945, f. 7. On July 16, 1941, Ministry of Interior Affairs - Department of Local Governance of Bucharest sent a letter to the prefect of Bihor County, which noted that, in order no. 2995 of April 24, 1941, it required the establishment of City Halls Councils within each urban commune and asked the starting of the setting up actions (*Ibidem*, dos. 124/1940-1942, f. 58).

⁷ *Ibidem*, dos. 161/1944 - 1945, f. 8

⁸ *Ibidem*, dos. 150/1943, f. 43

necessary remedial measures. The choice of measures under discussion and their implementation was still decided by the mayor. The leaders of various public services who were members in this council were obliged to cooperate in carrying out such measures, as determined by the head of the local governance⁹.

To be able to exercise their prerogatives, the Council was obliged to draw up activity plans that required registering the concerns imposed by a good local management, order, time and means of enforcement¹⁰. This should include both the works done by budgetary means, approved together with the budget, and other activities such as: moral, culture, social and care nature actions (establishment of canteens, dormitories to help the wounded etc.) as well technical papers, made with extra-budgetary resources (the community work, voluntary contributions etc.).

By the latest of the 15th day of the month, each member of the Council was required to notify in writing the structure President the problems that he wanted to bring for debating. The notices of the meetings of the Council should be done individually and in writing at least three days off before the meeting and had to include the agenda of the meeting¹¹.

In case of disagreement between the mayor and one or more members, the ultimate decision belonged to the mayor-in-chief. The Council does not vote, each member being obliged to implement the measures even if they were contrary to the opinions claimed in session¹².

The issues discussed at each meeting of the Council were recorded in one process-verbal, containing the following mandatory elements:

1. the full names of the members present and absent from meetings, the explanation of their absence from the current meeting or from the previous ones, left unjustified;
2. the measures taken against those who played truant;
3. everything that was done meantime of those established in the previous meetings and in case it could not run something, to be highlighted the cause that has prevented the implementation of (bad will, lack of means) and the measures taken for its removal;
4. the record of the persons who spoke and their proposals;
5. the decisions taken by the president, the manner to run the tasks assigned, and the time of execution and the person name required to perform it;
6. if one member argued during the debate a different viewpoint of the decision taken by the President and insisted on his opinion and after the decision, his point of view to be recorded in the process-verbal of the meeting immediately after the decision of the President on the issue in question¹³.

⁹ *Ibidem*, dos. 124/1940-1942, f. 199

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 23; dos. 150/1943, f. 234

¹¹ *Ibidem*, f. 252-253

¹² *Ibidem*

¹³ *Ibidem*, f. 254

The minutes should be signed by the President and Secretary and a copy had to be submitted within three days after the date of meeting to the administrative General Inspectorate of the district of Alba Iulia. The unjustified absence from the meetings of the persons composes the Council, the sabotage of the proper course of the activity, or the lack of interest shown at meetings or in carrying out the tasks for which the members were responsible by the president's decision were disciplinary punished¹⁴.

In a decision of the mayor of Beiuș, Ioan T. Mureșan, on March 2, 1943, which reconfirmed the members as such in the Cooperation Council of the City Hall, we find that the composition of this structure was consisting of the following: Dr. Emil Popp (health prime doctor of Beiuș City), Dr. Augustin Butariu (veterinary prime doctor of the locality), Dr. Nicolae Fluieraș (president of the Interschool Council), Professor Victor Popoviciu (the delegate of *Astra*), Liviu Herlea (local police chief), Petru E. Papp (Orthodox dean), Dr. Valeriu Hetco (Greek-Catholic dean), lt. col. Alexandru Popp (Prefect of Bihor County), Ioan Șuta (former mayor), lt. col. Vasile Albu (Territorial Circle commander), col. Petru Predan (Garrison commander), Dr. Aurelian Necșulescu (chief of the local public prosecution), Alexandru Băruția (representative of Chamber of Commerce and Industry), Alexandru Rițiu (president of the county work office), Mircea Ștefănuț (Financial Manager), Major Traian Butu (underinspector – with the premilitary preparation)¹⁵.

In addition to these members as such of the Council, at the meetings were summoned other local specialists, too, when an issue concerning their field of activity appeared on the agenda¹⁶.

Each meeting concluded, as we have already mentioned in the lines above, with one process-verbal, which was recording the names of those present and absent from the meetings, the discussions and decisions. In the frame of the City Hall fund of Beiuș during the years 1940 - 1944, we recovered a total of 22 minutes of the meetings of that structure, 20 of them dating from the period of January 1942 - July 1943, and two from the meetings of December 29, 1943, March 23, 1944 respectively.

At the beginning of its activity, the Council was meeting once a month or whenever the mayor deemed necessary. Of an order of the Ministry of Internal Affairs – the Office for Studies, Documentation and Statistics no. 112 606, of November 3, 1942, addressed to the City Hall of Beiuș we hear that beginning with November 1, 1942, the Council will be convened, necessarily, at least once a month¹⁷.

The Council should bring to debate only important issues, claiming the cooperation of several administrative bodies or, of whose solution got difficulties, such as: the public supply situation, the ways to help the families of the persons involved, combating the alcoholism, the way to allocate the funds from the annual

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 255-256

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 52

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 73

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, dos. 124/1940-1942, f. 115

budget of the City Hall, the plan of farming, the citizenship education on the cult of heroes, the municipal activity plan, sanitation, construction of a communal bathroom and other issues related to providing a good local management.

At its meeting of April 29, 1942 the favorite issue spoken was that of sowing¹⁸. The city sanitation issues were discussed at the meeting of August 31, 1942, deciding to take action as the markets, streets and yards across the city to be kept clean permanently, the fences to be repaired, and the barracks in the streets to be dissolved¹⁹. The health issues were discussed at the meeting of May 18, 1943, the local leaders confronting with the problem of exterminating the malaria outbreak. At the meeting of June 8, 1943, Dr. Emil Popp presented a plan for completing the work in healthcare, addressing the issue of malaria, syphilis and tuberculosis. To combat the latter he proposed to initiate intercessions under the National Society of combating tuberculosis, to build a sanatorium at Stâna de Vale spa²⁰.

At the meeting on June 25, 1943, the Council discusses the project for a crucifix, made by master sculptor Andrițoiu of Vașcău, which could raise in the memory of the heroes of Beiuș fallen in the war on the Eastern front, showing that the work should be made of white marble and would cost 380,000 lei, besides transportation, foundation and scaffolding material.

Observing the composition of the Cooperation Council, especially the matters taken in debate under its meetings, can be concluded that this advisory structure provided, under the difficult conditions arising from the consecution of World War II, an effective coordination of the activity of different authorities and institutions around the area of Beiuș city, in order to make efficient the local management. The Council was concerned with the various issues interested either directly or indirectly, Beiuș city, forcing the leaders of the local government bodies to coordinate their actions within a common working plan, in order to achieve an optimum performance.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 287

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 291

²⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 20-21, 229

DOCUMENTARY TESTIMONIALS REGARDING THE TREATMENT THE ROMANIAN PRISONERS WERE SUBJECTED TO IN THE GERMAN AND HUNGARIAN CAMPS (1944-1945)

Antonio FAUR

Abstract: *The author values a documentary and mostly unpublished piece of information regarding the way in which Romanian soldiers and civilians fell into captivity, and especially regarding the treatment that was “applied” to them in the Hungarian camps (from Fertőszentmiklos and Vészkeny) and the German ones. One could notice the terrible suffering they had endured and the cause of death of numerous Romanian prisoners (of whom 267 were identified). By placing in circulation such historical information, the tragic picture of the end of the Second World War is completed.*

Keywords: *Romanian prisoners, testimonials, camps, the Second World War, treatment.*

One of the tragic components of the Second World War was also the prisoner status in the Hungarian and German camps, a reality about which the historians have written very little so far, with some exceptions. We have been concerned about this issue for almost a decade when we discovered some documents of unquestionable value which evoked the manner in which the Romanian prisoners were treated in the Hungarian camps in Fertőszentmiklos and Veskény¹, and the attitude of the Hungarian military authorities towards the Romanian inhabitants who were included in the working divisions in Hungary². In the meantime, we have continued our investigations and managed to discover some documents of the same nature as those already published (and accompanied by the necessary commentaries) which are statements made by some former Romanian prisoners in the Hungarian and German camps. We mention that these memorial testimonials have not been published before and that the information they contain is relevant to the knowledge of some tragic life moments, because hundreds (or even thousands) of people died while they “were living” in the above mentioned camps, a real “place of incredible terror and suffering” due to the

¹ Antonio Faur, *Documents Regarding the Tragic Fate of the Romanian Prisoners in the Hungarian Camps of Fertőszentmiklos and Veszkeny*, in *Cele trei Crișuri*, 1995, nr. 9-10, p. 1,6-7; nr. 11-12. p. 8; Idem, *Unpublished Testimonies Concerning the Tragic Fate of the Romanian War Prisoners in the Horthyst Camps (1944-1945)*, in *Cele trei Crișuri*, 1998, nr. 7-8, p. 4 -7

² Idem, *New Data Concerning the Working Detachments in Hungary (1944-1945)* in *Aletheia*, 2000, p. 347-355

inhuman and even vindictive manner of those who were managing such destructive structures. They belong to the history of the European continent and, as such, they deserve to be reconstructed.

The most substantial information came from the Orthodox priest in the village Cojdeni (Bihor county), Petru Hora, who was among the Romanian prisoners taken to the camps in Fertőszentmiklós³ and Veskény (on Hungarian territory). He recounted his own “adventure” (of this kind) in a *Statement* (from June 5, 1945), which began with the following details: I was “captured and taken as a *war prisoner* (underl.-A.F.), by the hostile armies on September 23, 1944 and held as such until April 9, 1945”⁴. I was “picked up” from my home in Cojdeni village, by the Hungarian “retreating” soldiers together with a “boy” (of only 18 years old) from Spinuș village (in the same commune). Moreover, they were “joined” by 8 Romanian soldiers who fell prisoners “in the battles of Drăgoteni-Săliște”, fought by Division 3 Mountain Hunters (led by General Leonard Mociulschi) for the liberation of Bihor county.

All ten “war” prisoners were initially taken to Oradea. As the above mentioned priest confessed, they were “subjected to the harmful behaviour of the Hungarian population who spat them, whipped and belittled them using all kinds of bad words as only the Hungarian language contains”. Then came the route Oradea-Episcopia Bihorului-Santăul Mare. In fact, they were sent “under escort” with the strict order, given by a Hungarian lieutenant, “to be well guarded” so that “nobody could get out of the marching column and if, however, somebody managed to do it, they should be shot immediately and especially the priest”. They spent the night at Santăul Mare, “sleeping in a barn” where they had a surprise: “a drunken corporal with a revolver in his hand entered asking where the Romanian dog prisoners were, [because] he felt like shooting them”. He kicked and spat them until a sentinel (who was guarding them) stopped the one who created some more horrible and frightening moments.

After going through such a “treatment”, the Romanian prisoners were included “in a column” of more than 540 prisoners who were “crammed in a brick factory” in the area Karcag. From here they left, under the command of the staff sergeant Varga (born in Oradea) for Nádudvar village, where they “lived for eight days with ¼ bread and 250 grams of cabbage soup a day.” For the first time, the priest Petru Hora and Greek-Catholic archbishop Romul Mihalcea (from the village Girișul de Criș), were asked about the circumstances in which they had become prisoners. To their arguments that they were mere victims of local circumstances, they were replied that, once they had entered the camp (they were heading for), justice would be done to them.

³ See Ioan Chira’s commentaries on this issue (he was a former cultural attaché at the Romanian Embassy in Budapest) as he expressed them in the article entitled *The Hortyst Political Camp in Fertőszentmiklós*, published in the periodical *Crișana Plus* issued in Oradea (1995, nr. 14, p.3).

⁴ National Archives – Bihor County Department (as follows: A.N.-D.J.Bh.), *fund- The Gendarmerie Inspectorate of Oradea*, file 49/1995, f. 665-667

On October 8, 1944, they “left” Nadudvár – in a “forced march” (for two days and a half) – towards Tisafüred. When crossing the bridge over the Tisza, they had the first contact with the German soldiers. Here is how the priest described this dramatic event: we were “badly beaten while marching in the column by the German troops..., in fact we were about to be blazed by their machine guns and thrown from the bridge we were crossing into the water”. After crossing the river Tisza, they were “boarded on the train”, in the place called Füzesabony via Kapuvar, a place in Sopron county. While they were on the train for 12 days, they got “*only bread for four days and the rest of eight days they were left without any food. We lived by eating ... a cart full of pumpkins good to feed the pigs with which they had made sure to put in the train, before our departure, for 760 prisoners*” (underl.-A.F.). The German soldiers who were “attached” especially to that train, did not allow the civilians “to feed” the prisoners. After those 12 days of “pain and suffering” they arrived at the camp in Veszékény (a village near Kapuvar). Being in “the worst state and weakened by the lack of food” and “full of lice, they were placed in the attics of baron Eszterhazi’s former stables. The most horrible moments happened here to the prisoners who had just escaped alive from the former period. The mentioned priest was entitled to make such remarks: “*Hunger and poverty, uncleanness, cold, lack of clothing etc made all the poor Romanian soldiers ill and [they] began to die in v[ery] large numbers. There were days in which 14 Romanians died and here, in the camp of Veszkeny, where we got on Oct[ober] 24, 1944..., 760 people died.*” (underl.-A.F.).

Being a priest and not a soldier, Petru Hora was transferred – on November 8, 1944 (ever since he no longer provided information concerning the “life” of the Romanian prisoners in this camp) – to “the camp for prisoners and *political confiners* in Fertőszentmiklos-Bregenk”⁵. His account on what happened there is enlightening and, at the same time, extremely valuable as it is one of the rarest testimonies (made by those who had suffered and managed to escape) of some prisoners captured for political reasons in order to be annihilated. Besides “a thousand prisoner troop” a few officers were “brought in”: 1. lieutenant Romul Mogoş (from Bucharest), second lieutenant Jean Tălpăşeanu (from Craiova), second lieutenant Sebastian Măgirescu (from the village Brătıla, Bacău county), second lieutenant Gheorghe Mihalache (former primary school teacher in the commune Suvaia, Putna county), the doctor Constantin Plator (from the commune Proteşti, Prahova county) and the doctor Arcadie Neaga (from Iaşi), these latter two being second lieutenants. The reality of this camp, known first-handedly (and not from word of mouth, from the stories of other people) was presented accurately by the priest Petru Hora: “The treatment of the prisoners in this camp in Fertőszentmiklos, was extremely humiliating. Although the prisoners were paid 60 filler balance payment a day, this money was taken from the prisoners in the most brutal way.

The food being very bad, that is clear water with a little sour, unsalted cabbage and, after boiling it, it was blended with water, the Hungarian soldiers

⁵*Ibidem*

took away from the prisoners that 6 pengö, their salary for 10 days so that they could get a slice of bread. I witnessed when a Hungarian soldier did not give a Romanian prisoner a helping of soup because the prisoner had only 5 pengö and not 6, as he was requested; instead, he poured it into garbage in front of the Romanian prisoner... As for sanitary conditions, they suffered even worse.

They were totally ignored and left to die. The Romanian doctors daily asked for – through reports – medicines, bandages etc, but they only received 15-20% of what they had requested, although many of the prisoners were suffering from dysentery-type diarrhoea due to bad water and food and also some other diseases caused by lack of cleanliness.

The prisoners' accommodation was as bad as possible. They were placed in a barn with cement and stone floor and with no heating. The prisoners slept on bare boards, although the Romanian officers intervened, on many occasions, so that the prisoners could be given beds.

Each time, we, the Romanians, got not only empty promises but also beatings and prison.

As for clothing, as many Romanian soldiers were captured in Tisza where, while trying to escape by swimming and after taking off their clothes, they were taken into captivity naked, only in shirt and underwear, thus remaining naked during the winter, which was why many of them contracted diseases and died”.

Therefore, the inhuman conditions in the camp led to an impressive number of deaths among the Romanian prisoners. As the priest of Cojdeni recorded, “268 prisoners died” in the period between November 8, 1944 and March 23, 1945 while he was in this camp. It is interesting to note the fact that the priest Petru Hora drafted a *table*⁶ with their names and other data (contingent, the unit they were part of, the date of death, place of birth and, in some cases, their parents' names). He had such an inspired initiative due to his situation as an Orthodox priest, who served the funeral of the deceased ones, for which he needed the most basic data such as their names and their parents' names. However, this priest took out of anonymity the names of some Romanian soldiers who, when falling prisoners to the enemy, faced with unimaginable adversity, eventually losing their lives. By drafting the table we talked about, Petru Hora saved their names from oblivion. Where did the 267 Romanian prisoners⁷ who died in the camp of Fertöszentmiklos come from?

We now mention the counties and towns these came from: Alba -1, Bucharest-5, Buzău-8, Caraş-Severin-2, Câmpulung-1, Cluj-7, Constanţa-1, Craiova-1, Dâmboviţa-2, Dolj -2, Focşani-1, Giurgiu-3, Gorj-2, Hunedoara-1, Ialomiţa-1, Ilfov-19, Ismail-1, Lăpuşna-1, Mehedinţi-10,, Mureş-1, Orhei-2, Sălaj-1, Sibiu-1, Târnava Mare-2, Tecuci-5, Teleorman-46, Tighina-12, Timiş-Torontal-3, Tulcea-1, Turda-14, Vlaşca-41 and other (not mentioned) places. It is obvious

⁶ I published this table in *Cele trei Crişuri*, 1995, nr. 9-10, p. 6-7 şi nr. 11-12, p. 8.

⁷ When writing it down, an unintentional mistake was made. One went beyond position 160 where there was no name. Therefore, it is about 267 *dead Romanian prisoners* and not 268 as it is shown in the last part of the table.

that most victims came from the settlements across the Carpathians, which were of Orthodox confession, and were buried by the priest Petru Hora. Moreover, we find out the following from another documentary source due to the archpriest Romul Mihalca (written by him on March 13, 1945): “In the camp of Fertőszentmiklos-Bregenc major, *Petru Hora*, an Orthodox from Cojdeni, Bihor county (near Holod), *was the priest of the camp*, but he did not perform the liturgy at all, he only performed the Matins and those who wanted to confess and testify, and *then he buried the dead there. He buried 260-270 dead people* (underl.-A.F.). He recorded all their deaths in a register”⁸. Thus, the priest of Cojdeni got information from a reliable source and made a faithful copy of the names (and other data) from this register which he took home and which, at the request of the authorities, made a full transcript of.

The testimony of the Greek Catholic archpriest Romul Mihalca effectively completes what we have reconstructed so far, relying mainly on the documents signed by the priest Petru Hora. Here are, for instance, a few considerations made by the archbishop: “The detachment consisting of about 700 Romanian prisoners placed near Târgu Mureș, was guarded by the policemen from Târgu Mureș, led by a major and a lieutenant. These policemen treated harshly the prisoners, they wouldn’t let them take any corn, pumpkins, beet-roots they could find near the roads; moreover, they shot a prisoner because of that. This harsh treatment lasted until the detachment reached Veskeny; everybody sympathised with them and almost half of the prisoners died in the camps a few months later because of total debility... The prisoners died as a result of insufficient food (cabbage soup mostly), total debility, lice, cold and lack of clothes”⁹.

In his opinion, “besides Romanian soldiers and officers”, about “400-500 Romanian civilians taken from the border, shepherds, ploughmen and even 28 women and girls, then the preceptor, the police superintendent from Sărmașul Mare, the police superintendent from Bacău, primary school teachers, policemen from Turda”¹⁰ (underl.-A.F.) were taken to the camp. Therefore, one can assert that it was about, in this respect, a political camp where various Romanian citizens were kept even though these were not hostile to the Hungarian and German troops. From the report written by the archbishop Romul Mihalca we find out that the dead people we have talked about, 417 according to him “were buried in the cemetery of the camps in Veszkeny și Macsko maior, apart from the parish cemetery”¹¹. At the end of his story, the Romanian clergyman concluded that “the thrill of death put an end to 700 lives of the Romanian prisoners in the three camps”¹² (from Fertőszentmiklos-Bregenc major, Veszkeny and Macsko maior).

In the autumn of 1945, Gendarmerie Legion of Bihor issued order number 1779, to their subordinate institutions (Gendarmerie sectors and stations), by means of

⁸ A.N.-D.J.Bh., *fund – Greek- Catholic Bishopric Oradea*, dos. 272/1944-1948, f. 146-149

⁹ *Ibidem*

¹⁰ *Ibidem*

¹¹ *Ibidem*

¹² *Ibidem*

which they were asked to obtain *statements* from the Romanian prisoners “who had returned from the German-Hungarian captivity”¹³. Six sectors of Bihor Gendarmerie answered that, on November 1945, they had not yet identified any former Romanian prisoners from the mentioned camps. Eight such documents were transmitted by the Gendarmerie sector in Beliu. They mentioned mainly the circumstances in which they ended up as war prisoners, the routes they followed and the lack of food in the Hungarian and German camps at the end of the Second World War.

