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PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES OF THE BISTRA VALLEY (BIHOR COUNTY)

*Florin SFRENGEU**

Abstract: *The oldest archaeological finds of the Bistra Valley, made in the vill Vărzari, village Popești belong to the cultural group Ciumești - Pișcolt from the Neolithic cultural complex of Cluj - Cheile Turzii – Lumea Nouă – Iclod. In the Neolithic, this area was part of the area of spreading the Tiszapolgár culture, in which the stylistic change of the ceramics from the previous one has been linked to the early copper metallurgy. At Tăuteu were found several Neolithic tools (bronze pickaxes) on the surrounding hills, which are kept at the Țării Crișurilor Museum in Oradea. From the early Iron Age are known a series of bronze deposits, of which, for the Bistra Valley, we remember the series of Moigrad-Tăuteni (Tăuteu) of Hallstatt B1. At Voivozi they have reported Hallstatt pottery fragments at the place called Cilogoș, which was partly polled an archaeological resort with three discontinuous levels of housing belonging to the early Iron Age (Hallstatt), to the free Dacians from the Roman period and during the centuries VII -IX A.D.*

Keywords: *prehistory, Bistra Valley, archaeological finds, bronze objects, pottery*

In the Western half of Romania an important role in triggering the process of Neolitizing were for the communities of the group of Gura Baciului – Cârcea. This group heralds the evolution itself of the Starčevo-Criș culture. The cultural group of Ciumești-Pișcolt represents the expression of the summary with the Epipaleolithic communities in the Central Europe of the Starčevo-Criș groups in the North-Western Romania¹. Analyzing the origin and evolution of this group, redefined as Pișcolt group, based on numerous and on the most representative archaeological materials from Pișcolt, Zoia Maxim said that this group has its origin in the old fund Starčevo-Criș influenced by elements of Vinča culture came on plain and the contribution of such events of Szolnok - Szanda type and others. The resorts of this cultural group, with three

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¹ N. Ursulescu, M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, D. Monah, *Neo-eneoliticul*, in *Istoria românilor*, vol. I, Bucharest, 2001, p. 125-134, map from p.126-127 where at position 120 also appears the locality Vărzari enclosed to the cultural group Ciumești-Pișcolt.

phases of evolution were clearly defined as between the Turul Valley and Crișul Repede River, an area that includes the Bistra Valley, too². This group is part of the cultural complex Cluj – Cheile Turzii – Lumea Nouă – Iclod, being defined as a civilization belonging to the developed Neolithic, consisting of cultural issues and groups related to three stages of evolution³. In the village Popești, vill Vărzari, in the autumn of 1980 were discovered artifacts belonging to these ancient Neolithic civilizations, on the side of the Vărzărel brook. The archaeologist Doina Ignat's survey allowed the observation that the archaeological material, consisting of painted pottery or with very corroded traces of painting, deriving from a hole with the diameter of 1,50 m, seems to be unique, although the bank of the brook has been investigated without being able to highlight the cultural layer⁴. The discovered pottery was classified into two main categories: of common use and fine. They were able to reconstruct four pots and other fragments belonging to other vessels of the same, in a number of nine, or some bowls or cups. The decor was done by painting with a bituminous substance, looking black shiny or mat lacquer, and consists of thick black bands arranged in curved or angled, bordered by bundles of thinner strips, parallel lines and curves bounded by other oblique as well of wide black bands some arranged on the rim and others under the rim. There are other interesting motifs described in the paper, and the decor is made of wide black bands between them being inserted thin dotted lines with small dots⁵.

The Pișcolt cultural group evolved into the Tisza culture and the group Suplacu de Barcău. This latter is considered to have a common origin with the Iclod group, but different from the characteristic element which is the painting, in comparison with the Iclod developing the incision. Another feature of the Suplacu de Barcău group is the discovery of some cremation burials, which shows the bi-ritualism practice. The settlement from Suplacu de Barcău had an important role in the area due to the exploitation and marketing of the bituminous deposits, at surface, the substance being used for painting the pottery in the Neolithic age⁶.

In the center of the vill Varviz an isolated discovery was made belonging to the same age, in the place called *La râpă*, being about a stone ax type block, with analogies in the community of the cultural group Suplacu de Barcău. Also in this place of the vill Varviz is indicated by the author of the

² Z. Maxim, *Neo-Eneoliticul din Transilvania*, Cluj-Napoca, 1999, p.75-80; on drawing XV-2 is represented a vessels discovered at Vărzari, a small handed amphora and painted with a pit that marks the shoulder.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁴ D. Ignat, *Un aspect mai puțin cunoscut în cadrul ceramicii neolitice pictate din nord-vestul României*, in *Crisia*, XII, 1982, p. 361-370.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 361-363, drawings I-VI.

⁶ Z. Maxim, *op.cit.*, p. 93; D. Ignat, *Grupul cultural neolitic Suplacu de Barcău*, Timișoara, 1998.

monograph of the locality, the historian Gabriel Moisa, a wider Neolithic settlement where they found fragments of pottery and fragments of bricks from the fireplaces and walls of some dwelling houses, not excluding the possibility of a habitation in different ages⁷.

In the Neolithic, the Bistra Valley was part of the area of spreading the Tiszapolgár culture, in which the stylistic change of the ceramics from the previous one has been linked to the early copper metallurgy, which led to major changes. We note that the cultural group of Suplacu de Barcău, in its final stages, develops forms of pottery that will develop in the Tiszapolgár culture. The human communities of that time lived in the Western Plain (Câmpia de Vest), on the hills around the Western Mountains and in the caves from Vadu Crișului, Cheile Turzii, Cheile Turenilor and Peștiș. The Bodrogkeresztur cultural aspect followed this culture, in the area under consideration⁸. Also in the vill Varviz was discovered in 1881, an ax (pick) of copper belonging to this period, piece that could get here because of trade, or was made by an itinerant artist⁹. On the Bistra Valley, in the village of Tăuteu was found a number of Neolithic tools on the *Telek-Mezo* hill and on the *Dealul de Sus*, where a dwelling house was mentioned attributed to the Tiszapolgár culture, they found axes of Pločnik and Jászládány type, Orșova variant¹⁰.

The copper pickaxes found on the ground of the Tăuteu locality are mentioned along the time by many researchers. Thus, Ion Nestor mentions them in his research on the prehistoric stage in Romania published in 1933¹¹, and M. Roska, during the Second World War, reminds them both in the repertoire with the archaeological finds in Transylvania and in a study on the copper pickaxes¹². The pickaxes are kept at the Țării Crișurilor Museum in Oradea and have the respective sizes, 21 cm, 21, 5 cm and 19, 5 specifying that they were discovered in the place called *Dealul înalt - Felsőhegy*¹³.

The Bronze Age covers most of the III and II millenniums B.C., the first step is considered “a true cultural mosaic, in which juxtapose the civilizations of transitional type with those characteristic for the Bronze Age”¹⁴. According

⁷G. Moisa, *Monografia istorică a satului Varviz*, Oradea, 2005, p. 21.

⁸Z. Maxim, *op.cit.*, p. 119-125.

⁹*Ibid*, p.192; G. Moisa, *op. cit.*, p. 21-22.

¹⁰Z. Maxim, *op.cit.*, p. 188.

¹¹I. Nestor, *Der Stand der Vorgeschichtsforschung in Rumänien*, în *22 Ber RGK*, 1933, p.77, no.301, apud. S. Dumitrașcu, *Tezaurul de la Tăuteni- Bihor*, Oradea, 1973, p. 22-23.

¹²M. Roska, *Erdély régészeti repertórium*, I. Cluj, 1942, p. 292, s.v. *Toti, Pusztatóti, Tăuteni, Totii*; Idem, *Über die Herkunft der kupfernen Hachen, Axthacken, Hammeräxte und Pickelhacken vom ungarische Typus*, in *Közlemények*, II, 1, Cluj, 1942, p.15-77; apud. S. Dumitrașcu, *op. cit.*, p. 22-23.

¹³S. Dumitrașcu, *op. cit.*, p. 22-23.

¹⁴M. Rotea, *Preistoria*, in *Istoria României*, coordinators Ioan-Aurel Pop, Ioan Bolovan, Cluj-Napoca, 2007, p. 20.

to some researchers, most of the millennium III (2700-2000 B.C.) was regarded as a transitional period to the Bronze Age. The process characterized by ethnic-cultural and social-economic restructurings, and in terms of ethnic, following the contacts of the native Neolithic farmers and cattle breeders with the newcomers from the North-Pontiac steppes occurred the Indo-Europeanization process, resulting in a new ethnic-cultural synthesis, called pre-Thracian¹⁵. For Crișana is typical the mixed cultural block Coțofeni-Baden.

During the Bronze Age in the same region which also includes the Bistra Valley are located the Wietenberg, Otomani and Suci de Sus cultures. The communities of the Wietenberg culture were living in settlements with high position, being cattle breeders and farmers. At its genesis has contributed the oldest fund of Coțofeni and Schneckenberg cultures, as well the ribbed ceramics. In the Northwestern, an important role in its evolution has the Otomani culture as it is attested by the finds from Derșida and Otomani. The Otomani culture was located between Mureș, Tisza and the Western Mountains extending at various stages to the Eastward in the area of the Wietenberg culture, to the Central and Southwest of Transylvania and to the Northwest in the North-Eastern Hungary, Eastern Slovakia, Trans-Carpathian Ukraine and Southeastern Poland. This culture developed in Crișana on the background of the Baden and pottery cultures with impressions of whisk, with some influences from the outside with a long three-phase evolution to the late bronze.

During the late Bronze Age (about 1300-1150 B.C.) the bronze metallurgy knows more development, as shown by the archaeological finds of numerous deposits of tools, ornaments, harness parts and weapons, belonging to the series Uriu-Domănești, divided into three major compact areas from the Northwestern, Central and Southeastern Transylvania, corresponding to the Otomani, Suci de Sus, Wietenberg and Noua cultural territories¹⁶.

According to the archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu, in Crișana, based on the archaeological finds in Andrid, Biharea, Cociuba Mare, Girișul de Criș, Oradea-Salca, Roșiori, Sanislău, Suplacu de Barcău, Tărian, of the Otomani culture area and which are non-Otomani and post-Otomani (Br C.D. - Ha A1), it was emerged an independent group called Biharea culture. "It is the culture of the era of transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age and specifically contributes to the understanding of the Hallstatt process and that

¹⁵ M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, *Schimbări etno-culturale pe teritoriul Daciei în perioada de tranziție spre epoca bronzului*, in *Istoria României de la începuturi până în secolul al VIII-lea*, coordinator M. Petrescu-Dîmbovița, Bucharest, 1995, p. 67.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 92-97, of the numerous works we mention only: N. Chidioșan, *Contribuții la istoria tracilor din nord-vestul României. Așezarea Wietenberg de la Derșida*, Oradea, 1980; T. Bader, *Epoca bronzului în nord-vestul României. Cultura pretracică și tracică*, Bucharest, 1978; we mention the recent discovery of a Bronze Age settlement materials left Chiribiș-Popești road, at the rate of Mori, not researched as original material.

of awarding the bronze deposits (Br C.D. - Ha A1) to those who created them”¹⁷.

The early Iron Age (Hallstatt A and B) is well represented in the Northwestern Romania and enjoyed the attention from the specialists, especially in the recent decades. The grooved ceramic cultural complex, known as the two related cultures Gáva and Holihradý, initially consisted of the Northeastern Hungary, South-Eastern Slovakia, Northwestern Romania and the Trans-Carpathian Ukraine then, it expanded to the Southwestern Romania, Northwestern Moldavia and the sub-mountainous area of Ukraine. The settlements of this great cultural complex are of two types: fortified by ground waves, palisades, and open. The pottery discovered in the settlements is of more classes and a great variety of forms and decoration, characteristic being the bit-taper form pottery jugs with the edge flap and high neck, black, polished on the outside and reddish inside, decorated with horizontal, oblique and garlands shaped grooves. To the genesis of the Gáva culture in addition to the preceding local cultures in the area of formation: the Otomani, Berkesz, Suciú de Sus, Piliny, plus also the contribution of the Igrita and Cehăluț groups of Crișana and of the Lăpuș group from Maramureș. In Crișana and the Eastern Hungary the sudden end of the Gáva culture evolution, attributed by the most of the experts to the Thracian nations, was connected with the occurrence of the Mezőcsát group during the 9th century B.C. The researchers have noticed in this group also some Eastern elements from parts of the Caucasus and Northern Black Sea¹⁸.

From the early Iron Age are known a series of bronze deposits, of which we highlight the Moigrad-Tăuteni series (Tăuteu) of Hallstatt B1. In this series, we mention the bronze deposit of Tăuteu discovered in the Bistra Valley in 1934, some parts were purchased from the National Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest, being published by Vladimir Dumitrescu¹⁹. Along with the bronze objects: five bronze bracelets, four bronze bars, a celt, a sickle, a bronze knife, two bronze applies, the researcher shows that were also found five gold rings (earrings) in a bowl²⁰. In the *Familia* magazine of Oradea was published an

¹⁷ S. Dumitrașcu, *Biharea*, Oradea, 1994, p. 111, see the historical considerations on p.239-240 of which we quote a short fragment: „For our part, we must emphasize in these lines, too that this culture of the period of transition from the Bronze at the first step of the Iron Age stands in the proto history in Crișana province, Dacia and even the Central Europe, together with the other contemporary cultures, the major issue of the individualization of the unity of the prothrace communities and then Thrace in the Central and Southeastern Europe.” (p. 239).

¹⁸ A. László, *Prima epocă a fierului. Perioada timpurie (Hallstatt A și B)*, in *Istoria românilor*, vol. I, Bucharest, 2001, p. 305-312.

¹⁹ Vl. Dumitrescu, *Le dépôt de la fin de l'âge du bronze, découvert à Tăuteni*, in *Dacia*, V-VI, 1935-1936, Bucharest, 1938, p. 225-238, apud. S. Dumitrașcu, *Tezaurul de la Tăuteni- Bihor*, Oradea, 1973, p. 22-23.

²⁰ S. Dumitrașcu, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

article in 1936 by Fr. Ardoș in which is mentioned this deposit, too²¹. The archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu, in a note of the book on the hoard of Tăuteni (Tăuteu), showed that in the repertoire published by M. Roska the number of the discovered pieces is greater. That means “1 celt, 1 sickle, a fragment of a knife (dagger) , 6 pieces of saw, 4 whole and 7 broken bracelets, two eared applies, a fragment of a bronze pin, a cup of clay high of 8 cm and those five gold rings (2 small rings, 2 larger, and 1 higher”²². They have discovered Hallstatt pottery fragments at Voivozi, at the place called *Cilogoș*. Here it was partly polled an archaeological resort with three discontinuous levels of housing belonging to the early Iron Age (Hallstatt), to the free Dacians of the Roman age in the 3rd century A.D., probably also the early 4th century A.D., and during the 7th and 9th centuries A.D.²³. During the middle of the first Iron Age (750-600 B.C.), the Basarabi culture enters Transylvania from the South, the most discoveries focusing on the middle course of the Mureș River. The Hellenic civilization influenced this culture contributing to increase the use of the iron in Transylvania. They have been reported several graves and cemeteries such as those from Apahida, Oradea-Salca, Uioara de Sus showing that the funeral rite of the native population was the cremation²⁴. During this middle period of the first Iron Age, of the Hallstatt classical civilization (Ha C) were also enclosed the findings of the Biharea - Girișul de Criș - Râpa group (or the group Barcău - Crișul Repede - Crișul Negru), with the Bistra Valley contained in this area, being attributed to the local population. Southern-Illyre and Eastern elements from Transylvania and even from the East - Scythian and Cimmerien have penetrated in the area of this group, too²⁵.

²¹ Fr. Ardoș, *Date arheologice privitoare la Oradea și județul Bihor*, in *Familia*, 1936, p. 12-14, apud. S. Dumitrașcu, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

²² S. Dumitrașcu, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

²³ *Repertoriul Monumentelor naturii, arheologice, istorice, etnografice, de arhitectură și artă din județul Bihor*, editor S. Dumitrașcu, Oradea, 1974, p. 86.

²⁴ V. Vasiliev, *Prima epocă a fierului*, în *Istoria Transilvaniei*, I, coordinators Ioan-Aurel Pop and Thomas Năgler, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 59-61.

²⁵ S. Dumitrașcu, *Biharea*, Oradea, 1994, p. 119.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE'S BORDERS DISCOVERIES WITH FUNERAL CHARACTER AT SOPIANAE (PÉCS, HUNGARY) AND TOMIS (CONSTANTA, ROMANIA)

*Mihaela CIOCA**

Abstract: *Both Sopianae and Tomis are cities where the religious factor is very well preserved. They were both part of the Roman Empire but neither of them were Roman from their foundation, the toponym Sopianae has Celtic roots, referring to a swamp place, while Tomis was one of the Greek colonies of Milet. In the case of Sopianae there are characteristic the paintings of the burial chambers and the large number of Christian graves discovered in the Roman cemetery. Tomis is known due to the funerary Christian inscriptions (there were discovered and researched few hundreds of Christian graves of the five Roman-Byzantine cemeteries). Sopianae is also famous for the buildings which were used in the funeral process in the 4th and 5th centuries later, for example in the 11th century being used as basilicas.*

Keywords: *Early Christianity, Sopianae, Tomis, catacombs, paintings*

The two cities mentioned even in the title, at first sight they would not have points of comparison, given their geographical location in different areas and quite remote from one another. Pécs, still one of the top five largest cities of Hungary, is located in the former Roman province of Pannonia, and Constanta, located in the South-Eastern Romania, has been since the 2nd century BC, the capital of the province Scythia Minor.

What makes it possible to compare is the religious factor; however, both cities preserve traces of the religions practiced in this case paleo-Christian traces. Sopianae is famous around the world for the paleo-Christian cemetery discovered here, especially for the paintings in the burial chambers, since the year 2000 being included in the UNESCO cultural heritage list¹. The city of Tomis, also an old center of civilization, seems to have been visited by Apostle St. Andrew, a preacher of Christianity, over time creating a real myth of the voyage of the apostle; he was present until nowadays in the popular beliefs and local traditions.

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¹ <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list>.

Neither of the two cities under the review was not a Roman town from its foundation, our survey data showing the Celtic roots of the word Sopianae² while Tomis was one of the important colonies cities founded by Greeks on the beach of the Black Sea, with Callatis, Histria, etc.

The location of the two provinces in the borders of the Empire and the practiced religious syncretism, the opening of the Romans, the acceptance and relatively easy inclusion of deities and the beliefs practiced by the conquered peoples favored the penetration and development of the monotheistic character ideas, and of the Christianity, mainly. The number of the followers has grown a lot in a relatively short period, even though they forbade practicing the Christianity in the Empire.

Because of the refusal to accept the gods in the Roman pantheon, the Christian practitioners often were subjected to cruel punishment; the death penalty being often applied through harsh methods of torture. Thus arose a worship of martyrs, those killed for their faith as reverence, raised at the condition of saints with the role to intervene apart from Divinity in favor of those who raised prayers and organized memorial feasts in their honor³. We know based on chronicles, in some cases the inscriptions of the graves, the name of several Christian martyrs, of whom we remember for the Province of Scythia inscription written in red paint, in Greek. For the encrypt of the church of Niculițel in the noviotunens territory we remember the “martyrs Zotikos, Attalos, Kamais, Philippos”⁴, and for the province Pannonia we can remember the group of the four, quattor Sancti coronati, who refused a pagan character order, being executed during the reign of Diocletian⁵. There are some indices, based on which some researchers have identified a possible link between the burial chamber I “Saints Peter and Paul” from Sopianae and the cult of the martyrs, by keeping the relics in the niche existing here⁶. In support of this alternative also is the unusual way of the niche location, behind the wall where it is located another wall was built. The outer wall is also the base, the foundation upon which the next level of the building was built on the surface. It

² ***, *Hungarian Archaeology at the turn of the Millennium*, Edited by Zsolt Visy, Mihaly Nagy, Budapest, 2003, Chapter VIII *The Roman Period*, p. 231.

³***, *Istoria românilor*, vol. II, Ed. Academiei, București, 2001, p. 530; Nelu Zugravu, „Cu privire la jurisdicția asupra creștinilor nord-dunăreni în secolele II-VIII”, in *Pontica XXVIII-XXIX*, Constanța, 1995-1996, p. 164-180.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 531; see Appendix *Photo 8*.

⁵ Hudák Krisztina, Nagy Levente, *A fine and private place. Discovering the Early Christian Cemetery of Sopianae/Pécs*, Pécs, 2009, p. 82; Fülep Ferenc, *Sopianae. The History of Pécs during the Roman Era and the Problem of the Continuity of the Late Roman Population*, Budapest, 1984, p. 294. The archaeologist Fülep Ferenc disagrees with the idea that in the burial chamber “Saints Peter and Paul” were kept the relics of martyrs, as the archaeological excavations undertaken by his team did not reveal traces to support this hypothesis. From his point of view, the four martyrs were not connected with the city of Sopianae.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

is interesting to note that the space between the two walls mentioned above has not been filled with ground, as the methods of the time, but it remained empty. The archaeologists have not reached yet any conclusion which could explain the reason for this "secret room" was built, the utility of the niche, being also unknown⁷. In addition, it was outlined the view according to the existence of this room is the result of the architectural plan, having a strictly supportive role of the building next level.

The precariousness of the documentary sources, however, the lack of some sources to place the four martyrs in a narrower area and the lack of some clearer archaeological arguments detain, so far, the Hungarian researchers to formulate a concise theory on placing the relics of the martyrs in the burial chamber the Saints Peter and Paul of Pécs.

Of course, we could say that such comparisons, based on the religious factor, could be made between cities in the whole area of the Roman Empire. Traces of early Christianity, well preserved, are for example, found in Rome, the famous catacombs, the cemetery of Isola Sacra, or at Poundbury in England, Cambridge, Stanton, or Ziegelfeld in Austria⁸. The reason for they chose the two cities was a structural one.

Although geographically located at the crossroads of the West-Eastern influences, the city of Sopiane belongs, from our point of view, in some terms of culture, to the East, as well as Tomis. The famous funerary paintings, although thematically and stylistically resemble those of the Roman catacombs (scenes from the Old Testament and Expulsion from Paradise, detailed plant and flower showing the Paradise)⁹, the Eastern influences are evident, in our opinion, in the painting of the Virgin and Child. Her positioning sitting on a throne, taking the Child in Arms is the typical image that will develop the Byzantine Orthodox iconography next centuries. In addition, we note the anatomical structure of the image of Mary; her big eyes very close to her long and straight nose are other details that will be used primarily by the Orthodox iconographers' painters around the Patriarchate of Constantinople¹⁰. They did the dating of the painting by analogy with the paintings representing portraits of some women from

⁷ A similar division of the space was observed when the Marusinac mausoleum, near Saloni (see Appendix, Photo 1). The idea is taken from the discussions with Prof. Nagy Levente at the University of Pécs and Magyar Zsolt, „The world of late antique Sopiana: artistic connections and scholarly problems”, in *Zsolt_Magyar_The_world_of_late_antique_Sopiana_artistic_connections_and_scholarly_problems.pdf*

⁸ Magyar Zsolt, „Sopiana. A study of cultural influences in fourth century Southern Pannonia”, in *Zsolt_Magyar.pdf*, p. 43-44.

⁹ Fülep Ferenc, *op. cit.*, p. 36-39.

¹⁰ See, *Appendix*, Photo 11.

Constantinople in the last third of the 4th century¹¹. Also, this type of painting can be considered the “birth” of the Christian style, being the “roots”. for both Catholic and Orthodox Churches in the matter of religious paintings.

If for the city of Sopianae there are characteristic the paintings of the burial chambers and the large number of Christian graves discovered in the Roman cemetery, Tomis is known due to the funerary Christian inscriptions (there were discovered and researched few hundreds of Christian graves of the five Roman-Byzantine cemeteries). We recall here the decorated funeral steles, one example being a stele in the 4th century decorated with a rosette and funeral expressions specific pagan, but also includes the words *Deo (re) dere* that shows its Christian character¹².

It occurs special attention a tomb discovered in 1988 in the cemetery that stretched from the Northeastern side of the cliff. Paintings representing birds and animals, flora and vegetation elements combined with geometric motifs decorate the inner walls of the tomb¹³.

What prompted the researchers to rule in the favor of the Christian character of the tomb is the funeral banquet scene likeness to that represented in the catacomb “Sancti Pietro e Marcelino” in Rome¹⁴.

The paintings of the same Roman catacomb were term of comparison, based on them also settling the paintings dating from the “Saints Peter and Paul” Burial Chamber from Sopianae. The similarities are evident at the first sight. Although the anatomy of the saints’ faces is slightly different, has remained the same standard, in both paintings Saint Peter is played as a middle-aged man with a beard and haircut specific to the 4th century, as well as Saint Paul, in his full maturity, with sharp beard and prominent bald. The position of Saint Peter’s hand is the same in both pictures; in case of the Roman catacomb, he shows to Jesus, while in case of the burial chamber from Pécs to the Christogram that represents Jesus¹⁵.

Based on analogies with the catacomb paintings of “Sancti Pietro e Marcelino” in Rome they could be established, both for the tomb of Tomis and the one in Pécs, pretty much the exact dating of the two burial chambers. It is

¹¹ Hudák, Krisztina, „The chronology of the paintings in the Saint Peter and Paul Burial Chamber of Sopianae”, in *Ex officina... Studia in Honorem Dénes Gabler*, Győr, 2009, p. 229.

¹² I. Barnea, „Les monuments paléochrétiens de Roumanie”, in *Pontica X*, Constanța, 1977, p. 274.

¹³ Idem, „Considerații privind cele mai vechi monumente creștine de la Tomis”, in *Pontica XXIV*, Constanța, 1991, p. 272; related information can be found in the article signed by Virgil Lungu and Constantin Chera in *Magazin Istoric XXII*, no 7, July 1988, p. 4-5.

¹⁴ Idem, „Considerații privind...”, p. 272; see *Appendix*, Photo 2 and Photo 3.

¹⁵ Hudák, Krisztina, „The chronology of the paintings in the Saint Peter and Paul Burial Chamber of Sopianae”, in *Ex officina... Studia in Honorem Dénes Gabler*, p. 225-228, See also *Appendix*, Photo 5 and Photo 6.

the last third of the 4th century, stating that in case of the Tomitan tomb inhumations also took place after that date¹⁶.

They continue the row of the paleo-Christian finds in the two cities with minor works of art that is the gemstones. The gemstone from Pécs is imprinted with the image of the "Good Shepherd" according to some researchers, while others believe that it is playing the goddess of hunting, Diana¹⁷. The opinions inconsistency is due to the difference of the images. The photos out in detail certain characteristics of the gemstone, while the sampled sketches show others. The first category, of those who argued the Christian origin of the gemstone are the archaeologists Fülep Ferenc, Magyar Zsolt, Nagy Mihály and others. A thorough analysis could reveal both the similarities and the differences with other representations of the same motif prevalent in the Western Christian world. Thus, it is interesting to note that the toga of the "Good Shepherd" has curved edges up, but not found in the Western plays, but common, usually for the Oriental ones¹⁸.

The gemstone from Tomis depicts Christ crucified on a T-shaped cross, framed by the 12 apostles. To note that although the apostles are represented standing and at the same level with the crucified Christ whose feet touch the ground, are about half the heights of the Savior. Above the cross is incised the shorthand of the expression "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior"¹⁹. Based on some analogies with a similar decoration found on the face of a gemstone in the collection Nott of Rome, some researchers have dated the gemstone from Tomis in the 2nd - 3rd centuries, considering it the oldest Tomitan Christian document²⁰.

Regarding the existence of some places of worship outside of those with funeral character, at Tomis, after several archaeological excavations have been discovered two Christian basilicas, both timed in the 5th – 6th centuries BC. One of the basilicas is located by the gate no. 1 near the port, and the other one in the rotunda hotel's area, in the perimeter of the streets Mircea cel Bătrân, Ecaterina Varga, Negru Vodă, Dragoș Vodă²¹.

¹⁶ I. Barnea, „Considerații privind...”, p. 272; Hudák Krisztina, Nagy Levente, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁷ Hudák Krisztina, Nagy Levente, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

Gáspár Dorottya contradicts the view that the gemstones face was carved the representing of the "Good Shepherd" is of the opinion that the small figure is the goddess of the hunt, Diana. What seems at first sight to be a lamb held around the shoulders is actually a cape in the researcher's view, and the animals that are accompanying the human figure are not dogs, according to the first interpretation, but deer.