The soldier Ilie Sărac (born in the village Susag, Bihor county) was “taken prisoner” by the Hungarian soldiers in the forest near Cefa on October 1, 1944. He was “used for work” until March 27, 1945 (thus for almost 6 months) after which, he “was taken by the Germans” to Austria where he was released on May 1, 1945¹⁴. The soldier Ioan Pinteă (born in the commune Măraș, Bihor county), from the Third Regiment, Dorobanți, was “taken prisoner” in Czechoslovakia (on December 23, 1944), by the Germans. These “confined him in the camp”, where he was captured by the Soviets who took him to USSR (the city Borovici to be more precise) from where he returned home after 10 months on October 12, 1945¹⁵. Thus, this Romanian soldier became acquainted with the Soviet labour camps, which represents another chapter of the events at the end of the war which have not yet received the attention of the historical research.

Another Romanian soldier, namely Tudor Dragoș (born in the village Clit), “fell prisoner to the Germans” on January 1, 1945, in the battles fought in the Tatra Mountains (Czechoslovakia). He was “confined” in a camp in Austria, from where he was released by the Americans on May 4, 1945. He confessed that the food they received was “very bad and meagre” thus, “many prisoners died” because of this; this labour camp consisted of 2,500 “prisoners of all nationalities”¹⁶. The soldier Ioan Babău from the 6th Battalion of Mountain Hunters who “fell prisoner” on September 7, 1944 near the place called Căbești (Bihor) said the same thing about the food in the camps (as being “very bad and meagre”). He was “boarded by train” and taken to a camp in Hungary where he stayed for two months, after which he was taken over by the Germans and transported to the city of Lenz, then he was released “by the American army” and headed “home”¹⁷, in Romania.

We have a more extensive account of what had happened from the soldier Ioan Mihuț (from Luncasprie, Bihor), who was part of the 11th Battalion - Mountain Hunters (3rd Division of Mountain Hunter Troops, led by General Leonard Mociulschi) and who fell prisoner in Holod commune on September 14, 1944 when he was surrounded by the Hungarian troops together with other 20 soldiers from the same unit. “After we fell prisoners – as the above mentioned soldier stated in his statement – we were all escorted on foot until we crossed Tisza and boarded on the train, [where we were] held – for twelve days – without any

¹³ Idem., *fund- Bihor Gendarmerie Legion*, Inv. 32, dos. 23/1945, f. 609

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 619

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 620

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 617

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 618

kind of food but what we received from the passers-by, that is pumpkins and beet-roots, until we were entrusted to the camp in Veşcheni (Hungary)”, where he “stayed” for a month, after which he “escaped”. He was captured and sent to a camp in Austria (where he remained for two months), and when “the front came closer” he was “evacuated” in a forest in Germany from where he was saved by the “American army” on May 2, 1945. Due to the poor food the prisoners received in the camps, he said that “a lot of them” had died, that was about one fourth to be more precise¹⁸.

On January 1, 1945 the soldier Tudor Galea (born in commune Sitani, Bihor county) from the 3rd battery of the 1st Regiment of the Horse Artillery, near the commune Alsökalosa (Hungary) fell prisoner. He was taken to a camp (where he stayed for 4 months) afterwards he was transported, on foot, until he reached the city of Braunau a month later. Many prisoners died on the way; only 670 soldiers out of 1300 survived. The German soldiers killed the ones who “could not walk any longer”. After being set free by the Americans, as he was ill, he “stayed” for three months more in a hospital in München (where he waited for four weeks), from where he was “embarked” in a train that came to our country¹⁹.

It is worth recording the description of the “situations” the sergeant Constantin Popa (born and living in Câmpani de Pomezău) from the former Battalion Fix Codru went through as a prisoner (from September 18, 1944 until May 4, 1945). He was captured by the enemy in the village Ştei, together with “three other brothers in arms”; he was afterwards transported to the terrible prisoner camp in Veszkeny (from Ungaria), where he was held for four months; then he was “escorted” to Germany and saved by the American soldiers. We keep in mind the following enlightening excerpts from his statement: “*All the time we stayed in Hungary, 30-35 people were dying daily of lack of food and unspeakable dirt*” (underl.-A.F.). Most of the time spent in Hungary they “were subjected to field labour for the great Hungarian landlords”²⁰. The road to the German camps was also full of suffering, horrible deeds caused by the German soldiers who “executed the sick ones on the spot” (and also those who would have remained behind the convoy); thus only 370 prisoners out of 700 reached the destination²¹.

The soldier Ioan Ghiţă from Hidişelul de Jos, who was taken prisoner in Czechoslovakia (on March 10, 1945), went through even more dramatic circumstances which he presented as follows: “All the time I was confined in the camp in Germany (until May 3, 1945-n.n.), we were supported as poorly as possible...once a day we were fed with boiled fodder and clover, we were given a kilo of bread for twelve prisoners daily; this is why 1500 prisoners died, thus only 350 prisoners survived”²². They were not taken to work because they were “too weak”²³.

¹⁸*Ibidem*, f. 1653

¹⁹*Ibidem*, f. 1652

²⁰*Ibidem*, f. 1651

²¹*Ibidem*

²²*Ibidem*, f. 1650

We rendered – depending on the valued documentary information – a few aspects from the life of some Romanian prisoners who were confined in the camps in Hungary and Germany between 1944 and 1945, emphasizing the truth that these prisoners had to face inhuman experiences, with the complete disregard (of those who managed these camps) towards the laws concerning the way the people who had fallen prisoners should have been treated.

²³ *Ibidem*. We mention some brief information about the following Romanian soldiers: 1. soldier Gh. Maghiar (from the village Călăcea), who fell prisoner in Czechoslovakia, from where he was „taken” by the Soviets and „confined in a camp in Leningrad” (*Ibidem*, f. 621); soldier Gh. Bala (from Olcea), who was a prisoner in the German camps of Elensburg and Henstein (*Ibidem*, f. 622) and 3. staff lieutenant Teodor Țapiș (from Călăcea). The last one was confined in many camps: Cluj, Jibou, Debrețin and Tarkany (*Ibidem*, f. 623).

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE SITUATION OF ROMANIAN AND HUNGARIAN JEWS DURING THE PERIOD 1945 – 1953

Anca OLTEAN

Abstract: *The study presents a foray into the historical writing with regard to the history of Hungarian and Romanian Jews during the years 1945-1953. The Jews from Romania and Hungary were a united community in those years. Our point of view is that this community should not be analysed only from the perspective of individual moral fault of some who, becoming communists, separated most often from Jewish community.*

The specialized papers related to the topic which we analyze in this study offer us the opportunity to show several points of view regarding Romanian and Hungarian Jews during this period. We attempt to draw a picture of the historical writings in this field.

Keywords: *Jews, Romania, Hungary, community, communism*

The specialized papers concerning the history of Romanian and Hungarian Jews between 1945-1953, approach problems such as the demographical situation of Jewish population after the war and the Holocaust, and also under the condition of emigration of a part of the Jews from these areas to Israel, the USA and Western Europe. Some works present the economic situation of the Romanian and Hungarian Jews at the end of the war and the relationship of Jewry and communism, looking for explanations for massive adherence of Jews to communism. Some political Jewish leaders such as Ana Pauker or Rakosi are analyzed as individual entities. The problem of Zionism is much more debated as being connected with Romania's case, because the number of emigrants to Israel was bigger from Romania than from Hungary. From the most important studies concerning the history of the Jews from Romania and Hungary in the period 1945-1953 we focus on the following:

In the study *The Jews in the Soviet Satellites*, the authors Peter Meyer; Bernard Weinryb; Eugene Duschinsky; Nicolas Sylvain¹ approached the problem of restitution of Jewish property in Hungary and Romania. In Hungary, the Jews who returned from concentration camps found their houses occupied by the beneficiaries of the nazi regime, their property destroyed, their stores robbed². In spite of the precarious situation, most Jews of Hungary were not Zionists and they decided to remain in Hungary, especially because, immediately after the war, the communist government promised to maintain private propriety. Most land did not return to Jewish owners,

¹ Peter Meyer, Bernard D. Weinryb, Eugene Duschinsky, Nicolas Sylvain, *The Jews in the Soviet Satellites*, Syracuse University Press, 1953

² *Ibidem*, p. 402

only the properties smaller than 100 acres. The communist slogan was that the land belongs to the one who works it and it was considered that the Jews never involved in working the land³. The authors underline that the Jews in Hungary encountered difficulties also with the restitution of apartments in towns which were given before to Hungarian nazi party members and whom the new regime tried to convince to cooperate. In Romania, the Jews received back their civil rights. The racial laws were abolished. But as in Hungary, the Jews encountered difficulties in receiving back their properties. Also a decree from december 1944 maintained the restoration of Jewish property to its owners, in locations where there were functioning schools, shops, factories, the Jews could return only if they had lived before in those locations⁴. Also, the Jews could practice any job, in reality, in the first years after the war, they accepted bad paid jobs or they were working on the black market in Bucharest on Lipscani street⁵. The authors underline that, without any help of the state, the Jewish community was assisted after the war by the Joint Distribution Committee.

As in the study mentioned above, in his work, *Anti-semitism without Jews. Communist Eastern Europe*⁶, Paul Lendvai makes a description of the situation of Jews in the communist space. For Hungary, the author explains that Rakosi was the communist leader most interested in destroying the Zionist organizations of Jews in communist space⁷. The author explains that the Jews were also victims in this period. In 1951, when Rakosi government tried to eliminate the capitalists and the middle class and deported them, it was estimated that the Jews represent one third from the tens of thousands of deportees⁸. In Romania, the Jews were supporters of the communist regime. In 1921, at its founding, the Romanian Communist Party was dominated by Jews, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Ukrainians. The most representative Jew in power was Ana Pauker, but she was released from power in 1952 as a consequence of Romanianization of Romanian communism⁹.

In his study "A zsidókérdés a mai magyar társadalomban" (The Jewish problem in Hungarian society of the present days)¹⁰, Kovács András shows that in the publications of the years 1945-1948, the so called Jewish problem and the persecution of Jews were a frequent topic¹¹. But from 1948 on nobody talked about Jews. Like other authors, Kovács András tries to find other explanations for the adhesion of Hungarian Jews to communism. Parallel with the abolition of private property, most of the Jews lost their means of living. The Hungarian Jewry chose assimilation and found a place in the political bodies of governance or in state administration. For the Jews, the presence of the Red Army in Hungary was a reason for happiness, not for

³ *Ibidem*, p. 404

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 518

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 519

⁶ Paul Lendvai, *Anti-semitism without Jews*, New York, Doubleday&Company Inc., Garden City, 1971

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 309

⁸ *Ibidem*, 309

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 335

¹⁰ Kovács András, *Zsidó Magyarország (1867-1997)/ The Jewish Hungary (1867-1997)*, in *Zsidóság az 1945 utáni Magyarországon* (The Jewry in Hungary after 1945), Paris, A Magyar Füzetek Kiadása, 1984, p. 3-14

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 3-4

fear¹². They were considered as foreigners as the author explains. And they did not understand the danger in which Hungary was¹³. The massive presence of Jews in leading positions of Hungary of Jewry can be explained, as the author considers, by the fact that they were skilled people, specialized and had a good reputation.

In his article, "Szociológiai Kísérlet a magyar zsidóság 1945 és 1956 közötti helyzetének elemzésére" (Sociological experiment with regard to the analysis of the situation of Hungarian Jewry in the years 1945-1946), in *Zsidóság az 1945 utáni Magyarországon*¹⁴, Viktor Karádi furnishes statistical data with regard to Hungarian Jewry. The study contains also new approaches, as the author shows that the historiography of subjects related to Jewry was always influenced by an official censorship. The data which Karádi furnishes are provisional, they refer to the territory of Hungary in the time of the monarchy or the interwar period. The data after the Second World War are not complete because, after the deportation, not all the Jews returned, some emigrated to Western Europe or America, so it is not known how many of them were still alive. In 1949, in Hungary the Zionist movement was banned and all Zionist leaders were arrested.

In his work, *Second exodus/ The Full Story of Jewish Illegal Immigration to Palestine, 1945-1948*¹⁵, Ze'ev Venia Hadari shows that in Germany a big number of foreigners existed at the end of the war and their way back home was a problem: "Only in Germany, was more of ten million of non-Jews at that date, a big part of them were war prisoners, together with prisoner of work and concentration camps"¹⁶. The author shows that the Jews from Romania and Hungary emigrated because of the new economic processes imposed of communism and discrimination to which they were subjected.

In his work, *Hungarian Jewry during the Holocaust and after liberation*, Tamás Stark¹⁷ shows that the National Committee of Liberation of Deported Persons furnished data of 74 657 people which returned until September 1945¹⁸. He offers data about Jewish population before the German occupation of Hungary which was approximately 800 000 individuals on the territory of Hungary from the time of the war, the number of Hungarian Jews at liberation was 224 000 in Hungary from the time of the war, and during 1945-1946 the number of Hungarian Jews was 365 000¹⁹.

Bernard Wasserstein in his study *Vanishing Diaspora. The Jews in Europe since 1945*²⁰, is one of the numerous authors who offer data about the Jewry from

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 7

¹³ *Ibidem*

¹⁴ Viktor Karádi, *Szociológiai Kísérlet a magyar zsidóság 1945 és 1956 közötti helyzetének elemzésére* in *Zsidóság az 1945 utáni Magyarországon*, Paris, A Magyar Füzetek, Kiadása, 1984

¹⁵ Ze'ev Venia Hadari, *Second exodus. The Full Story of Jewish Illegal Immigration to Palestine, 1945-1948*, Vallentine Mitchell, 1991

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 9

¹⁷ Tamás Stark, *Hungarian Jewry during the Holocaust and after liberation*, in *Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Division B, The history of the Jewish People, World Union of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem, 1994, p. 243-247

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 245

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 248

²⁰ Bernard Wasserstein, *Vanishing Diaspora. The Jews in Europe since 1945*, London, Hamish Hamilton Ltd, 1996, p. 1-158

Hungary and Romania after 1945. He shows that the Jewish population from Hungary in 1946 was 145 000 and in Romania in the same time was 420 000²¹. He talks about the last victims of Stalin in the period 1945-1953, his last years, whose politics reverberated in all communist countries. In this period in Hungary the teaching of Jewish language is suppressed in 1949, in Romania 122 Jewish schools were taken over by the state in 1948²².

Harry Kuller wrote the article *Presa evreiască bucureșteană 1857-1994*²³ / *The Jewish Press from Bucharest 1857-1994*. The paper has an innovative character, it includes data concerning Jewish Press in the period 1945-1953. After August 23th 1944, the Jewish press of Romania reflected the situation of the Jews during the war: the condition of Jews in Transnistria, the robberies and assassinations committed by the Iron Guards and the supporters of Hitler and anti-Jewish legislation. Zionism was largely debated in the press.

Harry Kuller in the work *Opt studii despre istoria evreilor din România*²⁴ / *Eight Studies on the History of the Jews in Romania* dedicates one study to the process of emigration of the Romanian Jews. He furnishes data about the Jews in Romania. In 1947 there were still 428 312 Jews living in Romania, and from 1945 there have been emigrating about 400 000 Jews to Israel and Western Europe²⁵. Among the reasons of emigration, the author talks about the fact that the new system inaugurated in Romania after 1945, the communism, was different from the lifestyle of most Jews: 'The perspective of a 'collective' and bureaucratic-centralized commanded work did not seem to be the 'taste' of a population which practised since a long time the spirit of competition, competitiveness, the respect of property, etc. The ideal of the reconstruction of an own state was not the last place, but the voice of the siren of communism tried to pursue, without massive effect, that only in a Marxist-Leninist order the Jewish problem would be fully solved'²⁶.

Raphael Patai considers in the work *The Jews of Hungary. History, culture, psychology*²⁷, like other authors who approached the topic of Hungarian Jewry, that while the Jews considered the coming of Red Army a salvation, the Hungarians considered it a defeat. It was very difficult for Jews and Christians to cooperate, considering the fact that before the war and in the period of Holocaust, antisemitism was encouraged. Stalin did not impose the immediate implementation of communism in Hungary. Anti-Semitism continued to exist, the Jews were considered as different also in the communist era, in spite of the effort they made to assimilate.

Tamás Stark offers in his study, "a Magyar zsidóság veszesége a vészorszakban"²⁸ (The losses of Hungarian Jewry during the Holocaust) also

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. VIII

²² *Ibidem*, p. 50

²³ Harry Kuller, *Presa evreiască bucureșteană 1857-1994*, București, Editura Hasefer, 1996

²⁴ Idem, *Opt studii despre istoria evreilor din România*, București, Editura Hasefer, 1997, p. 5-45

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 19

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 47

²⁷ Raphael Patai, *The Jews of Hungary. History, culture, psychology*, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1996, p. 596-659

²⁸ Tamás Stark, *A Magyar zsidóság veszesége a vészorszakban* in Randolph L. Brahm and Attila Pók (Ed), *The Holocaust in Hungary fifty years later*, Columbia University Press, 1997, p. 521 - 531

statistical data with regard to the human losses suffered by the Jews in the period of Holocaust. The data are provided with approximation, but especially useful.

The author Stephen J. Roth, in his study „Indemnification of Hungarian victims of Nazism: An Overview”²⁹ writes about the actions which were adopted in Hungary in the period 1945-1948 with the goal of a compensation for the Hungarian Jewry who suffered material and human losses during the Holocaust. These measures did not confer compensation for persons, but also restored the Jews in their material rights³⁰. After a decree in 1945 the Jews were acknowledged their property rights, at least in the field of agriculture and horticulture³¹. But the author underlines that the mobile goods, equipments, the stocks of Jewish factories were never given back and cash deposits lost value as a consequence of inflation³². The author shows that the Jews were compensated in other ways, not as individuals, but as a community through the formation of the National Jewish Fund for Rehabilitation which was founded on November 15, 1946 and was offering assistance to the Jewish victims or to institution which were working in their service, this fund being the beneficiary of the property disappeared Jews from Hungary. The Treaty of Peace of Paris was promising compensation to the victims of religious and racial persecutions and, in the same time, the properties of the victims had to be transferred to the representatives of their communities³³.

Andrei Corbea, in his study „Antisemitismul – o permanență a istoriei est-europene?” (Antisemitism – A Permanence of Eastern-European History?)³⁴ asserted that the study of the history of Jews did not consider the particularities of Eastern Europe, the internal factors which generated anti-Semitic excesses in this part of the continent. Andrei Corbea explains the latent anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe as being a consequence of a historical continuity: „Besides of what was known in the Occident – and to a sufficient extent – about the anti-Semitic component in the politics of communist regimes, since Stalinist purges from the period 1948-1953 until the”anti-Zionism” encountered after 1967 in the countries from the Warsaw Pact (with the notable exception of Romania), an interesting and troubling idea appeared first of all in the historians’ debate: may it be possible that, in spite of all dramatical ruptures which characterized the happened events in the history of the countries from Eastern Europe, a line of continuity exists which maintains, at least in the field of social, collective representations, a latent tension between ‘national’ element (respectively native) and the ‘foreign’, incorporated in this geographical area by Jews and Jewry?”³⁵.

²⁹ Stephen J. Roth, *Indemnification of Hungarian Victims: An Overview* in Randolph L. Braham and Attila Pók (Ed), *The Holocaust in Hungary. Fifty years later*, Columbia University Press, 1997, p. 733-757

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 741

³¹ *Ibidem*

³² *Ibidem*, p. 742

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 742-743

³⁴ Andrei Corbea, *Antisemitismul – o permanență a istoriei est-europene?* în Silviu Sanie și Dumitru Vîtcu (coord.), *STUDIA ET ACTA HISTORIAE IUDAEORUM ROMANIAE*, II, București, Editura Hasefer, 1997, p. 210-213

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 211

In his research, „Dr. W. Filderman și problema Palestinei”³⁶ (Dr. W. Filderman and the Problem of Palestine”), Șlomo Leibovici Laiș brings into discussion two personalities of the Romanian Judaism: A.L. Zissu and W. Filderman. About A.L. Zissu, the president of Jewish Party and of the Zionist organization it was told that he was Zionist while about W. Filderman, leading the Union of Romanian Jewry and the Federation of Jewish Communities, it was said that he was not a Zionist and that he militates for the rights of Jews in Romania. The author shows through documents that Filderman, an important leader of the Jews in Romania, whom the communists abandoned after the war, was a Zionist, too.

Gheorghe Onișoru, in his study, „Evreii și problemele României ‘democrat-populare’, 1944-1948”³⁷ (“The Jews and the Problems of the ‘popular-democrat’ Romania, 1944-1948”) explains that although there had been a number of Jewish communists in Romania, it was wrong to assert that Jews brought communism to Romania. He shows that in North-West of Transylvania in the year 1944, the Hungarian government oppressed the Jews and Romanians. He asserts an idea acknowledged by other authors, namely, that the Jewish Democratic Committee, dominated by the communists, was against the immigration to Israel, thus, opposing to Zionist movement³⁸.

Carol Bines, elaborates in *Din istoria imigrărilor în Israel 1882-1995*³⁹ / *From the History of Immigration to Israel 1882- 1995*. The author talks about „alia”, the movement of emigration of Jews to Palestine, the later Israel. The author asserts that the years 1948-1951 were the years of mass emigration when Jews from Romania increased the number of Jewish population in Palestine with 18%.

Vera Ranki, in the study *The politics of inclusion and exclusion. Jews and nationalism in Hungary*⁴⁰, shows that 600.000 Jews, more than two thirds of the number of Hungarian Jews died in the Holocaust⁴¹. The Jews were confronted with two problems after the war: (1)-unlike the Hungarians they saw in the coming of Red Army in 1945, an act of liberation, their sufferings ending in the same time with the German defeat. (2)-A high number of Jews adhered to the communist party, understanding that the new system brought the abolition of social inequalities, of oppression but also of anti-Semitism⁴², being accused that they brought the communism in Hungary.

Theodor Wexler, in the study „Procese sioniștilor” (The Zionists Trials) describes the situation existent in the years 1952-1953 when Romanian communists

³⁶ Șlomo Leibovici Laiș, *Dr. W. Filderman și problema Palestinei* în Silviu Sanie and Dumitru Vitcu (coord), *STUDIA ET ACTA HISTORIAE IUDAEORUM ROMANIAE*, III, Bucuresti, Editura Hasefer, 1998, p. 282-294

³⁷ Gheorghe Onișoru, *Evreii și problemele României democrat-populare, 1944-1948*, in Silviu Sanie and Dumitru Vitcu (coord.), *STUDIA ET ACTA HISTORIAE IUDAEORUM ROMANIAE*, III, București, Editura Hasefer, 1998, p. 295-309

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 306

³⁹ Carol Bines, *Din istoria emigrărilor în Israel 1882-1995*, București, Editura Hasefer, 1998

⁴⁰ Vera Ranki, *The politics of inclusion and exclusion. Jews and nationalism in Hungary*, New York&London&Holmes&Meier, 1999, p. 189-220

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 189

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 192

decided to solve once and for all the „problem of Zionists”. Until 1959 around 250 Zionists had been arrested and investigated on.

Tamás Stark, in the work *The Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust and after the second world war, 1939-1945: A statistical review*⁴³, shows that a comparison between Gulag and Holocaust can not be made, especially not in terms of numbers. He refers in this paper both to the situation of Hungarian Jewry during the Holocaust, but also after the war. He writes about the emigration of Jews after the war, furnishing, illustrative tabels for this aspect. The number of Jews found outside their homecountries was higher in Germany than in Austria and France. Another tabel furnishes the total numbers of emigrants to Palestina in the years 1945-1948. For the years 1946-1948 the total number of immigrants was 61 023⁴⁴. Another table furnishes data about the number of imigrants to Palestina, both from Hungary and from Romania in the years 1919-1961. In the period 1946-1955 17 000 persons from Hungary and 124 500 of Romania arrived in Israel⁴⁵.

In his work, *Magyarság, zsidóság*⁴⁶ (*Hungarians, Jews*), Ferenc Fejto tells that in Hungary, after the war, the condition of Jews was not perceived in a negative manner anymore, unlike the one of bourgeoisie. The Jews returned from deportation were the most interested in abandonment of fascism and democratization. For them communism represented the chance of a new life. The Jews were more cultivated than Hungarian proletarians who were ready to get new positions and ,thus, had an advantage⁴⁷. The author describes the Hungarian leader of Jewish origin, the prime secretary of the communist party, Rákosi Mátyás, as formed in Russia in bolshevik spirit. He took over the pattern of Stalin. On the other side we see the figure of Nagy Imre, a menshevik, of democrat orientation which played an important role in the agrarian reform of 1945.

Also Péter Kende writes about the condition of Hungarian Jewry in the work „Zsidó Magyarország (1867-1997)”⁴⁸/ *The Jewish Hungary (1867-1997)*. The author underlines that, because of what happened in the years 1941-1945, a lot of Jews left Hungary, but a good part also remained in the coutry. Some consider that the Jews that remained took revenge on the Hungarians. On the other hand, the political and cultural tie with Hungary was tight. The author considers it a mistake to say taht Jews were the beneficiaries of communism, because both the Jews, but also non-Jews competed for the implementation of the new system.

Focusing on the case of the Jews who became members of communist nomenclature, Robert Levy, describes the life and political activity of Ana Pauker in the work *Gloria și decăderea Anei Pauker/ The glory and decadence of Ana Pauker*⁴⁹. The

⁴³ Tamás Stark, *Hungarian Jews during the Holocaust and after the second world war, 1939-1945: A statistical review*, East European_Monographs, Boulder, distributed by Columbia University Press, 2000, p. 1-174

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 158

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 160

⁴⁶ Ferenc Fejto, *Magyarság, Zsidóság*, Budapest, 2000

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 284

⁴⁸ Péter Kende, *Zsidó Magyarország (1867-1997)* in *1100 Eves Együttélés (The life together for 1100 years)*, Budapest, Kiadja a Magyarországi Holocaust Emlékalapítvány, 2001

⁴⁹ Robert Levy, *Gloria și decăderea Anei Pauker*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2002

author shows that the case of Ana Pauker is ignored in Jewish historiography, she being considered as one of the non-Jews which separated from the community because of being communists. Interesting is the fact that she remained in a communist camp and after her husband has been eliminated by them. The author describes the role played by Ana Pauker in the period 1947-1952 when she functioned as minister of external affairs, but also her elimination in 1952, weakened by the illness she had, cancer.

Harry Kuller, in the work *Evreii în România anilor 1944-1949*⁵⁰ (*The Jews of Romania during 1944-1949*), draws the attention to the point that not only Jews were attracted by communism. Others voted for communism looking for protection, and a relatively small number were active communist militants who separated from their religion and traditions and who came in „Jewish road” only for making propaganda and to increase the number of Jewish adherence. The author militates in favor of an integral approach to the history of the Jews in Romania which to include material, mental, economic and political aspects for a unitary and/or parallel history: „But as I shown, the shaping of a history of a social-ethnical group, in our case of the Jews of Romania of the years 1944-1949, cannot be limited only by revelation of „parallel” aspects or/and particular, as the above mentioned ones, but it requires their reference to the entire local historical phenomenology in that time and in connection with larger zonal and temporal areas. Because the resultant of the interactions between the Jewish-Romanian group and the local majority or other minorities, so as the reciprocal impact in all sectors of social-economical, political and cultural life are both problems of Romanian history. So, what is to be demonstrated (logical and ontological) in an experiment of special history – so as the present one – is that the Jews of Romania had all the characteristics of an ethnic group and after August 23, 1944: the outcome from the years of persecution – 1940-1944 – did not cause, as a consequence of that time, a dissolving assimilation under ethnical perspective as some leaders of ‚the left’, including Jews, predicted⁵¹. The author expresses that the research of the Jewish history in Romania was a complex one.

The collection of interviews *Memoria salvată. Evreii din Banat, ieri și azi*⁵² (*The saved memory. The Jews of Banat, yesterday and today*), coordinated by Smaranda Vultur appears as a series of testimonies of Jews from the Banat about their past and present. Some of the interviews make reference to the years of Stalinism in Romania. The Jews of teh Banat represent a small community today: „The Jews of Banat represent a community which do not surpass today, unfortunately, 400-500 persons, which live today in special in Timisoara, Lugoj and Reșița. A population, almost exclusively urban living in rural areas, with a few exceptions, especially in Northern Transylvania). The family history leads often to connection with Central Europe, but also with the Transylvanian one or, rarely with the one from Muntenia, Moldova or Bucovina. Because of this the history of the place which interested us overpasses with the national and European history. The history of the two world wars, the one of expansions of left and right totalitarianism in twentieth

⁵⁰ Harry Kuller, *Evreii în România anilor 1944-1949*, București, Editura Hasefer, 2002

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 16

⁵² Smaranda Vultur (coord.), *Memoria salvată. Evreii din Banat, ieri și azi*, Iași, Polirom, 2002, p. 9-465

century, of anti-Semitism, of the creation of the state of Israel, of Zionism interpheres with personal and community history”⁵³.

In the study of Victor Karady, *The Jews of Europe in the Modern Era. A socio-historical outline* the situation of European Jewry after 1945⁵⁴ is described from a larger sociological perspective. Jewry had a particular place in communism. Unlike other authors which approached the problem of restitution of Jewish property, the author considers that it was not sufficient what has been given back to the Jews, in reality a lot of non-Jews were still the owners of Jewish goods⁵⁵. At least one can talk of a collaboration between the nationalists of communist countries and communist Jews, considers the author. After the war, the communists minimized Holocaust and Jewish sufferings⁵⁶.

Liviu Rotman, in the work *Evreii din România în perioada comunistă 1944-1965*⁵⁷ (*The Jews of Romania in the communist period 1944-1965*) furnishes demographical data with regard to the Jewish community before and after the Holocaust. He makes a description of the activity of the Jewish Democratic Committee. He underlines two events of great importance for the history of Jews from the communist space: „Slansky trial” after which the general secretary of the communist party of Czechoslovakia, Rudolf Slanski is arrested together with thirteen accused of whom three were non-Jews and whose principal cause of accusation was Zionism, and the „blue gown affaires” from Soviet Union, when a lot of medics from USSR were accused for the death of some Soviet leaders.

Andrei Oișteanu, is one of those authors who underline the existent prejudices about Jews in Romanian collective mentality in the work *Imaginea evreului în cultura română*⁵⁸ (*The image of the Jew in Romanian culture*). The author underlines the stereotypes which existed in Romania with regards to Jews. He mentions in popular and classical Romanian literature negative aspects with regard to Jews which were criticized for their appearance, alterity and their traditions. The conclusion which follows is that proverbial Romanian tolerance can be put under a question mark.

Alexandr Soljenitîn offers a view of ensemble on the condition of Jews from the Soviet Union, a larger framework which influenced from this perspective also our area, in the work *Două secole împreună. Evreii și rușii în epoca sovietică (1917-1972)*⁵⁹ (*Two centuries together. The Jews and the Russians in communist epoch*). From the book interests us mainly the Stalin years because what happened in Moscow could not remain without consequences in Eastern Europe. The politics of the USSR towards the Jews reverberated in all the communist world. The last years of Stalin were marked by the campaign against the cosmopolitan Jews, the elimination of the Jews from Russian public sphere and the end of the Jewish Antifascist Committee.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 11-12

⁵⁴ Victor Karady, *The Jews of Europe in the modern era. A socio-historical outline*, Budapest, New York, CEU Press, 2004, p. 1-452

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 393

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 395

⁵⁷ Liviu Rotman, *Evreii din România în perioada comunistă: 1944-1965*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2004

⁵⁸ Andrei Oișteanu, *Imaginea evreului în cultura română*, București, Editura Humanitas, 2004

⁵⁹ Alexandr Soljenitîn, *Două secole împreună. Evreii și rușii în epoca sovietică (1917-1972)*, București, Editura Univers, 2004

Lya Benjamin, such as other authors, approaches in the work *Populația evreiască din România în cifre și date (până în 1948)*⁶⁰ / (Jewish population in figures and datas (until 1948) the topic of demographical data with regard to the Jews of Romania. She furnishes tables with regard to the situation of Jewry from Romania until 1942, but there are also a few numbers about the period which followed. In the years 1948-1988 around 95% of the total number of Jews, have left of country”⁶¹. The emigration happened in waves so that in 1948-1953 one third emigrated, and 1948-1964 another third did as like. After 1965 the last third of the Jews emigrated. In comparison, we can say that if in Romania in 1947 they were still living 428 312 Jews, after the census of January 7, 1992, there were still living in Romania 9000 of Jews⁶².

In the article *Evreii în anii tranziției spre comunism (1944-1948)* / *The Jews in the years of transition to communism* Harry Kuller shows us that in the first years after the war, the Jewry oscillated between integration and immigration. The author describes the postwar years: „The years 1945-1949 were thus years of expectations and confrontations – between bodies and organizations, between their leaders, followed by larger or smaller groups. It was an open field, opened for positions and oppositions, for diverse solutions and usual adversities. A state of democracy, some would say, in a paradox manner, the general social-political trend of the country was not leading towards democracy. At the horizon a socialism of Soviet nature was noticeable, there were Jews who desired it, others who tried to avoid it, making compromise in order to survive, until emigration; at last a lot of them decided to remain in the place where they were born no matter what conditions they had. None of the above mentioned category did not „bring” socialism to Romania. But they did not prevent its coming, because it would have been impossible”⁶³.

In the study of Victor Newman, *Evreii în anii regimului comunist* / *The Jews in the years of communist regime*⁶⁴ we were told that in 1947 the Jewish population of Romania was about 428 312 persons from which 150 000 were active⁶⁵. As other authors who understood the Jews, he describes the condition of Jews under communism which he analyses as community: „The re-evaluation of the condition of Jews under communism means to know the social and intellectual stratification, but also the motivations which stayed at the base of ideational options. The political and cultural Zionism from everywhere (with a good and longstanding activity in modern Romania) had an out of ordinary impact on the local Jews. Propaganda and Zionist organizations were forbidden – a lot of leaders being imprisoned”⁶⁶. The author shows

⁶⁰ Lya Benjamin, *Populația evreiască din România în cifre și date (până în 1948)* în Acad. Nicolae Cajal, Dr. Harry Kuller (coord.), *Contribuția evreilor din România la cultură și civilizație*, ediția a II-a, București, Editura Hasefer, 2004

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 147

⁶² *Ibidem*

⁶³ Harry Kuller, *Evreii în anii tranziției spre comunism (1944-1948)*, în Nicolae Cajal, Harry Kuller (coord.), *op.cit.*, p. 155

⁶⁴ Victor Neumann, *Evreii în anii regimului comunist*, în Nicolae Cajal, Harry Kuller (coord.), *op. cit.*, p. 174-180

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 174

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 176

that the Jews continued to dream to emigrate to Israel during the communist years and rejected communist egalitarianism.

Tuvia Friling, Radu Ioanid, Mihail E. Ionescu (ed), in the study *Raport final*⁶⁷/*Final report*, are some from the very few authors who approached the Jewish problem reflected in Romanian historiography before 1989. The purpose is to approach the degree of guilt of Romania towards its Jews in the period of the Holocaust, but there is also a chapter in which it is shown that, in the postwar-period in Romania, the Holocaust was distorted, negated and minimized. From the attitude towards the Holocaust, it can be noticed also the attitude of the Romanian state towards its Jews in the communist period.

Carol Iancu, in a work of synthesis *Miturile fondatoare ale Antisemitismului. Din Antichitate până în zilele noastre*⁶⁸/*The Founding Myths of Antisemitism* describes the situation of the Jews in Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the USSR. Among the Hungarian Jewish communists, the author gives the example of Rákosi. For the Jews from Romania the author considers that most of them were not communists, but emigrated to Israel.

Radu Ioanid deals with a less important problem in the study *Răscumpărarea evreilor: Istoria acordurilor secrete dintre România și Israel*⁶⁹/*The ransom of the Jews: the history of the agreements between Romania and Israel*. The author describes the movement of Jews for emigration to the holy land, Israel from 1948; a movement which took place from the end of the nineteenth century till the end of the presidency of Ceaușescu. The position of Romania towards the emigration to Israel was in conformity with the position of USSR which, from 1946, was in favor of emigration in Palestine. The author signalized the important role of the Chief Rabbi of Romania, Moses Rosen in emigration and continuity of Jewish community. He draws the attention on a shameful event which happened in communist Romania namely the sale of the Jews to the state of Israel achieved with the consent of communist authorities.

The author Balász Ablonczy, in the work *La fin d'une monde? Les élites hongroises face à l'installation du régime communiste*⁷⁰ shows that the bourgeoisie to which the interwar elites belonged to was often of Jewish origin. This bourgeoisie was purged and a lot of people considered the communists more evil than Hitler⁷¹. The elites of the interwar period were deported, no matter of their ethnical origin.

Arpad von Klimó, in the article *Détruire la source symbolique du pouvoir: la stalinisation de la culture historique des élites hongroises*⁷², shows from a cultural

⁶⁷ Tuvia Friling, Radu Ioanid, Mihail E. Ionescu (ed), *Raport final*, Comisia Internațională pentru studierea Holocaustului în România, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2005

⁶⁸ Carol Iancu, *Miturile fondatoare ale antisemitismului. Din Antichitate până în zilele noastre*, București, Editura Hasefer, 2005

⁶⁹ Radu Ioanid, *Răscumpărarea evreilor: Istoria acordurilor secrete dintre România și Israel*, Iași, Editura Polirom, 2005

⁷⁰ Balasz Ablonczy, *La fin d'une monde? Les élites hongroises face à l'installation du régime communiste* in Nicolas Bauquet et François Bocholier (dir), *Le communisme et les élites en Europe Centrale*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2006, p. 57-71

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 63

⁷² Arpad von Klimó, *Détruire la source symbolique du pouvoir: la stalinisation de la culture historique des élites hongroises* in Nicolas Bauquet et François Bocholier (dir), *op.cit.*, p. 73-84

perspective the situation of Hungarian elites in Stalin's epoch. The Hungarian constitution, shows the author, consented the dependancy of Hungary to Soviet Union, and the liberty in Hungary was also understood after Soviet model⁷³. In the Stalinist epoch the historical culture of Hungarian elites offered legitimacy to the regime imposed by Rakosi, borrowing the Stalinist cultural model which was based on the oposition between good and bad⁷⁴.

Victor Karady was one of the numerous authors to approach the subject of the relations of Jews in communism in the study "Les Juifs, la modernité et la tentation communiste. Esquisse d'une problématique d'histoire sociale"⁷⁵. The author tries to explain why the Jews voted for communism after the war. Karady explains these secret adhesion through the character of modernity, to the attraction of Jews for the situation of separating from the past, for separating the inherited Judaism. The laicity, scientific atheism of communism, the colectivism were other elements of attraction for Jews⁷⁶. In other words, the communism offered to the Jews the chance of a new life.

Catherine Horel in the study "1989 en Europe Centrale, une restauration des élites juives"⁷⁷ underlines also the situation of Hungarian elites in the communist period. Like other authors, she explains that the Jews adopted after 1945 the way of assimilation, getting closer to the dominant political trend, communism⁷⁸. In its attempt to get closer to communism, the Jews renegated also their identity. The author shows that the communist nomenclature was to a great extent formed of Jews, in the years 1950, the main political leaders were Jews: Mátyás Rákósi, Ernő Gerő, Mihály Farkas, József Révai, Zoltán Vas and Gábor Péter⁷⁹. In the same time, a lot of Jews were part of the political police.

Dan Danieli in the study "Interviews with Survivors of the Hungarian Forced Labor Service: An Evaluation"⁸⁰ made some interviews with the survivors of Hungarian concentration camps. He underlines the need to re-create the history of the units of the concentration camps. The character of the information is not consistent, because of the sufferings of the interviewees which generates inconsequences.

The next paper is situated with objectivity on the line of the studies which put the responsibility for Holocaust not only on German shoulders, but also to the Allied Axis Powers. Gábor Kádár and Zoltán Vági in the research "The economic annihilation of the Hungarian Jews, 1944-1945"⁸¹ underlines that not only the German fascists maintained in Hungary anti-Jewish legislation but also a lot of Hungarians

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 81

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 93

⁷⁵ Victor Karady, *Les Juifs, la modernité et la tentation communiste. Esquisse d'une problématique d'histoire sociale* in Nicolas Bauquet et François Bocholier (dir.), *op.cit.*, p. 85-105

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 104-105

⁷⁷ Catherine Horel, *1989 en Europe centrale: une restauration des élites juives* in Nicolas Bauquet et François Bocholier (dir.), *op.,cit.*, p. 335-351

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 336

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*

⁸⁰ Dan Danieli, *Interviews with Survivors of the Hungarian Forced Labor Service: An Evaluation*, in Randolph L. Braham and Brewster S. Chamberlin (eds), *The Holocaust in Hungary: Sixty Years Later*, Washington, Columbia University Press, 2006, p. 63-75

⁸¹ Gábor Kádár and Zoltán Vági, *The economic annihilation of the Hungarian Jews, 1944-1945*, in Randolph L. Braham and Brewster S. Chamberlin (eds), *op. cit.*, p. 77-87

who were dreaming of Jewish property⁸². On May 1944 in Hungary the Minister of Justice enacted a law which was pursuing the annihilation of the presence of Jews from economic life. For their fortunes, the Jews were provided the existence in ghettos, the author names this policy “self financing genocide”⁸³. On the other hand, the deportation of Hungarian Jews lasted 8-9 months and, in consequence, it was impossible for the Hungarian state to take over all the Jewish fortune. As a part of the goods was left in the care of local administration, the officials of the villages, local police and gendarmeries robbed some Jewish goods. The government redistributed a small part of Jewish fortune. After the war the restitution did not happen immediately because of the tensions that appeared between the new and old owners⁸⁴.

The next study shows the positive role played by the Church in the salvation of Transylvanian Jews. So in the work of Daniel A. Lowy, “Christian Help provided to Jews of Northern Transylvania during World War II: As revealed by the Jewish weekly *Egység* (May 1946- August 1947)”⁸⁵, it is shown that salvation of Jews by diplomats did not take place in this area, but the leaders of the Churches played an important role in salvation of Jews. For the same time there are mentioned salvations of Jews with the participation of International Committee of the Red Cross. The newspaper where these problems are reflected, *Egység*, is a newspaper published from May 1946 until March 1949. The newspaper became after 1948, pro-comunist. Slowly, the political reasons determined about which saviours could be written and about which not⁸⁶.

In the study of Jean Ancel, “The She’erit ha-Pletah: Holocaust survivors in Northern Transylvania”⁸⁷, it is mentioned that at the end of 1944, a lot of survivors of concentration camps also from the neighbouring countries arrived in Transylvania. After the liberation of the city of Cluj the Democratic Association of Jews was founded and similar associations have been constituted also in other liberated cities. The association helped the survivors materially and had as an objective the restauration of Jewish property. The Jewish communities organized themselves in Transylvania, with 56 being in existence at the end of 1945. With the help of Zionist organizations, the association helped to the return of a large number of Jews to Transylvania⁸⁸. As a conclusion, the author shows that although a lot of Jews reintegrated in Romania, they could not escape too easily from the nightmare of Holocaust who terrorized their lives.

⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 77

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 78

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 86

⁸⁵ Daniel A. Lowy, *Christian Help provided to Jews of Northern Transylvania during World War II: as revealed by the Jewish Weekly Egység (May 1946-August 1947)* in Randolph L. Braham and Brewster S. Chamberlin (eds), *op.cit.*, p.113-135

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 128

⁸⁷ Jean Ancel, *The She’erit ha-Pletah: Holocaust Survivors in Northern Transylvania* in Randolph L. Braham and Brewster S. Chamberlain (eds), *op.,cit.*, p. 155-165

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 157

Alice Freifeld, in the paper “Identity on the move: Hungarian Jewry between Budapest and DP Camps, 1945-1948”⁸⁹ explains that, on the way to camps of dislocated Jews after the Second World War, Budapest was a station and most Jews of these camps were Hungarian Jews. Hungary had around of 80 000 of Jews at the end of the war⁹⁰. The soviet soldiers played an important role in the salvation of Hungarian Jews which were not deported yet. So the Jews regarded the Red Army as a liberating force while Hungarian ethnics considered that the coming of the Soviets in 1945 was a defeat and a calamity⁹¹. After the war, the Hungarian identity was based on the blind imitation of Moscow, while the Hungarian Jews had separated themselves from their lives and their bourgeois ideals⁹².

The study of Paul Hanebrink talks about the responsibility and culpability of Christian Churches in anti-Semitic politics which dominated the period after the Second World War, bringing an original interpretation. In the study of Paul Hanebrink, “The Christian Churches and Memory of Holocaust in Hungary, 1945-1948”⁹³, the author starts with he assertion of Hungarian rabbi Henrik Fish who considered that the Hungarian Catholic Church and the Protestant Church were in favor of anti-Jewish laws and, indirectly, the Holocaust. The anti-Jewish discourse of the Catholic Church after the First World War lead, in the opinion of the author, to the birth of the “Jewish Question”⁹⁴. After the war, in the new created political context, the Christian churches and, in particular, the Catholic Church were obstacles in the instauration of communism. They were accused by public opinion that they encouraged anti-democratic values⁹⁵. The Catholic Church rejected any association with anti-Semitism. The Christian Churches, on the other hand, after the war did not have any possibility to reassert their responsibility, because of the coming of the communists to power⁹⁶.

Like Andrei Oișteanu, Liviu Rotman attributes anti-Semitic feelings to Romanian people. In the article of Liviu Rotman, *Spațiul paralel – un pericol pentru puterea comunistă/ The paralel space – a danger for communist power*⁹⁷, it is shown that in Romanian space the anti-Semitism was a phenomenon often encountered⁹⁸. In the same time the author explains that the communist power of Romania tried to assimilate the Jews, but it never understood them: „It must be shown that the new communist power never understood the complexity of the Jewish problems, no matter

⁸⁹ Alice Freifeld, *Identity on the move: Hungarian Jewry between Budapest and DP Camps, 1945-1948*, in Randolph Braham and Brewster S. Chamberlain (eds), *op.cit.*, p. 177-199

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 177

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 179

⁹² *Ibidem*, p. 197

⁹³ Paul Hanebrink, *The Christian Churches and Memory of the Holocaust in Hungary, 1945-1948* in Randolph L. Braham and Brewster S. Chamberlain (ed), *op.cit.*, p. 201-209

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 201

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 202

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 209

⁹⁷ Liviu Rotman, *Spațiul paralel – un pericol pentru puterea comunistă*, în Ladislau Gyémánt and Maria Ghitta (coord), *Dilemele conviețuirii. Evrei și neevrei în Europa Central Răsăriteană înainte și după Shoah/ Dilemmes de la cohabitation. Juifs et non-Juifs en Europe Centrale-Orientale avant et après la Shoah*, Cluj-Napoca, Institutul Cultural Român, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2006

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 173

that it is about the Zionist movement or the clear wish of the majority of Jewish population of emigrating to Israel, the same as they did not understand the importance in Jewish social life of the community, as a basic institution of this, neither the specific problems of the Jewish historical memory"⁹⁹. In communist period sanitary and educational institutions as well as canteens and orphanages that before belonged to the Jews entered in the property of the state.

Maria Ghitta, in the article „*Problema evreiască*” în *România ieri și azi. Câteva considerații* / „*The Jewish problem*”¹⁰⁰ in *Romania yesterday and today. A few considerations*” describes shortly a few characteristics of communist historiography: „The school books, the historiography, mass media were pursuing the image of a history of Romanians according to which they never attacked other nations, being forced, in numerous occasions, to defend themselves of waves of foreign invaders. The Romanian people (entire and abstract) was (then) and had always been tolerant, hospitable, but firm in defending „the needs and nation”, according to the famous expression of the national poet Mihai Eminescu”¹⁰¹. The historical writing was hardened after 1989 because of some topics that came up in the last years, that „the Jews brought the communism”, „the innocence of the Iron Guard”, „rehabilitation of Antonescu”, „negation/minimization of the Holocaust”¹⁰².

In a positivistic manner, in the study *The status of minorities in Romania in the early post-war years: 1944-1947*, Mioara Anton¹⁰³ tells that the status of minorities of Romania in the postwar years was improved because of the elimination of racial legislation and restraints in minorities rights. An important role had the Hungarian minority who was connected with Transylvania and Jewish minority which had an important role in politics. The communist view was ignoring the differences, and promoted the assimilation of minorities. The communism, considers the author was applied to an equal extent both to majority and minority¹⁰⁴.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 174

¹⁰⁰ Maria Ghitta, *Problema „evreiască” în România ieri și azi. Câteva considerații*, în Ladislau Gyémánt and Maria Ghitta (coord.), *op.cit.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, p. 185

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 190

¹⁰³ Mioara Anton, *The status of minorities in Romania in the early post-war years. 1944-1947* in *Revue Roumaine d'histoire*, tome XLV, Janvier-December, 2006, p. 237-243

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 243

THE “RATIONALIZATION OF SUBJUGATION”: COMMUNICATION PRACTICES IN CORRESPONDENCE IN HUNGARY AFTER 1956

József Ö. KOVACS

Abstract: *The author addresses the issues of the motivation and the measure of adjustment of those writing letters to state authorities, the Communist Party and the party press after the suppression of the Revolution in 1956. According to these letters, both those writing them and receiving them, followed a dual communications approach. It is also of interest that as the regime was consolidated the number of anonymous letters increased. The communications approach of the letters writers may be compared to complaints of „prisoner status”. Their statements were in fact products of a society without the rule of law which restricted expressions of views to the three-fold ruling „prohibited, tolerated and supported”. The author analyzes primarily the letters of the rural population written in the course of forced collectivization (1959-1961).*

Keywords: *communism, state authorities, letters, rural population, collectivization*

“In them, parents talk about tragic events, they ask their son not to send letters to paternal house, but to another address”¹.

The primary question concerning practices of (meta)communication in the milieu of a political dictatorship is why do people keep silent? Arguably, because their mentality and behaviour is motivated by distrust and fear that was shaped by actual experiences². Probably, the border of physical and mental terror is marked by the vacuum where normal communication becomes impossible³. The relationships between rulers and subjugated are fruitful to describe on multiple stages, where roles occasionally shift and the audience participate in the performance in a mystical way. The crucial question is how is the nomenclature able or unable to concentrate physical violence, the capital of means of coercion,

¹ Letter by MSZMP, 13th district party secretary to Zala county party secretary about the experiences of a worker, 19 February 1959, Archives of Zala County, MSZMP, 1. f. 2. 1959. 44. ö.e. 462.

² In traumatized social conditions “untold” stories are forwarded to successor generations. Botz, Gerhard (Ed.): *Schweigen und Reden einer Generation. Erinnerungsgespräche mit Opfern, Tätern und Mitläufern des Nationalsozialismus*. Mandelbaum V., Wien, 2005; Botz 2005; Gyáni Gábor: *Emlékezés és oral history*. In his: *Emlékezés, emlékezet és a történelem elbeszélése*. Budapest: Napvilág, 2000, p. 128–144

³ Friedrich, Carl Joachim, *Totalitäre Diktatur. Unter Mitarbeit von Professor Zbigniew K. Brzezinski*. Kohlhammer V., Stuttgart, 1957, p. 154–160

economic, cultural or information and, finally, symbolic capital to generate an institutional state⁴. From the perspective of everyday occurrences and human reactions another further relevant aspect is the examination of the components of the process of “subjugation”. One needs to confirm or dismiss those patterns of behaviour by the means of documenting the oppressive intention of the state, which frequently meant no conscious acceptance and mechanical subjugation, but were related to corporeal dispositions. The state shapes virtually fields of perception, therefore the characteristics of historical sources, as well⁵. By forcing people into mythic and many times fictitious collectivities, the collective mechanism of denials and suppressions emerges, which, presumably, grounds on common shared categories of perception and assessment and the harmonization of various habitus⁶.

Investigating the modified, but in its principal structures unchanged technique of exercising power and the adaptation of subjugated members of society and their particular ways of participation is an important duty of contemporary history⁷. Assuming the knowledge of various levels and methods of terror, I focus on a few other aspects in this exploration. For instance, the language and concepts contemporaries used to describe their experiences, the ways of formulating their troubles, or the variety of using the past as grounds for justifying claims for decision makers. A common element in this type of correspondence was that those approaching the communist party, party state authorities and various agents of the media by their complaints and letters were always in a situation of conflict. Both the authors and the addressees of these letters pursued a double-faced practice of communication.

Besides the problem of silence mentioned above, I address the ways contemporaries articulated their ideas between 1957-1961. Authors of the first group of letters were supporters of the regime. In this respect, this is far from a representative selection since they doubtlessly formed a minority. Reading their letters, however, is important, since they provide access to their peculiar discursive modes. A man and his wife from a village in Eastern Hungary asked János Kádár to accept being the godfather of their ninth child with the following reasoning, ‘I dare to expound my request as me and my family were persecuted during the counterrevolution and I as a militiaman defended our regime and now I like to confirm my bonds with the regime also this way.’ A 14 years old boy, “Son of a poor worker’ from the Trans-Danubia asked ‘mostly honourable comrade Kádár’

⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, *Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field*, *Practical reason: on the theory of action*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998, p. 42-43. Hereafter: Bourdieu 1998.

⁵ Bourdieu 1998: 54-54; Jeggle, Utz: *Der Kopf des Körpers. Eine volkskundliche Anatomie*. Quadriga V., Weinheim, Berlin, 1986, p. 40-44, 137-150

⁶ Bourdieu, *The Economy of Symbolic Goods*, Bourdieu 1998, p. 120-122. Giovanni Levi, *Inheriting power: the story of an exorcist*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988, p. 28

⁷ On the concept of “participatory dictatorship”: Fulbrook, Mary: *The People’s State. East German Society from Hitler to Honecker*. New Haven, London, 2005, p. 10-14

to be his godfather at religious confirmation. He would be satisfied even with registering Kádár's name. Instead of Kádár a member of the secretarial staff answered, 'My Dear Young Friend, We have received your letter in which you asked comrade Kádár to accept the role of godfather at your religious confirmation. We were somewhat astonished by your request. You are a 14 years old big boy now. Surely, you must know that communist people do not take part at religious services and baptismal ceremonies. As comrade Kádár is a communist person, it is obvious that he cannot accept functions like godfathers. This has to take up by a man who really believes in what this service according to the priests means. If comrade Kádár accepts this function it will be a mere formal thing, and he dislikes formal things. Therefore, I ask you to find another godfather. Thank you for your letter and we wish you a healthy, long, happy life'⁸. As to my knowledge, in this case the regular gift package or money transfer, which was the implicit, but obvious goal of most of the authors, was dismissed.

The daily of the party centre, *Népszabadság*, fulfilling dominantly the function of propaganda, therefore mediating limited and one-sided information, had a particular closed-circuit role. The political dictatorship involved a form of written communication with the trumpet of political power by those citizens who remained in the country choosing, thereby, a peculiar form of accommodation. There were various reasons for this type of communication: adjusting oneself to the party-line, collaboration, denouncing others, covert criticism of the regime, personal vengeance, the peculiar soviet form of loyalty deriving from an infantile 'citizen duty', but at the same time the desire of appropriating personal advantages and positions shaped by the conditions of subjugation. The editorial practice of *Népszabadság* was marked also by a double-sided communication. Regarding the theme of the essay, the more important component was the communication directed towards the inner circle of the party, more precisely towards the highest party leadership. The editors reported monthly about the readers' letters in an extracted thematic manner, but often citing the now unavailable original texts. This practice can be conceived as a particular form of opinion-poll, the results were interpreted and appropriated, however, in a distorted mirror.

The position of those village letter authors I mainly investigated reflect also how pragmatically they interpreted the situation, accepting the eternity of the political regime ruling above their heads as a fact, but also accommodating to its reality. The majority of rural letter authors 'deal mainly with land arrangement and issues of the cooperative farms. Some of the authors definitely state that there will be peace in the villages only if plots taken away by the cooperative are given back to their previous owners'⁹. This dissatisfaction, firm emotional connection to land and individual property was typical for the behaviour of those remained in

⁸ Letter from Kádár's secretariat. 1 October 1957. Magyar Országos Levéltár (MOL), XIX-A-2-ss. 2. dob. 1957 folder, Ká-660 és 716

⁹ Report of the correspondence department of *Népszabadság*, February 1957. MOL, M-KS-288.f. 11.15. ö.e.16.; Briefing report, 3 April 1957. MOL, M-KS-288.f. 11. 46. ö.e

agriculture even subsequent to the previous collectivisation campaigns. For the most important point of reference were the experiences of the past: the terror of the 1950s, which generally hit the world of the peasants. The Kádár-government could be perceived a better one compared to its preceding decades. The following quotation from the letter to Kádár by the populist-peasantist author, Péter Veres illustrates aptly the atmosphere of January 1957, the various contemporary modes of collaboration, ‘ In my contention, there is a solution, even a good solution, but listen a bit to the authors, too. I am ready, but I believe also the other peasantist writers – probably others as well – for the “normalization” of literary life and for pursuing law-abiding citizen behaviour needed for this, do not wish anything else now, and time – I believe – together with the alleged governmental wisdom will achieve the others’¹⁰.

The Népszabadság received 6041 letters between 15 February and 31 March 1957, the majority of which was sent normally from Budapest. From reading the letters the editors highlighted a spectacular shift apart from reporting on the regular complaints of low income and other anomalies. One could read the following about agricultural production, ‘Cooperative farms purified from blustering, workshy members are sharing one will now and work and develop better than before.’ The biggest problem, however, was caused by the lack of property rights. Contemporary reports from the countryside gave accounts on brutal practices of the militia and police, which practices the editorial board usually coined ‘encroachment’. For instance, on person identified by name from the town of Jászárokszállás and another one anonymously from Szombathely wrote that the police and the militiamen had beaten citizens¹¹.

‘Carrierist’ remained a stigmatizing expression after 1956, as well. Massive correspondence touched upon this issue during the Summer of 1957¹². The political leadership regularly learned from these editorial reports on the demands of veteran communists, so called ‘19ers, for recognition and various benefits. Recurrent and localized themes were the roughness, beatings, corruption and abusing of offices by various party cadres and leaders¹³.

A lesson of the letters from 1957 was that their number radically decreased in the second half of the year, which can be explained by the obligate noticing of the non-changeable situation. One can recognize, however, another change of trends and attitudes. Letters from the countryside began to form a striking majority, occasional foreign correspondence appeared and, what was most important from understanding the regime, anonymous letters became regular. More and more of these what party language called ‘letters of provocation’ were

¹⁰ Péter Veres’s letter to János Kádár on his role and situation, 29 January 1957. MOL, M-KS-288.f. 11.19. ő.e.

¹¹ Briefing report, 3 April 1957. MOL, M-KS-288.f. 11. 46. ő.e.

¹² Report of the correspondence department of Népszabadság , 2 July 1957. MOL, M-KS-288.f. 11.105. ő.e

¹³ Report of the correspondence department of Népszabadság , 10 January 1958. MOL, M-KS-288.f. 11. 209. ő.e.

posted. One of them explicated that in Hungary the 'people's freedom' meant two things: on the one hand, the 'oppression of people', on the other, the 'misguiding of young generations'. According to this, the authors regularly criticized particular journalists, for instance some called one of them, István Horváth a hack. Another type of letters was directed against 'counterrevolutionaries' allegedly remaining in power in villages as a policeman disapproved this fact¹⁴.

Interpreting the situation and intentions of those submitting written complaints to the Népszabadság or the representatives of the political power in general, it is eloquent how limited the opportunities of target persons of forced collectivisation were¹⁵. It applies particularly to elderly collective farm members who could not afford moving. It is no accident that the authors of these letters came mostly from the old generation stuck in the villages. Their numbers rose particularly at the end of 1959 and early 1960 when the executors of the collectivisation campaign aimed at breaking through. It is fruitful to consider the ways of inner reports from the editors of Népszabadság to the party leadership since virtually this was the first period when authors of letters approached the party and its trumpet more openly and more in numbers. These letters formed a different level and channel of communication, which contributed to the mode of the campaign and propaganda of the party, as well.

A significant proportion of the authors were dissatisfied with the low level of communist influence. According to a widow from the town of Mezőkövesd, 'there are a lot of reactionary teachers who poison the soul of children. All teachers attend church services.' A man from the village of Izsák articulated similar criticism, 'there are very little genuine resolute communists. If only the 40% of communists were people who dare to fight failures, it would be much easier to correct them'¹⁶.

A correspondent from Püspökmolnár gave an account on the terror of collectivisation, 'one day some 50 agitators occupied the village and coerced people to join the collective by beatings and rudeness. Some were even taken away.' An anonymous letter from Nyírbogát sheds light on the experience of how participants in the revolution in 1956 took different roles during the collectivisation, partly due to intention to compensate and to accommodate to the new conditions. 'People are beaten to sign the entry declaration. He names a few who were forced in this manner. People's educators were believed to be the biggest inciters and now once more they are the loudest persons. The president of the council could not stand it, so he declared illness.' Many of the individual farmers from Tiszakécske signed their common letter, 'peasants are called to the

¹⁴ Report of the correspondence department of Népszabadság, 7 March 1958. MOL, M-KS-288.f. 11. 231. ő.e

¹⁵ The limits of social opportunities can be analysed not only from 'below'. Ö. Kovács József: „Sűrített népnevelő”. A kollektivizálás tapasztalattörténetei (1958–1959). Korall, 10.évf. 36. 2009. július.

¹⁶ Report of the correspondence department of Népszabadság, 9 April 1959. MOL, M-KS-288.f. 11. 466. ő.e.

collective organization office at night and are persuaded to join by the help of truncheons.' A letter from elderly peasants from Albertirsa illustrates how radically, almost overnight, collectivisation broke generational relationships and ended various traditional peasant ways of life. 'Agitating for collectives are on its way. People are rather desperate, because they cannot work anymore, their land is taken, so their subsistence is no more secured. So far, their children kept them for their land, but for land rent no one is willing to do this. They request to receive plots less than 3 acres back.' It was also a collective experience that those who were able to work had already left the village in a way or another, or at least their official employment there. This coercion or attempts for self-defence was one of the reasons why mostly women and elderly persons became collective farm members. Themes of letters addressing this fact are also instructive: they provide accounts on privation, starvation, shortage of fuel and intentions to leave the farms¹⁷.

According to the report, 3008 letters arrived to the editorial office of *Népszabadság* in February 1960. 2021 (67%) persons wrote from the countryside, and 648 from them (22% of the total) addressed special so called 'village problems', which evoked phenomena categorised implicitly even by the editors as 'violent cooperative farm development'. Last but not least, it is worth citing that letter from Dunaföldvár which demonstrates the realistic experiences of 'worker-peasant' relations different from the official mythic and fetishistic stage-like formulations. 'I would like you to know about what was occurring for five weeks in the southern parts of Fejér county, in the villages of Cece, Alap, Sárszentmiklós, Sárbogárd. It was started by the miners who achieved no results, then men came from Stalintown who were beside their human selves. However, they failed as well, so different methods were needed. Levying special taxes, spitting on old men. Those who still resisted were called upon to the council. Their signature were squeezed out of them by the means of accusation, beatings and showing revolvers. Many people were in hiding leaving their homes in the morning as beasts chased in the fields. They were searched for as robbers and when they returned home in the evening, they were caught. Now, they report as victorious generals that cooperative farms have been organized'¹⁸.

The Department of Correspondence of the Hungarian Radio and Television gave an account on the experiences in collective farms in its confidential report in January 1961 based on 276 letters. A 64 years old man from Sáránd with 39 kg and extremely low blood-pressure was unable to work. In spite of this, the president of the cooperative farm called him to accomplish the harvest of 12 000 square meters corn in a week. In case of failure, he was required to pay the work price. According to the letters, fees to be paid by handicapped or old men who were actually unable to work were a regular measure. The 79 years old man who used to own 18 acres of land was a perfect example of this, 'He receives a monthly

¹⁷ Report of the correspondence department of *Népszabadság*, February 1960. MOL, M-KS-288, f. 11. 605. ő.e.

¹⁸ Report of the correspondence department of *Népszabadság*, 10 March 1960. MOL, M-KS-288.f. 11. 614 ő.e. 1960. március 10

260 Ft pension. He is disabled, lying in bed and ill, nevertheless, he was allocated for hoeing and gathering potatoes. As he failed to perform 1000 forints were taken from him'¹⁹. The demand for household plots, their quality and land rent (usually delayed) meant a constant everyday conflict. Cases of elderly persons over 70 forced to join the cooperatives can be considered typical²⁰.