See Appendix, Photo 7.

¹⁸ Magyar Zsolt, „Sopianae. A study of cultural influences in fourth century Southern Pannonia”, in Zsolt_Magyar.pdf, p. 55.

¹⁹ I. Barnea, „Considerații privind...”, p. 273.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Lista monumentelor istorice județul Constanța* in www.cimec.ro.

In Pécs they discovered in the area of the Market Saint Stephen a construction with a unique architectural form, Cella Septichora, a seven-apse basilica. The closest parallel can be seen the nine-apse basilica of Saint Gereon in Cologne. Cella Septichora had started with the role of a funerary building, but its positioning near the “Saint Peter and Paul” Burial Chamber gave rise to the theory according that the building served as basilica for the ceremony held to commemorate the martyrs. Much later, during Arpad’s period, they transformed Cella Septichora into a church until building the first cathedral²². Fülep Ferenc devoted a part of his research to the structural analysis and symbolism of Cella Septichora, his conclusions reducing the role of cella to a simple funerary building²³. In the light of the new archaeological excavations conducted in the early 2000 by Visy Zsolt, the role of Cella appears to us much more important. It is true that it functioned as a burial basilica in the Roman cemetery, but because its construction was never completed, its initial role is less predictable²⁴. Particularly interesting are also the geometric analysis devoted to the plan of Cella Septichora, two pentagons of equal size fitting perfectly in the two halves of the building²⁵.

Another basilica created around it more controversy than Cella Septichora. This mysterious Cella Trichora, located just few meters from the present Cathedral called up the interest of more researchers. Like Cella Septichora, Cella Trichora was originally a funeral basilica but in case of the latter, they found an altar in the Eastern apse²⁶. They kept two coats of paint, hardly visible today. The second layer, better preserved can be considered as evidence of continuity of use of the basilica over the centuries because the painted motifs style belong to the 11th century, while the pattern used to build Cella places it in the 4th century²⁷. We thus conclude that, over time, the role of Cella Trichora has changed from that of the funerary chapel to that of church.

Both the constructions of a funerary character, the basilicas, tombs and the objects found around them show us the extent of the Christian religious phenomenon, the continuity of religious worship practice, even if from a political-administrative point of view and, sometimes, social, major changes have taken place.

²² Hudák Krisztina, Nagy Levente, *op. cit.*, p. 27, 79; see *Appendix*, Photo 9.

²³ Fülep Ferenc, Sopianae. *op. cit.*, p. 57-58.

²⁴ Hudák Krisztina, Nagy Levente, *op. cit.*, p. 77-79.

²⁵ Nagy, Mihály, „Typological Considerations on Christian Funerary Buildings in Pannónia” in *Zalai Múzeum* 11, 2002, p. 21-30.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 73; see *Appendix*, Photo 10.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73-75.

APPENDIX



Photo 1. The Mausoleum of Marusinac, near Salone²⁸

Sursa: http://www.solin.hr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=47&Itemid=124
[25/09/2006]

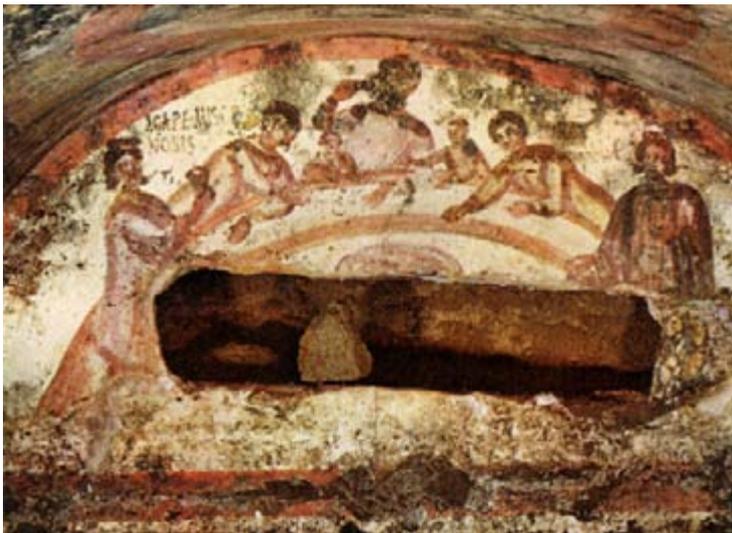


Photo 2. Funeral banquet - "Sancti Pietro e Marcelino" Catacomb, Rome

Sursa: http://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://www.the-goldenrule.name/Dionysus_AgapeSigmaCouch/home_files/image017.jpg&imgrefurl

²⁸ Magyar Zsolt, „Sopianae. A study of cultural influences in fourth century Southern Pannonia”, in Zsolt_Magyar.pdf.

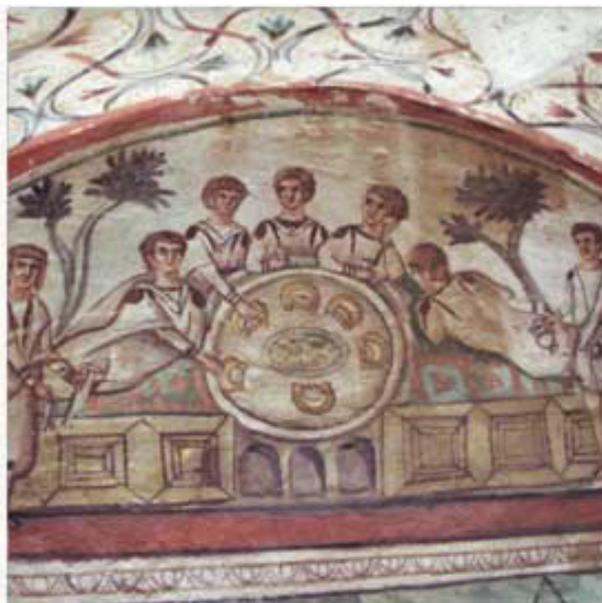


Photo 3. Funerary banquet at Tomis

Sursa: <http://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://v4.cugetliber.ro/imagini/turism/cavou-hipogeu.jpg&imgrefurl>



Photo 4. Detail of mural painting from Tomis

http://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://3.bp.blogspot.com/_iDRlyfXvx1Q/SZsohpkb6qI/AAAAAAAAACOM/x1ws1WsRGGc/s400/IMG_3499m.jpg&imgrefurl=http://art-historia.blogspot.com/2009/02/mormantul-hypogeu-de-la-tomis-constantia.html&usq



Photo 5. Saints Peter and Paul - „Sancti Pietro e Marcelino”Catacomb, Rome

Sursa: <http://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=http://archeoblog.net/wp-content/uploads/2008/05/catacombe.jpg&imgrefurl=http://archeoblog.net/2008/apertura-straordinaria-catacombe-ss-marcellino-e-pietro-a-giugno-2008/&usg>



Photo 6. Saints Peter and Paul – Funeral Chamber, Pécs

Sursa: Hudák Krisytina, Nagy Levente, *A fine and private place. Discovering the Early Christian Cemetery of Sopiana/Pécs*, Pécs, 2009, p. 42



Photo 7. The „Good Sheperd” Gemstone discovered in the tomb G/7, Pécs
Sursa: Magyar Zsolt, „Sopianae. A study of cultural influences in fourth century Southern Pannonia”, în Zsolt_Magyar.pdf, p. 55 apud After Gáspár, „Christianity in Roman Pannonia: An evaluation of Early Christian Finds and sites from Hungary”, in *British Archaeological Reports International Series*, 1010, 2003, Fig. 246.



Photo 8. Martirial Tomb of Niculițel containing the names: Zotikos, Attalos, Kamais, Philippos
Sursa: ***, *Istoria românilor*, vol. II, Ed. Academiei, București, 2001, p. 531

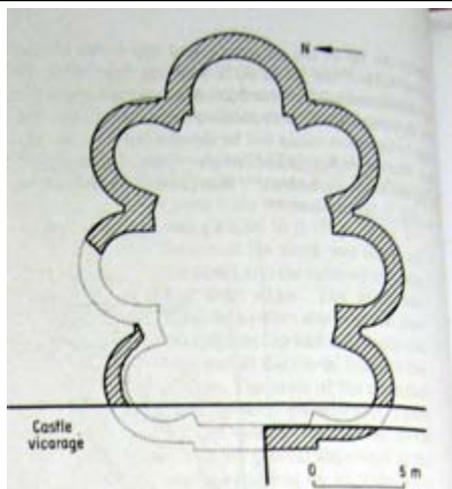


Photo 9. *Cella Septichora*

Sursa: Fülep Ferenc, Sopianae. *The History of Pécs during the Roman Era and the Problem of the Continuity of the Late Roman Population*, Budapest, 1984, p. 57

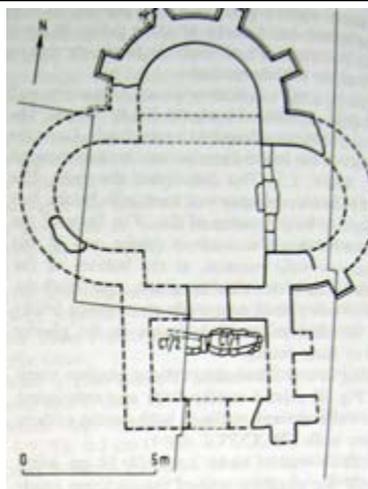


Photo 10. *Cella Trichora*

Sursa: Fülep Ferenc, Sopianae. *The History of Pécs during the Roman Era and the Problem of the Continuity of the Late Roman Population*, Budapest, 1984, p. 51



Photo 11: *Virgin and Child*, detail from the funeral chamber „Saints Peter and Paul”, Pécs
Sursa: Hudák Krisytina, Nagy Levente, *A fine and private place. Discovering the Early Christian Cemetery of Sopianae/Pécs*, Pécs, 2009, p. 49

POLICY OF THE COMNENS AT THE LOWER DANUBE (11th -12th CENTURIES). DANUBIAN LIMES RECONQUEST IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 13TH CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 14TH

*Ionel CHIRA**

***Abstract:** Foundation of the Paristrion theme meant a political and economic event, recovery and prosperity of cities on the Danube. Successes of Byzantium, in the religious field, in the territories inhabited by the Romanian at the lower Danube were important, as they coincided with a strong Catholic offensive in these regions. Catholic proselytism in the extra-Carpathian regions in the second half of the thirteenth century, through the monastic orders like the Franciscans, recorded one of its maximum moments. But its effects were limited by the measures initiated by the Orthodox Church, who, in this era, considerably strengthened their positions in these regions. Byzantine domination continued in Dobrogea. Here there were many and important officials of the Empire, protospătari, spătarocandidați, patrics or strategists, who received from Constantinople orders, written and sealed with the imperial seal. Thus, are mentioned Leon Nikerites and Demetrios Katakalon, strategists of the Paradunavon theme, Gregorios Mavrokatalon, Ioannes Probatas, comes of the fleet and Michael Taroniates, with the title sebastos. Another two lead seals that belonged to Alexios I, were found to Pacuiul lui Soare and in Spațtov commune, on the left bank of the Danube.*

***Keywords:** Theme Paristrion, the Comnens Dynasty, Byzantine Empire Palaeologians, Danube limes, Vlachs, Danubian-Pontic space, Byzantine politics.*

Foundation of the Paristrion theme meant a political and economic event, recovery and prosperity of cities on the Danube proving plenty of this. Yet, this situation did not last long. After the death of the Emperor Basil II the Bulgarohton, in parts of the Lower Danube, were present new waves of migrants: Pechenegs and Cumans.

Pechenegs named also "Bissen" or "paținachi in historical sources, Turkish speakers, have been established since the late of the X-th century in southern Moldavia, Wallachia and even in Transylvania. They have exercised a more nominal dominion over the locals, claiming them to pay a tribute. From Walachia plain, where the settlements of "Dridu" type have ceased to exist precisely in these

circumstances, Pechenegs began to attack Byzantine Dobrogea. Thus, in 1036, they stormed the fortified settlements from Dinogetia-Garvan, Capidava and Dervent.¹ By the middle of the XI-th century, defeated by the Cumans, they forced the imperial border, and in 1048, after other prey expeditions, they began to enter in mass in the south territory of the Danube. In 1053, with all Byzantine diplomacy efforts, Constantine IX the Monomach (1042-1055) was forced to conclude a humiliating peace. But confrontations have continued, evidence of this fact is that in 1059, after some struggle, the Emperor Isaac I the Comnen (1057-1059) left a garrison on the Danube, under the supervision of the new strategist, the famous general Basil Apokapes.

In 1064 there was a new invasion, of the uzi people, originating in Central Asia, which caused to the populations of the Lower Danube a hard to imagine imbalance. This was why the future Emperor, Roman the IV-th Diogenes (1068-1071), appealed for help of Pecheneg people to restore the previous balance. For similar reasons, he was rushed to recruit in the ranks of the army of mercenaries, Pechenegs, uzi and other nations that will lead him to the disaster from Mantzikert of Armenia Minor, in 1071.²

Towards the end of the XI-th century, pushing the Pechenegs to the south of the Danube, the Cumans belonging to the last Turanian wave, they settled on the Pechenegs place, their repeated robbery expeditions over the Empire, attesting their presence in the north of the river. They exercised a political domination over Moldavia and Wallachia up to the great Tatar invasion in 1241, when they gradually disappeared from the history.

Beginning with the middle of the XI-th century, at a time or together, Pechenegs and Cumans systematically attacked the south of the Danube provinces, causing great damages to the Empire. The first of the Comnens Emperors, Alexios I (1081-1118), was the first who tried to remove the barbarian danger.

In 1087, he organized a large expedition to the Danube, to chase the invaders from the Balkans. At his command, Byzantine fleet, led by George Euphorbenos, advanced to Dristra on the Danube.³ Emperor himself came here, on which occasion Ana Comnena mention Tatul, once again, who reigned in Dristra since the movement of the Danubian cities.

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¹ Razvan THEODORESCU, Byzantium, the Balkans, the West in the early of the medieval Romanian culture (X-XIV centuries), Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest, 2005, p.52.

² Deacon. PhD. Emanoil BABUS, Byzantium, history and spirituality, Σοφία Publishing House, Bucharest, 2003, p. 90.

³ Prof. Dr. Mircea PACURARIU, the Romanian Orthodox Church History, Second Edition, Volume I, the Bible and Mission Institute of the Romanian Orthodox Church, Publishing House, Bucharest, 1992, p.239.

In 1091, Pechenegs crossed again the Danube. Alexios's brother in law, Caesar Nicephorus Melissenos, in the head of an army where he enrolled Bulgarians and also Vlachs from the south of the Danube, occupied a village at the mouth of the river Marita, to cut the withdrawal of the Pechenegs. To the Byzantine army joined another 500 knights who were sent by Flandra the Count, plus Cumans troops. On the eve of the confrontation took place an unusual event: 5000 warriors from the mountain (probably south-Danubian Vlachs) voluntarily left the camp of the enemy, joining to the Byzantines. In the battle at the foot of the hill Lebunion (Thrace), 29 April 1091, the Byzantines have caused among the enemy a true carnage, from which were not exempt even women and children.⁴

In 1094, Cumans came back again against the Byzantines, crossing the Danube and devastating everything in their path. In the Byzantine camp of Anchialos on the Black Sea coast, a leader of the Vlachs, Pudilă, probably originating in northern of Dobrogea, announced the Emperor about the Cumans passage over the Danube. The city was besieged, but the Cumans were rejected. In his chronicle the Syrian Michael I mention the Romanians (Balakye) from the Lower Danube, which, together with Cumans and Serbs, have caused great difficulties to the Byzantium, under Alexius I. Ana Comnena, referring to the new Cuman invasion in 1098, reminds next to them also the "Dacians", it is not excluded that in this case under this name, the north-Danubian Romanians to be also included. A new Cuman robbery took place in 1114. This time, being present in Vidin, the Emperor ordered their pursuit up to today Oltenia.⁵

As it is evidenced by the numerous discoveries of seals, Byzantine domination continued in Dobrogea. Here there were many and important officials of the Empire, protospătari, spătarocandidați, patrics or strategists, who received from Constantinople orders, written and sealed with the imperial seal. Thus, are mentioned Leon Nikerites and Demetrios Katakalon, strategists of the Paradunavon theme, Gregorios Mavrokatalon, Ioannes Probates, *commes* of the fleet and Michael Taroniates, with the title *sebastos*. Another two lead seals that belonged to Alexios I, were found to Pacuiul lui Soare and in Spanțov commune, on the left bank of the Danube.⁶

Since the beginning of his reign, Alexios I tried to establish in the Lower Danube a climate of peace, which will allow him to promote a policy of reconquer and consolidation of the Byzantine positions on both sides of the Danube. Numerous archaeological findings, consisting of ceramic fragments

⁴Basil V. MUNTEAN, Romanian monasteries organization compared with the Byzantine, the Bible and Mission Institute of the Romanian Orthodox Church Publishing House, Bucharest, 1984, p. 19.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 19-20

⁶Deacon. PhD. Emanoil BABUS, Byzantium, history and spirituality, Sofia Publishing House, Bucharest, 2003, p. 93.

(mainly Byzantine amphorae and import vases), ornaments, seemed to confirm an old hypothesis, of the domination of the Paristrion theme on both sides of the river. Byzantine settlements appeared, mostly on the ruins of another old, knew now an intense civil life, housing between their walls a mixed population, where the Romanian item must have been predominant. Among now restored cities it is included: Dristra, Pacuiul lui Soare, Capidava and Dinogetia.⁷ From this period seems to also date the "wave" of Niculițel, which closed a small area, with reinforcements on the inside and with a median line of defense, being an important strategic point near the Danube ford of Noviodunum.⁸

Under John II the Comnen (1118-1143), Pechenegs re-appeared during 1121-1122, robbing the Byzantine territories up to Macedonia and in Thrace. After some failed negotiations, John "Kaloioannes" abolished them in the battle of 1122, saving Byzantium forever from the Pechenegs danger.⁹ In 1128, broke a conflict between Byzantium and the Kingdom of Hungary. Nicetas Choniates reports that the Byzantine army attacked by land and also by water, being introduced more ships on the Danube, which advanced up to Belgrade.¹⁰ In this battle where the Hungarians were defeated, took part also "Dacians", meaning Romanians from Banat. Certainly the Byzantine army in this campaign has reached the territory of Banat.

In time of Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180), the Pecheneg danger was replaced by the Cuman. In 1148, they crossed the Danube and after they robbed a vast territory, they withdrew beyond the Danube. At the Emperor command, the Byzantine fleet went forward on the Danube in order to cut their path and to do the link with the land army. According to John Kinnamos, Imperial secretary, the Emperor was reprimanded at the Danube by a boatman, who told him that: "*... if the Emperor cared for our needs, Demnitzikos would not have been conquered and our properties would not have been taken and brought to the barbarians at their own will!*" Crossing the river on an improvised bridge with the fishermen boats, Byzantine army encountered two other navigable rivers, then, without difficulty, went through a large place, up to the mount Tenu Orman, which rises near the borders of Taurosciția. After the fight, the Byzantines coming out victorious, among those who have fallen prisoners was included someone with the name Lazarus, an unusual name for a Cuman. He was either a Romanian native feudal, or a Cuman who became

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 96

⁸ Ion BITOLEANU Adrian RADULESCU, Romanian history between the Danube and the Sea: Dobrogea, Bucharest, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1979, p. 164.

⁹ Basil V. MUNTEAN, Romanian monasteries organization compared with the Byzantine, p. 20.

¹⁰ FONTES HISTORIAE DACO-ROMANAE (The Sources of Romanian History): From the year 300 up to the year 1000, published by Haralambie MIHAESCU, Gheorghe STEFAN, Radu ILINCU Vladimir ILIESCU. Virgil C. POPESCU, Bucharest, Academy Publishing House, RSR, 1970, Vol. II, p. 24.

Christian, under the influence of his subjects. The rest of the Cuman army took refuge into the mountains, and Byzantines, victorious, returned loaded with captures. Also now is mentioned someone with the name Zotas (possibly, Romanian), a rich ruler who was taken captive by the Cumans, but took refuge into the Byzantine camp.¹¹

The events were located differently by historians. For Nicholas Iorga, Nicholas Banescu and John Nistor, Demnitzikos was identified with Zimnicea, Tenu Orman with the Teleorman and Ion Barnea consider that Tenu Orman was located somewhere in the Salt Râmnic area, the land given by the Cumans being Dobrogea. The Byzantine army would have passed near Galați, in the area of Siret and Bârlad rivers; Demnitzikos is Bisericuta Garvan. Petre Ș. Năsturel sees in Demnitzikos a wrong transcription of Holavnic (Holevnic) name, as the Small Nicopol was called in the XIV-th century, the current Turnu Magurele.¹²

The same John Kinnamos tells about another Byzantine expedition, this time directed against the Hungarians in 1166. While an army led by Alexios, his son in law, went forward on the right bank of the Danube, other army, led by strategist Leon Vatatzes, was entrusted with the mission to invade from the lands near the Euxin Pont, incorporating "*a large number of Vlachs, which are said to be old colonies of those from Italy*" (valuable information about the Latin origin of our people). These Vlachs were recruited, probably from thema Paristrion (Dobrogea in particular), especially from the mountainous regions of this theme, because to get to Hungary, they had to walk over the passes and peaks of the south-eastern Carpathians. Another reason for the enrollment of the Vlachs would be that, crossing territories inhabited by other Romanians, would have captured more easily locals goodwill.¹³

Expedition's success was so great that Manuel I decided that the strategy should be repeated with a third army under the command of John Ducas. In the same year, 1166, John Kinnamos in an ambiguous formulation suggests a curious route through neighborhood of Taurosciția (Principality of the Halics) and show that after the victory, in an unknown place, expedition leaders built a huge cross of bronze, with an inscription in which was glorified the victory of the Byzantines. In the "Marcian Codex", of an anonymous poet, the route would have been different"; the expedition would have started from Vidin, its path crossing, in this case, through the Banat mountains, on the valley of Timis.¹⁴ This hypothesis is confirmed by the chronicler Constantine Manasses, in a eulogy dedicated in 1173 to Manuel I, when, among the peoples subjected

¹¹ Deacon. PhD. Emanoil BABUS, Byzantium, history and spirituality, p. 93.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95

¹³ Basil V. MUNTEAN, Romanian monasteries organization compared with the Byzantine, p. 20.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.21

to this King he mentions: tribals (Serbians) panoniens (Hungarians) and Dacians (Romanians from Banat).¹⁵ About the same "*Dacians*", we are also informed by the Patriarch of Constantinople Michael Anchialos, in the XII-th century, and Greek epigrams from the XIII-th century, which speaks about the destruction of tribals (Serbs), the enslavement of the panonians (Hungarians) and horror of Dacians.¹⁶ An additional indicator could be that a monastery of Banat from the Danube (left of the river) had donations from Glad and from Michael. The latter we need to identify him with King Manuel I who passed through this region in his anti-Hungarian campaigns.¹⁷

Under the same Emperor it is reported another episode in which the Vlachs are mentioned on Romanian territory. In 1154, Michael I threw his cousin Andronicus, future emperor, in prison (1183-1185) on charges of conspiracy. Nicetas Choniates, reporting about the escape from prison of Andronicus, in 1164, shows that the fugitive was going towards the Principality of Galicia, led then by Yaroslav Osmomâsl (1153-1187). When he considered himself without followers, he was "*caught by the Wallachians, who had the rumor about his escape and went back to the King*".¹⁸ The text presents uncertainties regarding the location. Given that the fugitive could feel safe only outside the Byzantine territory, it is concluded that he was caught at the north of the Danube, probably in Moldavia, consequently the mentioned Vlachs are Moldovian Romanians.

The same Vlachs are mentioned also in the context in which broke out the revolt of the Asănești people at the south of the Danube, in the years 1185-1186. Rebellion broke out after the new taxes, putted by the Byzantines on those who had flocks of sheep and cattle herds. In the summer of 1186, Emperor Isaac II Anghel (1185-1195) undertook an expedition in the north of the Balkans, forcing the two brothers, Peter and Asan, to cross the Danube in search of aids. In the autumn of the same year, it started a new expedition to punish the rebels, led by John Ducas Anghelos, the sebastocrator. Fearing that he may lose the power, Isaac the Second, soon replaced him with Ioan Cantacuzino. In the confrontation that followed, troops of the Asănești people, coupled with those of Cumans and "*Bordons*" (Brodniks) of Muntenia and southern Moldavia, broke the imperial army, establishing thus, the foundations

¹⁵ FONTES HISTORIAE DACO-ROMANAE (The Sources of the Romanian history): Byzantine writers. XI-XIV centuries (Scriptores Byzantine. Saec. XI-XIV), published by Alexandru ELIAN and Nicolae-Serban TANAȘOCA, introduction by Alexander ELIAN, vol III, Bucharest, Academy Publishing House RSR, 1975, p. 536

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 543

¹⁷ Prot.Dr. Basil V. MUNTEAN, contributions to the history of Banat, pre-speech by Eminence Metropolitan Dr. Nicholas CORNEANU, afterword by Prof. Dr. Doc. Valentin Al. GEORGESCU, Timisoara, Banat Metropolitan Publishing House, 1990, p. 69-70.

¹⁸ FONTES HISTORIAE DACO-ROMANAE (The Sources of the Romanian history), vol. III, p.251

of the new Bulgarian – Vlach state.¹⁹ This valuable information was sent to us by Nicetas Choniates in his "History".²⁰ The same Byzantine chronicler, in a letter to the Pope in 1187, reports some imperial success gained against the Vlachs, Bulgarians and Cumans, also mentioned on this occasion about the Iron Gates. In the years 1200-1201 was recorded another Vlachs and Cumans attack on some Byzantine territories in the Balkans, following which, predators were returned unharmed to their lands.²¹ Thus, the Byzantine hegemony era, on the Balkan Peninsula was ended.

Maximum flowering period, Comnenus epoch, was characterized by the restoration of the situation on the Danube line after combined devastating attacks, of Pechenegs and Cumans. It can be said that it was the last time when they held direct contracts, in the sense of using the Romanian space as a transit area for some military expedition. After restoring the economic situation, cities of Dobrogea flourished, as was the case of those mentioned by the Arabic geographer Idrisi in his map in the year 1154: Vicina (Disini), Axiopolis (Aniksuboli), Tomitana (Tamtana) etc. The Hierarchs resided in Axiopolis and probably in Niculițel.²² Most suggestive in this regard remain the numerous Byzantine archaeological finds (tools, weapons, pottery, ornaments) and in particular the influx of Byzantine coins throughout Romanian territory. Alexios I, following the depreciation of gold that have no longer than a third of its original value, restored somehow its international title and prestige, giving it a new name, *hyperper* (= very pure). The coin circulated in the Romanian space, especially in the Lower Danube, entered through the Genovese and Venetian traders.²³ This monetary influx confirm by the number and area of distribution, not only commercial relations but also the military route, and even the temporary presence of some garrisons. Thus, in the Great Teremia was discovered a treasure composed of 130 concave bronze coins, from the time of John II and Manuel I. Another coin discovered at Varias, issued by the same Emperor, it seems that was part of a treasure. Other treasures are dating from Dobrogea in Noviodunum and Dinogetia.²⁴ Isolated numismatic discoveries were made especially in rural areas.

Shortly after the return of the Empire on the banks of Bosphorus, the west-Pontic territories of Thrace and up to the mouth of the Danube into the

¹⁹ Stelian BREZEANU, Eastern Romanity in the Middle Ages. From the Roman citizens up to the medieval nation, Bucharest, ALL Publishing House, 2007, p.156-157.

²⁰ FONTES HISTORIAE DACO-ROMANAE (The Sources of the Romanian history), vol. III, p.291

²¹ FONTES HISTORIAE DACO-ROMANAE (The Sources of the Romanian history), vol. III, pp.307-309

²² Basil V. MUNTEAN, Byzantinism, Volume II, Archbishop of Timisoara, Resurrection Publishing House, Timisoara, 2000, p. 21.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.11

²⁴ Deacon. PhD. Emanoil BABUS, Byzantium, history and spirituality, p. 96.

Black Sea, have returned to the attention of Byzantium which initiated, under its alleged prior rights, the action of re-conquest of them. Between 1262-1263, a naval expedition of the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus (1259-1282) in the left of the Pontus, supported by significant land forces, brought under the Empire possession a part of the Bulgarian seaside with the important ports - cities Anchialos and Messembria. Byzantine action also reached the territory between the Danube and Black Sea and restored the Byzantine domination over the region from the mouth of the Danube, probably the area of the Delta, and the surrounding area. The importance of Byzantine success is highlighted by a panegyric speech, attributed to Michael Holobos, dating from 1272 or 1273, addressed to the Emperor, which states: "*They enjoyed you as their king also the many paristriane islands; they dropped the planned rebellion and realized that they were subjected and oppressed by the owners without legitimate rights.*"²⁵

The text confirms, as also stated, George I. Bratianu "*the reality of a Byzantine domination on the mouth of the Danube in the second half of the XIII-th century.*" Regarding "*paristriane islands*", mentioned by the Byzantine historian, they have been identified by Laurent Vitalien with "*those from the shedding of the Danube*" or with levees from the Delta, seeing in them Beştepe hill, or Snakes Island, or even today the disappeared island Peuce.

In the light of the information we hold is clear that the Byzantine re-conquest in the years 1262-1263 was limited to the northern of Dobrogea, respectively to the Danube Delta and to a narrow strip of territory in the vicinity that could be controlled by the Empire with the fleet. We do not believe that the southern limit of the Byzantine possessions in the region to be exceeded Telița River and Lake Razim. It is most likely that under the Byzantine control to be entered and a strip of the west - Pont coast up to the Danube mouth or even up the north of them, up to the Nistru haven. But who were those "*masters without legitimate rights*" that ruled these lands before the Byzantine re-conquest, it is hard to say exactly, historians who have studied this problem avoided to express their opinion. We believe that in the context of political realities in the area, they could be no other than the Bulgarians, or rather, the Mongols who after the great invasions of the years 1241-1242 also controlled the territories by the Lower Danube.

Byzantine presence in the regions of the Lower Danube in the second half of the thirteenth century, it is supported not only by the documentary sources, but also by the archaeological findings. Glazed ceramics, jewelry, construction or Byzantine coins, especially early the hyperperi of the first Paleologos, revealed by the archaeological excavations both on the West - Pont

²⁵ A panegyric for Michael VIII Palaeologus, in FONTES HISTORIAE DACO -ROMANAE (The Sources of the Romanian history), vol. III, p. 454-455.

coast, in the Danube Delta area, and also in the northern territories of the Danube, riverside to the river, are an eloquent proof in this regard.²⁶

Seeking to strengthen his positions and influence in the region, Michael VIII Palaeologus settled here around the years 1263-1264, a significant group of Seljuk Turks, who, in the opinion of the Byzantine authorities, will provide the border protection at the maritime Danube.

Byzantium return to the mouth of the Danube in the second half of the thirteenth century meant, first, consolidation and extension of the relations with the territories inhabited by the Romanians the one side and the other of the river. However, the return of the Empire to the lower Danube was viewed with sympathy by the population from the north of the Danube, connected with Byzantium by multiple threads, and successes of the Basileu Michael VIII Palaeologus, after the year 1261, increased the prestige that he enjoyed among the natives of the Carpatho-Danubian-Pontic area. Manuel Hololobos was referring to these realities in his famous panegyric speech in 1272 or 1273, when he stresses that: "... *the boundless earth of the Dacians is full of the fame of your victories.*" "*Dacians*", mentioned by the Byzantine historian, have been identified by Laurent Vitalien with Romanians from the north-Danube, "... those Wallachian to whom the new Byzantine epepee could raise them the first awakening of the national consciousness."²⁷ If the identification of "*Dacians*" with the Romanians from the North-Danube made by the French historian is credible, not the same thing can be said about the so-called "*awakening of the national consciousness*" to them. The significance *stricto sensu* of the term in its modern sense can not be accepted for a time when with the exception of the language, none of the basic elements of the nation was not yet formed in Romania. We may speak, in the best case, about an awareness of ethnicity and nothing more.

Enhanced prestige of the restored Byzantine Empire, allowed it a much wider insinuation in the territories inhabited by Romanian than in the era of the Empire of Nicaea.²⁸ Politically, under the Mongol domination in the region, the influence of Byzantium was manifested mainly at institutional level. Now were formed in early form, Byzantine elements which led to the basis of political and institutional organization of Romanian medieval states, made tin he XIV-th

²⁶ Corina NICOLESCU, Romanian World and Byzantium in the XIII-XV centuries, in the volume "BYZANTINE CULTURE IN ROMANIA", Bucharest, State Committee for Culture and Art, 1971, pp.58, 66, Idem, Byzantine art heritage in Romania, Bucharest , Meridians Publishing House, 1971, pp. 30-61.

²⁷ George I. BRATIANU, historical tradition about the foundation of the Romanian States, second edition, cared, with introductory study and notes by Valeriu RAPEANU, Bucharest: Eminescu Publishing House, 2005, pp. 199-203.

²⁸ Ion I. NISTOR, Byzantines in the battle to recapture Dacia and Transylvania in the "ROMANIAN ACADEMY DIRECTORY" - MEMORIES OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION, Series III, Tome XXV, manuscript. 15, Bucharest, National Printing Office, 1943, pp. 723-724.

century. We only note that, according to some experts, the term "voivode" is only the translation and replica of the Byzantine terms "strategist" and "dux" and ducal organization (voivodeships) of the Romanians would have the same origin.²⁹ Consequently, the voivode is nothing but a complex creation in which "Byzantium are facing with its peoples, confrontation with a crucial role, in which the contribution of terminology and Byzantine structures is evident."³⁰ The more valid is this conclusion for Romanian voivodships where previous and after their formation Byzantine influence, is direct and lasting.

Regarding economic relations between Byzantium and the Romanian territory at that time, we have too little information so we can form a clear and accurate picture on them. Undoubtedly, as in the previous era, economic traded was done with the same products. If we report the volume of the economic exchanges to the movement of the Byzantine coin in the lower Danube, territories, we could say that they have seen a drastic reduction, even only in comparison with the epoch of the empire of Nicaea. Compared with the number of Nicaea hyperperi, particularly those of John III Ducas Vatatzes (1222-1254) found in significant quantities in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic area, the hyperperi of the first Palaeologue appear in infinitely small quantities, sometimes as impaired under the appearance of specific weight of the coin, a certain result of monetary crisis which began to unfold in the Empire from the late thirteenth century.

Reduced circulation of the first hyperper of the Palaeologue can not lead to the conclusion that the Byzantine Empire was removed from the trade in the region. In our opinion the situation was more complex than that revealed by the presence of Byzantine gold coin in the area and it can be seen, at least hypothetically, under two aspects that emphasize two different situations. First, the economic presence of Byzantium in the region coincided with a massive penetration here of the Genovese merchants accordingly with the Treaty of Nymphaion. Then, secondly, if we consider the political factor, namely the Byzantine-Mongol condominium over the territories at the mouth of the Danube, it is not excluded, under the Byzantine monetary crisis, that the commercial transactions in the region, including those of Byzantine merchants, to have made in Tartar silver aspri with a very high title of the metal. From this standpoint we have a completely different situation: Tartar

²⁹ Idem, Roman-Byzantine grounds of our state organization, in the ROMANIAN ACADEMY DIRECTORY "- MEMORIES OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION, Series III, the Tome XXVI, Bucharest, National Printing Office, 1944, pp 123-151, Alexander D. XENOPOL, Romanians History in Dacia Traiana, Volume 2: Since the foundation of the Romanian Countries up to the death of Petru Rares, text established by Nicholas STOICESCU and Mary SIMIONESCU, notes, comments, preface, index and illustration by Nicholas STOICESCU , Bucharest, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1986, pp 160-161.

³⁰ Valentin Al. GEORGESCU, Byzantium and the Romanian institutions up to the middle of the eighteenth century, Bucharest, Academy Publishing House RSR, 1980, p. 40.

silver aspri were discovered in large amounts in the territories of the Lower Danube.

Much more powerful was the religious influence of Byzantium in the Lower Danube territories, encouraged by the fact that religious ties of the Empire with these territories were permanently maintained, regardless of the political situation, being interrupted not even during the "*Nicene exile*" of the Byzantine state and the Ecumenical Patriarchate. If political and economic relations of the Byzantine Empire with these territories, at the end of the XIII-th century and the beginning of the next can only be intuited or deduced from any indirect references to them, on those religious we have reliable data.

In the period that followed the "*Palaeologan restoration*" in Constantinople, the decisive role in spreading and strengthening the Orthodoxy in the north of the Danube territories, came for the Metropolitan of Vicina. For the same purpose at the end of the XIII-th century during Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282-1328) was established the Diocese of Asprokastron, subordinated since 1303 to the newly founded Metropolis of Halici.³¹

At the end of the thirteenth century, the Metropolitan of Vicina whose duties were apparently not limited to the religious, was a notable presence in the permanent Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In summer 1285, Metropolitan Theodoros, the first bishop of Vicina whose name we have received through time, signed as being the 35-th, an act of the Synod that condemned the former unionist Ecumenical Patriarch John XI Bekkos, with the formula: "the humble Metropolitan of the city saved by God, Vicina, Theodoros, with the rank of hypertimos."³²

Signature given by the Metropolitan Theodoros on the anti-unionist act in 1285 allowed to the historian Razvan Theodorescu to conclude that it would have been a proponent of the arsenite schism, generated mainly by political problems - excommunication by the Ecumenical Patriarch Arsenie Autoreianos (1255-1259; 1261 -1265) of the Basileu Michael VIII for the dethronement and blindness of the legitimate Emperor, John IV Laskaris, still a minor - remains questionable. We believe that, rather, his attitude was part in the large area of reorientation of the religious policy of the Byzantine Empire, with the accession to the throne of Andronicus II Palaeologus, than his membership to the arsenit schism. From the same anti-union position, Metropolitan Theodoros signed in 1292 also known "*Synodal Tomos against the Latins*"³³

³¹ Constantin C. GIURESCU, Markets, towns and cities between the Prut and Nistru (II), in the magazine "HISTORIC STOREHOUSE", XXVI, 5 (302), 1992, p. 22.

³² Patriarchate of Constantinople documents, the "FONTES HISTORIAE DACO-ROMANAE" (The Sources of the Romanian history), Volume IV: Writers and Byzantine documents. IV-XV centuries (Scriptore et acta Imperii Byzantini. Saeculorum IV-XV), published by Haralambie MIHAESCU, Radu LAZARESCU, Nicolae-Serban TANAȘOCA and Tudor TEOTEIOI, Bucharest, Academy Publishing House RSR, 1982, p. 190-191.

³³ Prof. Dr. Mircea PACURARIU, the Romanian Orthodox Church History, p.235

The presence in the permanent Synod and the title of "hypertimos" granted to the Metropolitan holder since the late of the XIII-th century, confirms the prestige enjoyed by the Metropolitan of Vicina and its Bishop in Eastern Church. A certain proof of this prestige was the authority which he enjoyed in relations with the Byzantine political and ecclesiastical authorities, the Bishop from Vicina, at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Under this authority, in 1302, the Metropolitan Luke dealt with political authorities in Constantinople to be established inside the Empire about 10.000-16.000 Alan Christians, probably from the center of Moldova, former allies of the Khan Noquai during the internal fighting in the Golden Horde.³⁴

Successes of Byzantium, in the religious field, in the territories inhabited by the Romanian at the lower Danube were so important, as they coincided with a strong Catholic offensive in these regions. Catholic proselytism in the extra-Carpathian regions in the second half of the thirteenth century, through the monastic orders like the Franciscans, recorded one of its maximum moments. But its effects were limited by the measures initiated by the Orthodox Church, who, in this era, considerably strengthened their positions in these regions.

In the same context, we emphasize that Bogomil from the south of the Danube heresy had no many chances of success in the Romanian territories, although bogomil communities in Serbia and Bulgaria, persecuted in their countries, were established also at the north of the Danube where they are documented since the second half of the XIII-th century, in the western parts of the lower Danube in Banat and Oltenia. Despite of some specific bogomil influences which found their expression in some religious events such as incantation - prayer,³⁵ the bogomilism, given the strong positions held by the Byzantine Church in these regions, was not able to undertake a major development.

To this it must be also added the considerable increase of the role and importance of the Metropolitan of Vicina in the Danube-Pontic policy of the Byzantine Empire. Its Bishop, who enjoyed much consideration in Byzantium, had many powers not only in the religious plan but also in the political and administrative.

Particularly strong, with an essential role in maintaining and strengthening the positions of the Empire in the Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic regions, during the end of the thirteenth century, were cultural influences,

³⁴ Georgios PACHYMERES, composed stories, II, IV, 16, in "FONTES HISTORIAE DACO - ROMANAE" (The Sources of the Romanian history), vol. III, p. 450-453; Nichifor GREGORAS, History of the Romei, VI, 10, 1, in "FONTES HISTORIAE DACO - ROMANAE" (The Sources of the Romanian history) , vol. III, p. 508-50

³⁵ L.I. CIOMU, an old Slavic epigraphic monument in Turnu Severin. An incantation-prayer Slavonic- Serbian from the XIII-XIV centuries, in the "HISTORIC ROMANIAN MAGAZINE", VIII, 1988, pp. 210 - 238.

especially the artistic. Besides, they were, basis on which have developed the Byzantine and Balkan elements entered in the Romanian culture in the following centuries, giving it some of its specific features.³⁶

In the first decade and the half of the XIV-th century, the Byzantine domination from the mouth of the Danube collapsed, although the Empire never ceased to claim these territories. That was primarily due to the political changes occurred in the Golden Horde, where around 1300, at the end of the bloody military confrontation, Noqai was defeated and killed by the legitimate khan Toktai. Noqai's disappearance, the artisan of peace and alliance with Byzantium, also meant rapid collapse of Byzantine domination in maritime Danube, under the blows of the Mongols. Byzantium has maintained, however, some positions at the mouth of the Danube, Vicina, Chilia and Lycostomo up to the middle of the XIV-th century. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the khan Toktai restored his domination over the Danube-Pont area and confirmed his sovereignty over Bulgarian Czardom. Meanwhile, in Isaccea, as a representative of the khan for the western areas of the Golden Horde, was originally installed the Prince Tuqlu Buga, and then Buga Mengli.

Toktai's successor, the khan Ozbeq (1313-1342) consolidated the Mongol control over the maritime Danube territories. Politico-military presence of the Mongols along the lower Danube and the interest of the Golden Horde for these territories continued to manifest with intensity and the threat and carrying out of the "paristrieni Scythians" raids up to Thracia, mentioned by Nicephorus Gregoras, were a definite evidence of this reality. Situation of the Byzantine port city Vicina, initially tolerated, then threatened and finally conquered by the Mongols, confirms the domination of the Golden Horde in the Lower Danube. Under the Mongol protectorate, probably as a consequence of the victory over Byzantium in 1307, the Bulgarian Tsar Theodor Svyatoslav (c. 1300-1321) stretched his authority also on a strip of the Black Sea coast up to White Citadel, at the outpouring of the Nistru. Bulgarians are mentioned in these regions also in an anonymous narration from the years 1314-1316 about the "*martyrs and Monasteries of the Minor brothers in the East*", where is recorded the assassination of the monk Angelo di Spoleto, and also some Genovese acts regarding the reprisals measures of the Common against them because of the damages caused to the Liguri merchants.³⁷ Enclaves around the Vicina, Chilia and Lycostomo centers, still remained under the Byzantine domination also after this Mongol-Bulgarian conjugate action.

³⁶ Razvan THEODORESCU, Byzantium, the Balkans, the West in the early medieval Romanian culture

(X-XIV centuries), Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2005, pp.268 - 269.

³⁷ Nicolae IORGA, historic moments I. Romanian and Tatars in the Middle Ages, vol. "STUDIES OVER THE ROMANIAN MIDDLE AGES" edition cared by Serban PAPACOSTEA, Bucharest, Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1984, p. 73.

Loss of territories dominated by Byzantium at the mouth of the Danube, was however facilitated also by the internal crisis of the Empire and by its military power extinction. Destruction of the fleet by the Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus and by the two civil wars - the first between Andronicus III and Andronikos II (1321-1328), the second between John VI Cantacuzino and John V Palaeologus (1341-1347) – have done almost impossible the defense of the territories in northern Danube-Pont area. As a result, Vicina, Chilia and Lycostomo came under the Genovese domination, probably after the year 1349, during or after the conflict of the Licuri commune with John VI Cantacuzino.³⁸ The act is certainly prior to 28 June 1358, when King Louis I of Anjou, Genoa ally, issued the famous commercial privilege to the merchants from Brasov opening for them the way up to Braile and the mouth of the Danube.³⁹

³⁸ Octavian ILIESCU, Numismatic contributions to the location of the Byzantine Chilia, in "STUDIES AND RESERCH OF THE ANCIENT HISTORY AND ARCHEOLOGY", XXIX, 1978, no. 2, p. 209.

³⁹ Documents regarding on the history of Romanians gathered by Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, vol I, 2: 1346-1450, doc. XLI, published under the auspices of the Romanian Academy and of the Ministry of Cults and Public Education, collected, annotated and published by Nicholas DENSUSIANU. With the portrait of Mircea the Great and his son Mihail. With The six tables, the heliografic facsimil and due appendix, Slavic documents accompanied by Latin translations 1198-1459, Bucharest, 1990, p. 72.

CUMANS AND IAZYGES IN HUNGARY

*Marian TRANDAFIR**

Abstract: *The paperwork presents a short history of Cumans, their origin, habit, establishment, feats of arms in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. The Cumans were nomadic warriors of the Eurasian steppe who exerted an enduring impact on the medieval Balkans. The basic instrument of Cuman political success was military force. Iazyges were adjacent to Cumans in the northern Caucasus. They have entered Hungary after Mongol invasions, receiving territories besides to the Cumans. About the history of Cumans, the Romanian and Hungayan historiography agree, which cannot be said about the history of Iazyges, that's why the paperwork contains more information about the Cumans which all agree.*

Keywords: *Cumans, Iazyges (Alans), migrators, establishment, Hungary*

Cumans are mentioned for the first time in the 8th century, being located in central Mongolia, within the Uyghur kagan. Their way of life was nomadic, searching for favorable places for grazing herds, making movements in summer and winter along the river course. When stationed they usually lived in tents and during travel they shelter in covered wagons. They ate raw meat of their cattle, dairy products and hunt, occupation practiced with interest. They practiced a shamanic religion, worshiping different gods, on account of their beliefs being put statues called kamennye baby, depicting men or women sitting on a pedestral, having a cup in their hands. The Cumans practiced tumular burials, near the deceased were deposited personal use items, weapons and his horse or parts of it. At the death of important chiefs they were practicing human sacrifice¹. Regarding the language they spoke has been kept a manuscript called Codex Cumanicus which was written between 1292 and 1295 by a Genoese merchant in Crimea, including religious texts and a dictionary of over 3000 cuman-persian-latin words².

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¹ Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria românilor (Romanian History)*, vol.I, București, Ed. All Educational, 2000, p. 247.

² Anatol Măcriș, *Et in Cumania ego! Colaborațiunea româno-cumană în secolele XIII-XIV. Cumanii și etnogeneza găgăuzilor (Et in Cumania ego! Collaboration between Romanian-Cuman in the XIII-XIV centuries. The Cumans and the ethnogenesis of the Gagauz)*, București, Ed. Agerpress Typo, 2002, p. 29; Györfy György, *A magyararág keleti elemei (Hungarians*

Cuman armies contained only cavalry effective wielding bow and arrows with dexterity and for close combat sword and spear. To complete their needs they organizes prey expeditions, perceptions of tribute and trade exchanges, always being ready to start, anywhere were opportunities to earn, plunder expeditions³.

In the next century after the collapse of Uyghur state, the Cumans are migrating westward together with the Kimeki, settling in the steppes of western Siberia. They are embedded to the Kimeki tribal union until the IX-th century, the beginning of the X-th century, then begin to have a dominant position in the union and migrate to the west with Pechenegs and Uzs. Establishing in northern Caspian Sea, they start a dispute with Pechenegs and Uzs. Continuing to advance to the area of the ponto-caspian, the Cumans occupy the abandoned territories of Peceneges and Uzs, the region occupied being known in historiography, from the XI-th century, as the "Kipciak (Cumans) steppe"⁴.

In 1055 are reported in the vicinity of the Russian principalities, which they attack since 1061, opening a conflict that has lasted a century and a half. Under their pressure in 1064, the Uzs cross into the south of the Danube in the Byzantine Empire, Cumans supremacy extending to the Lower Danube. In the second half of the XI-th century Cumans possessed a huge territory between the plain of Aral lake and the Lower Danube. In the year 1078 takes place first Cuman foray into the Byzantine Empire, initiated with Pechenegs, reaching the walls of Adrianople. Dissatisfied with Pechenegs alliance, Cumans search the alliance of the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Comnenus (1081-1118), which used them in the battle of Pechenegs annihilation at Lebunion (1091)⁵.

Between 1085-1086 takes place the first invasion into the Hungarian kingdom. Headed by Kutesk, they have advanced near Ungvár, in Ung county and Borsova, in Bereg county. The initiative of invasion belonged not to the Cumans, but by the former Hungarian king Salomon, who asked for help to

from the east), Budapest, Ed. Gondolat, 1990, p. 222; Pálóczi Horváth András, *Besenyők, kunok, jászok (Pechenegs, Cumans, Iazyges)*, Gyomaendrőd, Ed. Corvina, 1989, p. 84.

³ Pálóczi Horváth András, *op.cit.*, p. 78.

⁴ Victor Spinei, *Marile migrații din estul și sud-estul Europei în secolele IX-XII (The great migration from Eastern and Southeastern Europe in the IX-XII centuries)*, Iași, Ed. Institutul European, 1999, p. 230-231; Idem, *Realități etnico-politice de la Dunărea de Jos în secolele XI-XII în cronică lui Mihail Sirianul (I) (Ethno-political realities from the Lower Danube in the XI-XII centuries in the chronicle of Michael the Syrian (I))*, in *Revista de istorie (București)*, tom 36, nr. 10, October 1983, *passim*.

⁵ Petre Diaconu, *Les cumans au Bas-Danube aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, București, Ed. Academiei R.S.România, 1978, p. 39-40; Gheorghe I. Brătianu, *Marea Neagră. De la origini pînă la cucerirea otomană (Black Sea. From its origins until the Ottoman conquest)*, (second edition), Iași, Ed. Polirom, 1999, p. 234; Victor Spinei, *Realități etnico-politice de la Dunărea de Jos în secolele XI-XII în cronică lui Mihail Sirianul (II) (Ethno-political realities from the Lower Danube in the XI-XII centuries in the chronicle of Michael the Syrian (II))*, in *Revista de istorie (București)*, tom 37, nr. 2, February 1984, *passim*.

regain the throne. In return for support Kutesk has promised to receive for wife Salomon's daughter and the possession of the whole Transylvania. Ladislau the Saint (1077-1095) intervention led to the cancellation of collaboration between Salomon and the Cumans⁶.

After the Pechenegue disaster at Lebunion, Cumans found prudent to refold along the Danube, focusing their warrior energy to west. Thereby between 1091-1092, under the leadership of Kopulch they organize a large expedition in Transylvania and Hungary. Without encountering too much opposition they submit to the Tisza, Temes and the Danube, since the bulk of the royal troops were deployed in Croatia. Due to dispersion forces and abundant prey, Ladislau the Saint, returned precipitate from Croatia, cause them a severe defeat, Kopulch himself being killed. Wanting to get revenge another Cuman leader Akus (Akos) submit till the middle Danube, but having the same fate. Considering that the Cuman raids took place because of the Russian instigation, Ladislau I organized a campaign of reprisals against them⁷.

Defeated by Hungarians and frightened by the Byzantines, Cumans flows against the Russian principalities, where take place a new contact with the Hungarian army. Sviatopolk II Iziaslavici (1093-1113) grand duke of Kiev, in 1097, seek the help of the Hungarians against his rivals, and these ask for help to the Cumans. Despite their numerous effectives, ordered by king Koloman (1095-1116), the Hungarians have fallen into the trap of Cumans khans Boniak and Altunopa. To complete the disaster of the Hungarian army, the Cumans have pursued then during the withdrawal across the river San, a affluent of Vistula⁸.

The defeat in 1097 led the Hungarian rulers to seek the benefits of an alliance with the Cumans, so king Stephen II (1116-1131) has settled a massive group of 30,000 Cumans, led by their khan Tatar, in south-east of Hungary⁹. He gave them special favors, tolerating their abuses on behalf of local people with

⁶ Kristó Gyula, *Magyarország története: 895-1301 (Hungarian history: 895-1301)*, Budapest, Ed. Osiris, 2007, p. 135; Victor Spinei, *Moldova în secolele XI-XIV (Moldova in the XI-XIV centuries)*, București, Ed. Științifică și enciclopedică, 1982, p. 131; Kézai Simon, *Magyar krónikája (Cronicle of Hungary)*, Budapest, 1999, chapter 33-35

⁷ Pálóczi Horváth András, *op.cit.*, p. 36; Kristó Gyula, *A Kárpát-medence és a magyarság régmúltja (1301-ig) (The Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin (till 1301))*, Szeged, Ed. Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1993, p. 146.

⁸ Victor Spinei, *Realități etnice și politice în Moldova meridională în secolele X-XIII. Români și turanici (Ethnic and political realities in southern Moldova in the X-XIII centuries. Romanians and Turanians)*, Iași, Ed. Junimea, 1985, p. 75; Kristó Gyula, *Magyarország története: 895-1301 (Hungarian history: 895-1301)*, Budapest, Ed. Osiris, 2007, p. 138.

⁹ Ion Barnea, Petre Diaconu, *Structuri politice la Dunărea de Jos. Românii și pecenego-cumanii până la mijlocul secolului al XIII-lea (Political structures from the Lower Danube. Romanians and Peceneg-Cumans until mid-thirteenth century)*, in *Istoria românilor (Romanian History)*, vol. III, coordinators: Ștefan Pascu, Răzvan Theodorescu, București, Ed. Enciclopedică, 2001, p. 387.

all the complaints. From the group of colonized Cumans, king Bela II (1131-1141) sent to help Lothar, future Roman-German Emperor, in the year 1132, 500 for an expedition in Italy, but the contingent left a negative impression. In 1157 another group of 500 Cumans are assigned to Frederick I Barbarossa, by Geza II (1141-1162), for the campaign against the city of Milan.

In the war between the Byzantines and Hungarians began in 1165, both sides have sought to strengthen with foreign forces. How Cumans began incursions south of the Danube into the Byzantine Empire¹⁰, Emperor Manuel I (1143-1180) could not rely on their help, but king Stephen III (1162-1172) enjoyed their temporary alliance. But into 1166 the Byzantines, with the consent of Cumans, cross the extracarpathian lands, found under their rule to attack the arpadian kingdom from Transylvania¹¹.

Since 1185 the Cumans support the Vlach-Bulgarian revolt from the Balkans against abusive measures of the emperor Isaak II Anghel (1185-1195). With all the military assistance sent by his father in law, Hungarian king Bela III (1172-1196), Isaak II fails to defeat the Asanesti rebellion found into close collaboration with the Cumans. After the creation of the Eastern Latin Empire, in 1204, the Cumans remained loyal to the Asanesti, supporting them in the fight against the Latins¹².

Between the years 1203 and 1208 a detachment of Cumans is highlighted for their cruelty in the conflict for the throne of Germany between Philipp of Swabia and Otto IV of Braunschweig. Cumans were sent to help Otto IV by Hungarian king Emeric (1196-1204).

In 1210 Cumans attacked a Hungarian expeditionary force, who crossed Oltenia on the way to Vidin, led by Joachim from Sibiu sent by king Andrew II (1205-1235) to support Boril, the new tsar of Vlach-Bulgarian. The attack was carried out by three Cuman princes, but only one name has been preserved: Karaz. They have acted to frustrate Boril for the opportune aid or to defend their territories¹³. The alliance between Andrew II and Boril would reinforce with the marriage of Bela, Andrew's eldest son, with a daughter of Boril, which will bring the Hungarian king in divergence with the Cumans.

¹⁰ Petre Diaconu, *A propos de l'invasion cumane de 1148*, in *Etudes byzantines et post-byzantines* (București), I, 1979, p. 27.