The content and form of anonymous letters are typical of their political-social context. These are historical sources reflecting subjugation and will to act, while their quantity and time of appearance are also important marks of a historical period. The editorial board of the Hungarian Radio and Television wrote also regular confidential reports to the party centre about which persons and for what purpose approached them. The summary report from June 1961 referred to 581 letters. A quarter of these were posted anonymously, which the editors commented as follows, 'People do not dare to criticize, they afraid of punishment. This is one of the reasons why the critical letters frequently are anonymous. The investigation, in turn, confirms that they are with a few exceptions and notwithstanding exaggerations are well grounded'²¹.

What were the topics of complaints? These generally included drinking parties of leaders of cooperative farms and district councils, cases of threatening those criticizing them with internment and other similar statements of cooperative farm leaders ('he steps on his toe', 'he gets him taken away'). A similar case was recorded in a cooperative farm in Somogy county, 'he said anybody tries to give him advise, he gets the man taken away. This goes easily here as the agricultural department from the District Council of Barcs supports him, because comrade József Bodizs had household plot here. Therefore, also revolvers are offered for the members. He pointed at a farmer with revolver 11 days ago. Who is actually the master in the cooperative farm? We think that the members are, as well. Then he stated for the shepherd that he gets in prison because of asking for advance payment. If someone enters the office he will beat the man out of there'²².

Why did people write? One can assess the characteristics of these letters and submissions typical to the regime obviously from a comparative research which is beyond the scope of this essay. However, arguably the fact, at least on its collective level, is fruitful to explain according to the concept of modern paternalistic dictatorship. The regime addressed both in ideological and practical terms its citizens and intended to politically mobilize everyone. In certain respects, it considered 'adults' those who were subjugated in terms of power politics, whereas they were involved in a simulated public sphere. Correspondence

¹⁹ Report of the Department of Correspondence of the Hungarian Radio and Television 31 January 1961. MOL, M-KS 288.f. 28. 1961. 2. ő.e. 19–26

²⁰ Report of the Department of Correspondence of the Hungarian Radio and Television 31 January 1961. MOL, M-KS 288.f. 28. 1961. 2. ő.e. 19–26

²¹ Report of the Department of Correspondence of the Hungarian Radio and Television, June 1961. MOL, M-KS 288.f. 28. 1961. 2. ő.e. 198

²² Report of the Department of Correspondence of the Hungarian Radio and Television, June 1961. MOL, M-KS 288.f. 28. 1961. 2. ő.e. 198

basically is a practice of communication, a peculiar component of stability and the maintenance of the regime. Contemporaries, therefore, participated in this 'game'. Access to individual motivations can be gained, however, only via exploring actual personal status and roles, which is impossible in this analysis.

The authors of these letters had multiply goals to achieve. There is one element, however, which seems common in them. These flashed everyday situations of the regime, or more precisely those of the chaotic relationships in the form of distorted images, generally in various ideological clichés, predominantly due to human discontent. They recognized ruptures and functional anomalies within the frames of the regime (as they did not leave the country), that is to say they assessed realistically the limits of the Kádárist dictatorship. From a retrospective perspective, it seems appropriate to call this practice the complaints of 'captivity' since it was a state without the rule of law, where even the opportunity of giving voice was regulated by the tripartite system of prohibition, tolerance and support²³.

What was the impact of the letters? First, these became an 'issue', which was ordinarily started by the editorial board approaching the respective party committee that tried to cope with them. In any case, local publics usually were aware of those submitting written complaints or questions. In the contemporary context this was relevant: the authors attracted attention and provided models of behaviour.

One of the most important lessons of these letters is that the authors obviously took the demands of power into consideration. They defined various modes of accommodating these and rationalizing their actions. In fact, they chose the 'lesser evil', while by manifest written communication they also risked providing means for exercising power for the authorities²⁴.

²³ On the mental problems and 'captivity' in Soviet-type regimes Sztompka, Piotr: *The Sociology of Social Change*. Blackwell P., Oxford, p. 246–247, 281

²⁴ Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1989, p. 201–207

ASPECTS OF CONSTANTIN DAICOVICIU'S WORK WITH THE HIGHER COMMISSION FOR DIPLOMAS

Mihaela GOMAN

Abstract: *As a member of the Higher Commission for Diplomas, Constantin Daicoviciu had an important role in consecration of many historians and archaeologists, some of them trained in the Historical and Archaeological School of Cluj, whose mentor he was. In this study our attention has focused on the reports drawn up for promotion to a higher academic degree, which are relatively few in number, but important in the terms of the teaching or scientific research of those mentioned, among which we mention Virgil Vătășianu, Ștefan Pascu, Francisc Pall, Mihail Macrea, Mihai Dan, Dumitru Berciu, Nicolae Gostar, Kurt Horedt.*

Keywords: *Higher Commission for Diplomas, member, report, referent, specialty*

Being co-opted in the higher educational institute even since the collegiate times, as we have mentioned above, as internship at the Institute of Archaeology and Numismatics of the University "King Ferdinand I" of Cluj, Constantin Daicoviciu actively involved himself in the good activity of it as an assistant, lecturer and professor. His teaching career has been supported by a merit scientific research, the latter ensuring the former. As Head of Department, Professor Constantin Daicoviciu has accumulated a rich experience over the years. The post-university and academic training system itself has been replaced by a new form of scientific qualification, namely that of the doctorate. In his acceptance, however, he could not be a true teacher, who was lacked of scientific concerns, respectively, did not conduct a fair personal research activity. The young academics should be taught to learn the alphabet of the scientific work, as long the doctorate was seen as an upper stage of the scientific classification. Thus, they created the possibility of obtaining a doctoral degree on the basis of a single scientific paper (doctorate thesis). This, in its turn, could be accepted, but nothing would guarantee that it would be subsequently published. They could not take into account in any case, the number of the scientific papers published by a researcher, but their quality¹.

In 1957, Constantin Daicoviciu was appointed member of the Subcommittee of Historical and Philological Sciences of the Higher Commission for Diplomas (with attributions to discuss the records and prepare reports with proposals for the

¹ Constantin Daicoviciu, *În legătură cu sistemul doctoratului*, in *Revista învățământului superior*, București, 1967, year 9, no. 9, p. 37-40

committee²), that, on August 6, 1962 (with the provision of the Council of Ministers number 619), he should be appointed member of the Higher Commission for Diplomas³, also acting as rector of the University “Babes-Bolyai” of Cluj.

The mentioned institution operated in the Ministry of Education and had the following tasks: to confirm or refute the scientific titles conferred by law, on the basis of the advice of its expert sections; to decide on the certification of the professors and lecturers titular in specialties that did not hold a doctorate; to recommend to the Ministry of Education to award the merit graduation to the professors and lecturers at the proposal of the senates or teaching councils of the higher education institutions; to amount the higher education diplomas and scientific titles obtained abroad; to decide on the requests of equivalence with the title of doctor or docent-doctor in science and of the titles of doctor obtained in the country until 1952; also, it could exercise any other responsibilities provided by law⁴.

From an organizational perspective, the *Higher Commission for Diplomas* consisted of president, vice president, scientific secretary and members. The president was the minister of education and, the vice president was his secondary; the vice president was dealing with the problems regarding the higher education; the secretary was elected by the Commission, from among its members; in their turn, the members of the Commission were nominated by the President and approved by the Council of Ministers; the president, vice president and the scientific secretary formed the Commission Office; the meetings of the latter were held once a month, and the Commission meetings every two months; the Commission performed its activity in the presence of at least two thirds of its members and adopted decisions, by secret vote, with the majority of its constituent members. One of the main tasks of the mentioned Commission was to setting up the *specialty departments*, branches of science. In their turn, they had a president, a vice president and more three members; they could be members of the Commission, but also other high qualified specialists⁵.

In 1969⁶, after the reorganization of the Higher Commission for Diplomas, Constantin Daicoviciu will be appointed again its member, by the Council of

² Made aware of this fact by the Ministry of Education No address. 0293 dated January 21, 1957. In addition, beside Constantin Daicoviciu, members of the subcommittee were part Banyai Ladislau - University „Bolyai” of Cluj, Dimitrie Macrea - University „C.I.Parhon” of Bucharest and N.I. Popa - University „Al. I. Cuza” of Iasi, and its president was Iorgu Iordan. The subcommittee discussed the records and draw up the papers of the teachers proposed to granting the teaching degree or confirming the title of candidate in history and, philology, respectively. The National History Museum of Transylvania, to *Constantin Daicoviciu Fund ...* C₂710a

³ According to address of the Ministry of Education, Department of Higher Diplomas, to Constantin Daicoviciu, dated August 15, 1962. *Ibidem*, C₂6395

⁴ According to the Decision of the Council of Ministers of R.S.R. no. 2064, dated October 29, 1969, regarding the organization and operation of the Higher Committee for Diplomas in the Ministry of Education. *Ibidem*, C₂6383

⁵ *Ibidem*

⁶ According to the address sent to academician Constantin Daicoviciu by the Scientific Secretary of the Higher Commission for Diplomas of the Ministry of Education, Professor C. Dinculescu, on November 17, 1969. *Ibidem*, C₂6382

Ministers Decision no. 2065 of October 29, 1969. According to the repartition of the members of the Higher Commission for Diplomas on sections of specialty, Constantin Daicoviciu was the president of the *Section of Historical, Sociological and Political Sciences*⁷, the vice president was Tudor Bugnariu (S.R.R. Academy correspondent member, professor at the University of Bucharest), while the other three members were: Gall Ernest (Professor PhD. at the University "Babes-Bolyai" of Cluj), Göllner Carol (docent-doctor, Head of Division at the Institute of History and Archaeology in Cluj) and Petric Aron (Lecturer PhD. at the Academy of Social-Political Sciences "Ștefan Gheorghiu" of Bucharest)⁸. At a closer look at the composition of the Commission (in total 81 persons, respectively, the president, vice-president and 79 members) we note that 17 members were academicians, 21 correspondent members of the S.R.R. Academy, and the others were professors PhD. in sciences at the most representative universities in the country (Bucharest, Cluj, Iași) as well others, too known for certain specialties (Târgu Mureș, Timișoara, Craiova, Brașov)⁹.

The co-optation of the schoolmaster of Cluj in this important institution within the Ministry of Education, considered, on the one hand, his great experience in the chair, respectively, the enrich teaching activity of that who climbed all the university hierarchy steps to that of professor, holding also the functions of chief of department, dean and then of rector, and, on the other hand, were recognized his outstanding scientific merits which have already become well known, both in the country, and abroad.

From this perspective and considering also the main responsibilities of the Higher Commission for Diplomas, we try to shape the work of the Academician Professor Constantin Daicoviciu from the position of a member specialist in the committee for doctorate, or in other words referent. Our approach is based on the large number of reports kept in *Constantin Daicoviciu Fund*, which also allowed us to group them into three categories, namely: reports for promotion to the teaching degree of lecturer or professor; reports on the recognition of doctoral dissertations (the doctoral degree obtained before 1952) or granting the doctorates (docent-doctor title) to a constellation of Romanian scientists, either in the history field, or in the auxiliary sciences and essays on the title of doctor of science (history).

This nominalization of the reports observes the simple hierarchy of their number for each category. Thus the more than 150 reports (their number was certainly higher), over 100 were proposed to grant the doctoral degree in history. If

⁷In total, the Higher Commission for Diplomas has 12 specialized departments. These were: Department of Physic-Mathematics; Department of Chemistry Sciences; Department of Biological and Agricultural Sciences; Department of Technical Sciences; Department of Geological and Geographical Sciences; Department of Philological Sciences; Department of Historical Sociological and Political Sciences; Department Philosophical, Psychological, Educational and Law Sciences; Department of Economics; Department of Medical Science and Pharmacy; Department of Military Sciences; Department of Arts. *Ibidem*, C₂6385

⁸*Ibidem*, C₂6384

⁹*Ibidem*

we take into account also the negative reports, respectively the reports that have endorsed the title of doctor in other sciences too, their number approaches to 180-200. There are few data of mathematical order outlining a laborious scientific work performed by Constantin Daicoviciu over more than a decade.

Our attention will be drawn in the following reports elaborated for promotion to a higher academic degree, which are relatively few in number, but important in the terms of the teaching and scientific activity of those mentioned, namely: Virgil Vătășianu, Ștefan Pascu, Mihai Berza, Pall Francis, Mihail Macrea, Mihail Dan, C. Cihodaru, Dumitru Berciu, Nicolae Gostar, Kurt Horedt. We'll begin with the great schoolmasters of the University of Cluj, Constantin Daicoviciu's Department colleagues and, at the same time, close collaborators, some of them (Mihail Macrea, Kurt Horedt) trained as good specialists, still at the Institute of Classical Studies.

The content of the report prepared by Constantin Daicoviciu for Virgil Vătășianu, on February 5, 1962, lets us know that the University "Babeș-Bolyai" of Cluj submitted to the Commission for Higher Diplomas its proposal to grant him the higher academic degree of *Professor in the specialty of Arts History*. The committee of specialists composed of academician Tudor Vianu, academician Andrei Oțetea and professor Bela Cselényi praised scientific work of Professor Virgil Vătășianu as numerous and valuable. As a professor, he wrote and published a lithographed course of art history in the Middle Ages and is in a manual completion phase, in two volumes, on the European art history from the Middle Ages to the contemporary times, for students, with a special regard on the Romanian art. In 1927 he obtained the doctor diploma in art history at the University of Vienna, title confirmed by the Higher Commission for Diplomas by the decision no. 2151 of March 28, 1961. The Scientific Council of the University, at its meeting of November 6, 1961, voted by 37 votes (of 39 present) and recommended him to the rank of professor in the arts history¹⁰.

Ștefan Pascu, Constantin Daicoviciu's close collaborator, was proposed, in the report dated July 23, 1963, to grant the higher degree of professor in the specialty *Romanian History, the Middle Aged Epoch*. The scientific referees (Professor Nicolae Lascu, from the University of Cluj, Professor Mihai Berza and Professor I. Ionașcu from the University of Bucharest) appreciated the scientific activity of Professor Ștefan Pascu (the 80 titles of works), held in parallel with that of a teacher. He was awarded the title of doctor in historical sciences in 1960 and as recognition of his scientific merits he was elected correspondent member of the Academy of the P.R.R. in the session of March, 18 to 21, 1963¹¹.

A scholar researcher, with a rich and long scientific (over 50 works) and teaching activity was Francisc Pall, a teacher who has enjoyed an undisputed prestige in the field of the Universal Middle Aged History. Considering the foregoing, the committee of referees consisting of Academician Andrei Oțetea,

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, C₂5643

¹¹ *Ibidem*, C₂5642

Professor Mihai Berza and Professor Jáko Sigismund proposed to the Higher Commission for Diplomas to grant him the higher academic degree of professor in the specialty of *Universal Middle Aged History*, according to the report dated on April, 13, 1964¹².

About Mihail Macrea, Professor Constantin Daicoviciu noted in the report dated on March 18, 1964: "He is one of the best specialists in ancient history with a rich and valuable scientific research assessed both at home and abroad. His Worship is, at the same time, also an equally valuable teacher, with great and long experience of teaching. Through all educational degrees, from junior up to professor, also obtaining his title of doctor in historical sciences in 1960, M. Macrea was appointed professor temporarily in the same specialty, based on competition, on October 1, 1960". Finally, they proposed to grant the higher teaching degree of professor in the specialty *Romanian Ancient History*¹³.

Of those nominated by the University "Babeş-Bolyai" of Cluj to be awarded the higher academic degree of teaching lecturer we mention Mihail Dan and Kurt Horedt. The first candidate was nominated both for the higher degree of lecturer and professor, but in two different disciplines. Thus, for granting the degree of lecturer, the report shall specify: "the thorough training in the field of the Slavic studies, his rich and valuable scientific research, the outstanding teaching and educational qualities, as well his great prospects to develop further on a fruitful research work and of educator"; at the recommendation of the referees (Academician Andrei Oţetea, Academician David Prodan and Lecturer Valeria Costăchel of the University "Constantin I. Parhon" of Bucharest) they proposed to the Commission to grant him the higher degree of lecturer in the specialty of the *History of the Peoples in U.S.S.R.*¹⁴. Concerning the degree of professor, it was granted him in the specialty of *Universal Contemporary History and Romanian-Slav Paleography*¹⁵.

With an "apprenticeship" at the Institute of Classical Studies at the University of Cluj, as a junior and assistant, Kurt Horedt "is a good schoolmaster, a passionate researcher and a valued specialist in the field of the primitive society history, of the archeology of this age and of the pre feudal period. His contribution to the drafting of the Volume I of the Romanian History was a meritorious one. His works – over 60 in number - published in the country or abroad, or articles, studies or larger summarizing papers, have solved many problems related to our country's past, although some of them have risen – as it is natural – contradictory talks, but without they can deny the integrity and the strict scientific level of the author's arguments. As a dock head, he led, methodically and organized a series of archeological excavations, serving as school for the youngest. Also, in the History Institute of the Academy and in the Chair he created few good students". The scientific referees (Academician Emil Condurachi, professor at the University

¹² *Ibidem*, C₂5602

¹³ *Ibidem*, C₂5603

¹⁴ Report compiled on September 7, 1961. *Ibidem*, C₂5609

¹⁵ Report dated June 13, 1966. *Ibidem*, C₂5605

“Constantin I. Parhon” of Bucharest, Gheorghe Ștefan, correspondent member of the Academy, professor at the University of Bucharest and Professor Mihail Macrea from the University of Cluj) have opined to grant him the higher degree of lecturer in the specialty of the *Primitive Society History and Archeology*¹⁶.

The University of Bucharest has proposed to grant the higher educational degree, among others, Dumitru Berciu and Mihai Berza. The first was awarded both the title of lecturer and professor. In the report prepared to grant the lecturer teaching degree in the specialty of the *History and Archeology of the Commune*, the referees (Academician Emil Condurachi, Professor Dr. Gheorghe Ștefan and Mircea Petrescu - Dîmbovița) have appreciated the extensive scientific research ground activity, as well the publishing of numerous academic studies known in the country and abroad. His teaching activity for almost thirty years, of which eighteen years in the higher education, was entitled Dumitru Berciu to receive the higher academic degree of lecturer¹⁷. In the report prepared for granting the higher academic degree of university professor in the specialty noted above we remark the unanimous vote of the members of the Scientific Council (73 pro and one contra), of the University of Bucharest in the favor of the “well-known specialist of international value in the field of his specialty”, Dumitru Berciu¹⁸.

Professor Michael Berza, from the University of Bucharest, was proposed for granting the higher teaching degree of professor in the specialty of *Middle Aged General History*. His long, rich and important scientific activity, considered, moreover, also by the scientific referents (Academician Andrei Oțetea, Academician David Prodan and Academician Gheorghe Oprescu) has recommended him for this position. Over the years, Professor Berza has been noted as a great specialist in that branch of history. At the end of the report prepared on January 13, 1963, they requested to grant the scientific title of doctor of historical sciences to professor Berza, recognizing his doctorate taken out at the University of Iași, in 1935, with the thesis *The Origins and Development of the Amalfi Borough until the Advent of the Duchy*¹⁹.

The University “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” of Iași has proposed C. Cihodaru and Nicolae Gostar to grant the higher academic degree of lecturers. The first was recommended by his teaching and scientific activity held both in the educational system at the discipline *Romanian Middle Aged History* and, at the Institute of History of the Department of the P.R.R. Academy of Iași, as Head of the Department. Proving much zeal, passion and skill, also revealed by the scientific referents (Professor Gheorghe Ștefan, Correspondent Member of the P.R.R. Academy, Professor Mircea Petrescu- Dîmbovița, from the University of Iași and Professor Ștefan Pascu, from the University of Cluj), C. Cihodaru was

¹⁶ Report compiled on March 6, 1961. *Ibidem*, C₂5601

¹⁷ Report dated January 18, 1963. *Ibidem*, C₂5635

¹⁸ Report compiled on September 13, 1967. *Ibidem*, C₂5600

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, C₂5718

recommended to the Higher Commission for Diplomas to granting the higher academic degree of lecturer²⁰.

Nicolae Gostar "formed at the University of Cluj, in the field of the ancient history, of archeology and epigraphy, has proved a serious professional and teacher training. His papers appeared in our magazines and publications of strict specialty are numerous (32) and others are in print. The value of these works is undeniable, they are standing out by their exemplary documentation, and through the authenticity of the ideas and richness of the contributions to the knowledge they bring to our country's distant past. Good connoisseur of the two classical languages, Nicolae Gostar is master also on the literary and epigraphic sources. Active, tireless researcher in the field and in libraries, Nicolae Gostar happily combines the scientific work with that of master forming also more students", a brief characterization, under which the Subcommittee of the Philological and Historical Sciences recommended to the Commission the granting of the higher teaching degree of lecturer in the specialty of *Ancient General History*²¹.

A first observation we make on the edge of the above mentioned is that that in granting the higher educational degree they have trained the three major universities in the country, namely the University of Bucharest, Iași and Cluj; another is that that in the professional committees, one of the referees should be required from another university, precisely for an objective assessment; it was, thus, quantified the teaching and scientific activity of several outstanding future professionals in the field of history.