¹¹ Idem, *Les cumans au Bas-Danube aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, București, Ed. Academiei R.S.România, 1978, p. 89; Kristó Gyula, *Magyarország története: 895-1301 (Hungarian history: 895-1301)*, Budapest, Ed. Osiris, 2007, p.174

¹² Victor Spinei, Petre Diaconu, István Ferenczi, *Migratori la cumpăna de milenii: ungurii, pecenegii, uzii și cumanii (Migrants at the turn of the millennium: Hungarians, Pechenegs, Uz and Cumans)*, in *Istoria românilor (Romanian History)*, vol. III, coordinators: Ștefan Pascu, Răzvan Theodorescu, București, Ed. Enciclopedică, 2001, p. 266.

¹³ Victor Spinei, *Marile migrații din estul și sud-estul Europei în secolele IX-XII (The great migration from Eastern and Southeastern Europe in the IX-XII centuries)*, Iași, Ed. Institutul European, 1999, p. 273.

In order to settle down Cuman aggression against the Hungarian kingdom, Andrew II brought the Teutonic Knights in Bârsa country, in 1211. Empowered by the Hungarian king to act against the Cumans, the Teutons causes them a serious defeat in 1223, but overcoming the credentials brought them into conflict with the Hungarian king, being expelled in 1225, when the Cuman danger was diminished¹⁴.

Cuman power began to decline with the increase of Mongol power in the eastern Europe. In 1222 a Mongol detachment defeat a coalition army of Cumans and Alans (Iazyges), in the Caucasus. Realizing the imminent danger, one of the prestigious Cuman khan from the north pontic steppe, Kuthen (Kotian), search for Russian alliance against the Mongol threat. Russian princes will assist the Cumans, the decisive battle being give on the river Kalka in 1223. With a cynical opportunism, Cumans flee from the battlefield, leaving the Russians to be slaughtered during three days by the Mongols. And to complete the disaster, the Cumans with the purpose of robbery attacks remains of Russian armies as they withdrew from the battlefield¹⁵.

Having been occupied the banks of the Dnieper river by the Mongols, some Cuman commanders have expressed attempts to get closer to Hungary, so in 1227 several captains, including Bortz (Burch, Boricius) requested the archbishop Robert of Esztergom for conversion to christianity. Being interested in enlarging their sphere of influence, the leadership of the kingdom, with the consent of papacy, established from 1228 a Cuman diocese to Milcov (in Moldova), headed by the brother Theodoric of the Dominican order¹⁶.

In the same year 1228 Kuthen, instigated by a Russian prince, attacked Halych, found under Hungarian domination, where led Andrew, one of the sons of king Andrew II. The loss of Halych by Hungarians, lead to a conflict with the south-west Russians, in the year 1230, in the army of crown prince Bela (future Bela IV) were Cuman contingents led by Begovars, while in the Russian army was Kuthen.

Mongol conquest initiated in 1236, after the election of Genghis Khan's successor, has dislocated the Cumans from ponto-caspian steppes, although some Cuman commanders like Bacman and Kuthen attempted resistance, but were overwhelmed by the large number of Mongols. Mongol invasion caused

¹⁴ Ion Barnea, Petre Diaconu, *op.cit.*, p. 392; Kristó Gyula, *A Kárpát-medence és a magyarság régmúltja (1301-ig) (The Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin (till 1301))*, Szeged, Ed. Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1993, p. 229; Șerban Papacostea, *Români în secolul al XIII-lea. Între Cruciată și Imperiul Mongol (Between the Crusade and the Mongol Empire. The Romanians in the 13th Century)*, București, Ed. Enciclopedică, 1993, p. 31-32.

¹⁵ Șerban Papacostea, *op.cit.*, p. 34.

¹⁶ Victor Spinei, *Realități etnice și politice în Moldova meridională în secolele X-XIII. Români și turanici (Ethnic and political realities in southern Moldova in the X-XIII centuries. Romanians and Turanians)*, Iași, Ed. Junimea, 1985, p. 86; Anatol Măcriș, *op.cit.*, p. 12; Ioan Frent, *A kunok és püspökségük (Cuman Bishop)*, Budapest, Ed. Szent István, 1981, passim.

an exodus of Cumans that proceeded to the Caucasus, the Balkans and Hungary¹⁷.

The tribes found under Kuthen authority, approximated to 40,000 warriors and their families, have obtained permission from king Bela IV (1235-1270) in 1239, to settle in Hungary, in exchange they promise to convert to christianity, accepted without conviction. To disperse them, because they represented a true force, there were assigned more places for settlement. Abusive behavior, destruction of crops, made them unpopular in the entire Hungarian kingdom, leading to the assassination of Kuthen suspect being for secret links with the Mongols of Batu Khan, which just past the Hungarian border. Being outraged Cumans decided to leave to Bulgaria, leaving Bela IV to fight with the Mongols¹⁸. Some of it, will come back in 1245, 1246, participating to the incursions carried out by Bela IV in Austria, where stand out through their ferocity¹⁹.

Returned Cumans in Hungarian kingdom will be settled in the center of the Pannonian plain, who had suffered great destruction and depopulation from the Mongol invasion. According to a document from 1279, the territories which were ceded by Bela IV were located between the Danube and Tisza, and east of the Tisza, territories between Cris and Mures, respectively Temes and Mures²⁰. The toponymy of the area have been preserved numerous traces of their housing as: Kethenzallasa, Kötöny, Kiskunhalas, Kötön, Kunszentmarton, Therthelzallas, Turtel²¹. On a map drawn in 1570 by Wolfgang Lazius in the

¹⁷ Stelian Brezeanu, *Identități și solidarități medievale. Controverse istorice (Medieval identity and solidarity. Historical controversies)*, București, Ed. Corint, 2002, p. 376.

¹⁸ Rogerius, *Carmen miserabile*, Oradea, Ed. Arca, 2006, chapter XXIII-XXV; Kézai Simon, *op.cit.*, chapter 44; Kristó Gyula, *Az Aranybullák évszázada (The goldenbull century)*, (second edition), Budapest, Ed. Gondolat, 1981, p. 94-95; Bertényi Iván, Gyapay Gábor, *Magyarország rövid története (Short history of Hungary)*, Budapest, Ed. Maecenas, 2001, p. 90-91.

¹⁹ Kristó Gyula, Barta János, Gergely Jenő, *Magyarország története előidőktől 2000-ig (The history of Hungary until 2000)*, Budapest, Ed.Pannonica, 2002, p. 220-221.

²⁰ Türk Attila, *Kik vagyunk mi magyarok? Hunok, kunok, úzok, kipcsákok, székelyek és türkök az ősök között. A sztyeppék népének igaz története. Egy vitatható, de logikus tanulmány eredetüinkről (Who are we Hungarians? Huns, Cumans, Uzs, Kiptchaks, Szekely and Turks among us. The true story of the people of the steppes. In a controversial but logical study about them)*, Budapest, 2006, p.164; Hatházi Gábor, *A kunok régészeti emlékei a kelet-dunántúlon (Cuman archeological monuments at east of Danube)*, Budapest, 2004, passim; Paladi Kovács Attila, *Kun nyomok Északon (Cuman marks in the north)*, in *Jászok és kunok a magyarok között. Ünnepi kötet Bánkiné Molnár Erzsébet tiszteletére (Iazyges and Cumans among the Hungarians. Volume in honor of Bánkiné Molnár Erzsébet)*, Jászberény, 2006, passim; Barta Júlia, *A kunság népi kultúrájának keleti elemei (The Cumans folk culture of the eastern)*, Debrecen, 2002, passim.

²¹ Petre Diaconu, *Cumanii și originea familiei lui Dobrotiță (The Cumans and the origin of Dobrotici family)*, in *Revista istorică (București)*, tom V, nr. 3-4, March-April 1994, p. 286; Idem, *Despre unele antroponime de origine cumană (About some anthroponyms of Cuman origin)*, in *Analele Brăilei (Brăila)*, SN, an II, nr .2, 1996, passim.

central perimeter of Hungary, south-east of Pest was wrote CVMANORUM CAMPVS, so that on the map drawn in 1579 by Johannes Sambucus appear only CVMANI, on the plain between the Danube and Tisza.

To strengthen relations with the Cumans, Bela IV married his eldest son and heir Stephen, with a Cuman princess who will receive after baptism the name of Elizabeth. Bela IV will use the power of the Cuman warriors against their neighbors to the west, so in 1250, 1252, 1253, 1254, Cumans participate with Hungarians to the attack of Austria and Moravia, where causes massive destruction and massacre. In 1260 Cumans led by their duke Alpra, are with king Bela IV in a fight which he carries against king Ottokar II of Bohemia²². King's Bela attachment to the Cumans was so great, that he did not hesitate to defend them before the allegations of infidelity and hostility toward the church made by the ecclesiastical courts²³.

In the conflict broke out between Bela and his son Stephen, associated to the throne, Cumans will support Bela during the military actions carried out by him in Transylvania. After taking power Stephen V (1270-1272) will try to spread out the Cumans throughout the kingdom, but he will hit by their resistance. And it Stephen will use Cumans power in the conflict with Austria, citing sources that 30,000 riders will provide him.

During the minority of Ladislau IV the Cuman (1272-1290), Cumans will benefit by the anarchy that will be installed throughout the kingdom, committing numerous abuses account the inhabitants. They will show completely attached to the king who was maternal Cuman, accompanying him and contributing to his victory on 26 august 1278 against Ottokar II²⁴.

At the insistence of prelates, Ladislau tried to solve the problem of Cumans in Hungary, because they still lived organized into seven tribes, having a traditional lifestyle, living in tents and felt yurt, with a nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life. Some had not received baptism, and others were formally converted. Ladislau called the Cuman captains Uzuz, Tolon and Alpra whom he wrested the promise of conversion, unless faced the risk of expulsion from the kingdom. But some of them, led by Oldamir, dared to rise against the king, who managed with great losses to defeat them in 1280 (or 1282) near lake Hood. Some of them will take refuge in areas controlled by the Mongols, joining them in the campaign organized in 1285 in Hungary and Transylvania²⁵.

²² Kézai Simon, *op.cit.*, chapter 44.

²³ Györffy György, *A magyararág keleti elemei (The eastern parts of Hungary)*, Budapest, Ed. Gondolat, 1990, p. 279-280.

²⁴ Kristó Gyula, *Magyarország története: 895-1301 (Hungarian history: 895-1301)*, Budapest, Ed. Osiris, 2007. p. 266.

²⁵ Pálóczi Horváth András, *op.cit.* p. 68-69; Kristó Gyula, *Az aranybullák százada (The goldenbull century)*, Budapest, Ed.Kossuth, 1998, p. 141; Langó Péter, *Kun László kun törvényei (The Cuman law of Ladislau the Cuman)*, in *Jászok és kunok a magyarok között.*

After the departure of a part of Cumans, the state of anarchy maintained by them in the kingdom fell, those left accompanying the king in his campaigns between 1283-1284 in Austria. After Ladislau the Cuman succeeded to peaceful his kingdom, he has started to attach to the Cuman traditions, detaching from christian ordinances, entering into open conflict with the great nobles and high cleric. So he was assassinated in 1290 by his Cumans friends, apparently instigated by the great barons²⁶.

His successor Andrew III (1290-1301), the last arpadian, also used Cumans auxiliaries in his clashes with the Austrians and the Polish.

Cuman light cavalry continued to play an important role in the armed forces of Angevin kings of Hungary in their military confrontations with the neighbors. Their overall conversion to christianity took place during the brilliant reign of Ludovic I of Anjou (1342-1382), reflected in the archaeological discoveries from the Pannonian plain belonging to the XIV-th century, in cemeteries belonging to Cumans in addition to elements of christian sometimes surprising pagan elements.

Iazyges (Alans in Romanian historiography) who were adjacent to Cumans in the northern Caucasus, have entered Hungary after Mongol invasions, receiving territories besides to the Cumans. Most likely Iazyges began to infiltrate into Hungary after 1300, after the death of Nogai khan, when it is known that a large number of Iazyges crossed into Byzantine Empire, a party may move towards to the west. The land center of Iazyges, Jászág was west of the Tisza, in the city Jászberény, toponymic of their name are found in middle Danube basin, as Eszlar, Jászfalu and others containing appellation Jász²⁷. The earliest attestations of Iazyges take place between 1318-1323, king Carol I Robert of Anjou (1308-1342), giving them through an act from 8 march 1323 high privileges in exchange for military obligations. But the small number of fights that were put available to the king, makes that they should not be mentioned in the documents of the time only rarely times²⁸.

Ünnepi kötet Bánkiné Molnár Erzsébet tiszteletére (Iazyges and Cumans among the Hungarians. Volume in honor of Bánkiné Molnár Erzsébet), Jászberény, 2006, passim.

²⁶ Kézai Simon, *op.cit.*, chapter 46-47; Almási, Tibor, *A tizenharmadik század története (The thirteenth-century history)*, Budapest, Ed. Pannonica, 2000, p.171-172; Györfly György, *A magyararág keleti elemei (The eastern parts of Hungary)*, Budapest, Ed. Gondolat, 1990, p. 286-287; Paul Lendvai, *Ungurii (The Hungarians)*, București, Ed. Humanitas, 2001, p. 67.

²⁷ Kristó Gyula, *Nem magyar népek a középkori Magyarországon (Non-Hungarian peoples in medieval Hungary)*, Budapest, Ed. Lucidus, 2003, p. 236.

²⁸ Pálóczi Horváth András, *op.cit.*, p. 54-55; Victor Spinei, *Marile migrații din estul și sud-estul Europei în secolele IX-XII (The great migration from Eastern and Southeastern Europe in the IX-XII centuries)*, Iași, Ed. Institutul European, 1999, p. 303; Botka János, *Kunok-jászok. Kotonáskodása és ünnepi bandériumai a betelepüléstől a kiegyezés koráig (Cumans-Iazyges. Military service and festive banderium in the age of settlement)*, Budapest, Ed. Antológia, 2001, p. 30-33; Horváth, Péter, *Értekezés a kúnoknak, és jászoknak eredetéről*,

Being numerically inferior Iazyges were quickly assimilated by Hungarian communities, in the cemeteries of XIV-XVI centuries uncovered in Jászág, are certifying a religious life conducted according to the norms of the roman catholic church, but with some north Caucasian particularities.

REFORMATION AND THE ORTHODOX CHURCH FROM THE PRINCIPALITY OF TRANSYLVANIA IN THE 17TH CENTURY

*Mihai GEORGIȚĂ**

Abstract: *After the arrival at the helm of Transylvania, Michael the Brave tried to raise the orthodox Romanian church, which was only tolerated among the official churches, and to improve the state of Romanian clergy. Under Calvinist princes, the orthodox church remained officially unknown, but the Romanian clergy received a lot of exemptions in order to ease its material fate. But, simultaneously, these princes began a campaign to attract to Calvinism, through different manners, the Romanian priests. The Calvinization measures didn't have the expected results, because the Romanians repelled the propaganda.*

Keywords: *Calvinists, Church, Orthodox, Principality, Transylvania*

From our point of view, the moment of Michael the Brave is very important, in the relations between the orthodox church and the other ones from the beginning of 17th century.

In order to understand correctly the actions and policy of Michael the Brave, the historian P.P. Panaitescu¹, urges us to analyze the spiritual traits which determined him to fight on behalf of Christianity, but also to support and defend his ancestral faith.

He grew up and lived in the proximity of orthodox church, having, according to the epoch testimonies, a great piety and faith. Once becoming ruler, as God representative on earth, he had to protect the church and the faith preached by it. During his short reign, he almost did not miss any time to be concerned with special attention of orthodox Romanian church. Thus, besides the natural attention that enjoyed the metropolitan seat and the bishoprics of Romanian Country, over 20 monasteries from this province received many gifts. In only 4 months that he will sit on the throne of Moldavia, a short period, pretty agitated in his political and military activity, Michael the Brave reinforces the privileges of some monasteries and makes donations to others.

* National Archives-Bihor County Service.

¹ P. P. Panaitescu, *Mihai Viteazul*, București, 2002, p. 105-107.

After Calugareni confrontation, when the country failed to recover totally after its devastation, Michael the Brave had decided with the church hierarchy to make a great synod, in order to establish good order in monasteries, postponing the stringent issues of the policy and the war. Thus, it was fixed, in writing, the first monachal regulation valid throughout the 17th century.

Following the tradition of his predecessors, Michael the Brave continued to make donations at the Athos mountain. But, the piety of the faithful voivode emerges not only in times of piece, in moments of natural silence, but also during the wars, when all hope pointed to the divine mercy. Before the fight, he made a pious gesture, committed the mass, and during the fights, he invoked the name of Jesus².

He embraced the cause of all Christianity which was threatened by the Ottoman and Moslem danger, entering in the Saint League, where he acted as one of the most important leaders. During the war with the Ottomans from south Danube, he was perceived by the populations, mostly Orthodox, like a liberator and a restorer of Byzantine Empire. The Orthodox from Balkans fought close by Michael the Brave with a bigger enthusiasm because of the same religion, and because the perspective of a liberation from Ottoman domination by a king or a catholic prince didn't please them, the most radical ones preferring to remain under Moslem occupation, better than, after the liberation, they must go to Catholicism³.

As an important orthodox political leader, Michael the Brave will support the Orthodox from Ukraine, that were persecuted and submissive by an aggressive catholic propaganda, after the religious union from Brest-Litovsk. After he had renounced at the filo polish policy, Michael the Brave will intervene directly for the cause of the Orthodox Ruthenians. Having the agreement of ecumenical Patriarchate, he will conclude a secret alliance with the voivode of Kiev, Constantin Ostrogorski and with The Russian Czar, who, through diplomatic and military actions had to counteract the catholic propaganda and even to remove the Catholics from Ukraine⁴.

The entrance of Michael the Brave in the Saint League, initiated by Pope and catholic states, then the treaty of vassalage with Transylvania led to the adoption of a policy of conciliation and mutual respect between the Romanian orthodox church and the catholic one.

If through the treaty in 1595, concluded with Sigismund Bathori, at Alba Iulia, there was a terrible decrease of Michael the Brave authority, and the autonomy of Romanian Country was almost abolished, however, it has

² Nicolae I Șerbănescu, *Politica religioasă a lui Mihai Viteazul*, Târgoviște, 2001, passim.

³ Mihai Georgiță, *Mihai Viteazul și creștinătatea sud-dunăreană*, în „Crisia”, 2009, p. 153-172.

⁴ Idem, *Relațiile dintre Mihai Viteazul și Polonia după unirea religioasă de la Brest-Litovk*, în vol. „Istoriografie, cultură și politică în vestul Transilvaniei-in Honorem Viorel Faur, Oradea, 2011, p. 56-93.

achieved the official resetting of the orthodox Metropolitan seat from Transylvania under the jurisdiction of Metropolis from Targoviste, as it was in the past, and also the guarantee that the Romanian church will function according to its traditions, learnings and dogmas⁵.

In the virtue of this treaty, Michael received some areas in Transylvania, where he had to take refuge with the family if he would lose the throne, after the wars with the Ottomans. The administration of these areas was made from both economical and religious point of view, and on these places they will build churches for the orthodox communities. The voivode gives a special attention to the Metropolitan seat from Alba-Iulia, where he will set up a new residence and a new church.

Signing the treaty of June 9, 1598 with the Habsburgs led to the cancellation of the treaty from 1595, and in exchange for the recognition of the emperor nominal suzerainty, Michael the Brave obtained the full powers of a legitimate prince. Concerning the religion, he receives guarantees for the liberty of the orthodox worship and besides, the interdiction of any forms of catholic proselytism, considering the attempts of Sigismund and the repetitive proposals of Pope for the attraction to union with the catholic church.

The occupation of Transylvania and its dominion almost one year, gave the Romanian voivode the opportunity to support directly the orthodox church, treated until then in Transylvania like a tolerated church.

In order to have the Pope's grace and to obtain fast the recognition of his dominion in Transylvania by the Habsburgs, Michael supported openly the catholic church in the detriment of reformed denominations. Especially against the Calvinists and the Unitarians, several measures are taken designed to reduce their presence in public life and to finally remove them of official confessions, recognized in principality.

Instead of Calvin and Unitarian confession it was imposed the orthodox confession of the Romanian voivode, and for its consolidation, he didn't hesitate to put in charge a part of Jesuits goods and wealth.

Also for the consolidation of this representative institution, Michael the Brave put loyal bishops in the free chairs. After having brought the orthodox church among the official religions in Transylvania, Michael had taken measures in order to improve the situation of its servants, treated as serfs and discriminated in Transylvania. Consequently, Michael asked the Diet to approve the Romanian priests exemption by robot and other tasks specific to the serfs. It didn't want the liberation of the priests from serfdom, but it was an important act towards emancipation and equality with the priests of other

⁵ Sorin Şipoş, *Tratatul de la Alba Iulia din 20 mai 1595 și implicațiile sale*, în "Analele Universității Oradea. Seria Arheologie Istorie", tom. XII, Oradea, 2002, p. 25-31; Constantin Rezachevici, *Mihai Viteazul și "Dacia" lui Sigismund Bathori de la 1595*, în "Argesis", tom XII, 2003, p. 158-161.

official churches. These measures of improving the state of the Romanian clergy, as well as the promotion of the orthodox church among the official confessions, will remain a desideratum even after the prince's disappearance.

The persecution of the Romanian Orthodox clergy and their institution opprobrium by the diets' decisions, held after waivode Mihai's relegation and assassination, were impossible to unalterably translate into facts due to the new events and circumstances on the political level, which entailed the reassessment of the Orthodox Church representatives. As a matter of fact, the entire evolution of Romanian people religious life in Transylvania was marked by the political and social background, by the political and institutional transformations that took place within the principality of Transylvania during the 17th century. On these lines, we may note how the Romanian princes were able to support the Romania church in Transylvania every time they concluded treatise with the princes of Transylvania or when they crossed the Carpathians with their armies. On the other hand, when the Transylvanian princes wished for absolute command, the Romanian church was engaged into projects dealing with the confessional reclamation to exclude the centrifuge elements, exclusion defined by proselytism, conversion and modification of the institutional structure of the Romanian Orthodox Church⁶.

Therefore, the Romanian church of Transylvania would progress, during the said century, between the struggles for the untouchable preservation of the tradition, for secure some privileges or regain a status cherished too little during the reign of Mihai Viteazu, and the acceptance of some half-measures before the Calvinism campaigns.

As opposed to the future prince Gabriel Bathori, Sigismund Rakoczi took a deep interest in the good relationships with the Romanian lords, and better relationships were established with the prince of Moldavia. Probably upon Simion Movilă's suggestions, the latter reconfirms on the 23rd of June, Spiridon's position as the first standing in front of all Romanian churches in Transylvania and Hungarian regions. Nevertheless this prince, leading a circumstantial confessional policy, since he designated bishops following the Romanian waivodes' recommendations,⁷ hesitate not to favour the inveiglement

⁶ Pompiliu Teodor, *Politica ecleziastică a lui Mihai Viteazul în Transilvania*, în *R.I.*, 1993, tom 4, nr. 5-6, p. 478-482; Ion I. Nistor, *Domnia lui Mihai Viteazul în Transilvania*, în "Analele Academiei Române Memoriile Secției Istorice", 1946, seria III, tom XXVIII, passim; Ioan Aurel Pop, *Identitate și alteritate în Transilvania în timpul confruntărilor din anii 1599-1601*, în "Radu Manolescu", București, 1996, p. 223-229; Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Decizii referitoare la români în dietele Transilvaniei din timpul lui Mihai Viteazul*, în "Mihai Viteazul și Transilvania. Culegere de studii", Cluj-Napoca, 2005, p.110-115; Ștefan Andreescu, *Mihai Viteazul și Roma*, în "Revista istorică", 1994, tom 5, nr. 1-2, p. 55-71.

⁷ Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria bisericii românești din Transilvania, Banat, Crișana și Maramureș*, Cluj-Napoca, 1992, p. 180-181; Ștefan Meteș, *Istoria bisericii și a vieții religioase a românilor din Transilvania și Ungaria*, Sibiu, 1935, p. 88-89.

of the Romanian clergy to Calvinism. Such a proof is the diploma issued by the prince in Beiuș in January 1608, with which he exonerates the priest Mihai from Vajdafalva, converted to Calvinism, from all taxes owed to the commissioners of inland revenue and the lord of the land. Therewith within this diploma it is shown that all Romanian priests, who for the future will convert themselves to Calvinism, would enjoy the same rights and privileges as the Hungarian Calvinists priests, since they were no longer under the obedience of the Orthodox bishop and thus allowing them to chose their own bishops and archpriests. Thence through acquittals and other privileges a new period of inveiglement of the Romanian clergy to Calvinism commenced⁸.

We may not know exactly what caused a prince with dictatorship dispositions like Gabriel Bathori to bestow on the Romanian clergy a deed for the exoneration from serfs' duties, extremely valuable by motivations and significance. First of all, it is almost similar to the one issued during Mihai Viteazu's reign, which could mean that the orthodox clergy failed to forget the Romanian prince's doing and did not discouraged afterwards, waiting for the right moment to demand again certain rights corresponding to their status. On the 9th of June 1609, from Alba Iulia, in response to a complaint laid down by the orthodox clergy of Transylvania and Hungarian regions, the prince Gabriel Bathori, testifying for his truthful devoutness and affection for the church servants and due to the sorry condition of the Romanian orthodox clergy, decided that the latter, found within the serfs' status, to be exonerated from all plebeian obligations and civil services owed to their lords and to move freely together with their families wherever they wish, upon previously having cleared the obligations towards their land lord, *recte* the gifts owed accordingly to the inculcated habit, and upon bringing into notice their hierarchical superior in Beograd. With no confessional conditioning, or proselyte messages, as the one issued by Sigismund, the deed coming as a consequence of the diet decision in 1600 opens the series of several similar deeds issued by the princes, that would reconfirm through the century the position of free people of the Romanian clergy, in compliance with certain political circumstances⁹.

Along with Gabriel Bethlen's rising to the throne for one decade and a half, thus bringing a balance within the state, the Romanian orthodox church of Transylvania and its servants will experience a different milestone of evolution and a new impact of the Calvinist influence. The good relationships the prince attended at the beginning with the Romanian princes might be able to explain us for his abstention in openly intervening within the traditional practices of the

⁸ Ana Dumitran, *Privilegiile acordate preoșilor români de principii calvini ai Transilvaniei*, în „Confesiune și cultură în Evul Mediu – în onorem Ion Toderășcu”, Iași, 2004, p. 77-79; Mihai Georgiță, *Biserica românească din comitatul Bihor și calvinismul în prima jumătate a secolului al XVII-lea*, în „Crisia”, 2010, p. 232.

⁹ Ana Dumitran, *op.cit.*, p. 72-73.

church. Preserving the same spirit of tolerance and admiration for the church servants, Gabriel Bethlen reconfirms Gabriel Bathori's diploma of 1609¹⁰, by which the Romanian clergy of Greek Church of Transylvania and the adjacent regions receive a series of rights and exemptions. Consequently, we may claim that Gabriel Bethlen showed a condescending attitude towards the Romanian Orthodox Church, attitude that could be the outcome both of his duty to respect and secure the safety development of the spiritual life, and the good relationships he had with the Romanian princes, protectors and supporters of the Orthodoxy in Transylvania¹¹. There are indications that he encouraged the conversion to Calvinism of the Romanian clergy from the very beginning, within the Romanian regions where the Romanian waivodes were not that influential, probably encouraged by several progresses of the Romanian preachers in the western parts of the principedom. One document stipulates that short after his rising on the throne, he is brought into notice about the condition of several Romanian priests from Bihor, Crasna and Internal Solnoc counties that adopted Calvinism and were waiting for all the rights and privileges of the Calvinist clergy to be recognized for them as well. More precisely, it is claimed that these Romanian priests and deacons preached the word of God and Calvinism in the Romanian churches, giving up to the mistakes of the eastern Greek belief. They successfully operated within few of the Romanian churches and they willingly complied with the Calvinist superintendent's judicature and other important preachers, under whom commandment and with whose support they commenced preaching the Calvinist doctrine among the Romanian people.

Thence on the 17th of February 1614¹², recording this real fact in favour of the Calvinist church, alluring more and more followers, the prince issues a deed by which he bestows honours, favours, privileges, prerogatives, concessions, liberties and exemptions that the other preachers and deacons of the Hungarian Calvinist churches benefited from. By analyzing this document it appears that the Calvinist preachers succeeded in inveigling new followers from among the Romanian priests. We assume that the main reason for accepting Calvinism was both the material and social aspect, and the privileges and favours the Calvinist clergy enjoyed, and less, or maybe at all, "a sane teaching".

Once Bethlen's authority reached its peak, he found unnecessary the counselling of the lords and metropolitans of the two Romanian lands as regards the religious issues, his political ambitions considering even their allegiance. A government difficult to shatter might be accomplished only by the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹¹ Nicolae Dobrescu, *Fragmente privitoare la istoria bisericii române*, Budapesta 1905, p. 17-22.

¹² Mihai Georgiță, *Biserica românească...*, p. 233-234.

conversion of the other confessions to Calvinism, intended to provide the ideological support of the prince's power. Trusting himself, and calling for the idea of a unique confession within his principedom and in the position of the bondsman of the faith purity, the prince asked for the approval of Chiril Lucaris¹³ to calvinize the Romanian people in Transylvania, fallen and theologically uninformed. The patriarch's answer, sympathetic himself with the Calvinism, issued on the 2nd of September 1629, implies that this challenge is hard to fulfil and that a *sine qua non* condition would be the breaking of the relationships with the Romanian people in the two other provinces, which is impossible to achieve.

The Calvinist campaigns policy to convert the clergy was more systematically continued by Gabriel Bethlen's successors, the Rakoczi princes, during their reign it reached its climax. The cooperation between the prince Gheorghe Rakoczi I and the leaders of the Calvinist church becomes closer for the subordination of the other churches. The radicalisation of the intentions and the related discourse reveals the stressing of the confessionalisation process, intending to control the dissident movements emerged within Calvinism and also the consolidation of the bishop's power¹⁴, the Sabbatarians' annihilation and the placement of the Unitarian church under the control of the central power¹⁵, and not ultimately the transformation of the Romanian prelate in Alba Iulia into a subordinate of the Calvinist hierarchy.

Along with the exemptions reconfirmation bestowed on the Romanian priests, Gheorghe Rakoczi I designates and confirm Romanian metropolitans in Alba Iulia under the obligation of observing the terms of the Calvinist campaign policy against the Romanian church, terms that would be imposed upon the entire Romanian clergy. Some of the provisions favouring Calvinism included within the metropolitans' appointment diplomas will appear, during that time, within the appointment diplomas of several protopopes inclined to cooperate. Refusing to implement this adverse policy of Calvinism, the metropolitan Ilie Iorest¹⁶ was superseded from its episcopal see, and in his place was appointed Simion Ștefan, who proved to be more willingly to implement the policy of Calvinism and accept the increasing interference of Calvinist superintendence within the internal issues of the Romanian church¹⁷.

¹³ Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Patriarhul Kiril Lukaris despre unitatea etno-confesională a românilor*, în „Studii de istorie medievală și premodernă. Omagiul profesorului Nicolae Edroiu”, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 315-321; Nicolae M. Popescu, *Chiril Lukaris și ortodoxia română ardeleană*, în „Biserica Ortodoxă Română”, 1946, nr. 7-9, p. 22-25.

¹⁴ Ana Dumitran, Gudor Botand, pr. Nicolae Dănilă, *Relații interconfesionale româno-maghiare în Transilvania (mijlocul secolului al XVI-primele decenii ale secolului al XVIII)*, Alba-Iulia, 2000, p. 34-36.

¹⁵ Edit Szegedi, *Identități premoderne în Transilvania*, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, p. 55-60.

¹⁶ Ioan Lupaș, *Studii, conferințe și comunicări istorice*, Vol. IV, Sibiu, 1943, p. 83-91.

¹⁷ Mircea Păcurariu, *op.cit.*, p. 155-156.

After a while, Gheorghe Rakoczi II will continue the Calvinist campaign policy initiated by his father¹⁸, the involvement at the dawn of his reign within the military external campaigns, with the support of the Romanian princes, concurred with a more reconciling policy towards the Orthodox Church in Transylvania and with the intenses diminishing of the Calvinist proselytism. Therefore it was possible the appointment of a metropolitan like Sava Brancovici who did not care for the Calvinist absolutism policy.

Under the prince Mihai Apaffi, a prince of weak authority, the Calvinist propaganda failed to sustain the needed consistency and determination to implement measures intended for the Romanian Church reformation in compliance with Calvin's beliefs. On the other hand, the close relationships with the Romanian regions and the intransigency of Sava Brancovici represented other factors of the Calvinist proselytism annihilation. Although the appointment of a new superintendent, Mihail Tofoi, a former preacher at the prince court, a self-confessed adversary of the orthodoxy, and the set-up of a plot against Apaffi and of which Sava Brancovici was no stranger, led to his elimination from the metropolitan see in 1680¹⁹. After the said metropolitan's quietus and arraignment, Iosif Budai will be designated to take his place, by unanimous vote, and the prince issues on the 28th of December 1680 the endorsing diploma for the new metropolitan with judicature over Transylvania and the adjacent regions, with the exception of Făgăraș Country, compelling for observance of 19 pro Calvinist policy terms. It was needed the intervention of the prince of Muntenia, Șerban Cantacuzino, for the Romanian orthodox people of Transylvania could preserve all of their religious ceremonials. Iosif Budai²⁰ had occupied for only two years the metropolitan see, and his successor, the Greek Orthodox Ioasaf endeavoured to avenge the misdeeds conducted against Sava Brancovici and to authoritatively shepherd the Romanian church of Transylvania, rejecting all Calvinist interference. Upon his death, the designation of Varlaam was conditioned again by the 19 terms of the Calvinist policy²¹, though the Calvinist propaganda drops in intensity, since in 1688 the new lord of Transylvania are the Catholic Habsbourgs.

The Romanian church is taken out of the influence of the Calvinist policy by the imperial family who were looking to restore the internal political balance by unifying the Romanian people with the Church of Rome. The imperial diploma of 1692 bestowed on the Romanian clergy the possibility of emancipation and improvement of their social position. The Calvinists

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 156-157.

¹⁹ Marina I. Lupaș, *Mitropolitul Sava Brancovici 1656-1683*, Cluj, 1939, *passim*.

²⁰ Cunescu Gheorghe, *Mitropolitul Iosif Budai. La 300 de ani de la moarte (ianuarie 1682)*, în „Mitropolia Ardealului”, 1982, nr. 1-3, p. 139-150.

²¹ Ștefan Meteș, *op.cit.*, p. 302-318.

attempted also to answer the issue by designating the new metropolitan of Transylvania, Teofil, in December 1692, in compliance with the 19 terms.

The organisation of the supreme reformed consistory mainly intended for the time to last against the Catholic restoration supported by the Habsbourgs. In the board of this Consistory took part the Calvinist governors of Transylvania enjoying the needed authority and force. Therefore, in 1692, the governor Gheorghe Banffi, the president of the Consistory was the one to secure Teofil, the metropolitan, by prescribing the 19 terms of the Calvinist policy. The unification of the Romanian orthodox with Rome aroused an increasing interest within the reformed Church, preoccupied to defend the Romanian priests recognizing the Calvinist superintendence judicature.

In 1697, the first information related to the unification project was communicated to the supreme Calvinist trustees, Gheorghe Banffi and the chancellor Nicolae Bethlen, when commissioned by the Transylvanian chambers stayed in Vienna for 6 months for negotiations. They immediately entered their protest to minister Kinsky and forwarded a memorandum to the emperor, but their attempt proved to be unsuccessful. Nevertheless, in March 1698, within the council of ministers they succeeded to convince its members to accept the orthodox priests' right to unite with any of the four recognized religions of Transylvania, also securing the social position of the clergy in the related religion. In this line, the imperial decree of the 14th of April 1698 was issued. Therefore, during the investigations related to the unification carried out in the following year, it was ascertained that some of the priests preferred to remain within the Calvinist church, solidarity considered to be an official arrangement, with no implications in their religious life. Within the next years, the unified with Rome Romanian Greek-Catholic church will progressively consolidate and will dismiss all Calvinist reformed interferences within the Romanian people lives²².

The artistic manifestations related to the sacred ecclesiastical domain, were, for the Romanian population of principality, circumscribed to Byzantine and Postbyzantine traditions, that radiated from Carpathian orthodox artistic centers. So, through its links with the Eastern artistic tradition, the Transilvanian orthodoxy put an obstacle difficult to overcome by protestant and catholic influences. However, the strong conservative tradition of the orthodox Romanians and in terms of artistic technique, was pierced by some Western stylistic influences, but not as result of the acceptance of some conceptual models, which were on the basis of artistic expression, but rather as natural purely technique and formal mimicry, designed to better highlight the Romanian religious conceptions. It isn't less that, in this way, they have slipped

²² Sipos Gábor, *Unirea religioasă și antecedentele ei în relațiile calvino-ortodoxe din Transilvania(1660-1710)*, în „Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica”, 9, II, 2005, p. 27-30 Drăguț Vasile, *Pictura murală din Transilvania (sec. XIV-XV)*, București, 1970.

unnoticed some motifs or themes from Western religious thinking. Both the royal foundations and the influences or the artistic borrowings from south Carpathians, even contaminated by the blast of Western arts, have represented a resistance against the iconoclasm and the Calvinist proselytism, and then, from the end of the century, the constancy testimony in Eastern tradition for the Catholicism that promoted the union.

With few exceptions, the religious buildings of the Romanians from Transylvania, have represented, during The Middle Age, a distinct religious identity model. The influences from the catholic religious art to the religious Reformation have manifested especially in the style and the technique of execution²³. After Reformation, especially in the domain of sacred painting, the iconoclasm professed by the Calvins and the Unitarians was not able to divert the tradition of Eastern iconography, which remained the strongest religious brand of the Romanians identity and which differentiated them so definitely and visible from the protestants²⁴. The iconography was, therefore, a strong means of resistance to Calvin propaganda. If the printing of religious books in the Romanian language closed the orthodox Romanians in a certain way by the protestant ideology, which cultivated the preaching of the word in vernacular languages, the religious painting, representing so many Byzantine saints and scenes from Eastern tradition²⁵, kept an unbridgeable cleavage among these confessions.

The sustained effort for the copy in Slavonic language of theological manuscripts with dogmatic and polemical character²⁶, in the second half of 16th century, it could be determined by the spread of the new protestant trends. They demonstrate that the Romanian orthodox church was prepared from the bookish point of view, even if in Slavonic clothes, to expose the weak points of other Christian confessions, considered heretic, and to draw attention to their proselytism, as well as to reveal the right faith of Eastern church. This is also revealed by any Slavonic manuscripts from Transylvania, where the confessional confrontations were harsher²⁷. All these manuscripts, which also contained polemical texts, will be a source of inspiration for the Romanian polemical texts, from 17th century, more elaborated and more applied.

After long debates in the literature of specialty, it was established that the first translations of religious books in Romanian language (Voronetian Codices, Scheiana Psalter, Voronetian Psalter, Hurmuzaki Psalter), which were

²³ Virgil Vătășeanu, *Istoria artelor feudale în Țările Române*, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, passim; Vasile Drăguș, *Pictura murală din Transilvania (sec. XIV-XV)*, București, 1970, passim.

²⁴ Nicolae Sabău, *Metamorfoze ale barocului transilvan*. Pictura, Vol. II, Cluj-Napoca, 2005, p. 286.

²⁵ Marius Porumb, *Pictura românească din Transilvania I.(sec.XIV-XVII)*, Cluj-Napoca, 1981, p. 59-96.

²⁶ I. Șiadbei, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, București, 1975, p. 13-15.

²⁷ Elena Lința, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române*, vol. I-IV, București, 1980-1985, passim.

made not accidentally in Transylvania, more precisely in Maramures, were determined, besides the internal cultural needs, by the movements of religious Reformation. From this fact, it was considered that the prints of Coresi, even those without a protestant content have appeared under the influence of Reformation currents²⁸.

The ritual, liturgical books and those necessary to the stall (Ceaslov, Octoih, Minei etc.) continue to be preponderantly in Slavonic, while in Romanian language are preferred the moral and teaching books, present in homilies, jitiias, wisdom books and apocryphals. Among the Romanian prints from 1560 and 1650, the homilies take the first place, until the last square of 17th century comes again the printing of ritual books. How can we explain the big request for the Romanian books of teaching, where are explained and commented the Christian learnings? Besides the natural need, we think that their redaction and multiplication were also determined by the competition with the Protestantism, which didn't emphasize on ritual, but on preach and explanation of Bible learnings. In front of The Calvinist reputed preachers, who were able to fascinate through oratorical craft of preach, and their message could draw attention to the Christians of other confessions, the orthodox priests, especially those from Transylvania, had to raise the homiletic level of preach, making appeal more frequently to Homilies, true collections of sermons in the purest orthodox spirit. For example, under Calvinist influence, Coresi publishes in 1567 „, The Gospel Interpretation with Molitvelnic” in annex, also called the first Coresian Cazania, translations after Calvinist works, and in 1581, he is printing like an orthodox reaction to these, „The Gospel Interpretation”, also called the second Coresian Cazania, translated from Slavonic language after an orthodox authentic source. In coming decades, both Cazanii were copied according to the confessional copyists' inclinations.

The increase of Calvinist propaganda in the middle of 17th century wasn't left unanswered, as the priests disposed to collaborate has found favorable field in certain areas. The copyists were, in fact, a good tool for spreading the Calvinists teachings. From ignorance or following some higher commands, they have transcribed and copied Calvinist texts. By the order of a bishop or a field master, usually Calvinist, or maybe of own initiative, some copyists, deacons or priests, have started to transcribe, translate or compile Calvinist texts. In the middle of 17th century , the deacon Ioan copies, alone, in the place Pocioveliste, near Beius, „The Gospels Interpretation and Molitvelnicul”, printed together by Coresi. The copy of these prints illustrates that, besides the materialization of propaganda measures, the insufficiency of necessary copies, exhausted during the time or destroyed by the Orthodox. Despite some gaps from Molitvelnic, the copy of Ioan from Pocioveliste, with

²⁸ Ion Gheție, Alexandru Mareș, *Originile scrisului în limba română*, București, 1985, p. 49-58.

some parts from Cazanie copied at the beginning by Michael Romanian, are the clear expression of the Calvinist propaganda and its tools in Crisana and Zarand lands. But the dimension of this phenomenon is given by other examples and other procalvinists copyists, who activated in Bihar. Also in the middle of the 17th century, the priest Jurju from Luncașprie, copies a religious codice, which contains texts, prayers and Calvinist litanies, copied then by his apprentice, the priest Ioan. Although the work of the copyist Popa Ursu from Cotiglet contains many texts and influences of Calvinist Reformation, we can't say that he is a Calvinist priest, but that one who lived in a region where the Calvinism had been strongly rooted. Knowing Hungarian language, he certainly knew the Calvinist books of worship and education, that he had introduced in his manuscripts, maybe under the pression of his Hungarian masters. Anyway, he seems to be an attendant of the Calvinist proselytism. From this copyist, there were kept two Cazanii and two Molitvelnice, bookish tools very efficient in Calvinist propaganda²⁹. Calvinist texts, manuscripts or printed, have circulated especially among Calvinist Romanians, but always with Latin alphabet and Hungarian orthography³⁰.

In the large mass of the Orthodox Romanians from Transylvania, the Calvinist propaganda was made through the printing. One of the conditions imposed by the Calvinist superintendance to the candidates at Metropolitan seat in Alba Iulia was to do the mass in Romanian language, to translate and print in Romanian the Calvinist prayers.

Generally speaking, the Calvinist propaganda among the Romanians was made the most efficiently through the book and printing, so, through cultural tools. The book and the printing were the only ones that left deep traces of the influence of protestant Reformation, especially the Calvinist one, among the Romanians. The other measures imposed to the Orthodox Romanians haven't resisted in front of such a popular Christianity, very rich and complex at the same time. The Romanians had to be convinced that they were going to follow the teachings from the saint book, after the principle *sola scriptura* and not rituals or orthodox cultic traditions. That's why, the printed book or copied in Romanian language was the main weapon of propaganda and in the same time it had a dogma value. When the Orthodox, mostly their hierarchs, have felt that, through the book and the printing, the Calvinists tried to destructed their church, they had retorted without delay, printing themselves polemical works where the Calvinism was combated.

The history of the Calvinism phenomenon or the failure of calvinization policy of Romanian church from Transylvania made appeal, especially, to the sources that contain information on the institutions of this church. The name

²⁹ Florian Dudaș, *Vechile manuscrise românești din Țara Bihorului*, vol. I, Oradea, p. 35-56.

³⁰ Nicolae Cartojan, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, București, 1980, p. 180-189.

equivalence of the big orthodox synod³¹ and its manner of organization after the Calvinist *Synodus generalis*, or the assembly of the priests and the deans from all over the country, with the bishop and the superintendent, was seen like a sure Calvinist influence. Then, the fact that the big synod attributions were identical with those of the general Calvinist one, and the Eastern religious right didn't provide such an institution, it was another supplementary reason to believe that it have been copied after the Calvinist model. As for the influence that the Calvinism have had upon the little synod institution, this one was considered to be the equivalent of the synod partially reformed, also having the same attributions. Recent studies show that both institutions of the big synod and of the little one, have had an old tradition started before the Calvinist Reformation, and during its period it was just adapted. Therefore, the restructuring tried by the Calvinist superintendence at the level of the Romanian synodal assembly from Transylvania, didn't make up to redefine the specificity of the big synod and of the little synod³². The only one notable influence was the supervision of the Calvinist bishop upon these Romanian orthodox institutions.

³¹ Ana Dumitran, *Instituția soborului mare în biserica românească din Transilvania până la unirea cu biserica Romei*, în *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Historia*, 1997, nr. 1-2, p. 40-49.

³² Idem, *Instituția protopopiatului în biserica românească din Transilvania în secolul al XVII-lea*, în „Acta Musei Napocensis”, 1995, p. 315-323.

DIRECTIONS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROMOTED BY THE COURT OF VIENNA IN TRANSYLVANIA (THE END OF THE 17TH CENTURY - THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY)

*Ioan GOMAN**

***Abstract:** Starting from the measures taken by the Habsburg authorities to subordinate, by economical and commercial point of view, the newly obtained territories, this work paper tries to point out the main economical achievements of Transylvania between the 18th century and the first part of the 19th century. Mentioning numbers and enunciating locations, the most important mutations are specified, which took place in this period in the extractive and manufacturing branches of the Transylvanian industry. The main branches that they could meet in Transylvania are emphasized, there are also numerical evolutions of the industrial objectives and exploitations that functioned at that time. In spite of the developments, the Transylvanian industry could not face the requirements of the time, its main domains remaining just the exploitation of raw materials and assure the population's needs.*

***Keywords:** Habsburg Empire, Transylvania, economics, manufactures, trade*

The status of great political power acquired by the Habsburg Empire by the territorial conquests resulting from the military conflicts of the late 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, sanctioned by the treaties of Karlowitz (1699), Radstadt (1714), Passarowitz (1718)¹, did not just reflect also in its internal situation. On the contrary, with each new territorial conquest the empire became less Germanic, the economic, ethnic and religious imbalances, stressed, weakening rather than strengthening the new political entity on the Danube.

Under these conditions, the old trends outline and state more and more, noticeable at the level of the Empire even since the second half of the 17th century, the implication of the state in directing the economic activity².

* Țării Crișurilor" Museum , Oradea.

¹ Erich Zöllner, *Istoria Austriei*, vol. I, Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1997, p. 323-328.

² *Ibid.*, p. 342-343.

Feverishly engaged in a process of recovery of the delays³, the state intervenes with direct actions (often offering the model) or indirect to encourage the exploitation of the economic potential that it had. Transposed into practice by the mercantile and then physiocrat policy of the Court of Vienna, the measures aimed the economic development of the empire, through an optimum population and an industry best able to leverage the natural potential that was available. The directions of force of the new strategy had in view the development of the industry (mining and manufacturing) and the trade. Only that, at the level of the newly acquired territories, their development should subordinate to those of the hereditary provinces. The industrial enterprises from here were more designed to exploit the natural potential to provide raw materials to the imperial ones, to provide a range of finished products (to limit the imports), to cover the domestic consumption, but not to compete those in the hereditary provinces of the empire. The strengthening of the domination in the new territories and the expansion (political and economic) to the East are from now the main targets of the Austrian politics⁴. The implementation of these goals in Transylvania because of the natural resources at its disposal will not be able to dissociate completely during this period, by the political factor.

In a first phase, the Habsburg Empire was engaged on two military fronts (the war of succession to the throne of Spain - in the West, and the wars with the Turks - in the East). In the meantime, the imperial camera goes to the intense exploitation of the resources in the occupied territories, which quickly bring cash income to meet the stringent financial needs. By the end of the war with the Turks, the imperial court believes that the best solution, including its treasury, is that to rent the royal rights of Transylvania to the local magnates. Co-interested economically, the local nobility became more obedient to the authorities. In this way, the Court of Vienna recorded a double success: it quickly gets money to support the military operations and manages to attract or cause divisions among the nobility, virtually nullifying the possibility of an anti-Habsburg opposition⁵. Along with the events of 1697 (the Peace of Rijswijk, the battle of Zenta) and especially after the peace of Karlowitz (1699) they observed significant changes in the economic strategy adopted by the

³ Pierre Chaunu, *Civilizația Europei în secolul luminilor*, vol. I, Meridiane Publishing House, 1986, p. 275.

⁴ Ioan Moga, *Politica economică austriacă și comerțul Transilvaniei în secolul al XVIII*, in *Scieri istorice 1926-1946*, Dacia Publishing House, Cluj, 1973, p. 135; Gheron Netta, *Expansiunea economică austriacă și exploatarea ei orientale*, Bucharest, 1931, p. 49; Jean Béranger, *Istoria Imperiului Habsburgilor (1273-1918)*, Teora Publishing House, Bucharest, 2000, p. 239-240.

⁵ Magyari Andrei, *Lupta mării nobilimi ardelene pentru păstrarea pozițiilor economice și politice în perioada consolidării Habsburgilor în Transilvania (1685-1699)*, in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai*, series Historia, Fasciculus 2, Cluj-Napoca, 1971 (hereinafter Magyari Andrei, *Lupta mării nobilimi...*), p. 21-25.

imperial court in Transylvania⁶. Considering that, the leasing of the goods is no longer a profitable solution, the Imperial Court, starting with 1697, goes to their direct administration, adopting a policy of recovering the leased rights⁷. Along with the improving of the political situation and strengthening the central power are increasingly evident the mercantile trends of the economic policy of the Court to Transylvania. The actions taken in this sense, dictated by the economic rules of the time, sought to “bridle the luxury and enhance the indigenous industry, restraining the people to do with the local products”⁸. The prohibition to import some products (textiles, leather), including some chemicals needed for their processing, the increasing of the customs duties on exports (wool, hemp thread, skin) are some measures which fully illustrate such trends. The penalties applied to the population who used the foreign products⁹ or the subordination of the establishment of manufactures to a prior authorization from the central organs from Vienna¹⁰ are also such measures.

These first efforts of the Viennese mercantile policy hit in Transylvania to the lack of understanding of the ruling class, the reluctance to new, but also to the interests of the guilds, whose output power was “too small to benefit of the protective measures taken for the large-scale industry”¹¹. In these circumstances, to encourage the private initiative, the state intervenes directly setting up various manufactures on its own fields for exploitation the resources, but also to be a model, an example for the neighboring areas¹². The state attention goes primarily towards the exploitation of the natural deposits (ferrous and non-ferrous metals) to manufactures of paper, silk, glass, gunpowder and less towards those from which the state could face the resistance of the guilds or required major investments¹³. In addition to some measures of mercantile character (1702) and customs (the new customs tariff of Hungary since 1726), which imposed restrictions on imports of some goods and increased customs tariffs on the export of others, the state intervenes directly supporting the establishment of the manufactures in its own areas (especially Banat). In Transylvania, its efforts have regard to the natural riches (which brought quick return without major investments) and some manufactures designed to meet the

⁶ Idem, *Unele aspecte ale politicii economice a autorităților habsburgice din Transilvania*, in, *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Historica I*, 1981, Cluj-Napoca (hereinafter Magyari Andrei, *Unele aspecte ale politicii...*), p. 26-34.

⁷ Idem, *Lupta marii nobilimi...*, p. 25-26.

⁸ Ioan Moga, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

⁹ Idem, *op. cit.*, p. 141-143; Magyari Andrei, *Unele aspecte ale politicii...*, p. 31.

¹⁰ Bujor Surdu, *Contribuții la problema nașterii manufacturilor din Transilvania în secolul al XVIII-lea*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj*, 1964, (hereinafter Bujor Surdu, *Contribuții la problema ...*), p. 155; *Istoria României*, vol. III, Bucharest, 1964, p. 411.

¹¹ Ioan Moga, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

¹² *Din Istoria Transilvaniei* (Second Edition), Bucharest, 1961, p. 236.

¹³ *Istoria României – Transilvania*, vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p. 684.

domestic needs (of the army and state apparatus)¹⁴. Despite of all the efforts, the manufacturing industry of Transylvania does not reach a high level, remains a long while after the requirements of the time and even of the local consumption exigencies. In 1749 when it comes to the purchase of some textile products for the military needs, it finds that they “do not correspond at least to the ordinary soldiers clothing”¹⁵.

The time that causes major changes in the economic policy of Vienna to Transylvania is the loss of Silesia. Most of the researchers take this territorial loss of Habsburg Crown as a marker to capture the changes occurring in the economic policy of the empire. Deprived of the economic contribution of the most industrialized province, the Court of Vienna adopts a different economic strategy. The measures to fill the losses require a more intensive exploitation of the existing potential in the remaining provinces. The most intensive changes occur in the mining and metallurgy field, Transylvania become, by far, one of the provinces with the most popular ferrous and non-ferrous mineral reserves of the empire.

The concerns for the establishment of new manufactures will also be enhanced by the favorable position of the Council of State to this form of exploitation of the economic potential of Transylvania. The measures concern directly the means to exploit the local raw materials, the recovery of the obtained products that will be for export, inclusively¹⁶.

The reorganization and the increasing of the mining production by administrative and economic measures (granting of some privileges, mining official organization, setting on tax fields of some mines to serve as a model, incentives for private capital, introduction of new techniques of operation, setting up schools for mining needs, stimulation of production by introducing the wage labor) take place under thorough and direct control of the state¹⁷. Maria Theresa will take many measures designed to encourage the manufacturing industry in Transylvania. To this end, she facilitates the journeymen of all trades the possibility to go to training in Germany (1748)¹⁸. Wishing to stimulate further on the industry, she draws in March 1766, to the Transylvanian Chancellery the task of finding ways to improve the situation of the guilds and manufactures. In February 1769, they followed this action by the establishment of a special commission to identify the measures that can

¹⁴ Bujor Surdu, *Liniile dezvoltării social-economice a Transilvaniei în secolul al XVIII-lea până la răscoala lui Horea*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj*, III, 1960, (hereinafter Bujor Surdu, *Liniile dezvoltării ...*), p. 125.

¹⁵ Ioan Moga, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹⁶ Carol Göllner, *Câteva referiri la dezvoltarea manufacturilor din Transilvania în anii 1760-1780*, in *Studii. Revistă de istorie*, Tome 26, No. 2, 1973, p. 349-352.

¹⁷ Bujor Surdu, *Liniile dezvoltării...*, p. 103-170.