²⁰ Report dated February 6, 1962. *Ibidem*, C₂5604

²¹ According to the Report dated on January 1, 1967, the scientific referents were: Professor Dr. Mircea Petrescu - Dîmbovița, from the University of Iași, Professor Dr. Gheorghe Ștefan, Correspondent Member of the Academy, from the University of Bucharest and A. Bodor, lecturer at the University of Cluj. *Ibidem*, C₂5721

AUGUSTO DE CASTRO: “AN ORGANIC INTELLECTUAL” OF SALAZARISM

Clara Isabel SERRANO

Abstract: *In this article we that we aim to describe and interpret the life of Augusto de Castro, an inevitable character of the diplomatic, political and cultural life of the Portuguese 20th Century, who observed closely all the changes lived by the country in the period mentioned before. By trying to know better the life of this “public man” we also intend to contribute to a deeper understanding of the Portuguese reality between the last quarter of the 19th century and the penultimate of the 20th Century.*

Keywords: *Portugal, diplomatic, political, cultural, 20th Century*

Political Situation

In the last quarter of the 19th century Portugal plunged into a huge political crisis that ended with the proclamation of the Republic on 5th October, 1910. This revolutionary movement was the natural sequence of the doctrinaire and political action that was taking place since the creation of the Republican Party. By increasing the opposition between Republic and Monarchy the republican propaganda had known how to take advantage of some events of popular repercussion, such as the signing of Lourenço Marques Treaty (1879)¹, the celebrations of the third centenary of the death of Camões in 1880, and the English Ultimatum, in 1890.

The first Republic, from 5th October, 1910 to 28th May, 1926, made the chance of a comeback of the Monarchy very difficult. During this period the measures taken by the consecutive governments to try to put an end to the deficit in public accounts, to recognize the rights and guarantees of workers and to solve the problem of the high rate of illiteracy and improve the other levels of education had, globally, not many practical effects.

The difficulties in governing were accentuated by the political instability², the divergences amongst republicans³, the opposition of the several political and

¹ On 31st May, 1879, the Lourenço Marques Treaty is signed, the treaty allowed the landing of British troupes on that harbour, but also admitted the patrolling of the shores of Mozambique by British ships.

² For sixteen years there were forty-five governments, because as the executive power of the governments depended on the legislative power they were toppled. There were also some coup d'état that established dictatorships: Pimenta de Castro (1915) and Sidónio Pais (1917/18).

³ Differences between the republican leaders that defended more radical measures, and the moderate ones.

social groups⁴, and the participation of Portugal in the First World War⁵. The intervention of Portugal in this first conflict at world scale worsened the economic difficulties and the political and social instability. Thus, at a financial level, the country continued to have a weak production in agriculture and industry, a shortage in essential goods and a high inflation rate. There was also a growth in the deficit of the balance of trade and external debt. At a social level there was a degradation of the living conditions of the working classes, an increase of unemployment, an aggravation of social antagonisms and an increase of terrorist acts. The consecutive republican governments were unable to solve all these problems, and being so on 28th May, 1926, General Gomes da Costa started the military coup that ended the First Republic, in Braga.

Once the Military Dictatorship was established that did not mean that the political instability, which had been a characteristic of the last years of Republic, had ended. Actually, the period before the institutionalization of the New State stood out as a time of inflamed political fight between the several powers running to rule the State. On one side, there were the several republican factions, interested in the restoring and/or regeneration of the Republic. On the other side, there were the monarchists, integralist and the Catholics, orientated to a deep change of the regime and, in the final analysis, to its subversion. This instability was translated politically in the succession of eight governments, of several palace coups and mainly by the anti-dictatorial resistance of a democratic and radical republican stream that, constantly conspiring, would make a series of revolutionary movements⁶ happen. Lastly, this destabilization led to the institutionalization of a new regime, the New State, as it named itself in the 1933 Constitution.

The head man of the new regime, António de Oliveira Salazar, had gained a clear preponderance from the Ministry of General Domingos de Oliveira (21st January, 1930 to 25th June, 1932). Having the support of the anti-democratic, integralist and Catholic right, Salazar asserted himself, to begin with, by the relative success he had in rebalancing the public accounts, this success was very highlighted by the disastrous action of General Sinel de Cordes, who was in charge of the

⁴ The opposition of several political and social groups, such as the Catholics, monarchists and the medium class, that were unhappy with the increase of the cost of living, and the workers that were unsatisfied with the action of the Republic.

⁵ Even though different opinions coexisted, most of the political leaders were in favour of the intervention of Portugal in the war on the side of the Allies. With this participation Portugal meant to assure the possession of the colonies that were being coveted by Germany and England, reinforce the independency before Spain and obtain the external recognition of the new republican regime. The participation in the war caused, nonetheless, a very strong social discontent.

⁶ With prominence to the revolutionary movement from 3rd to 7th February, 1927 in Porto, and 7th to 10th of the same month and year in Lisbon, to the uprising of the Castle, in Lisbon on 20th July, 1928, to the uprising of Madeira on 4th April, 1931 and to the movement of the 26th August, 1931 in Lisbon. Vide ROSAS, Fernando and BRITO, J. M. Brandão de: *Dicionário de História do Estado Novo*, volume I, Lisbon, Círculo de Leitores, 1996, p. 273

Finance office before him⁷. That so advertised accomplishment achieved by Salazar allowed his gradual, but safe rise among dictatorship, to which, little by little, he imposed a new path that can be considered as finished in 1933, after the plebiscite of the new Constitution, and in 1934 with the integration/annulation of the national-syndicalist and republican-conservative streams, the defeat of the "general strike" against the corporativisation of the unions and the beginning of the work of the new institutions with the elections on 14th December, 1934 to the National Assembly.

So, from 1934 to 1940, the New State, properly established and consolidated lived its period of bigger stability and prestige. The regime created and enlarged the corporative organization, domesticated and reformed the Air Forces and instituted a solid alliance with the Catholic Church through the Concordat with the Holy See⁸, in 1940 – "everything added up that year, with the great ostentation of the Centenarian Celebrations (of the "double centenary of nationality": 1140, 1640) and of the great Exhibition of the Portuguese World, emblematic symbol of the alleged superiority and intangibility of the New State that turned Portugal into that "island of peace in a world at war"⁹.

Between 1941 and 1949 the regime faced its first crisis¹⁰, resulting of the impact of the Second World War. Under the pressure of the striker movement (1942-1944), in the first place, and of the offensive of the opponents, united and reorganized (1945-1946), in the second place, the internal balance of the regime broke and it showed symptoms of disaggregation, being forced to move back a little right after the war. But the "cold war" ambience that was installed and the set backs in the oppositionism allowed Salazar to re-establish the internal balance and counterattack politically and in terms of police forces in 1947-1948, winning the oppositions and making way to a new decade of "order in the streets and piece of mind"¹¹.

This new decade (1949-1958) registered big "invisible changes" in economy, in society, in the regime and even in the oppositions, this invisibility was assured by censorship, by the deprivation of liberties and by the atmosphere of anticommunist ideological tension prevailing internally and externally. This was also the last stage of some international acceptance of the New State and of relative stability, as from 1958 on the situation got more serious and the second and decisive

⁷ Vide Idem, *op. cit.*, volume I, p. 274. General Sinel de Cordes was appointed as Ministry of Finance three times (on 9th July, 1926, on 19th December, 1927 and on 7th April, 1928). He negotiated with the Society of Nations for a loan of twelve million pounds sterling, in order to avoid bankruptcy.

⁸ The Concordat and the Missionary Agreement sealed in 1940 between the Portuguese State and the Holy See ended in a long process of re-approximation of the State and the Church, that had already had its beginning in the last years of the First Republic, and got accentuated with the advent of the Military Dictatorship in 1926 and with the plebiscite of the Constitution in 1933. Vide Idem, *op. cit.*, volume I, p. 182

⁹ Vide Idem, *op. cit.*, volume I, p. 318

¹⁰ The political impact of the victory of the democracies over the Nazi-fascist regimes and the financial and social impact of the conflict about the living conditions of the populations had a major contribution in that crisis.

¹¹ Idem

crisis of the regime started, triggered by the immense wave of anti-salazarist protest that the oppositionist candidature of General Humberto Delgado raised all over the country. The shock waves caused by the “earthquake Delgado” extended as far as 1962 in a succession of critical events that endangered in a very serious manner the subsistence of the situation: attempts of military coups or insurrectional rebellion¹²; the beginning of the colonial war¹³; the occupation of the Portuguese lands in India by the Indian Union (18th December, 1961); the escape of the high leaders of the Portuguese Communist Party from the political prisons (1960 and 1961); attack and seizure of the packet *Santa Maria* (January, 1961); the wave of social and political turmoil (from November, 1961 to May, 1962); and the explosion of the student movement (fights from April to June, 1962).

The regime survived this crisis but it never recovered. Hopelessly divided internally, externally isolated because of the refusal to find a political solution for the colonial war, facing an opposition that was becoming more and more radical, and in spite of the economical growth, the last years of salazarism were of inevitable decay of a regime unable to adapt itself to the great challenges of its time: decolonization and, by that mean, European integration.

Marcelo Caetano, who was called to the government in September 1968, after the permanent physical incapacity of the President of the Council had been declared, attempted still one try of self-reformation of the regime: so, at a first stage he adopted a policy of prudent social and economical reformations but without changing the colonial war policy. However, by refusing to find a political solution for this conflict, marcelism eventually destroyed the reformations first and the regime later. The continuity of the war caused the freezing of the reformist path of the beginning, set off a repressive turning of the regime and spread discontent to certain military groups, but especially the “captains” that directed the war on the ground. That hastened the transformation of their corporatist movement into a political-military conspiracy that defeated the regime on 25th April, 1974.

The man, the journalist, the diplomat

Augusto de Castro Sampaio Corte-Real was born in Porto, a city described as “tenacious, used to win the rocks and cliffs and to control heights, like the strength of the waters of Douro, that has always had in its blood the institute of fight and victory”¹⁴, on 11th January, 1883. He was a descendent, by paternal via,

¹² In March, 1959; in April, 1961, this one involved the Ministry of Defence and the leadership of the Army; in December, 1961.

¹³ Angola was one of the first stages of operations during the colonial war that lasted from 1961 to 1974. The conflict in this territory began with several actions of terrorism and guerrilla in the entire region of the Dembos, in the North of Angola, perpetuated by the Union of the People of Angola (UPA), from 15th March, 1961.

¹⁴ CASTRO, Augusto de: *Doutoramento «Honoris Causa» de Augusto de Castro Sampaio Corte-Real*, in Offrprint of the Magazine of the Faculty of Humanities of Porto University – História, Porto, Faculdade de Letras, 1970, p. 23

of Vasco Anes Corte-Real, a Portuguese sailor of the 15th and 16th centuries that saw his name connected to the discovering of the New Land. He was the son of Augusto Maria de Castro Corte-Real and D. Isabel Maria de Sousa Sampaio e Castro, and the nephew of José Luciano de Castro Pereira Corte-Real (1835 – 1914), president of the Council of Ministers of King Luís and King Carlos (1886–1890/1904–1906). He began his education in Porto, completed the Secondary course and would have taken there his “university degree in Law if back then it existed in that University”¹⁵. So, he took his degree on that “adorable and charming Coimbra, with such a dominating power of suggestion and evocation”¹⁶ in 1902, and he was contemporary, as Law student, to José Caeiro da Mata. It was in *Lusa Atenas* that Augusto de Castro was born to the Portuguese Humanities. Still as a student, he published his first book, *A Religião do Sol* (1900) and wrote, collaborating with the poet João Lúcio, the play *Até que enfim!*, performed as a goodbye recital to his degree. In 1903 he started working as a journalist assuming on 25th May, 1903, the editorial board of the diary *A Província*¹⁷, founded by Oliveira Martins, that “for years put in the direction of this newspaper, whose first steps he guided, his enthusiasm”¹⁸. With the publishing of the last issue of this newspaper, on 8th June, 1904, he created, with the financial support of a tradesman, Pedro de Araújo, the evening paper *Folha da Noite* that succeeded the progressive *A Província*. Augusto de Castro directed this newspaper from 16th July, 1904 to 25th April, 1905, when he abandoned the job “because of his works as a representative in the Courts”¹⁹.

In the meantime he married Maria Emília de Azevedo Barbosa de Castro, born in Porto and they had two daughters: Maria Cândida e Maria Isabel. In the last years of Monarchy he was elected deputy with the Progressive Party, founded by his uncle, José Luciano de Castro, and with his uncle as a president ever since the death of Anselmo José Braamcamp, in 1885. By that time he moved to Lisbon, where he went on dedicating himself to journalism as the head editor of the *Jornal*

¹⁵ CASTRO, Augusto de: *Doutoramento «Honoris Causa» de Augusto de Castro Sampaio Corte-Real*, in Offprint of the Magazine of the Faculty of Humanities of Porto University – História, Porto, Faculdade de Letras, 1970, p. 23

¹⁶ MATA, Caeiro da: Speech pronounced in the tribute to Augusto de Castro done in Coimbra on 18th March, 1953, p. 4

¹⁷ Newspaper of Porto, with a monarchic leaning, progressive, founded by Oliveira Martins. The first issue was published on 25th May 1885. In it Júlio Dantas, Carlos Malheiro Dias, Aníbal Soares, Francisco Villaespessa, Coelho Neto, Santos Júnior (Santonillo) and Alberto Sampaio were highlighted, among others. Vide LEMOS, Mário Matos: *Jornais diários portugueses do século XX. Um dicionário*, Coimbra, Ariadne/CEIS20, 2006, pp. 519 – 520

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 520

¹⁹ *Idem*, p. 339. Augusto de Castro reappears as the Political- Editor of the newspaper *Folha da Noite* from 19 to 20 of the following May, but by the 21st his name was no longer there. By that time is published a letter from him thanking the honour, but clarifying that it was certainly a misunderstanding, as even if he had said he was available to give his opinion when requested, he still couldn't leave Lisbon and take the responsibilities of editing. The last issue of this newspaper dates from 14th August, 1904. Vide *Idem*, op. cit., p. 339

do *Comércio*²⁰ and as a columnist of *O Século*²¹, writing the section “Smoke from my cigarette”. On 15th June 1908 he took on the place of Head of Department of the *Caixa Geral de Depósitos, Crédito e Previdência*²² and from 20th November, 1912 on he was in charge of the eighth subject of the School of the Art of Performing²³. On 1st June, 1919, after Alfredo da Cunha had moved away by his own decision, he assumed the direction of the morning paper *Diário de Notícias*²⁴, a job he maintained until 29th March, 1924. One of his articles about newspapers of the Latin countries and their high cultural influence was the starting point to the organization of the first conference of the press of these countries. While in Paris with Édouard Herriot²⁵, he shared his idea that was taken with great enthusiasm. Augusto de Castro recommended that “as the Latin spirit had won the war, only the Latin spirit could institute peace”²⁶ and that “the Pan-Latinism was not a weapon against anyone, but a strength at the service of Civilization”²⁷. This way he was the person responsible for the realization of the First Conference of Latin Press, in Lyon, 4th March, 1923, that reunited about eighty papers. As the initiative had been from a Portuguese journalist it was agreed that, as homage, the next Conference would be in Lisbon²⁸. It was also on his own initiative and helped by

²⁰ Lisbon morning paper with a monarchic leaning as far as 1910, republican, joined the New State and revolutionary after the 25th of April, had as editor in chief from 17th April, 1903 to 31st December, 1909 Augusto de Castro. On 1st January, 1910 the name of Augusto Castro, as well as the name of Eduardo Burnay disappeared from the headline and were replaced by the names of João Augusto Melício and Júlio de Mascarenhas (this last name only for about three weeks). The change, explained in a note published on 21st October 1910, happened due to the fact that the newspaper had been bought by “a new company, made of trades people only, with the ONLY (sic) purpose of defending the rights and fight for the interests of the class that it is meant for. Since then, *O Jornal do Comércio*, put completely aside any kind of politics to dedicate itself only to commerce”. Idem, op. cit., p. 396

²¹ Newspaper with a republican leaning, initially run by Sebastião de Magalhães, one of the founders, and later by José da Silva Graça, that took the heading of the paper until 29th October, 1922. On that same month and year *O Século* was sold, and most of the capital was bought by Moagem (Industrial Company Portugal and the Colonies). Vide Idem, op. cit., p. 557

²² Augusto de Castro changed to the situation of unlimited license of this function on 23rd December, 1920

²³ Augusto de Castro changed to the situation of unlimited license of this function on 30th October, 1922

²⁴ Augusto de Castro took the position that came from *O Século*, where he was an editor, on 1st July, 1919, when the property of the paper went to the Company of *Diário de Notícias*. Vide Idem, op. cit., p. 263

²⁵ French Politician (05/07/1872-26/03/1957), member of the Radical Party and a deputy by Rhône from 1919 to 1940 and from 1945 to 1957; Maire de Lyon from 1905 to 1942 and from 1945 to 1957; Minister of Education of the Poincaré Government from 1926 to 1928; President of the Council in 1924, 1926 and 1932; President of the Chamber of Representatives in 1925, from 1936 to 1940 and from 1947 to 1954

²⁶ Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira, volume VI, Lisboa, Página Editora, 1998, p. 232

²⁷ Idem

²⁸ Augusto de Castro presided the Second Conference of the Latin Press that took place in Lisbon and was also in the Third Conference in Florence (by then he was an Extraordinary Envoy and Plenipotentiary Minister in the Vatican). Other Conferences took place in Liege, Bucharest, Madrid, Havana and Tours.

Maurice de Walleffe, a journalist from Paris, and by Pompiliu Paltanea, French correspondent of the Romanian newspaper *Universul*, that the *Association de la Presse Latine* was founded in Paris.

Soon he changed journalism by diplomacy: in 1924²⁹, while Domingos Pereira Leite was the Minister of Foreign Affairs, he took the headship of the Portuguese legation in London, due to the vacancy resulting from the passage to the Chief of Mission of First Class, Manuel Teixeira Gomes that was then elected President of the Republic. With his departure to London "the constantly friendly hand of Augusto de Castro invested, *sponte sua*, on the editorial board of the *Diário de Notícias*"³⁰ Eduardo Schwalbach. In the same year he left London assuming the same position in the Vatican³¹, where he took part in the establishment of the agreements of 1928 about the Portuguese Advowson in the East. In the following years he was named consecutively Minister of Portugal in Brussels (1929), Rome (1931) and again in Brussels (1935)³². During his stay abroad he never stopped cooperating with the Press, especially with *Diário de Notícias*, where his section *Cartas sem data* was emphasized. In December, 1938 he went back to Portugal and was appointed to take the position of general-commissioner of the Exhibition of the Portuguese World³³. Soon after he restarted journalism, and in March, 1953 he

²⁹ Augusto de Castro was appointed, in commission, as Extraordinary Envoy and Plenipotentiary Minister by decree on 28th February, 1924, and then he started to be considered as career worker, so he started to make part of the staff of the First Class Plenipotentiary Ministers according to the map no. 7 attached to the organization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, approved by Decree that worked as an act no. 16.822, on 2nd May, 1929, published in supplement of the *Diário do Governo* on the 6th of that month. By Decree on the 24th December, 1942 he was called to work on the State Secretary, according to the art. 11 and 12 of the Decree-Law no. 29.319 on the 30th December, 1938. That way he made part of the State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 17th March 1924 to 11th January, 1953, when, because he turned seventy, passed to the status of "awaiting retirement". Vide *Anuário Diplomático e Consular Português*. Referred on 31st December, 1953, Lisboa, Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros/Imprensa Nacional de Lisboa, 1954, p. 34

³⁰ SCHWALBACH, Eduardo: *À Lareira do Passado*. Memórias, Lisboa, 1944, p. 333. He stayed in the position until Augusto de Castro came back in 1939.

³¹ Augusto de Castro was transferred from the legation in London to the Holy See legation, by Decree enclosed on 6th June, 1924, to the wave resulting of the exoneration of the First Class Mission Chief Joaquim Pedro Martins, by Decree on the same date.

³² The diplomatic activity of Augusto de Castro was vastly complemented by José Caeiro da Mata in the speech that he said in the tribute paid in Coimbra, on 18th March, 1953, to the first: "In London, in the Holy See, twice in Brussels, in Rome (Quirinal), in Paris, the passage of Augusto de Castro was deeply marked as one of a very skilful diplomat that knew how to defend, with as much elevation as exemption and patriotism, the interests of Portugal and that contributed a lot to create and stimulate the atmosphere of cordiality with the States where he served our land in such a noble way". En MATA, Caeiro da: *op. cit.*, p. 8

³³ The texts that were published by Augusto de Castro during the period of preparation and construction of the Exhibition of the Portuguese World and the main speeches that he pronounced as a General Commissary, during

the functioning of the Exhibition in Belem were later gathered in the work *A Exposição do Mundo Português e a sua finalidade nacional*. In this work the author tries to demonstrate the importance of the "colourful display of Restelo": "The Exhibition of the Portuguese World was a fact that obeyed to

published the evening paper *A Noite*, that he only managed during three months³⁴ - after this he returned to the editorial board of *Diário de Notícias*³⁵.