¹⁸ Ioan Moga, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

encourage the Transylvanian industry¹⁹. These included awards, in stimulating effect, to produce of certain categories of textiles (cloth, muslin, fleece and linen). Despite of the measures taken, the Transylvanian textiles industry was not able to meet the requirements of the mercantile policy of Vienna, to capitalize its textile products abroad²⁰. A proof of the development low level of the Transylvanian industry they also reflected by the high amounts payable for the imports made during this period. Only in the period of 1785-1792 will come out from Transylvania, contrary to mercantile precepts promoted by the Court of Vienna, large sums of money. For the payment of some imports of cotton articles they will pay during this period the amount of 31,388 florins (while exports were only 21,985 florins), for the cloth and wool the sum of 89,208 florins (exports being only 65,529 florins) for the silk products the sum of 63,328 florins (export was only 7,828 florins), for those of flax and hemp the sum of 76,201 florins (while exports were only 31,611 florins), for boots the sum of 14,000 florins (export was only 6,744 florins), for sweetmeat products the sum of 103,456 florins (and the export of only 1,391 florins). That while for the semi-manufactured products and raw materials, the situation was the opposite. Yarn of wool, flax and hemp are valued at 6,663 florins and exported worth 41,000 florins, and the raw iron is not important at all, but its export value is of 6,918 florins. It is true, that there are also branches of production based on the exploitation of some local resources, which producing mainly for export comply with the mercantile policies promoted so strongly by then by the authorities of Vienna. They imported the hardware items to 36,706 florins, exported to 92,399 florins, glass products imported to 5,258 florins and exported to 15,520 florins, wooden objects imported to 491 florins, and exported to 25,791 florins, and "ordinary" objects in clay imported to 407 florins and exported to 4,602 florins. Moreover, there were products that they did not import them, but only export (export of ropes to 25,553 florins without importation, export of saddle blankets or blankets to 47,621 florins without importation, export of belts to 121,369 florins without importation)²¹.

In 1792, the Court of Vienna asks the Transylvanian authorities to do a new survey about the number of the manufactures²², the raw materials used and the methods of selling the products. The proposals of the commission charged with this inquiry²³ are not responsible for the diet, whose main purpose was to maintain at any price its old feudal privileges, showing, all this time, too little

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 171; *Istoria României – Transilvania*, vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p. 681.

²⁰ Ioan Moga, *op. cit.*, p. 171-175.

²¹ Karlovszky Endre, *Erdély ipara a XVIII-ik század végén (Industria Transilvaniei la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea)*, in *Magyargazdaságtörténelmi szemle*, III, Budapest, 1896, p. 239.

²² *Din Istoria Transilvaniei (Second Edition)*, Bucharest, 1961, p. 256; Karlovszky Endre, *op. cit.*, p. 217-257.

²³ Karlovszky Endre, *op. cit.*, p. 239-257.

understanding to the efforts prosecuted by the state²⁴. In the economic recovery plan of Transylvania, a more emphasis gives the Court of Vienna to the trade relationships whose status was far to be satisfactory. In 1701, according to a “*Specificatio universarum rerum et mercium*”, the Transylvanian import of goods was nearly doubled (799,080 florins) to export (422,360 florins) and the transit of foreign goods, did not exceed 60,000 florins²⁵. The revitalization plans of the empires aimed the construction of a unified economic system, based on an internal trade converged to the capital and the hereditary provinces (that also comprising the newly acquired territories) and another external oriented to Balkans and Levant. This goal had to have as doctrinal support the mercantile system, and as a legal action framework the treaty of commerce concluded with Turkey (at Passarowitz on July 27, 1718) and the free port status (Porto Franco) granted to the cities Trieste and Fiume in 1719²⁶. The means by which the imperial court sought to achieve this goal was a skillful customs policy and the establishment of commercial companies through which to penetrate easily the foreign markets.

The first attempts of reorganizing the Transylvanian trade on mercantile principles, which involved the establishment of a commercial company, remain in draft form (the case of the Transylvanian Commercial Society of Nicholae Bethlen in 1701). Only after signing the treaty of commerce with Turkey, the establishment of such companies is possible (in 1719 they founded the *Oriental Trade Company*, which has the monopoly of trade with Turkey, and in 1723 they established the *Trade Company in Timișoara*, with the purpose to realize the export products of Transylvania, Banat, Oltenia and Serbia)²⁷. Later in 1759, they established the *Company of Merchants in Timișoara* in order to exploit the local raw materials and import the Levantine goods, but only after four years, it will fail (in 1763)²⁸. Although do not give the expected results, the trade companies established by the state strongly competed internally by the associations of the foreign merchants (Greeks, Armenians) and local (Saxons), contribute externally to the promotion of the empire trade interests. In 1760, due to the measures taken, Austria will have 16 consulates in the Sultan’s countries, under the protection of that they promoted the Austrian trade in the Eastern markets²⁹.

The provisions of the commercial treaty between Austria and Turkey provided “the traders of both empires the full freedom of trade” in exchange for

²⁴ Bujor Surdu, *Contribuții la problema...*, p. 151.

²⁵ Ioan Moga, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

²⁶ *Istoria României – Transilvania*, vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p. 675.

²⁷ Ioan Moga, *op. cit.*, p. 143-155.

²⁸ Victor Jinga, *Probleme fundamentale ale Transilvaniei*, Brașov, 1995, p. 157; *Istoria României*, vol. III, Bucharest, 1964, p. 416-417.

²⁹ Gheron Netta, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

a duty (of 3% ad valorem) paid only once, without further payment required (for transportation or sale). The importance of this treaty for the trade expansion plans of the empire is given by the extension (in 1739, in 1747) and its successive completion (through the *Sinediu of Ttrade* in 1784). Such a low customs tariff encourages “the Oriental merchants who invade the Austrian countries”. They do not trade only “the Levantine goods”, but also (contrary to the treaty) the goods of “Western origin”, causing great loss to the local industry and especially to the native merchants, the only beneficiaries of the privilege of selling the merchandise piece by piece (*alla minuta*). The measures taken by Charles VI in April 1725 (by which they stopped the Levantine merchants’ trade in the Austrian Empire with other goods than the Turkish ones) and the rectification of the Hungarian customs tariff of 1726 (by which they eased the procurement of the goods in the hereditary provinces) do not bring the expected changes. The long practice and the competence of the Levantine traders imposed as necessary elements for the good performance of the Austrian trade. The importance of the Levantine traders for the empire also appears from the measures taken by the Viennese court in their favor. Charles VI granted them by the same decree in April 1725, additional facilities for the imported goods in the empire and the export of the Eastern Austrian products, and Maria Teresa is looking through stimulating measures, to settle them in the Habsburg countries. Contrary to expectations, these measures more hamper than helps the Transylvanian industry. Moreover, they increase the dissatisfaction of the local merchants (who see their old privileges threaten), producing significant changes in their commercial plans. The competition of the Levantine merchants and the high prices of the Austrian goods move the Transylvanian merchants to the Western market (those of Breslau and Lipsca in particular). This happened due to the higher custom tariffs of Hungary and of the insufficient product offer. From these markets, even if they were passing longer roads, came out cheaper than with the goods bought from the inherited countries (since through the Polish customs cost only a third part of what it had paid to the transport goods from Vienna to Transylvania)³⁰.

Wishing to “weld” the trade of the empire Transylvania, Maria Theresa imposes a new customs tariff to Hungary (1754) that increases considerably the taxes on the products imported from the West (between 100% and 700%) and decreases it in turn to the Austrian ones (from 5 to 2%). As regarding Transylvania they set, as for “any foreign goods” in the West, “brought either directly from abroad or by hereditary countries, will pay a fee of 30%; for the foreign goods, but bought in Austria, the tariff will be 4% and 2% for the Austrian goods”, to which they will add the fee of 1% for transit through Hungary³¹. Simultaneously the Viennese court also passes to a severe policy of

³⁰ Ioan Moga, *op. cit.*, p. 153-165.

³¹ Victor Jinga, *op. cit.*, p. 198; Ioan Moga, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

prohibiting the import of certain Western goods (the fabrics, weaving fabrics and wire, the lace and embroidery in 1749, those sewing and the brass products in 1759, silk and metal products in 1770, etc.). Following these measures, the selling of the Western goods in the empire almost disappears, which will not bring the awaited revival of the Habsburg countries industry. Due to the consumption needs, the industrial products are diversifying, but they still will be, because of the lack of competition, qualitatively lower to the foreign ones and a little more expensive, encouraging the merchants' smuggling. Faced with these realities, the Viennese authorities give up the protectionist policy. The patent of 1774 leaves the prohibition for the most forbidden items, which can be purchased from now on also by the Transylvanian merchants, even if not directly from abroad, but from Austria³². The old ties of the Transylvanian traders with the West, although frail recover, they do not reach the magnitude before these measures. The exports of Transylvania during this century, will never reach the imports of goods, the export maintaining, throughout this period, to only 50-75% of the import value³³.

Under the proposed measures for the economic growth of Transylvania, also given its natural resources, the mining plays a predominant role. From the beginning, the deposits of ferrous and non-ferrous minerals of Transylvania came to the attention of the Austrian authorities. In the first phase, while the Empire was engaged in military conflicts, the state efforts will go towards the exploitation of the mercury and gold (which were not claiming expensive equipment, but brought money safe), then they also move to the exploitation of the other metals. Throughout this period, the exploitation of the *non-ferrous deposits* concentrates in the area of Abrud, in the region of Baia Mare - Baia Sprie and Rodna. A place mainly in the *iron extraction* still now occupies the older exploitations in the area of Hunedoara and Rimetea, to which they added the newer (but smaller) mines from Tomești, Birtin and Vața de Jos. They exploited more intensively the *salt*, in its turn, in Dej, Turda, Cojocna, Ocna Sibiu and other places of lesser importance. At first, the measures taken by the Austrian authorities are considering, moreover, the restoration of the production potential (construction, installation, maintenance of the artificial lakes, etc.). They also have in view the creation of several favorable premises to practicing it (bringing foreign experts, the appointment of some inspectors responsible for overseeing and organizing the production, establishment of some exchange offices, organization of the administration and establishment of mining schools, etc.)³⁴. In the second half of the 18th century, on the background of increasing

³² Ioan Moga, *op. cit.*, p. 166-168,

³³ Victor Jinga, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 117-199; Alexandru Neamțu, *Organizarea și exploatarea ocnelor de sare din Transilvania în secolul al XVIII-lea*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj*, 1973, p. 41-44; Ioachim Lazăr, *Contribuții hunedorene la dezvoltarea tehnicii mineritului și prelucrării*

the needs imposed by the loss of Silesia, the measures will have a more intensive character. To stimulate the production, the state makes investments (builds ovens, ore crushing machines, etc.), it promotes the deep mining, attracts private investors (grants advantageous loans). In this respect, it establishes a new mining regulation (1771) that includes measures to encourage the private mining. Moreover, it establishes some prizes to stimulate the production (including the serfs). In this period to support the mining activity besides that they will bring specialists in the tradition areas of the empire, they also will support the innovative activities of some local people, such as those of Idu Crăciun and Munteanu Urs, whose achievements (ore crushing machines and gold washing devices) even the Court of Vienna will appreciate them³⁵. From these measures, the results are not slow to appear. In 1710 they changed at revenue office 13,630 pisete ("piseta" is the singular for a beaker used also as a unit of measurement for gold with a capacity of 250 - 500 - 1000 ml) of the so-called "free gold", in 1801 they reached 78,106 pisete, and in 1830 to 135,413 pisete. That happened while the Transylvanian production of iron also reached in 1847 the amount of 60,000 of maji³⁶ (unit of measurement ranging between 50 or 60 Kg.). Along with the production, the incomes are also increasing. In 1761, the tax revenues from mining reached in Transylvania and Banat, the sum of 285,049 florins³⁷, that in 1842 the value of the "production of gold, silver, copper, lead and mercury" only in Transylvania to reach 1,556,990 Hungarian silver florins³⁸. Also, the share paid work increases significantly during this period, some mines reaching to use now several hundreds of employed workers (in 1771, they registered 809 miners at Săcărâmb, in Baia Sprie about 1000, and on the Zlatna area will work in 1782 a total of 2,013 employed workers)³⁹.

The mining exploitations of Crișana are related to the presence of the iron minerals in the area of Vașcău, Hălmagi and Valea Pietroasei or the Mountains of Codru-Moma (in the iron mines of Moneasa, Desna, Zimbru⁴⁰). The presence of some non-ferrous minerals in the area of Vașcău (copper in

metalului în secolul al XVIII-lea, în Studii și comunicări de istorie a civilizației populare din România, 1981, Sibiu, 67-72.

³⁵ Alexandru Neamțu, *Tehnica minieră din Transilvania în secolul al XVIII-lea – inovații și inovatori*, în *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie din Cluj*, 1971, p. 82-104.

³⁶ Ștefan Imrech, *Despre începuturile industriei capitaliste din Transilvania în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*, Academia Republicii Populare Române Publishing House, 1955, p. 20-21

³⁷ Susana Andea, Avram Andea, *Structuri transilvănene în epoca luminilor*, Cluj-Napoca, 1996, p. 18.

³⁸ Ștefan Imrech, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

³⁹ Bujor Surdu, *Liniile dezvoltării...*, p. 120-121.

⁴⁰ Géza Kovách, *Stăpânirea habsburgică și destrămarea feudalismului*, în *Aradul, permanență în istoria patriei*, Arad, 1978, p. 178.

particular)⁴¹ will be the motif of setting up a manufacturing enterprise at Băița. At the beginning of the 18th century, at the Roman Catholic Bishop Nicholae Csáky initiative, they recorded also the initial steps to exploit the rich deposits of marble in the area of Vașcău, which will then take a larger amplex⁴².

Another base component of the state economic policy will be the manufacturing industry. After the establishment of the Habsburg rule, the Court of Vienna will subordinate to its own interests the establishment of the manufactures. In the first part of the 18th century, they seek as their development in Transylvania to contain only those sectors that could not concur the industry in the hereditary countries, conditioning their establishment to a permit from the state authorities. The main initiator is now the state. The most important investments they will make in the Banat, the largest domain of the Crown in the 18th century, where operate many manufactures of iron, copper, textiles, glass, silk, etc.⁴³. In Transylvania, they will reduce more the investments, which link to the exploitation of some raw materials or the meet of their own domestic needs. During this period, the state restores the older manufactures of iron (Hunedoara), of glass (Porumbacul de Jos) or establishes new ones, of paper (Gheorghieni -1714, Făgăraș -1725) of saltpeter and gunpowder (Alba-Iulia, Mircești, Sibiu)⁴⁴. The smaller scale initiatives begin to appear also on the noble fields, where they establish smaller manufactures (especially of glass and potash) for the use of some raw materials (wood, sand) that are abundant on these lands. There will be situations when the actions of some nobles are of large amplex. This is the case of the iron manufacture from Rimetea (Cluj County), the property of Toroczkaï family (which at the end of the century produced up to 10,000 maji of iron) or those of paper of the Count Haller from Deva, of the Teleki family from Oprea Cârțișoara, of the Count Keméncz Simon from Porcești⁴⁵. Towards the middle of the 18th century also merchant manufactures begin to appear as they are those from Timișoara, Sighișoara and Gherla⁴⁶ and even manufactures owned by several cities: Sibiu (alum and lime), Bistrița (lime, beer, saltpeter). The loss of Silesia compels the Imperial authorities to moderate the protectionist policies practiced so far, the measures to encourage the industrial production, to cover the domestic consumption, stimulates also the manufacturing activity in Transylvania. Now

⁴¹ Borovszky Samu, *Bihar vármegye és Nagyvárad*, Budapest, 1901, p. 33-34.

⁴² Bunyitay Vincze, *A váradî püspökség története - A váradî püspökök - a számüzetés s az újraalapítás*

⁴³ Bujor Surdu, *Liniile dezvoltării...*, p. 124-125.

⁴⁴ Jako Zsigmond, *Scurt istoric al manufacturilor de hîrtie din Transilvania*, in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai*, seria Historia, fascicula 1, Cluj-Napoca, 1964, p. 24-32; *Istoria României*, vol. III, Bucharest, 1964, p. 412; *Din Istoria Transilvaniei* (Second Edition), Bucharest, 1961, p. 236.

⁴⁵ Bujor Surdu, *Liniile dezvoltării...*, p. 127-128.

⁴⁶ *Din Istoria Transilvaniei* (Second Edition), Bucharest, 1961, p. 236.

it develops the manufactures production and diversifies their activity field. It is the case of the iron manufacturing from Hunedoara zone which increases its number of workshops from 5 to 11, and since 1754 at Toplița it stands an oven with a capacity of 1,200 tons per year, a place where was operating also a sewing, sickles, saws, files workshop, etc.⁴⁷.

For the 18th century in Transylvania there are identified as operating for a longer or shorter time, not less than 144 manufactures or companies⁴⁸ in which 80 belonged to the state (over half), 20 to the nobles, and the rest to certain cities, guilds, companies or individuals⁴⁹.

In the first part of the 19th century the manufacturing industry is growing steadily, a special feature of it is given by the increasing of the number of manufactures set up by the nobility, by the increased use of wage labor and the constant concern of the initiators to equip with modern equipments the production workshops. After a time, they brought these machines mainly from abroad; with the time appear also to us workshops for making the sophisticated tools (in Arad in 1825, at Rușchița in 1834, in Cluj in 1840 and in Oradea in 1844 and 1847)⁵⁰. According to several statistics, more or less comprehensive, the number of “factories” and manufactures in Transylvania in 1839 was 278 units (plus 691 sawmills and 2,952 mills), in 1844, 259 units plus 3,042 mills (which 300 of barley) and 969 sawmills⁵¹, as in 1845, according to other statistics, to reach 295 units⁵².

In 1847, among the most important enterprises of this kind were mentioned the “factory” of candles and soap from Sibiu (with an annual production of 1,500 quintiles, both exported in the Principalities and Hungary), the “factory” of waxen candles of Brașov. In the leather industry we note the

⁴⁷ Bujor Surdu, *Liniile dezvoltării...*, p. 126.

⁴⁸ Of these 25 were of iron, 12 bronze, 17 of saltpeter, 4 gunpowder, 1 alum stone, 1 blue-stone, 2 mercury, 1 vitriol, 2 soda, 1 soap, 3 wax albite, 7 of potash, 12 glass 19 paper, 2 cloth, 1 aba, 1 of blankets, 2 hats, 2 of fabric, 5 yarn dyed, 1 of tapestries, 1 of stockings, 1 cotton, silk or wool thread, 1 of gold and silver threads, 5 of silk, 5 of leather, 5 of beer, 1 of vodka, 1 of oil and 3 of lime. Idem, *Contribuții la problema...*, p. 221-232.

⁴⁹ Angelika Schaser, *Reformele iosefine în Transilvania și urmările lor în viața socială*, Hora Publishing House, Sibiu, 2000, p. 97.

⁵⁰ Ladislau Gyémánt, *Modernizarea instrumentarului economic și mentalitate nobiliară în Transilvania (sec. XVIII-XIX)*, in *Convergențe europene – Istorie și societate în epoca modernă*, Cluj-Napoca, 1993, p. 100; *Din Istoria Transilvaniei* (ediția a II-a), Bucharest, 1961, p. 303-304.

⁵¹ Of which, in 1839, 72 factories were for processing wool and cotton, 1 of leather and articles of leather, 6 of paper and cards, 2 of porcelain and earthenware, 6 of glass, 52 enterprises and establishments for processing iron, 4 for processing of copper, 1 sugar refinery, 6 for the manufacture of spirits and spirit, 3 “factories” of vinegar, 2 of wax, 4 of hats, 9 of candles, 8 of grindstones and sharpening stones, 8 for making bolts, 7 for tanning, 3 whitening wax, 83 blankets and 1 for processing the felt. Ștefan Imrech, *op. cit.*, p. 12-13.

⁵² *Á gyáarak száma és felosztása, în Hetilap*, no. 35, 1845, p. 550-551.

company of Dück in Braşov (who worked for the army, too), that of Sibiu and near Năsăud; major factories of rapeseed oil were at Sadu, Cluj (of the merchant Lasky in Pest, equipped with machines), in Sibiu (of Aloise Nisch) and of the count Daniel Wass from Țaga. Tobacco processing factories were in Cluj, Sibiu (where they annually produced about 100,000 cigarettes), in Sighișoara, and in the early 1848, they also established that in Timișoara. They produced sugar in Gârbou (in the “factory” of the Baroness Jósika), Cluj and Sibiu (where since 1843 they processed 20,000-25,000 quintiles of beet), moreover, such companies worked temporarily between 1836-1840 also to Galșa, Iratoș, Săcuieni - Bihor County, Satu Mare and Braşov. During this period was also famous the faience factory from Batiz (which made goods worth of 30-40,000 florins annually and which products of were known far beyond the borders of Transylvania), and those from Braşov (of Fleischer and Piroritti) or of the Bornemissza family from Gurghiu. Paper mills in 1847 are referred to Orlat (with 65 workers and equipped with machines, with expenses of 20,000-25,000 florins and revenues of 60-80,000 florins), at Avrig, Sibiu, Prundul Bârgăului, Gurghiu, Sânmartin (Ciuc) Sânmihai (Ciuc), Miercurea-Ciuc, Ghelința, Strungari, Roșcani, Pădurea Verde, Abric, Bogata, Aiudul de Sus, Cârțișoara, Cluj-Mănăştur , Bologa and Braşov “factory” of cards. Glass processing small workshops or “glassware” more important operating in Transylvania were at Porumbac, Gurghiu, Bicsad, Almaşu Mare (Alba), Borsec Zălanului Valley, Arpaşul de Sus and Cârțișoara and outside this province at Tomești (Caraş County), Poiana Codrului (Satu Mare County), Beliu (Bihor County), etc. In the chemical industry, among the refineries of saltpeter and other establishments of this kind, the most important company was that in Timișoara (of Ludovic Eggenberg) whose income in this period was amounting to 72,000 florins.

The best represented at this time was the textile industry where was operating now a wide range of “factories” and manufactures: for the production of cloth (Sadu, Chirui - Odorhei, Pui - near Hațeg, Braşov, Cislădie, Gura Râului), for the cotton spinning (at Orlat, Braşov Zărnești - that of Constantin Ioanovici who in 1851 had 43 workers and 7 cars), for the cotton fabrics and plate prints (Sebeș, Sighișoara), for the production of silk (Timișoara, Sibiu, Cluj, Braşov Gârbău), for hats, for weaving flax and hemp, for processing the felt, for braiding ropes and twines, etc. In Transylvania during this period, they processed 40,000 quintiles of wool (10,000 quintiles for cloth, 30,000 quintiles for blankets) of which they obtained about 25,000 quintiles of finished goods⁵³.

In this context, we can mention also the industrial enterprises in Crișana. In the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century we can identify as operating in Crișana for a longer or shorter time, a number of 35 industrial

⁵³ Ștefan Imrech, *op. cit.*, p. 14-20.

establishments as more important: *12 of processing the iron* (3 of the Roman Catholic Bishopric of Oradea, 1 of the Greek Catholic Bishopric of Oradea participating with individuals, one of the local communities, 7 noble initiatives), *1 of mining and processing the copper* (state owned), *9 of producing the glass* (2 of the Roman Catholic Bishopric, 7 noble enterprises), *1 of cloth* (of the Roman Catholic Bishopric), *2 of silk* (a mixed one - owned by the state together with a private, one owned by a merchant), *1 of paper* (of the Greek Catholic Bishopric) and *9 of beer* (two of the Capitle, 3 of the Roman Catholic Bishopric and 4 are noble companies). This without taking into account also other enterprises of smaller amplex, but their number is impressive (34 potash processing small workshops - 16 nobiliary and 18 ecclesiastic, 16 mills of boards - 12 ecclesiastic, 2 nobiliary, 1 rural, 1 of the state, numerous brickyards, etc.)⁵⁴. In addition, in the mid-19th century are mentioned with the nickname “factory” also others: (weapons, needles, vinegar, bronze frames, bituminous schist - at Derna, 4 oil mills - 3 in Oradea, 1 at Santăul Mic, small tobacco factories - in Oradea Olosig⁵⁵ and 12 “factories” of alcohol⁵⁶, etc.).

Despite of the progress registered in this period those hundreds of manufactures operating in Transylvania at the end of this period will be much lower than that of the “Austrian monarchy’s manufactures”. Their number will reach 8,910, a fact reflected also by the value of the production per inhabitant (which in 1845 was of 7 florins in Transylvania and of 77 florins in the Lower Austria). While the value of the textile industry in Transylvania, where we meet now the most manufactures, only reached 2 million florins, the global production value of the Austrian provinces reached 60 million florins⁵⁷. It is a situation that emerges from the commercial balance of Transylvania in this period. In 1797 the total value of the imports was of 1,331,739 florins, and of the exports of only 627-853 florins, in 1799 the imports increase to 2,840,057 florins, and the exports at 730,956 florins, so that later, between 1835-1839, the annual deficit of Transylvania and Hungary to reach 39.513,000 florins, of which “about 9.5000.000 florins concerned Transylvania”⁵⁸. There are figures that, ultimately, come to confirm for themselves the different manner in which the Habsburg authorities had “treated” in the terms of economic the territories

⁵⁴ Ioan Goman, *Demersuri de eficientizare a activității manufacturiere pe domeniile marilor proprietari de pământ din Crișana în secolul al XVIII-lea și în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea*, in *Comitatul Bihor în timpul trecător. Fragmente din istoria comitatului Bihor Crișan (Bihar vármegye a múltó időben.Fejezetek)*.

⁵⁵ Fényes Elek, *Magyarország geographiai szótára (Dicționarul geografic al localităților din Ungaria)*, Pesta, 1851, vol. IV, p. 64, 262-264.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 23, vol. II, p. 155, vol. III, p. 24-25, 67, 192; vol. IV, p. 8, 64, 180, 200, 209, 305.

⁵⁷ Ștefan Imrech, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8-9.

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newly acquired (as it also was the case of Transylvania) towards the hereditary provinces. The state, excepting the mining industry and of the manufactures of silk⁵⁹, limited during this period more to regulate than to invest in the Transylvanian industry.

However, so, although they directed to branches, which do not compete with the industrial enterprises in the inherited provinces, the economic policy pursued by the Austrian authorities gave a strong impulse to the technical progress from here, proving to be a substantial support for the economic development in a later time.

⁵⁹ Susana Andea, Avram Andea, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

OFFICIAL PROPAGANDA AT NOBLE AND PEASANT LEVEL DURING THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

*Edith BODO**

Abstract: *In the context of the European wars in the late part of the century what was going down in the first part of the new century, between 1792 and 1815, the permanent care of the Empire was, as with any war, the recruitment, training and maintenance of the army. However, for this, they had to attract the nobility on their side, in our case the Hungarian one and the peasantry. The most effective means of legitimizing the war among the people and their material support proved to be the propaganda campaign promoted by the Viennese Court. The direct military confrontation, the defeat on the battlefield and the approach of the French people to the borders of the Empire will strengthen this propaganda. At peasant level, they provided this performance by the main link element between people and king, the church, which did not, reproduced only the proclamations and the official communiqués, but also decoded the message to the general perception level. Regarding the relationship between nobles and king, the Diet was that achieved it, and when they has not convened it any more (since 1812), the committees took its role.*

Keywords: *Habsburg Empire, Napoleonic wars, propaganda, peasantry, Hungarian nobility*

During the European wars of the late part of the century what was going down in the first part of the new century, i.e., between 1792 and 1815, the Habsburg monarchy confronted firstly the revolutionary France. Then, it faced the Napoleonic one or, as a component of an anti-French coalition, or staying alone in front of this enemy¹ or even finding a position to fight on Napoleon's side in the campaign against Russia². Lying on either side of the barricade, its

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¹ Napoleon defeats the Austrians at Wagram (6 July), after which they sign the Treaty of Peace of Schönbrunn. By this, Austria lost the Illyrian provinces on the Adriatic Coast, with a population of 3 million and half people, its army was reduced to 150000 people and forced to pay damages of almost four million francs. See Andriana Stiles, *Napoleon, France and Europe*, All Publishing House, Bucharest, 1995, p. 28

² By the Franco-Austrian Treaty signed in Paris on 14 March 1812, Austria is committed to make available to Napoleon 30000 soldiers. Instead, Napoleon guaranteed to take Moldavia and Wallachia from Russia, and gave Austria guarantees for the possession of Galicia or other

participation in the wars proved extremely expensive, often necessitated resorting to internal or external loans for issuance of banknotes³, the Austrian state debt in 1811 reached to 11 million florins. Unable to obtain the exchange of banknotes at their nominal value, there was a devaluation of 1/5 of the nominal value and ultimately to the State bankruptcy (1811). To these are also added the complications of a poor harvest in 1813, which was related to the natural disasters in the years 1814 to 1816, the drought alternating with more snows in May and strong spring floods, plagues of locusts, epidemics and general famine⁴.

In this unfavorable context, the permanent care of the Empire was, as with any war, the recruitment, training and maintenance of the army. However, for this, they had to attract the nobility on their side, in our case the Hungarian one and the peasantry. The Hungarian nobility, concerned about the possibility of losing its privileges seeing in France the main danger in this regard it supported the Court of Vienna, almost the entire period of the Napoleonic Wars. Both Napoleon's proclamation, issued in 1809, during the occupation of Vienna and asking the Hungarian nobility to fight to regain the national freedom and to elect their own king to govern in their interests could not change this state of fact.

It is true that the nobility was often dissatisfied with the measures taken by the Court, the exaggerated military tasks and the Austrian defeats on the battlefield, but in case of emergency, it put away all these complaints and supported with all its powers, Vienna. It gave money, crops, recruits farmers and if needed provided the noble insurrection, too⁵.

As regarding the peasantry, the difficulty of the feudal and military obligations, the acquisition of the taxes with their whole cortege of violence and abuse, has done nothing else but aggravate more their situation⁶. Thus, the encumbrance to participate in the war fell down with its full embarrassment on the peasant masses⁷.

The most effective means of legitimizing the war among the people and their material support proved to be the propaganda campaign promoted by the

appropriate local compensations as value. According to E.V. Tarle, *Napoleon*, All Publishing House, Bucharest, 1997, p. 307

³ Susana Andea, Avram Andea, *Structuri transilvane în Epoca Luminilor*, Cluj-Napoca, p. 33

⁴ Aurel Răduțiu, *O versiune românească a „orânduiei” guberniale din 1816 privind strângerea dărilor în Transilvania*, in *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai*, Series Historia, fasciculus 1, Cluj-Napoca, 1974, p. 37

⁵ Kosáry Domokos, *Újjáépítés és polgárosodás 1711-1867 (Reconstrucție și îmburghezire 1711-1867)*, Budapest, 1990, p. 210

⁶ Ion Georgescu, *L'opposition aux Habsbourgs des paysans roumains durant les guerres napoléoniennes (1798-1815)*, in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, tome X, no. 6, 1971, p. 1027

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 1030

Viennese Court. The direct military confrontation, the defeats on the battlefield and the French people approach to the Empire borders will strengthen this propaganda⁸.

At peasant level, they provided this performance by the main link element between people and king, the church, which did not reproduced only the proclamations and the official communiqués, but also decoded the message to the general perception level⁹.

Regarding the relationship between nobles and king, the Diet was that that achieved it, and when they has not convened it any more (since 1812), the committees took over its role. This situation occurred after the defeat of Napoleon in Russia, a war in which Austria had fought alongside the Napoleonic France. Francis I had to resort again to the help of the nobility, asking the committees for four times, between February and November 1813¹⁰, recruits and in-kind support, too.

At the subsidiary of Oradea of the State Archives they stored the protocol of April 20, 1813¹¹ general meeting, held in Oradea - Olosig, when they discussed the “Royal Majesty merciful letter dated 23 February, calendar year, under the number 2334”. In the first part of the protocol, they bring in the content of the letter; its elaboration was attributed to the achievement of the peace, “all the countries and provinces of Europe need peace, the main goal of the tireless hard work being that to intercede together a permanent peace”¹².

In fact, the interminable wars have favored the nobility because they have rarely reached the country, and the price of wheat rose steadily, and the owners wishing rather “spring rains and long wars”¹³. During the cereal conjuncture, the big landowners have tried to produce as much, by increasing the allodia, or by upgrading the areas, by using intensive cultivation methods¹⁴. Thus, they were the biggest profiteers of the new economic opportunities.

To sensitize the nobility, the monarch still appeals to the patriotic emotion and loyalty towards the Austrian House, as well to the merits acquired in past by this committee. “As in the past, when this committee took part with the whole praise [to war] and demonstrated its diligence and promptness,

⁸ Nicolae Bocșan, Mihail Duma, Petru Bona, *Franța și Banatul (1789-1815)*, Reșița, 1994, p. 32

⁹ Petre Din, *Ipostaze ale mitului „bunului împărat” în Transilvania sub Francisc I al Austriei, în Identitate și alteritate 3-studii de istorie politică și culturală*, editors : Nicolae Bocșan, Sorin Mitu, Toader Nicoară, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, p. 345

¹⁰ Since February to November 1813 major changes occur in the Austrian politics, which, of one allied to Napoleon during the Russian campaign, will become since 10 August, part of the anti-Napoleonic coalition

¹¹ National Archives - Bihor County Directorate, *fond Episcopia greco-catolică de Oradea, inv. 881* (hereinafter: N.A. - D.Bh.C. *fond Episcopia greco-catolică...*), dos. 182, f. 22-25

¹² *Ibid.*, f. 22

¹³ Unger Mátyás, Szabolcs Ottó, *Magyarország története (Istoria Ungariei)*, Budapest, 1973, p. 153

¹⁴ Kosáry Domokos, *op. cit.*, p. 214

attracting thus, the full satisfaction of the king will not allow others [committees] or primacy now, and will also give commands, so in six weeks that will provide 653 recruits”¹⁵. The same does also the president of the meeting, “as the official charged by the august ruler, but also as a true patriot”¹⁶, who, after presenting those required as support presented in text as “sacrifices”, “but that by the care of the Majesty were relieved by the fact that they offered the alternative of redemption in cash”¹⁷. He will tell words of praise towards the Hungarian nobility, saying about it, among other things, that “it does not discourage nor the worst situations”. It “has a strong soul”, “takes measures which results of correspond to the confidence of the august king that he has in the Hungarian nation”, “to defend the country and the king who are inseparable interlinked with each other, at all the times they been willing to sacrifice their wealth and blood”¹⁸. This latter case refers to the 1741 moment when the Hungarian nobility gave Maria Theresa its “life and blood” in order to sustain the queen. Thus, the propaganda at this level is done by touching a sensitive string; it relies on a dynastic patriotism, expressed by the loyalty towards “country” and especially towards the king¹⁹.

The texts addressed to the peasants, and generally being about the church circulars, they generally neglect the national or ethnic factor, they emphasize instead the idea of attachment to a “homeland” conceived as a political entity with no national uniform substrate. However, citing the danger of the “enemy”, nominated in that French one, and in the case of this level, they call for the attachment towards the emperor and dynasty²⁰. They appeal primarily not only to the primitive “blind” belief towards the king, but also to an awareness of the common good of the empire, of the existence of several general interests of all, symbolized by the idea of the attachment towards the monarch.

Another characteristic means of any propaganda for war is the advertising done to the victory achieved, however small it was, and around the peace agreements, which meant moments of respite and release, and especially the return of those left in army, on the front. Returning to the text of the document already mentioned above, they grant mitigating circumstances to Francis I, also, who is a “compassionate ruler” and a “friend of the legal constitution”, “father of the people”, but who had the misfortune to reign in “times so unfavorable when the shortcomings got into the vortex of the danger

¹⁵ N.A. - D.Bh.C., *fond Episcopia greco-catolică...*, f. 22v

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 24

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 23

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 23v

¹⁹ Sorin Mitu, *Propagandă...*, p. 246

²⁰ Petre Din, *op. cit.*, p. 347

almost the whole Europe”. Although the states invoke various reasons, such as for example the weather causes “this committee was deprived of almost all the crops because of the terrible hail”, financial reasons “[the committee]does not carry out commercial activities and is surrounded by more fruitful committees which bring here their grain for sale”. Then, “the high price of the salt”, “reducing the number of cattle and their various diseases” or that “the committee suffers also of limiting the tobacco trade”, so despite of these reasons invoked, the effect is that expected.

Therefore, we know the reasons why the nobility continued to support the Empire; it is about the conservation of the feudalism, the preservation of its privileges. However, the peasantry, found in a difficult situation, why did not embrace the innovative ideas coming from France? In our opinion, one reason could be the strong propaganda that associated the name of French to the idea of foreign, Catholic, warrior or knight, outlining at the level of peasant a negative image, of rejecting, at his address.

Would they have been more receptive if Napoleon had spoken to the great mass of peasants and not to the nobility? We know that it met these realities, especially by involving the peasant soldiers in the wars carried by the Empire, their quartering in faraway garrisons, often putting them in touch with the realities of the Western Europe.

Thus, we can perceive the wars with France as a struggle between old and new, at this moment, so far having satisfaction the old side.

TRADITION AND MODERNISM IN GRAPE WINE CULTURE IN THE 18TH -19TH CENTURIES CRIȘANA

*Adrian DUME**

Abstract: *Vine growing was always one of the major occupations of the inhabitants of Crișana and had an important place in their material and spiritual culture. The essence of winemaking in 18th and 19th century Crișana is the growing area, 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; the most important are the natural factors and conditions offered by this area for vine growing. Our study will not insist on this subject, another separate research is going to develop it. We can't omit the fact that no people in the plaintiff would acquire land in growing areas of Crișana. I am referring here to the Zichis and to the Grassalkovichs, important personalities of the economic life of the Hapsburg Empire, and to ecclesiastical personalities too, like Bishop Patachich Adamo, responsible for the vine growing freehold extension, in charge of Oradea. Increasing wine production in the 18th and 19th century, led to the increase of vine growing in the region of Crișana.*

Keywords: *vine growing, Crișana, history, the Habsburg Empire*

There is an old tradition in vine growing in Crișana, probably dating back from Antiquity, having a rich evolution in the period of the state of Dacia because there aren't any references during for this occupation in the migration period, but the documents about this reappeared in the the Medieval Hungarian State.

The existence of viticulture in Crișana is attested by Bishop Gerard, in his work, "Deliberatio" published in 1046, referring to its actual practice, emphasizing that if the vine is not dug, the weeds overrun they are harming the production.

In the 2nd half of the 11th century the feudal Hungarian state manages to consolidate his ruling over Crisana, making possible the development of agriculture in all its branches which lead to the appearance of the 1st medieval documentations about the practicing of vine growing in the space where Romanians live today. From a document we learn that , the Queen Gizella of

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Hungary gave Bakonybéli Abbey, with the consent of her husband, King Stephen I, in 1038, eight grape vine, with as many boars, located on the southwestern hill lean the boundary Miniș¹. In Bihor, the oldest written information about the practice of viticulture in this area come from an act of donation of King Geza I of Hungary to the monastery of St. Benedict "I gave near Bihor, land on which there are twenty servants' houses. I have decided that these ones and the other villages, previously mentioned, to mow the grass, to gather hay in the stack, to take care of home court and the court, to take wine, to feed the two horses of abbot in the winter"², the existence of the wine and its transport made us believe that viticulture is practiced in the area long before the document mentioned this facts. We have information, too, that in the late 12th century, one of the bishops of Oradea, Elvin, (1189-1200) owned five vineyards before becoming Bishop³.

In the 12th and 13th centuries new documents prove the existence of vineyards in the villages situated on the foot of the Zarand. At Pâncota, at Madera, at Ghioroc at Minis etc. the vineyards produced wine for the Catholic monasteries from Mocrea, Pâncota and Arad. In a document of King Bela III, in 1177, reconfirmed in 1202 at Arad, are mentioned 317 serfs, of whom 164 were winemakers, so half of their number, which confirms the magnitude of vine plantations in this area. The colonization of the Saxons by the Arpadien kings (12th century) in the areas of Sibiu, Alba and Bistrita, led to the development of viticulture in the territories between the rivers Târnava and Mures. This are is shown on maps as Weinland (Wine Country). The first clones of noble vine were of German origin, and were brought to Transylvania in the 12th century in Alba, within the nowadays settlements of Alba Iulia, Ighiu and Cricău⁴.

In the following centuries the amount of information about Arad vineyards are many, records are kept in areas and quantities of land handed over to monasteries and lords. Tithe in 1562 amounted to 141 000 liters and it was only the 10th part of the total production and cultivated area raised up to 700 hectares. Wine in the 14th century and 16th century, was the most valuable agricultural product, and it was considered to be a high needed product. In those times the wine production in the area covered the local necessity of consummation. The extra-wine was sold then under the mane of "Macra wine", which was sustained until the beginning of the 18th century. According to some historians, during the Ottoman occupation, the area planted with vines has decreased, but not too much. It is said that in 1562, the county Zarand, which

¹ Alexandru Mihalca, Emil Lazea, *Tradițiile și experiența culturii viței de vie în zona Aradului*, București, 1990, p. 16.

² *Documente privind istoria României, veacul: XI, XII și XIII, seria C, Transilvania*, vol. I (1075-1250), p. 1.

³ Liviu Borcea, *Bihorul medieval*, Oradea, 2005, p. 99.

⁴ Alexandru Mihalca, Emil Lazea, *op.cit.*, p. 15-23.

was included in the north of Arad vineyard, there were produced 10 800 hl of wine, which may only be obtained from an area of approximately 700 hectares of vines⁵.

In the 18th century takes place the expansion of this culture, vineyards came into possession of big landowners who were interested in both increasing income from agricultural production, and passionate about viticulture. These owners aren't necessary lay, in addition to the lay figures as counts Zichy or Grassalkovich ecclesiastical figures such as Bishop Adamo Patachich stand out, who in the second half of the 18th century expands both quantitatively and qualitatively vineyards in the Oradea area⁶. The incomes brought by the vines were superior to other agricultural production which lead to the rapid development of this sector.

The technical revolution of the modern age could not be acquired and not have consequences on an important area for the economy then, as was the wine. We must take into consideration that the rural population of Crișana in those times was a mosaic of ethnics and confessions and any changes or mobility must be reported to their conception and disposition to accept the new. But the new seeds were introduced into this world by the state, who was willing to increase its income or by the landowners interested in profit as well, of course that the peasant world of Crișana adapted to the new standards, taking, in many cases, the learning's from the feudal domain into their households.

Over time, wine of the Habsburg Empire has accentuated its particular features, differentiated by areas, according to the traditions handed down through generations. In this way the types of wines outlined, and the new types were adapted to the local conditions, the people used different practices in every area, these differences consisted in different ways to cut the vine and to lead it in growing, accentuating the specific attributes if the wines.

Due to the development of this branch of agriculture, on the Oradea domain, around 1600, tithe and the tax for the wine constituted an income more important than wheat because feudal lords regularly took 1/5 of the production⁷, a reality difficult to perceive for a world essentially rural, for whom ideal food was wheat bread. However, no tithe records from 1581 do not overlook the importance of this branch which produces 68 721 buckets of wine and who collects tithes of 12 521 buckets⁸. In Beiuș the tithe was not taken, and townspeople were forced in Făgăraș Country in the years 1508-1576 to bring

⁵ George Manea, *Podgoria Aradului în feudalismul dezvoltat (secolele XIV-XVI)*, în *Ziridava*, 1987, (în continuare: George Manea, *Podgoria.....*), p. 97.

⁶ Arhivele Naționale - Serviciul Județean Bihor, (în continuare: A.N.-S.J.Bh), *fond Episcopia romano-catolică, Acte economice*, (în continuare: *Episcopia....*) dos. 370/1778, f. 28, f. 71, f. 82, f. 99.

⁷ *David Prodan, Iobăgia în Transilvania în sec. XVI*, vol. II, București, 1968, p. 799.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 801.

one cask of wine from their vineyards to the land lords, in case that these ones were on their field. At Beiuș the tithe was taken only if the vine produced more than one cask of wine. To take tithes and none were instituted ministers named “dijmuitori” and all the surroundings were full of guards to stop any attempt evasion. These people were forced to stay up to 15 days in a town. They took only a half measure of wine (pint)⁹. Beginning with the 2nd half of the 18th century, a greater importance is given to vine culture, especially in Crișana. Many of the areas cultivated with vine were divided into plots and put into serfs, that maintained them and gave land lord the tithe. The quantities of wine held by the owners then increased the perception of tithes, plus often the census of production of wines of the serfs in Crișana. Tithe of wine is mentioned in almost all villages of Crișana, where there were cultivated lands with vines. Tithe of wine as the grain but varies from year to year, depending on the production and what they said on the occasion of serfs tax assessments in this area.” We pay a tax for all our pieces of sickle, corn, wine, hemp, in plant, lambs, goats, bee, but because these they hang from annual production, the lord cannot fix the amount¹⁰. To limit the extent of evasion, the owner of land, paid guards to oversee the vineyards during harvest to avoid any circumvention of the payment of tithes or none, data provided by documents relating to payment and from picking them, tells us, so we find that two of the gates 1815 Biharea headland was kept during 15 days of the Ioannes Toth and Stephanus Bodnar receiving the security amount of 12 florins and 30 coating each, a third gate was guarded of 12 days the Georginus Feher which was rewarded with 10 florins¹¹. The same method was used and the Diocese, where the 1826 harvest lasted 20 days, during which the three gates of the promoters were guarded by Ioannes I. Nagy, Mathias Leine and Ioannes Sz. Toth who were paid 6 florins and 40 each coating¹². You can see a difference in their remuneration, so that in the first case, the guards were paid an amount of coating 50 a day within 11 years of coating amount decreases to 20 per day. Even if you do not speak about the same things, decreased to 40% of the initial payment that can be as wine prices or production fall of that year.

The vines were connected with the people so much that they became more than simple plants, because beyond the economic interest they represented for many of them life itself. The man enter the vineyard with joy, humility and hope because the vine and the wine represented along time a series of Christian symbols or it belonged to the popular Christianity¹³. Despite her miraculous gift

⁹ Athanasie Bulencea, *Viile și Vinurile Transilvaniei*, București, 1975, p. 41.

¹⁰ Ștefan Meteș, *Viața agrară, economică a românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria*, vol. I, București, 1921, p. 69.

¹¹ A.N.-S.J.Bh, *fond Episcopia...*, r. 298, dos. 3192, f. 39.

¹² *Ibid*, f. 58.

¹³ Adrian Dumitru Dume, *Symbolology of Wine (Simbolistica vinului)*, în *Analele Universității din Oradea*, seria Istorie-Arheologie, Oradea, 2009, p. 87- 98.

to vegetate and to bear even in the worst conditions, the vine is grateful to the one who takes care of it and repays his effort by giving him the wine, the noblest drink of all.

The care and cultivation of the vine requires a minimum level of knowledge and appropriate agricultural tools. For vine cultivation specific set of farming tools was developed, represented by tools for maintaining crops, for obtaining grape and wine (transgressor, crushers, presses), storage containers (tubs, drums, faces) and specific locations for wine and wine storage (cellars, basements). In general, the tools can be classified after the works they are mented to do: tools for working in the vineyard, tools for the grape harvest, tools for winemaking and wine preservation¹⁴.

The tools used for the vineyard work aren't that different from common tools, used in other crops, such as hoe for weeding and digging, spade, pickaxe and "fork" a tool that has two teeth and is similar to the pickaxe, plus the ax and hand saw¹⁵. The tools with which viticulture is represented in the cultural heritage are called pruning. These tools, used for cutting vines, are of two types: without hatchet, of Ottoman tradition smaller and spreaded across the country and the ones with a hatchet, which are larger. These tools steel are documented in the Romanian during the age of Dacia, and were used also as weapons¹⁶. Tools used nowadays are smaller and are used for cutting cords, the peeling and cutting vine grape bunches, activities that do not require heavy tools, and can be performed using small knives and pruning. In the 20th century, scissors appear gradually replace this ancient tool.

The tools used to harvest grapes used include in addition to the pruning used for grape cutting, a series of wicker baskets, little, relative or pails with stretchers used to transport the grapes¹⁷ at the crafting place. To transport the grapes to Colne or to the residence areas they usually used the cart or the "cart for a cow"¹⁸. This small cart was at almost all the works in the vineyard because they could travel with him among the ranks of vine; it could carry the grapes and spray water or garbage. The transportation of the grapes to the houses was usually dome when the vines belonged to a landlord, because, in this way, they could avoid the theft. The grapes of the peasants were transformed into wine in a place called "headland", and its gates were guarded during the harvesting period. One such case is the headland of the town Cetariu, where in 1826 to guard the gates involved 8 guards, one for 13 days, the second for 16 days, 4 for

¹⁴ George Manea, *Inventarul viticol din Podgoria Aradului* (în continuare: *Inventarul viticol...*), în *Ziridava*, 1982, p. 465.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Catalin Borangic , *Câteva observații privind cosoarele din lumea dacică*, în *Nemvs*, 2010, nr. 9-10, p. 10-21; http://gk.ro/sarmizegetusa/armata_daca/cosoare.htm.

¹⁷ George Manea, *Inventarul viticol.....*, p. 466.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

20 days and 2 for 22 days which were remunerated for this work day with 20 coatings/day¹⁹. Interestingly, this distribution shows that not all doors were open during harvest or at certain gates that guard was sometimes doubled or tripled. However the incomes for this work were quite significant for this period, the guards remember earning between 4 florins, 20 and 7 florins coating, depending on days worked, without the existence of a hierarchy²⁰.

Other tools used in wine making are the tench and winepress of grapes, called generally "mustuitor" and in Arad "ciumuslău" grape press also called in the same area „șeitău”²¹, the tench - serves as a container for crafting grapes with the feet, a method used widely since Ancient times. They are made from two distinct parts: a solid wood base, at the exterior drain ditch side so that the wine could get out and part made of twigs, furniture, called basket or pen. An auxiliary component of the tench is named mold, carved from a single tree trunk, in which the wine drained. The winepress - made of hardwood, usually oak, is part of the screw presses or swirl in the middle. It consists of two parts: a pedestal carved from a single tree trunk and a pen - the board that puts pressure grapes from the whirlwind. In this way all the wine is extracted. This type of mold in the press of the pive evolve by adding in the middle of a vertical shaft that is screw timber enables them to constant handling easier and easier and more practical. Winepress wine preparation is kept or cellar or most often was placed in Vintere, which is the tease of case of wind from Holod field in the second half of the 18th century²².

Data on wine instruments are numerous, especially about the vineyard used in Arad²³. For the wine crafting they used wooden tubs with vrana on the bottom for the wine to drain. For this procedure they also used bags made especially for ironing. This method was used until the 1st half of the last century. Sometimes the bags were placed in a tub for grapes for normal stepping. The crafter or the "daralău" entered in the use of wine making only in the 2nd half of the 19th century. The first crafter was "a wooden roller," some with grooved wooden cylinder, like the iron. After 1872, the tools for smashing the grape with metal cylinders were introduced quickly in grape processing equipment, as in 1900 appeared in county Stats overwhelming number of 446. Of crushing, most were in the richest households and households own leased with and without living under an arable acres. To obtain a higher yield must be used to press grapes, which have one, two or three screws, called rolls or rollers. Was the most common type with a roll, with a capacity of about 200 kg

¹⁹ A.N.-S.J.Bh, *fond Episcopia.....*, r. 302, dos. 3205, f. 214.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ George Manea, *Inventarul viticol.....*, p. 466.

²² A.N.-S.J.Bh, *fond Domeniul Episcopesc român-unit Beiuș*, dos. 2.

²³ Alexandru Mihalca, Emil Lazea, *Tradițiile și experiența culturii viței de vie în zona Aradului*, Ed. Ceres, București, 1990, p. 127-128.

grape basket. One of the oldest wooden presses with a time of wood dates back to 1852, a citizen of Covășanț Nicholas Tudor, vine and wine museum acquired the Minis. Media platform to manufacture, usually wood, sometimes stone. A variant of a roll type press is mounted on wheels to be easily transported to different owners. Farmers have made their own mills, which the statistics of 1900. Of the 1578 grape presses available in the county, 1310 were wooden. A type of press wood huge size, for large properties, is at the Minis, which dates from 1778. The press has a beam about 10 m high and is located at the end forked wood screw. The sole weight screw is made to increase the weight of the lever and push force on the basket with beeswax. Basket capacity is about 1000 kg grapes. In addition to equipment and tools listed cellar inventory also includes a variety of containers such as "fart" or "flay" 10 liter "sofel" or "couches" 3-liter timber funnel "tolcer" tubs of varying capacities and pails of two fellows were few back to transport grapes.

In the category of vessels necessary to preserve the wine is generally barrel, the concave shape with two bottoms. Usually the barrels are made from staves of hardwood that are reinforced with iron rings. Also for wine fermentation are widely tubs, and large capacity are called bădăanii vessels²⁴. Vessels and barrels before and after use, clean with hot water and walnut leaves, then with clean water and stored. Because sulfur dioxide by burning a sulfur wick was not used by all podgoreni, especially Pâncota, mask, and Aгриș Radna, vessels are altered.

Viticulture traditional Hungarian parts of the Habsburg Empire involve a number of agricultural work such as cutting the first hoeing after budding, picketing, about three times the sprouts, the second hoeing, after greening, third hoeing after start cooking beans , gathering and burial²⁵.

In the sandy region of northwest noted in addition that agricultural work which became mandatory, since it was observed that some formations are impervious to water to remain suspended and has an unfavorable influence on the development of the vine. The dumping time of the fall was made in winter when there was no other work in the household and the land became more easily moved because it was well watered by rain in depth. In this case planting vines achieve different parts. However, labor productivity in this season because of short days and the cold, was small. Only much later was the beginning of the summer sometimes the dumping and planting in this case it was autumn. But this procedure is rarely used, especially that land often suffered. The bottom beneficial influence of frost and until depth is not small, not as mechanical structure. But there is another reason. Clay land, which are mostly in Transylvania keep rain water and snow and vines just planted roots

²⁴ George Manea, *Inventarul viticol.....*, p. 471.

²⁵ Adrian Apan, *Domeniul contelui Stubenberg 1700-1948*, teză de doctorat, Universitatea din Oradea, 2007, p. 256.

freeze and rot. Autumn planting method fits sandy soils where water is able to sneak in layers of deepness. However there are valuable observations showing that you can plant in spring, but in this case must be considered that planting is done later when the earth is also heated, so even by May²⁶.

Vineyards were a sacred space, unperturbed than during maintenance or harvest joy. Early autumn vineyards clamor filled and fun, vineyards become an area of solidarity, an area where local community have the opportunity manifestation of solidarity and mutual support. Agricultural work does not mean or they just physically, but an amount of community ritual moments²⁷. It was harvest time, was a celebration for people from the youngest child able to help the oldest family member, in carts or on foot climbing hills with empty baskets to fill with beans that have picked sweetness of life-giving sun. In addition to the local community, often participating in vintage and day laborers from other areas less fertile in these times down to the field to win both their existence and their families, but most often mentioned during these days work represented only be made to the master robot to the ground. It is understood that the day offers the opportunity to harvest a communication and information about what was happening in the community. People were finding the opportunity, and opportunity conclusion of economic transactions, marriage, the development of new generations so important in communities of those times²⁸. Vintage was a reason to party after October 15, Romanians from Mișca are mentioned Peretsényi Nagy László as spending with mulled wine and singing in their language²⁹. And the shekel, the most powerful Romanian village during vintage was much rejoicing. Mentioned as the "binge squeezed from vineyards that repeatedly stopped the county and in 1748 sentenced to 12 florins by the inhabitants of shekels." In plain Arad, not too much to drive the Turks out, sing a Romanian song, originated in the eighteenth century. Arad County banned the song repeatedly, but to no avail. Finally, in 1748, the administration decided to punish reluctant for 12 florins, which meant each "medium price of an ox conditions"³⁰.

Production vineyards, depending different years, the nature of soil, etc. are growing. Is the extent of the pails (42.5 liters have a small tub and a large tub was 85 liters) of wine buckets (a bucket of Oradea was 42, 4-liter bucket of Debrecen, in the seventeenth century and was 83 liter bucket of Bihar in the eighteenth century was 125.06 liters) or boxes (an urn was 10.18 liters and an

²⁶ Athanasie Bulencea, *Viile și Vinurile Transilvaniei*, București, 1975, p. 89.

²⁷ Barbu Ștefănescu, *Lumea rurală în Crișana între ev mediu și modern*, Oradea, 2006, p. 77.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 55-66.

²⁹ George Manea, *Un manuscris din anul 1805 despre viticultura județului Arad*, în *Ziridava*, 1981, Arad, p. 334.

³⁰ Alexandru Mihalca, Emil Lazea, *op.cit.*, p. 107.

urn of Oradea was 40-50 liters)³¹. Thus, Oradea salesman made in their vineyards, which were in other vineyards than incite the city, 23 971 buckets of wine, which represent 35% of the total production of the land and all boroughs had an output of 49 889 buckets, which were in year 1581, in percent, about 73% of production. But we cannot report this to the existing living area when³².