After the end of the civil war in Spain, the idea of proposing Oliveira Salazar as a candidate to the Nobel Prize came up in some circles of the Portuguese society. Augusto de Castro headed the movement and suggested that a campaign with that purpose was started in *Diário de Notícias*³⁶. Called to the diplomatic life³⁷, he left to Paris in 1945 to lead the Legation of Portugal with the French Government of General De Gaulle, position he had until 29th July, 1947. There he participated, as an observer, in the works of the United Nations Assembly (1948) and in the conferences about the reconstruction of Western Europe in the context of Marshall Plan (1948-1949). After the death of Eduardo Schwalbach he took the editorial board of *Diário de Notícias*³⁸ for the third time, and there he stayed until he died:

the continuity of a national thought; that coordinated the thorough effort of some of the most representative Portuguese values; that showed, in such a clear way that only a few suspected, the admirable energies and the endless possibilities of the Portuguese work, when guided, animated and lead by a superior ideal and by a tenacious and unselfish effort. It was shown that it was possible to elevate the national life and consciousness to a level of unanimous understanding and to an ambience of collective elevation that many thought was unreachable. In CASTRO, Augusto de: *A Exposição do Mundo Português e a sua finalidade nacional*, Lisboa, Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1940, p. 8 – 9

³⁴ The first issue was published on 20th March, 1939. In an article publish on the second page of the new newspaper, titled “A New Newspaper”, without being signed, but very probably written by Augusto de Castro the following is asked: “A new newspaper? Why? What for?” and the writer answers reminding the crisis in Europe and the need to step to it: “and what is mostly indispensable, and so is clearly our concern, is giving to the Portuguese spirit the conscience of the manly and decisive time that it is living – so that it can live it with the faith, the will to live, with the exaltation of that universal meaning that makes the essence of its immortality and that, once more, in the elaboration of the western renovation towards which Europe walks, the destiny of its history will be put at stake [...] It is necessary to inculcate in Portugal the love of strong ideas, the certainty of its fate [...] It is necessary to repeat every day, with joy the eternal lesson of the philosopher; that this world is no better or worse, that our destiny is made by ourselves; that is not because we compare each other a lot that we will elevate ourselves more [...] If the modest voice that raises in the Portuguese press today contributes to convey a little of the program mentioned before, perhaps these questions will have in the public opinion an answer that justifies the existence of this newspaper that is at the service of the Portuguese reappearance”. The last issue of this republican evening newspaper with a nationalist leaning was published on the 10th June 1939. In this issue it is explained that “as the editor of *A Noite*, Dr. Augusto de Castro, took the running of *Diário de Notícias* and so it is impossible for him to run effectively both newspapers despite his efforts, *A Noite* suspends today its publishing.” En LEMOS, Mário Matos e: *op. cit.*, p. 448

³⁵ He assumed the editorial board of *Diário de Notícias* between 21st May, 1939 and 28th January, 1945

³⁶ Cf. NOGUEIRA, Franco: *Salazar*, volume III, *As Grandes Crises*, Porto, 1986, p. 204

³⁷ He had been already called to work in the Secretary of State of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Decree on 14th February, 1942, and the entrance into the office was on 23rd February, 1942

³⁸ Augusto de Castro assumed the editorial board of *Diário de Notícias*, by the third and last time between 14th August, 1947 and 24th July, 1971. Vide LEMOS, Mário Matos e: *op. cit.*, p. 260

"This third mandate heading *Diário de Notícias*, during which he promoted several social and cultural initiatives³⁹ (the creation of the *Prémio Diário de Notícias* in 1957 is pointed out), changed decisively the manner of making journalism in Portugal in the time of the New State: the daily paper accentuated its conservative and unofficial nature of the regime. For that, it was determinant the close way as the relations happened and the admiration that Augusto de Castro had towards Oliveira Salazar and the complicity that was established between them: the journalist assumed himself as a brave defender of the regime and complemented the President of the Council, and, in important matters of intern or foreign policy, he would allow himself to suggest articles to Augusto de Castro, whose contents he would restrict thoroughly"⁴⁰.

In 1954 he became the president of the National Comity of the Latin Union, being appointed the representative of Portugal in the Executive Council of this international organism⁴¹. In 1957 he went to Paris, in an extraordinary mission of public service, to attend the Information International Conference. In this last stage of his life he was paid tributes several times, such as: by the Society of Theatre Authors and Writers (1964)⁴², and by the Foreign Press Association (1965)⁴³. In 1968 he received the *Grande Prémio Nacional de Literatura*. In that same year he was commended by the Press of S. Luís Theatre, because of his over 50 years in theatre. In December, 1969 he was awarded in his home land with the title doctorate *Honoris Causa*, by Porto University and also given the Gold Medal of the City Hall of the same city. As a sequence to all these tributes, the Society of Theatre Authors and Writers and the French Literary Critics Association also promoted solemn sessions in his honour. In May, 1971 he was appointed by the Government to preside over the National Comity for the Celebrations of the 4th Centenarian of the Publication of *Os Lusíadas*. The Prize Afonso de Bragança, of the State Office of Information and Tourism was awarded to the set of his editorial articles published in *Diário de Notícias*, during 1970, as a posthumous homage. Also as a posthumous tribute he was elected honorary member of the Portuguese Chapter of the JAA. He was also honoured with the Grand-Cross of Santiago and was a member of the International Academy of Portuguese Culture. He was an

³⁹ As the editor of *Diário de Notícias* he was the promoter of several initiatives, namely with a social nature: collections in favour of injured people, Christmas at Hospitals, Ten Penny for a House, that was the origin of Bairro da Cruz Vermelha and, in another area, Constructions with Sand Child Contest.

⁴⁰ ROSAS, Fernando e BRITO, J. M. Brandão de: *Dicionário de História do Estado Novo*, volume II, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, 1996, p. 816. Franco Nogueira, namely on volume IV of the biography of Salazar, illustrates abundantly that way of relationship between the journalist and the politician. Vide NOGUEIRA, Franco: *Salazar*, volume IV, O Ataque, Porto, 1986

⁴¹ The constituent convention of the Latin Union was signed in Madrid on 15th May, 1954.

⁴² In 1964 he received the gold badge from the Journalist Union.

⁴³ In 1965 he was given tribute by the Society of Theatre Authors and Writers that made him their president of honour.

effective partner of the Lisbon Science Academy⁴⁴ and of the Brazilian Academy of Humanities. He was awarded the Grand-Cross of the Military Order of Christ, the Grand-Cross of the Orders of Pious IX and of St. Gregorio the Great, of the Holy See, the Crown, Italy, of the Southern Cross, Brazil, Oak Crown, Luxemburg, and the Crown, Romania.

Commander of the Order of the British Empire, he was decorated with the benefaction medal of the Holy See. He left a vast published work, dedicated not only to journalism but also to fiction, theatre and also to international politics.

The project

The Project that we aim to develop wants to narrate and interpret the life of Augusto de Castro, an inevitable character of the diplomatic, political and cultural life of the Portuguese 20th Century, who observed closely all the changes lived by the country in the period mentioned before. By trying to know better the life of this “public man” we also intend to contribute to a deeper understanding of the Portuguese reality between the last quarter of the 19th century and the penultimate of the 20th Century.

As we think that is crucially important to the whole knowledge of Augusto de Castro, the study we propose to do aims to go through and rebuild, at an introductory stage, the first years of the life of this journalist. From primary to secondary education, which he completed in Porto, to higher education in the Law Faculty, in Coimbra University. We will look for possible political, ideological and cultural influences and their origins, to sound out opinions, tastes and trends so that we can learn the main features of his personality and his thought.

By reading *A Província, Folha da Noite, Jornal do Comércio, O Século, e A Noite*, we will analyse his writing, doing not only an analysis and interpretation of the articles, but also a statistics and theme study.

We will also have in mind to assess his connection in the organization of the first Conferences of the Latin Press, in Lyon and in Lisbon respectively, and in the constitution of the *Association de la Presse Latine*.

Later we will focus on his diplomatic career, namely the appointments for the legations of London (1924), Vatican (1924), Berlin (1929), Brussels (1929), Rome (1931), Brussels again (1935) and Paris (1945). It is urgent to analyse the work done while heading these missions, the diplomatic agenda, the participation and management of important and controversial portfolios, such as, just an example, the agreements of 1928 about the Portuguese Advowson in the East, signed exactly when he was the Portuguese Plenipotentiary Minister in the Holy See.

We will pay attention to the pressure, the goals, to the dynamics that were imposed on those places, to the participation in the political and cultural life of the reception countries. And we won't forget the complexity of analysis that some of those situations demand, as, for example, his stay in Paris, in the post-war period,

⁴⁴ His entrance to the Academy of Science of Lisbon dates from 23rd December, 1909.

in the exact moment of the (re)establishment of the relations with the French Government of General De Gaulle.

At the same time, we must evaluate his participation in extraordinary missions of public service, in the works of the United Nations Assembly (1948) and in the conferences about the reconstruction of Western Europe in the context of Marshall Plan (1948-1949).

We will stop ourselves looking at his diligences as a general-commissioner to the realization of the Exhibition of the Portuguese World, using in fact, the testimony left in the work *A Exposição do Mundo Português e a sua finalidade nacional*. So that, at a later stage, we can ask: has this display, "a kind of fable told with images, symbols, sentences and words" that, for many people, came to celebrate in apotheoses, the end of the most solid cycle of the existence of the regime, his personal and distinctive features? Can it be possible to talk about some sort of complicity with the New State, already started in the 1930's by means of his participation in this event?

So that we arrive to the objective that will be the most important one of this project: search, understand and unveil the journalist, the salazarist ideologist that was directly connected with Mussolini's regime – look carefully to his work of 1936, *Imagens da Europa: vistas da minha janela*.

Thus, we ought to analyse and dissect the cycles when Augusto de Castro assumed the editorial board of *Diário de Notícias* in the first place. By reading carefully the documents of that very long period we will try to establish what were the privileged editorial lines; to determine if the experience that he acquired in the diplomatic area crossed the journalistic world some how; to assess the intensity of the subservience of the newspaper to the regime at the times that he took over the running of the morning paper and in the periods he was away from the newspaper. In order to answer so important questions such as: how did the relations and admiration of Augusto de Castro towards António Oloveira Salazar happen? What was the level of complicity that existed between both of them? In what way did his system of ideas, values and principles justified and guided the form of acting of the President of the Council and, consequently, of the regime?

The analysis of his wide production has the same purpose. By looking at the published work dedicated not only to journalism, but also to fiction, to theatre and also to national and international politics we intend to establish a theoretical, social-political and historical context of each text, as well as the genetic study of the very same texts and consequent result next to the critics.

So that, lastly, looking for the man more than the public personality, we can understand the way he lived with and accepted all the political-social convulsions that happened in such a short period, how he faced the changes and (re)adapted his behaviour and attitudes before regimes with contents and objectives that were so different.

“GAUDEAMUS - ALMA MATER CRISIENSIS” STUDENTS’ MAGAZINE OF CULTURAL. THE ESTABLISHMENT AND THE FIRST YEAR OF ISSUING

Florin SFRENGEU

Abstract: *In late 1968, at the Pedagogical Institute of Oradea, was founded the students’ magazine of culture, “Gaudeamus - Alma Mater Crisiensis” at the initiative of Professor Sever Dumitrașcu who also was the editor-in-chief in the first year of issuing. It shows, based on several documents, the efforts made to edit the magazine and the constraints imposed by the time authorities regarding its content. It is showed the cultural and scientific character of the magazine. The magazine content expresses diversity, attractiveness and reliability by the approach and presentation of the articles and fiction, pages written both by teachers and students. Besides poetry, prose, translations of universal literature, reviews, literary stories, interviews with Romanian and foreign writers, scientific materials in the fields of archeology, history, geography, mathematics, physics, sports, and other important items, appear numerous representations on covers or inside the magazine, the works of great artists, painters and sculptors, Romanian and foreign. Also, there are shown some assessments about the magazine of Oradea published in the time press.*

Keywords: *magazine, students, culture, Gaudeamus, Pedagogical Institute*

The Pedagogical Institute of Oradea was established by the Order of the Ministry of Education no. 831 of September 15, 1963, with starting of the work on October 1. In the first year there worked two faculties: Philology and Mathematics - Physics, day courses and in the next year, two new specializations: Physical Education and History - Geography in a joint faculty until 1968 when History - Geography became a separate college. In 2004 was published an anniversary volume, which presented in detail the history of this institution, with the contributions of those who have served this university over time¹.

Based on several documents from the archive of Professor Sever Dumitrașcu, whom we thank on this opportunity for entrusting with their custody and the magazine collection, we try to present the efforts made to establish the students’ magazine of culture, “Gaudeamus - Alma Mater Crisiensis” at the former Pedagogical Institute of 3 Years of Oradea and of the first year of issuing, period of time in which the initiator and editor-in-chief was Professor Sever Dumitrașcu.

¹ *40 de ani de la înființarea Facultății de Istorie-Geografie: 1964-2004*, authors: Mihai Drecin, Gheorghe Măhăra, University of Oradea Publishing House, Oradea, 2004

Following the proposals made over the year 1968 by several higher education institutions to edit some students' publications, as reflected in a document sent by the Ministry of Education², was approved by the Ministry and the Executive Board of U.A.S.R. publishing students' magazines beginning with the university year of 1968 to 1969. The document is signed by the Minister of Department, Academician St. Bălan and Chairperson U.A.S.R. Mircea Angelescu. The document shows that these publications will have an internal distribution only and their editing is the responsibility of Students' Associations Councils and U.T.C. Committees, with their management support and guidance and control of the party organizations and committees. It is noted that the publications will be made by the editorial collectives consisting of students and teachers.

The nature of the publications, showed in the same document³, in relation with the conditions and requirements of each institute, are: information, scientific, literary-artistic or mixed. Also, there are indicated the main issues that the newly established publications will deal with: inform students about the activities in that institution but, also in the university center on professional, scientific, political-ideological, cultural, artistic, sports plan, notes on the scientific coteries work, student athenaeums, clubs and cultural houses; inform students about organizing the educational process and professional work; the views of the teachers and students aiming various aspects of the activities carried in the institution; consultations given by teachers and answers to students questions; bibliography recommendations; popularization of students and front-rank student collectives; student concerns specific materials (reviews, abstracts of scientific papers, literary and artistic productions).

The higher education institutions are empowered to assess, on the technical capability and the number of teachers and students whom they are addressed, the publication name, size, number of pages and the conditions of issuing. Until the financial year 1969 when the costs made by the issuing of these publications will be provided in the budget, they will be covered by each institution from the funds allocated in the budget at the chapter "cultural-educational activity expenses". Of the existing stocks at the higher education institutions will be acquired the necessary materials including paper, as beginning with 1969 these will be provided in the supplying plan. It also states that for the partial coverage of the publishing expenses, the magazines will be delivered to the students and teachers at the price of 0.25 lei for a copy.

A new address⁴ to the Pedagogical Institute of 3 Years of Oradea from the Ministry of Education requires that up to December 1, 1968 to notify if the institution publishes any student publication, its title, frequency of issuing,

² Personal Archives of Professor Sever Dumitrașcu, file *Gaudeamus - Alma Mater Crisiensis* (hereinafter ASD-G), document issued by the Ministry of Education, no. 10. 883 on 20 IX 1968 to the Pedagogical Institute of 3 Years of Oradea, entered no. 3992 on 28 IX, 1968 (copy).

³ *Ibidem*

⁴ ASD-G, document issued by the Ministry of Education no. 128.844 of 1968 towards the Pedagogical Institute of 3 Years of Oradea, entered no. 5012 on 25 XI 1968 (copy).

circulation, editorial college and if there is any approval from the General Directorate of Press and Prints. It was also addressed the request to send a copy of each number to the address of the Ministry of Education - General Directorate of the Educational Activities and Student Social Problems.

The first issue of the students’ magazine of Oradea appears soon, on November of 1968, the editing collective comprising the following members: Sever Dumitraşcu, editor-in-chief, Alexandru Covaci, general secretary of the editorial, Florin Druţă, second editor-in-chief, Maria Vulişici, Eugen Stanciu, Maria Câmpianu, Tiberiu Tiganu, Magda Muşat, Eugen Cristea, Nicolae Turtoiu, and Ioan Derşidan. On the covers of the magazine, I and IV, there are two photographs showing the team of dancers of the Pedagogical Institute of Oradea, the winner of the grand prize at the Student Festival of the 1968 Spring in Bucharest, and on the cover II, under the photo that captures the festive moment of opening of the academic year 1968-1969, are specified as follows: “GAUDEAMUS - ALMA MATER CRISIENSIS” – STUDENTS’ MAGAZINE OF CULTURE PUBLISHED BY THE PEDAGOGICAL INSTITUTE OF 3 YEARS OF ORADEA – No.5, Armata Roşie Street, - Phone 1-28-57⁵.

The magazine opens with the inaugural of the rector Conf. Dr. Al. Săndulache who, in addition to some brief opinions on the content of the magazine, wishes to the students “ much success at starting a new stage and this magazine always be like you: alive, young and beautiful”⁶. The magazine content expresses diversity, attractiveness and reliability by the manner of approach and presentation of the articles and fiction, pages written both by teachers and students. In this first issue are present in the first pages: Florin Druţă with the article on philosophy entitled *Regarding the Axiology Problem* and Aneta Micle with the essay entitled *Between Poetry and Life*. Then, there are a series of articles grouped under the heading *Pages of History in 1918* to mark the anniversary of 50 years from the Great Union of 1918 written by: Sever Dumitraşcu, *The Column of Alba Iulia*, Teodor Pavel, *The Union - Imperative of History* and Victor V . Grecu, with *The Idea of Uniting at the Transylvanian Scholars in the Past Century*. They are following pages of fiction with poems signed by Constantin Bosoancă, Eugen Petrescu, Ion Iustin Purza, Ion Ghiur and stories written by Al. Ioan Covaci and Ioan Derşidan. *The Archaeological Chronicle* is about the *Dacian Fortress on the “Gureţul negrilor”* by Sever Dumitraşcu, the result of the numerous surface archeological searches carried out by the members of the students’ scientific coterie of ancient history. In the *literary chronicle* are presented four books written by authors of Oradea: Alexander Andriţoiu, *Lyrics* (volume submitted by Eugen Petrescu); Gheorghe Grigurcu, *A Rose Learns Mathematics* (review by Al. Covaci); Teodor Crişan, *The City Clock* (presentation by Ion Zubaşu) and Radu Enescu, *Kafka* (reviewed by Arthur Dabu). At the heading *And through Ourselves* Maria Cîmpian expresses opinions *About Students’ Scientific Coteries* and Gh.

⁵ *Gaudeamus*, 1968, no. 1, November, Oradea

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 4

Șerba, *Impressions on Two Archaeological Sites*. In the *Lyrical Horizon* Evgheni Evtusenکو is presented with two poems translated by Mihai Enoiu. Do not miss the mathematics section, in which Florin Radu presents *Schwarz's Cylinder*, and even of astronautics with the *Prospects of Cosmic Space Conquests* by Nicolae Lungu. Sport is also currently under the articles signed by Aurel Encuțescu, *We Are Proud!*, Tiberiu Țiganu, *Opinions* and Jackie (pseudonym?), *In Memoriam Iosif Petschowschi*. The interview recorded by Vlad Golda with Emanoil Enghel, the director of the State Theater of Oradea entitled *Leaves' Fallings and Theatre Problems* is enclosed in the heading *Theatrical Autumn in Oradea*. A survey among the students of the institute on the crisis of the Romanian film is recorded by Ion Ghiur and C. Bosoancă with the title: *The Marginals at the Issue of the Romanian Film*. Radu Sp. Popescu wrote a necrology about the scholar and linguist Emil Petrovici and, Constantin Călinescu in *The Chronicle of the Foreign Book* presents André Gide's volume, *School for Wives. Robert*.

It is also present a section entitled *Gaudeamus Magazine* with answers to those letters requesting cooperation, anagrams by Eugene Stanciu, and drawings by Ion Zubașcu and anecdotes. The magazine ends with the thanks to the party in the article *Confidence - Increased Responsibility* written by the secretary of the U.T.C. Committee, Moise Ignat.

The brief presentation of the content of the magazine debut number aims the argument of the positive findings made at the moment of its issuing or shortly thereafter. Also, today, for those who are carefully studying the magazine is hard not to note that reliability and high qualification of the teachers, with a more journalist experienced, and of the students, too, most of them debutants. In this respect we mention some of the findings published in the press of time in late 1968 and early next year.

The magazine *Familia*, in the number appeared in December 1968, assesses in the article entitled *Gaudeamus* signed D.B. the new editorial issuing as: "Result of a laborious work and joint effort of the university teachers and students, the new publication bearing the imprint both of the thoroughness and scientific rigor and, of the irrepressible and daring youth". Finally, after some assessments are made on the content, generally favorable, but, also some comments regarding the order in which the materials are disposed, concluding: "This begin is a definite success and further requiring"⁷.

In the paper *Crișana* under the signature of T. Crișan issued in December 22, 1968, an article in which is showed, inter alia, that: "The existence of a newspaper in the support of the students, young talents eager to assert themselves, and of the teachers, enriches the university climate of Oradea with a further fact of culture that at the beginning of a new stage we wish wholeheartedly welcome"⁸.

⁷ D. B., *Gaudeamus*, in *Familia*, 1968, no. 4, 12, December

⁸ T. Crișan, *A apărut revista studențimii orădene Gaudeamus (anul I, nr. 1-noiembrie 1968)*, in *Crișana*, 1968, no. 304, 22 December 1968

Also, in *Viața studentescă* of January, 1969, is reported the appearance of the magazine of Oradea, appreciating that: “It is undoubtedly one of the most successful student publications in institutes that appeared so far”⁹. In the number of February, 1969 of the same periodical, in the article *Not Just Faithful Mirrors* it is made a critical analysis of all students’ magazines which have been issuing at that time, the number of 19: “*Aesculap* – I.M.F. Tg. Mureș, *Agraria* - Agronomic Institute of Timișoara, *Amfion* - Civil Engineering Institute of Bucharest, *Athenaeum* - Pedagogical Institute Tg. Mureș, *Equinox* – University “Babes-Bolyai” of Cluj, *Foaie pentru minte inimă și arhitectură* - Institute of Architecture “Ion Mincu” of Bucharest, *Forum* – University of Timișoara, *Forum Academiae* – A.S.E. Bucharest, *Fulmen* – I.P.G.G. Bucharest, *Gaudeamus* - Pedagogical Institute of Bacău, *Gaudeamus - Alma Mater Crisiensis* - Pedagogical Institute of Oradea, *IMP-XX* - Institute of Mines of Petroșani, *Micron* – Polytechnic Institute of Timișoara, *Orfeu* - Conservatory “Ciprian Porumbescu” of Bucharest, *Palestra* – I.E.F.S. Bucharest, *Scalpelu* - Institute of Medicine of Timișoara, *Semina* - Institute of Agronomy “N. Bălcescu” of Bucharest, *Thalia* - Theatre Institute “Szentgyörgyi Istvan” of Tg. Mureș, *Universitas* - University of Bucharest”. There are presented some critical sequences of these students’ magazines and a cause of theirs “also was a poor composition of some editorial boards”. We give the estimations on the magazine of Oradea: “A generally successful attempt to provide a suitable profile offers the summary of the *Gaudeamus* magazine of Oradea. If the valuable articles, the works in prose and poems, the interesting presentation of some student activities added even more live coverage on the training of the future teachers, performed in the institute, we would be in front of a publication that had understood its mission entirely”¹⁰.

The second issue of the magazine of Oradea that on December 1968 has the editorial board changed: Ion Ghiur is editorial secretary in the place of Alexandru Covaci, Ioan Derșidan becomes second editor-in-chief in the place of Maria Vulișici who is dealing with the correction and Ion Iustin Purza and Marianna Somogy appear as members. Along with the other members, mentioned in the first number, headed by the editor-in-chief Sever Dumitrașcu, the editorial collective will remain unchanged until the issuing of the number 9-10 in the year II, September-October 1969. Also, the content of the second number is the one that stands at the moment demands, as a student magazine¹¹.

A telephone note sent on January 21, 1969 from Bucharest also to the Pedagogical Institute of Oradea required, to improving the student publications, the new numbers appear only after the holidays, to review the editorial collectives, naming a teacher who is responsible for the student newspaper. Without the approval of the vice-rector of the educational problems and the secretary or person

⁹ *Să ne bucurăm*, in *Viața studentescă*, 1969, no. 2, 8 January

¹⁰ *Oglinzi nu tocmai fidele*, in *Ibidem*, no. 6, 5 February

¹¹ *Gaudeamus- revistă studentescă de cultură*, 1968, no. 2, December, Oradea

responsible for the problems of propaganda in the party committee of the institution, the new numbers were not allowed to be issued¹².

We are seeing a tightening of the control over these publications by the governing bodies of the party. Regarding the guidelines, they should take into account the indications given by the decree no. 10.883 of 1968, we have already introduced at the beginning. It is required that the publications should not be a platform for the elements backward politically, have an informing nature on the activity of the institution, organizing the process of education and popularization of the front-rank student collectives as well the student and teacher views on their work. It is also required to provide more room for the major problems of the internal politics and, all the problems of philosophy, ethics, aesthetics and other areas should to be treated from the standpoint of the dialectical and historical materialism.

The same telephone note states that for the magazines forthcoming, the approval is given by the County Party Committee, the C.C. of U.T.C. and the Ministry of Education. The editing collective had to be approved by the leadership of the institution and the Party Committee and, in a meeting, clearly established the matters on the institution orientation. That who was responsible to the Professorial Council of the Higher Education Institution and the Party Committee was the editor-in-chief himself.

In 1969, too, the magazine continues to be issued with an interesting and diverse content covering the areas of concern of the students and teachers of the young Pedagogical Institute of Oradea, being truly a magazine of culture, even though sometimes they have made concessions necessary to obtain several approvals from the political and administrative institutions of the time. Throughout the year 1969 the students magazine of Oradea appeared monthly and every two months, so: Year II no. 1-2 January-February, no.3 March, no.4 April, no.5-6 May-June, no.7-8 July-August, no.9-10 September-October, no.11-12 November-December.

Following a new address sent by the Ministry of Education¹³, which demanded the reduction of the costs for publications print, the magazine is facing a significant decrease in the number of pages, starting with no. 9 to 10 September - October, from 80-100 pages, had before, to 55 for the latest numbers in 1969. The free dissemination of the magazine, which had the circulation of 1,000 copies of which 150 free (authorization no. 128 of July 9, 1969, given by the General Directorate of Press and Prints), was approved only for the central party and state bodies, foreign guests and workers in other colleges who visit the institute, as well in exchanging experiences with other editing collectives of the institutes of higher education or schools. Also, this address states that for printing they will use semi-

¹² ASD-G, phone note, Bucharest, January 21, 1969, sent by Pavel Ruxăndoiu and received by Traian Blajovici, the Pedagogical Institute of 3 Years of Oradea, no. 249/21 I, 1969.

¹³ ASD-G, document issued by the Ministry of Education no. 86.647 of July 17, 1969 to the Pedagogical Institute of Oradea, entered no. 2739 of July 21, 1969 entitled *Referitor la tipărirea publicațiilor studențești*.

wove paper and the machineries of each institution and, in their absence they will appeal to the local printing enterprises. Money obtained from the sale of the student magazines had to be paid entirely to the state budget. The price fixed for a copy, according to the authorization no.128, was of 2 lei, much higher than that established in 1968, of only 0.25 lei.

Analyzing the content of the magazine appeared throughout the year 1969 we should note one aspect that attracted our attention and pleasantly surprised us. Besides poetry, prose, translations of the universal literature, reviews, literary stories, interviews with Romanian and foreign writers, scientific materials in the fields of archeology, history, geography, mathematics, physics, sports and other important fields, written by students and teachers appear numerous representations on the covers or inside the magazine, the works of great artists, painters and sculptors, Romanian and foreign such as: Ștefan Luchian, Pablo Picasso, Nicolae Grigorescu, Ion Andreescu, Constantin Brâncuși, Țuculescu, Gheorghe Petrașcu, Aurel Ciupe, Gheorghe Tattărăscu, Barbu Iscovescu, Jules Perhim, Vida Geza, Henry Cotargi, Jean Arp, Edgar Degas, Marino Marini, Auguste Rodin, Henry Moore, Chagall, T. Werner, Dali, Modigliani, Matisse, Kandinsk. And this comes to reinforce the cultural character of the magazine.

The last number of the magazine on 1969, 11-12, November-December, is also the last number having as Editor-in-chief Professor Sever Dumitrașcu. From the Year III of the magazine, no. 1 (15) the magazine has a new editorial collective: Mihai Enoiu – editor-in-chief, Dan Bosoancă Constantin - editorial general secretary, Marin Chelu, Octavian Chisăliță - editorial secretary, Vasile I. Cosma, Ion Ghiur - second editor-in-chief, Gheorghe Stanciu, Tiberiu Țiganu, Viorel Cosma Țiganu. By the end of 1973, when the magazine ceased its issuing (no. 36 year VI), the editorial collective known more changes, but the content showed further cultural preservation even if the number of pages was significantly reduced, about 50.

We conclude with an excerpt from the preamble *Decet verecundum esse adolescentem*, written by the editor-in-chief, at the anniversary of one year of existence of the magazine, a farewell text. In the following year, Professor Sever Dumitrașcu opened a new way to organize, promote and edit the scientific activity of Oradea: CRISIA, then more!

“Gaudeamus” wanted above all to be a chronic of the student life full of unrepeatable charming, that reflecting its many aspects connected to the assiduity of labor, but at the same time a chronic to militate boldly in the favor of the seriousness pushing for the professional training, in the scientific student activity, for diversity and youth in that cultural and in sports. [...]

The editorial collective thank to the readers and magazine co-operators, to all those who have supported it with word or deed and are quick to acknowledge openly that its efforts were not without some mistakes, sometimes.

Whether the beginnings of the current student generation to be strengthened and widened in the future by all those who lie on our institute banks - Alma Mater Crisiensis.

*The youthful boldness will be always working understanding, always remember the wise and Plautus' old line sited in the head of these modest lines and least transfigured in the Romanian interpretation: "Modesty is the jewel of the young"*¹⁴.

¹⁴ Sever Dumitraşcu, *Decet verecundum esse adolescentem*, in *Gaudeamus*, 1969, no. 11-12 (14), November – December., Oradea, p. 3-4

THE CHRONIC OF THE SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITY OF THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT ON 2009

The year 2009 represented for the team of the History Department of the Faculty of History, Geography and International Relations, a year of outstanding scientific and professional results. The staff members have got on, largely, to connect to the national and European historiographic writing through specialized research, which proved to be in line with the current historical trends. The books, articles, published studies as well the participation - as readers - at the national and international scientific meetings organized by various institutions complement the image of a young team, which supported by a number of academics with extensive experience, has the ability to integrate effectively into the national and European scientific circuit, through rigorous scientific research.

Also, we consider the timeliness of the investigation issues proposed by some colleagues. Thus, in this department, a standard of scientific requirement has asserted, that led to a rivalry of ideas beneficial to improving scientifically and professionally the members of the department.

In the academic year 2009, the colleagues of the History Department published the following books: Antonio Faur, Lilian Zamfiroiu, *The Romanian-Italian Relations in the Interwar Period. A Study of the Diplomat Octavian Beu*, University of Oradea Publishing House¹, 2009, 304 p.; Antonio Faur (coordinator), *Society, History, Philology*, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2009, 304 p.; Ion Zainea, Gabriel Moisa (coordinators), *History. Economy. Policy*, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2009, 410 p.; Sever Dumitrașcu, Laura Ardelean, *A Living History of the Țării Crișurilor Museum Today*, Europrint Publishing House, Oradea, 2009, 165 p.; Radu Romînașu, *Romanian Cultural and Artistic Events in Oradea and Bihor County in the Interwar Period*, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2009, 178 p.; *Considerations on the Romanian Education and School in Hungary (1920-2008)*, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2009, p. 160.

Also, the teachers of the department published in the year 2009 a series of studies and articles in local, national specialized magazines, and in the volumes of some international conferences: Mihai Drecin (4 articles, one published in a magazine rated B +: *Geographical Landscapes and Political Geography in the Correspondence between Victor Jinga and George Moroianu (1931-1940)*, in the *Romanian Journal of Political Geography*, 2009, no. p..) Ion Zainea (2), Antonio Faur (3 articles, one rated ISI - *Romanian Forerunners and Supporters of the Idea of European Union in Transylvanian Rewiev*, no. 4, p. 131-140); Florin Sfrengu (2), Gabriel Moisa (15 of which 6 are published in magazines of category B +, recognized CNCSIS: *Actions Taken by Hungary on the "Invisible Front" in Bihor County in the Summer of 1940*, in the *Annals of University of Craiova. Series of*

¹ University of Oradea Publishing House is CNCSIS recognized, code 149.

History, year XIV, no. 1 (15), 2009, p. 225-237; *Anti-Semite Disorder in Oradea in 1927*, in the *Annals of University of Craiova. Series of History*, year XIV, no. 2 (16), 2009, p. 269-281, *The Jewish of Oradea and the Romanian Press (The Western Gazette) - in the Years of the Economic Crisis from 1929 to 1933*, in the *Romanian Journal of Political Geography*, no. 2, year XI, 2009, p. 31-44; *Attempts of Bolshevization Bihor County in the Second Half of 1919*, in *Transylvania*, no. 1/2009, *Ceausescu Historiographical Goal Always Deferred: Romania Treaty of History*, in *Transylvania*, no. 2, 2009, *The Bessarabia Issue - Between Historiography and the Official Political Discourse in Romania, During the "Ceausescu Regime"*, in *Studia Universitatis Petru Maior. Series Historia*, no.9, 2009, p. 275-286), Edith Bodo (1) Laura Ardelean (2 articles, one in a magazine rated B +: *Journal of Baltic Studies* in *Eurolimes*, 2009, p. 172-174), Radu Romînașu (3).

The History Department has also its own review. It's about the *Annals of University of Oradea. Fascicle History-Archaeology*, Review accredited by the **CNCSIS**, Code **289**, and **D** category (since 2008) and indexed in *Index Copernicus* database. Most articles are translated by lecturer Monica Pop, specialist in English language and literature.

That same year, the History Department has organized a series of local and national scientific sessions and conveyances: *The Scientific Session of the Graduands in History at the University of Oradea*, Oradea, 4th Edition, March 13, 2009 (main organizer Prof. PhD. Mihai D. Drecin; - among the department members - Laura Ardelean, Bodo Edith presented papers); *The National Session of the Graduands in History*, Oradea, May 22 to 23, 2009 (organizer Prof. PhD. Barbu Ștefănescu, Prof. PhD. Ioan Horga and Prof. PhD. Mihai D. Drecin); *The Annual Scientific Session of the History Department - University of Oradea*, 19th Edition, May 29, 2009 (main organizer Prof. PhD. Antonio Faur; all the members of the department presented communications on specializations: ancient history and archeology, mediaeval history, modern and contemporary history); The National Symposium *Of the Life and Work of the Professor Economist Victor Jinga*, 2nd Edition, Săcele, April 30, 2009 (main organizer of the Department Prof. PhD. Mihai D. Drecin), organized by the History Department of the Faculty of History, Geography and International Relations and Faculty of Economics of the University of Oradea, Brașov County School Inspectorate, Industrial School Group "Victor Jinga", "Astra" Section - "Popeea Brothers"; Săcele; *Bihor County Historical Research in National Context (1989-2009)*, Oradea, December 5, 2009 (main organizer from the Department Prof. PhD. Antonio Faur).

The department also was involved in organizing the International Symposium of Banking and Financial History entitled "*Labor, Money, Banking, Culture and Politics (18th Century-2009)*" - the main organizer Prof. PhD. Mihai D. Drecin. The symposium was held in October 2009.

In 2009, the members of the department presented communications in some scientific local, national and international sessions. At national level we mention the following scientific communications: Mihai D. Drecin, *The Credit*

Bank Financing of the Social Institutions. Case Study: the "Bee" Bank in Sibiu (1872-1918), Gabriel Moisa, Ion Zainea, *The County Hospital of Oradea and Its Impact on the City in the Interwar Period and the First Two Postwar Decades*, at the *National Session City and Social Care*, organized by the "Babes-Bolyai" University, the Faculty of History and Philosophy, the Historical Anthropology Seminar, Romanian Academy - History Commission of Towns in Romania, Cluj-Napoca, June 19-20; Ion Zainea, *Victor Jinga National Symposium - Scientific Framework to Enhance the Research on the Life and Work of the Professor Economist and Politician of Săcele*, professor Mihai D. Drecin, *The Political Life in Romania during 1931-1940, Reflected in the Correspondence between Victor Jinga and George Moroianu* - both presented at the *National Symposium Of the Activity of Professor Economist Victor Jinga*, 2nd edition, Săcele, April 30, 2009, Sever Dumitrașcu, *The Historical Research on Dacian Fortresses in the Apuseni Mountains*, Viorel Faur, *The Contribution of the Institutions and Companies to Publication the Results of the Local Historical Research*, Aurel Chiriac, *About the Bihor County Art Historiography in the Last Two Decades*, Radu Romînașu *Considerations on the Post-Revolutionary Historiography on the Romanian Interwar Cultural Associationism in Bihor County*, work presented in the *National Symposium Bihor County Historical Research in National Context (1989-2009)*, Oradea, December 5, 2009, Florin Sfrengeu, Laura Ardelean, *Local and National Historical Events Reflected in the Press of Oradea (1990-2000)*, Gabriel Moisa, *The Place of the History Department of the "Țării Crișurilor" Museum in Recovering the Bihor County Historical Past*, Antonio Faur, *The Historiographical Importance of Local Periodicals: Case of the „Cele Trei Crișuri” Magazine of Oradea* (all presented at the mentioned colloquium).

The international scientific sessions were attended - as readers - by the following colleagues: Antonio Faur, *References in French Diplomatic Reports Regarding the Status of the Northern Transylvania (1945-1947)*, presented at the *International Conference Historiography and Politics in the Eastern and Western Romanian Space*, Chișinău, 2009; Antonio Faur, *Considerations regarding terms of bandits, terrorists and enemies used by the communist authorities against political opponents (1947-1950)*, presented at the *International Conference Textus Testis, Valore documentario e dimensioni letterarie del testo storico*, University of Padova, Italy, november 17, 2009; Gabriel Moisa, Ion Zainea, *Print Media in Rural Areas in Bihor County. Case Study "Popești Page"*, presented at the *International Conference Media Programming and Media Consumption in the Rural World*, Bucharest, February 19-20, 2009; Ion Zainea, *Ethnic Minorities, Political Groups and Electoral Behavior in the Interwar Romania. Case Study: Bihor County*, presented at the *International Conference Political Parties and National Minorities in Romania in the 20th Century*, Sibiu, 2009, Gabriel Moisa, *Patriotic Union Organization in Bihor County (October 1944-February 1946) - Xenophobic Organization?* at the same conference; Gabriel Moisa, *Educational Actions of the History Museums with the Romanian Studios Youth in the 80's of the Last Century* at the *International Symposium Pitești Experiment. Reeducation*

by Torture. *Culture, Youth and Education in the Communist Dictatorial Regimes*, Pitești, 8th Edition, 2009; Florin Sfrengu, *Historical and Archaeological Considerations during the 8th and 9th Centuries in the Northwestern Romania*, presented at the International Conference *Historiography and Politics in the Eastern and Western Romanian Space*, Chișinău, 2009.

This year have been approved more research contracts, some being in progress: Grant Consortium A_C 47/2006-2008 C.N.C.S.I.S., with the theme *Romania's Integration Process into the European Economy. Historical and Contemporary Dimensions (19th – 21st Centuries)*, along with A.S.E. Bucharest, Faculty of History of University of Bucharest, Faculty of History of "Al. I. Cuza" Iași, History Department of University of Oradea, Faculty of Economics of University "Ștefan cel Mare" - Suceava, Institute of World Economy "Costin Murgescu" of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest (members of the History Department: Mihai D. Drecin, Barbu Ștefănescu, Ion Zainea, Gabriel Moisa); Project / Research Contract / Consulting / Technical and Technological Services - directly concluded to companies in the country: *Villages on the Upper Valley of Bistra*, titular Prof. PhD. Sorin Șipoș, members of contract: Sever Dumitrașcu, Gabriel Moisa, Florin Sfrengu, Bodo Edith, Radu Romînașu; Project submitted in national competition - Florin Sfrengu (Bihor County coordinator) - *The Promotion of the Archaeological Heritage of Bihor and Satu Mare Counties*; Contract with local funding for the book: *French Diplomatic Documents on Transylvania of 1946-1948*, Volume I (prepared by Prof. PhD. Antonio Faur).

The history department had publicly supported the following PhD theses during 2009: Marian Daniela Georgeta, *Art and Society in the Early 20th Century. 1900's Architecture in Crișana and Banat*, Liana Svințiu, *Medieval Pottery on the Romanian Territory in the 15th - 17th Centuries*. Romanian Country, Vasile Todorici, *Manifestations of the National Consciousness of the Romanian Studios Youth in Crișana and Banat (1878-1918)*, Daniela Băcilă, *The History of Banat Folkloristic Life from the Early 20th Century to Present*, Claudiu Munteanu, *Historical Monuments of the Mountain Banat. Wooden Churches*, Ionuț Gabriel Dumitrescu, *The Traditional Architecture in Vâlcea (18th - 20th Centuries)*, Ioana Anca Trifan (Balașco), *Rural World and Legal Rules in Bihor County in the Early Modern Period (18th Century and the First Decades of the 19th Century)*, Nicolae Toboșaru, *The Strategic Partnership between Romania and USA. History and Geopolitical Significance*, Andrei Milin, *The Serbs in Banat - the Ethnographic and Historical Realities and the Earth Habit*, Zefir Berzovis Ghencea, *Elements of Legal Ethnology and Customary Law in the Life of the Rural Settlements in Olt County*, Augustin Țărău, *The Process of Abolishing the Private Land Ownership in the Northwestern Counties of Romania (1945-1959)*, Mihaela Goman, *The Teaching and Scientific Activity of Constantin Daicoviciu*, Bodo Edith, *The Bihor County Rural World after the Theresian Settlement (1771-1820)*, Doina Olariu, Radu Vulpe, *Archaeologist along Three Regimes*, Maria Camelia Ene, *The Expression of the Neo-Romanian Style in Fine Arts* - Bucharest, Laura Pop, *Cultural Interference in the Burial Customs in Timiș County (19th – 20th*

Centuries), Dana Pantea, *Picture of England and of the English in the 19th Century Romanian Culture*, Maria Magdalena Lobonț, *Architecture and Rural Mentality in the Northwestern Transylvania*.

Also, the professors Viorel Faur, Barbu Ștefănescu, Mihai D. Drecin, Ioan Godea, Ioan Horga and Aurel Chiriac have been invited, as reviewers, to supporting of some doctoral theses in prestigious universities in the country.

Radu ROMÎNAȘU