Data on wine production, and of the plans may result Inspectorate wine offers or information about the amounts of trade with wine or wine amount charged to Oradea, Bihar, and Szentimre Cetariu Diocese. Thus in 1727 the total income of 2886 florins gain in revenues³³ in 1728 reached the sum of 8621 florins³⁴, in 1730 the amount decreased to 2909 florins³⁵, in 1737 the 2955 urns with wine³⁶ turnout of 10,338 Rhineland florins³⁷, in 1738 of 2889 urns of wine get 5895 Rhineland florins, in 1739 from 3433 urns of wine³⁸ get 5583 Rhineland florins³⁹, in 1740 from 997 urns of wine⁴⁰ they got 8084 florins⁴¹, in 1742 obtained from 1204 urns of wine⁴² 4540 Rhineland florins⁴³. The analysis of these data can have an overview of the production of those years and the wines produced in those years. We note that wine production in the Diocese is fluctuating and related to the natural conditions of those years. Revenues from this sector are however significant and depend not only on quantity of production especially as quality. Years with high yields and high income does not necessarily mean, as they depend largely on the price of wine, even in the benchmarking results prove the years 1739-1740, when we see that even if the wine quantitatively decreased to less than one third second year, nearly doubling revenues.

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³¹ Adrian Apan, *Domeniul contelui Stubenberg 1700-1948*, teză de doctorat, Universitatea din Oradea, 2007, p. 436.

³² Athanasie Bulencea, *op.cit*, p. 43-44.

³³ Arhivele Naționale - Serviciul Județean Bihor, *fond Episcopia*, dos. 605/1727, f. 4.

³⁴ *Ibid*, dos. 606/1728, f. 7.

³⁵ *Ibid*, dos. 607/1730, f. 4.

³⁶ *Ibid*, dos. 608/1737, f. 2.

³⁷ *Ibid*, f. 6.

³⁸ *Ibid*, dos. 609/1738, f. 2.

³⁹ *Ibid*, dos. 610/1739, f. 2.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, f. 7.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, dos. 611/1740, f. 29.

⁴² *Ibid*, f. 31.

⁴³ *Ibid*, dos. 612/1742, f. 2-5.

Rhineland in 1740 of 997 boxes of wine are produced Rhineland 8084 florins, in 1204 than in 1742 obtained urns wine Rhineland 4540 florins. The analysis of these data can have an overview of the production of those years and the wines produced in those years. We note that wine production in the Diocese is fluctuating and related to the natural conditions of those years. Revenues from this sector are however significant and depend not only on quantity of production especially as quality. Years with high yields and high income does not necessarily mean, as they depend largely on the price of wine, even in the benchmarking results prove the years 1739-1740, when we see that even if the wine quantitatively decreased to less than one third second year, nearly doubling revenues.

Speak about wine production and quantities collected from Nona and decimated the years 1730-1732, as follows: the promoters Olosig Oradea-giving in 1730 is obtained from 224 ballot boxes, ballot boxes in 1731 -151, 1732-229 to polls;⁴⁴ the Diocese in 1730 is obtained from the 2394 release of the polls of polls in 1731 -1632, 1732 to 2166 of polls;⁴⁵ to Biharea in 1730 is obtained from the 2174 release of the polls of polls in 1731 -1779, 1732 to 2704 the turnout;⁴⁶ Cetariu in 1730 and the release is obtained from the 1425 polls, the polls in 1731 -1241, 1732 to 1875 of polls⁴⁷. We see in all four cities mentioned that 1731 was a year much less productive than the year 1730, and that in 1732 obtained a quantity of wine was much higher than the previous year and even than in 1730.

Tithe reasons outlined an overview of the practice of viticulture on the Oradea early nineteenth century, so in 1803 the area gathered 23,810 boxes of wine⁴⁸. The cultivation of vine in Oradea, in 1806, was present in : Olosig was collecting metayage of 639 urns of wine; Velența had a metayage of 42 urns of wine; Săldăbagiu de Munte with a metayage of 104 urns of wine; Oșorhei with a metayage of 83 urns of wine; Episcopia with a metayage of 1363 urns of wine; Biharea had a metayage of 2965 urns of wine; H.K. Kovatsi with a metayage of 198 urns of wine; Cetariu had a metayage of 1782 wine urns; Tăutelec with a metayage of 283 wine urns; Sântimreu with a metayage of 525 wine urns; Sânnicolau with a metayage of 95 urns of wine; Buduslău with a metayage of 56 urns of wine. Divided in five districts, Oradea in 1806 obtained the districts from the 9321 metayage of wine boxes divided into districts as follows: District 868 Oradea wine boxes, wine boxes District Diocese in 1363, District 3161 Biharea wine boxes, wine boxes District Cetariu 2065, District of Sântimreu 1861 urns⁴⁹. In 1807 the metayage area reaching 22,738 boxes of wine, divided into districts

⁴⁴ A.N.-S.J.Bh, *fond Domeniul Episcopesc român-unit Beiuș*, dos. 1/1733, f. 21.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, f. 41.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, f. 64.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, f. 89.

⁴⁸ A.N.-S.J.Bh, *fond Episcopia*, r. 220, dos. 2909, f. 1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, f. 3.

as follows: District 3931 Oradea wine boxes, wine boxes District 3335 Diocese, District 5947 Biharea wine boxes, wine boxes District Cetariu 4250, District of Sentimreu 5267 polls wine⁵⁰. Notice how the difference in every year of production and the metayage is very high and the distribution varies from district to district Oradea example metayages value increases almost 5 times a year. Of course track and data to come will understand that in fact the comparison is made between a weak and a very good year. In 1808 Oradea obtained from the metayage 15,822 boxes of wine⁵¹, because in 1809 the metayage to obtain 18,227 boxes of wine⁵². In 1810 the field produced 17,069 boxes of wine⁵³, because two years later in 1812 to obtain 18,255 boxes of wine⁵⁴. Years like 1813-1814 do not leave the food crisis which caused great famine in those years, wine production and therefore the metayage decreases significantly, so in 1813 it reached 6463 on the field of wine boxes⁵⁵, it does not increase next year the average of previous years amounting to only 9465 boxes of wine⁵⁶.

Another reliable source of information on quantities of wine produced is the decimal value wines in Oradea promoters which is quite high in the period 1823-1829, resulting in large amounts of wine. Thus, the metayage obtained (including the VII belonged to Capitlu) in 1823-2160 you wicker bottle of wine, from 1824 to 2670 wicker bottles, from 1825 to 1629 wicker bottles, from 1826 to 1463, in 1827 – 1790 wicker bottles of wine, 1828-958 wicker bottles and 1829-992 wicker bottles of wine⁵⁷.

Concerning vine varieties existing in Crisana those centuries, cultivated local varieties of grapes normal, black and white but there is a concern for the organization of the noble vineyards. Thus, the Inspectorate Office of the plans shows that during 1762-1764 there were 100 stocks bought Tokay vineyard of the price of 1 florin each. The same material, that over this period were sold seven ships with Tokay wine for the amount of 240 florins Rhineland. Wine prices, during which we deal remains generally an urn Rhenish florin (40-60 liters)⁵⁸. Bishop Adamo Patachich concern to this sector and thus to produce a wine similar to the Tokay materialized and by planting the Diocese of Bihor, in 1756 to 71,225 the vine of this variety and by including them in new plantations established in 1763 to 65,905 logs from Cetariu⁵⁹. In addition to varieties

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, f. 47.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, f. 58.

⁵² *Ibid*, f. 74.

⁵³ *Ibid*, f. 131.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, f. 131.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, f. 163.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, f. 185.

⁵⁷ A.N.-S.J.Bh, *fond Episcopia ...*, r. 300, dos. 3201, f. 92.

⁵⁸ Ileana Șuta, *Preocupări privin cultivarea viei de vie în Bihor în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea*, în *Lucrări științifice*, 1976, Oradea, p. 29-32.

⁵⁹ A.N.-S.J.Bh, *fond Episcopia ...*, r. 300, dos. 3200, f. 83

recognized in other regions is remarkable and traditional varieties cultivated in Crisana, of these notes:

Bacator wine (Bakator), it's the one who gave to vineyard from Eriului Valley the honor to be famous, the best to Tășnad and Salaj. There was a table wine or steak, in this case strong and full bodied with a golden color, much bouquet, distinguished by generosity and force, and by personality and nobility gained by aging. Since yields were achieved too mature oxidative sweet type. Experts say that after Furmint times, Bacatorul (Bakatorul) wine is most pronounced bouquet form by aging⁶⁰. Returning on bakatorului authors era (1857) distinguish two types: bakatorul garnet red or purple and bakatorul. Bakatorul or genuine garnet grain is elongated, dark red, resembling the variety Kövidinka (Steinschiller), but larger clusters and berries were rare and fewer seeds, round leaves, deeply lobed, the lower Eriului feature. Bakatorul red clusters as large, but rare, have round seeds and the lighter, being characteristic hills around Pirului and Oradea. After some he had the same characters as precedent did⁶¹. Also known as the Rujită impresses with greenish-white with pink reflections can be vinified in white⁶².

Cadarca: it is a very old variety, of Hungarian origin, grown for centuries in the vineyard Minis. It spread as the Gâmza Bulgaria and Hungary in the Kadarka. Cadarca Variety is the average force and a long growing season (181-195 days). Frost tolerance is low (- 20 to 18 ° C), while drought tolerance and gray mold of grapes is the means. It is also susceptible to mildew and mite attack⁶³. In the past, was called "ox blood", a name that locals still present today, and thereby defining the color, personality and power⁶⁴.

Mustoasa of Maderat - is grown for centuries in the center of wine Mader, the Minis vineyard, a local variety. It is a very vigorous variety, with a long growing season (181-210 days). Drought tolerance is medium and the relatively small cold (-20 ... - 18 ° C). Instead, have a high tolerance to phytopathogenic agents because leaves skin as well as berries with thick skin. Of these tolerances, the price is the gray mold⁶⁵. It has a yellow-green, similar to that of raw lemon, as the years pass this color is straw, but not losing greenish tint specific⁶⁶.

Burgund Mare - is considered from a bud variation of Pinot Noir. In our country, was introduced around 1850, first in Banat and Minis vineyard. Burgundy variety is force greater than the medium and medium to long growing season (160-

⁶⁰ Athanasie Bulencea, *Viile și Vinurile Transilvaniei*, București, 1975, p. 76

⁶¹ Adrian Apan, *op.cit.*, p. 249

⁶² Valeriu Cotea, *Podgoriile și vinurile României*, București, 2003, p. 314

⁶³ M. Oșlobeanu, M. Macici, Magdalena Georgescu, V. Stoian, *Zonarea soiurilor de viță de vie în România*, București, 1991, p. 261

⁶⁴ Valeriu Cotea, *Podgoriile și vinurile României*, București, 2003, p. 300

⁶⁵ M. Oșlobeanu, M. Macici, Magdalena Georgescu, V. Stoian, *Zonarea...*, p. 181.

⁶⁶ Valeriu Cotea, *Podgoriile și vinurile României*, București, 2003, p. 304.

195 days). Tolerance to drought is similar to that of Pinot Noir and gray mold tolerance is superior to the same feature of the variety of which came.

Not inherited but the latter high frost tolerance, supporting large variety Burgundy absolute minimum temperatures of up to - 22 - 20 ° C. Shows good adaptability to culture on sloping land and soils eroded, like Pinot Noir⁶⁷.

Increase the areas planted with vines and bring productivity and the emergence of new problems of insufficient space for storage and fermentation. Increasing quantities of wine led to the construction of large limits defined \rightarrow PIV, which could accommodate for maturing and storing large quantities of wine. Thus since 1636, the hill from Mocrea next Ineu Transylvanian Prince George Rákóczi I built a cellar with a capacity of up to 8,000 hectoliters, he had to Mocrea a vineyard of about 17 acres⁶⁸. The cellar was dug into the granite rock and the construction they used gunpowder. It was built as double cross with a total length of 60 m and a height of 4-5 m, with a capacity of 7500-8500 hectoliters⁶⁹. This resulting wine is transported in tithes from Mocrea Ineu forcing. In 1808 the cellar was restored and is used today.

Many basements have a hidden or undiscovered potential. Cellar of the Minis was built by Count Anton, Grassalkovich in 1749, after he had first export of red wine and living areas were growing the variety Cadarca taking into account the fact that they started exporting it. The cellar was built with a brick vault, a length of 46.8 m, a width of 9.8 m and a height of 5.3 m, with a capacity of 6,000 hectoliters. The castle, built over the basement, later served as headquarters for the School of Viticulture, founded in 1881. Cellar at the Old Post Pâncota is part perhaps of the two cellars constructed in 1806 by Baron Dietrich. This building nineteenth century, served as administrative headquarters and inn for poștalioanele moved from Arad to Brad. The cellar was the ensemble of two bodies and have a total capacity of 5000-5500 hl.

However, the Diocese of Bihor Mihail Nemes mentioned in records in January 1808 a total of 88 caves located outside built-attached cape town or village⁷⁰. This evidence indicating properties including how and where it was shown including the previous owner bought the land. However not specified and their capacity to enable us to make an image of the quantities of wine stored in these cellars. Also at the beginning of this century it builds on Diosig, the famous cellar of Count Zichy with four fathoms wide and the length of 20 fathoms, and there still here May 9 such cellars built from brick⁷¹.

Cellars were not only important but also kept wine barrels or barrels that they were different in size, shape and the elements, thus clavigeratului Beliu

⁶⁷ M. Oșlobeanu, M. Macici, Magdalena Georgescu, V. Stoian, *Zonarea....*, p. 257.

⁶⁸ Alexandru Mihalca, Emil Lazea, *op.cit.*, p. 30.

⁶⁹ Alexandru Mihalca, *Aspecte din istoria agrară a județului Arad*, vol. II, Arad, 2001, p. 147.

⁷⁰ A.N.-S.J.Bh, *fond Episcopia ...*, r .298, dos. 3194, f. 13-14.

⁷¹ Viorel Sumalan, *Monografia istorică a localității Diosig (Județul Bihor)*, 1989, p. 31.

records from November 1769 listed both barrels with iron hoops (new or old) and circles of wood barrels.⁷² Very interesting is the issue of possession of these barrels and sometimes abuses against owners of land theft serfs by these vessels during or none payment of tithes. Therefore regulations will compel the owners land records in the "not make the purchase or sale of serfs and their dishes, not to compel by no means to sell or crâșmărească with Butea or cup, broke their wine, or Vinars any kind of drink, not to compel responsible for wine or other beverage of their time to Crasmarita or to the empty barrels outside robots. Be prohibited altogether pen money, money sickle, "snopullupului", the snack ticket money and money winepress"⁷³.

A complex craft is the carpenters wich is producing wooden containers needed storage, preservation and transportation of wine: barrels, drums, tubs and pails. Land record of 1746 census recorded a total of 4 in Arad coopers, and in 1774, with increasing number of living surfaces reached 9. It is believed that the Coopers' guild existed in 1749 and the first status and privilege for coopers dates of 4 September 1818, granted by Emperor Francis I in Vienna. Between 1770-1855 the city of Arad, a total of 64 people became masters coopers not recall the number in the province. Also in Arad in 1860 there were 19 manufacturers of drums. At Lipova within mixed guilds, including 47 existing jobs in 1819 and coopers mentioned. Lipova was the largest production center in the county of Timis barrels, which were sold everywhere⁷⁴.

Also in the first half of the century. XIX (1835) to be produced Șoimoș staves, hoops and wooden grape stakes, and the field of Bocsig barrels with iron hoops from 12-43 ACOVI and circles of wooden barrels ACOVI 1-10. In 1839 the first export was made after the dissolution doage.În guild was formed on April 10, 1876 in Arad, "Industrial Association of the Coopers', made up of 16 members, which increased in 1881-33, maintaining the independent workshops to in 1891. The associations were Sebiș Pâncota and mixed⁷⁵.

Production from the general law of demand barrels, according to the fluctuating and prices. Dogăritul the county had a flourishing period in the seventh and eighth decades of the nineteenth century. Much of barrels of alcohol was bought by factories. At that time, the Beliu Ineu and a number of 400 workers were staves and railway sleepers. Oak forests were simply devastated. Only in 1878 the CRIS-Arad Valley railway were transported 9612 tons staves⁷⁶.

⁷² A.N.-S.J.Bh, *fond Episcopia ...*, dos. 2123, f. 1.

⁷³ Bodo Edith, , *Lumea rurală din Bihor după reglementarea urbarială tereziană (1771-1820)*, Teză de doctorat , Oradea, 2009, p. 59.

⁷⁴ Alexandru Mihalca, Emil Lazea, *op.cit.*, p. 152.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

Regarding the quality of wines produced in Podgorica must show that since the first half of the eighteenth century began to be known red wines of Minis. Dul \rightarrow red wine which, in variety Cadarca with shriveled beans added to preparation for the first time in 1744, the Minis first, then Ghioroc, Paulis and properly. After an account of Franz Schams, noble Edelspacher of Ghioroc was the first major pro \rightarrow duchy of red wines, which began to export to Poland. The first records on the characteristics of red wines from the Minis we have Franz Schams. (1832), which describes the technology of preparation of sweet red wine (Aszu) of Cadarca variety with the addition of grain shrunken in autumns long and warm. Dried beans were crushed by Cadarca, resulting in a paste of them plus new wine or old, who was left in the fermenting tub still 4-6 weeks for a new alcoholic fermentation. When fall is found at the end of fermentation, it was "full of aroma of spices," and while "the sweetness of the wine was better and more pleasant than honey." After 1-2 years, the wine was well cleared, the color became red brick, old wine, with pleasant aroma and "spicy bouquet." After 7-10 years, wine was lighter in color, pleasant bouquet⁷⁷. After Rapacs Raymond, "has become renunită Minis Cadarca of dried grapes because, as this variety, these hills they dry easy." G. Fábrián said in 1835: "ministries is the birthplace of sweet wine ("Aszu"), who is brother to the famous Tokay wine abroad. Compete with the best wines in the world ranking and reputation. "Finally, we will add however that the naturalist Grossinger said at 1779: „Whoever is thirsty red and white wine to go first in Arad County, the Minis, and Pâncota Mocrea, which also finds a noble wine, after that remains far behind the Burgundy wine and other famous wines”⁷⁸. Viticulture and wine preparation of human practices is made of ancient times, the climate and soil conditions for growing vines are most favorable. Viticulture in the eighteenth century Crisana and nineteenth century is seen as one complex, with many preserved ancient techniques and modern trends but to paid professional staff in particular. Production results from the assessments indicate that our land records Crișana this occupation was one of the highest importance and occupies a large proportion of farmland. Compelling evidence that we provide both information on the quality Edite wines from this region, the cellars and heritage enjoyed by the region, emphasizes appropriate regret on non exploiting this area at present.

⁷⁷ Alexandru Mihalca, *Aprecierea calității vinurilor prin degustare*, Arad, 2004, p. 139.

⁷⁸ Mihai Macici, *Vinurile României*, București, 1996, p. 102; Alexandru Mihalca, *Aprecierea calității vinurilor prin degustare*, Arad, 2004, p. 139.

DID PEASANTRY EQUAL POVERTY? AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF PEASANTRY IN HUNGARY UNTIL 1848

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***Abstract:** To sum up, no simple answer can be given to the question asked in the title of my presentation. The whole of peasant society cannot be said to be consistently poor, however, before 1848, most but not all poor people were different kinds of peasants. Even if law provided them with privileges, the way of life of the impoverished gentry was also characterised by the symptoms of poverty. At the same time, it can be concluded that even in the 18th and 19th centuries, but at least up to 1848, Hungarian society displayed the features of a traditional society. 'This is because in the long run, the contradiction between the proliferation of the population and the immobility of estates of a fixed size could only be solved by the increase in efficiency or the release of the surplus rural population. However, this can hardly be seen in these periods: instead, the surplus peasant population still stayed in the villages, further increasing the number of people living in one household. The increasing number of members in peasant families made it conspicuously easier to fulfil feudal obligations but in some cases, with stagnating efficiency made food supply conditions critical... the relatively slow growth of towns and the immobility and introvertedness of the peasantry are two closely related processes fundamentally contributing to the fact that the development of Hungarian society retained its rural character.'* (Kaposi 1996: 180.)

***Keywords:** Hungarian society, peasant society, serfdom, poverty, agriculture*

I. Introduction

In Hungarian historical terminology, the terms 'peasantry' and 'serfdom' are used for the same notion. They are both collective nouns used for the whole of the peasant society, the 'great folk basin', incorporating everyone except the privileged estates, that is, the prelacy, the aristocracy, the gentry and the citizens of the free royal boroughs. 'According to feudal thinking, the main features of the status of peasants or serfs were the lack of feudal entity and the authority of the landlord above them although ... in this thinking, the peasant society of serfs could not include the poor lesser gentry with one hide of land undoubtedly constituting the majority of the gentry, who, with respect to their

way and standard of living could be regarded to belong to the peasantry, but included the considerable number of tradesmen, in many cases belonging to guilds, who could rather have been classified to belong to the bourgeoisie on account of their way of living.’¹

In the common Hungarian language, there were several names for them: *pórnép* (‘country-folk’), *szegény nép* (‘poor people’) or *földműves nép* (‘agricultural labourers’); while in our Latin legal statutes, they were given the Latinised name *jobagio*, but were also called *rusticus*, *colonus*, *villanus* or *subditus*. The denotation ‘*misera plebs contribuens*’ (‘poor taxpaying people’) was spreading from the 18th century. In his *Tripartitum*, Werbőczy himself uses the names *villanus*, *jobagio*, *colonus* and *rusticus* alternately. In a narrower sense, serfs were those who possessed a hide of land held in villeinage so those having no land or farm hands did not belong to them. Therefore: ‘In feudal society, before 1848, feudal status was a basic determining factor in the social position of people. It was not only the ideological self-image of society that the country was made up of priests, aristocrats, the gentry, the bourgeoisie and serfs but the feudal-legal status also played an essential role in everyday life, in economic and social relationships, as well, even if in these, the ideological schema of feudalism was not always followed. For the overwhelming majority of society, this meant a relationship to the landlord, mainly villein socage.’² ‘The place of serfs as a feudal class was primarily determined by the fact that the landlord had legal authority (*jurisdictio*) over serfs, and in consequence, their personal and material rights were always enroached although to a varying extent in place and time.’³ If one considers economic life, then serfs ‘should be identified with people involved in agriculture’, however, non-agricultural elements, for example tradesmen and merchants living in market towns also belonged to this estate. (Szabó 1940: 5.) Peasantry could be regarded as a social unit only from above, from the viewpoint of the ruler, and outwards, in relation to other social classes and groups but it had never had inner unity. The gap between the upper and lower layers of serfs seemed as unbridgeable as the gap between the gentry and serfs. With respect to the size of the hide of land, the yield potentials of land, the living and material equipment of the farm, other possibilities for getting income in addition to agriculture and in general, with respect to property capital, there were significant differences among smallholders, and accordingly, there were layers with different standards of living in the mass of smallholders and serfs, living in a socage relationship. ... Those standing above serfs with a hide of land as good as formed a transitional point between serfs on the one hand, and the gentry or urban bourgeoisie on the

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¹ Szabó 1940: 4-5.

² Benda 2008: 28.

³ Szabó 1976: 31.

other. ...Such were the peasant-bourgeois of the oppida, the market towns having privileges and, in many cases, enjoying almost full self-government, who, precisely due to their self-government, could hardly feel the bonds towards a landlord.⁴ In the lower strata of serfs, one can find *inquilina*, possessing a house and sometimes, the fragment of a hide of land, and *subinquilina*, having no house, who lived in the household of another serf or in an *allodium*, in the estate of another landlord, and can be regarded to be the predecessors of future agricultural day-labourers. However, in contrast to the approach in historiography, according to which *inquilina* and *subinquilina* only represented the poorest layers of peasantry, census-takers also put those in this rubric who did not possess a hide of land, did not belong to the gentry or were not citizens of free royal boroughs, either. Such were, for example, peasants involved in wine growing as vineyards did not belong to the stock of hides of land as well as tradesmen and merchants living in market towns. 'In the first half of the 19th century, the term *zsellér* ('*inquilinus* and *subinquilinus*') gradually became to be used for any person who did not belong to the gentry, to the bourgeoisie or to the church, or was not a serf, either. Therefore, in tax assessments, the number of those put under the heading *zsellér* increased very much and it was no coincidence that in the 1840s, their rate considerably exceeded that of sessionalists.'⁵ 'Even if certain social and material forces created layers representing different living standards within peasantry, these layers remained unified by the legal bond, the dependency from the landlord, and the unity of the obligation of service, tax payment and making payments to the landlord. In the different layers of serfs, these burdens were, of course, always different, and varied according to the period and even according to the place. In this, several factors played a role, primarily the estate system and the density of serfs, but also general social conditions, the social and economic trends of the period, and, what is more, even the conflicts arising openly or latently between the aristocracy and the lesser gentry, often having divergent interests in relation to the serf problem.'⁶

Now, let us see how this heterogeneous social layer, constituting over 90% of the population of Hungary, came into being, and how it developed until 1848.

II. Historical preliminaries

The formation of the legally unified class of serfs (Bolla 1998.) was the final outcome of a slow and complicated process involving the disruption of the structure of the Hungarian society characteristic of the Árpád age. In the huge

⁴ Szabó 1940: 7.

⁵ Kaposi 1996: 179.

⁶ Szabó 1940: 8.

mass of serfs, the different layers of the society of the Árpád age having free, half-free or servant status amalgamated. In the 13th and 14th centuries, the unified estate of serfs was created as a result of economic and social equalisation. Among those living in the estates of temporal and individual landlords, the importance of the earlier servant, free or half-free origin faded, and they all became members of a layer under the jurisdiction of and having the obligation of service provision to the landlord and possessing the right of free movement, who did not differ from one another legally but only economically. The legal dividing-line was between the then unifying estate of serfs and the estate of the gentry still under formation. Due to the donation of the regal estates, some of those living there were elevated to the estate of the gentry while others sank into the estate of serfs. Agriculture became the main activity of the unifying estate of serfs. The system of state, church and landlord taxes as well as that of the hides of land held in villeinage (*mundus, fundus, sessio*) were established, forming the basis of taxation up to 1848. The first state tax, called gate tax, was introduced by Charles (Robert) I of Anjou. The church tithe (*decima*), which in the age of Stephen I had to be paid by everyone, was later paid only by the serfs. It was in 1439 that Albert Habsburg (I) first exempted the gentry from the payment of the tithe. Among the taxes to be paid to the landlord, one can find the census (tenancy fee), from 1351, the 'ninth' (for a long time, it was not applied), labour and presents. In 1467, King Matthias Hunyadi introduced the smoke tax instead of the gate tax as well as the one-forint extraordinary military tax. The institution of militia *portalis*, introduced by Sigismund of Luxemburg, was also imposed on serfs. The unification of the estate of serfs started in the 13th century and was completed in the 14th and 15th centuries. The landlord of the hides of land held in villeinage was the king, the church or a lord temporal, the serf got the piece of land for use, and in exchange had to pay taxes. However, without a good reason, the serf could not be expelled from his hide of land, and if the head of the family died, his widow and children could inherit it. He could freely dispose of the assets in it, what is more, he could increase its area if he leased a barren unit of land or a vineyard. There being no standard measurement unit, the size of the hide of land held under villeinage was determined by the size of the plough-land belonging to it, which, in turn, depended on the quality of land. On this basis, it can be said that 20-30 'hold' of plough-land belonged to a whole unit of land but there were also cases when it was 10 'hold' or '70 'hold'. (1 hold = 0.57 hectares) Therefore, in the different regions of the country, the concept of the whole hide of land was interpreted in a different way, and the fragmentary units of land formed through breaking up were also of different size. István Szabó was right in stating that no conclusions can be drawn from even an elaborate list of services about how unbearable life was for a serf in the Middle Ages. For this, it is necessary to have knowledge about the economic conditions of the serf but

it is very difficult to draw conclusions about this due to the sources available for this period. One should have information about the size of land, the stock of animals, the quality of land, market potentials, etc. There is a considerably wide scale from inquilina and subinquilina, having no land, to rich serfs.

At the end of the Middle Ages, 80% of the whole population of Hungary was still of Hungarian nationality with the remaining 20% consisting of Slovaks, Saxons, Romanians, Ruthenians and Serbs. Over 90% of both the Hungarians and the minorities were serfs. Almost parallel with the legal unification, there started economic diversification, and consequently, diversification according to the way of living. Even at the end of the Middle Ages, there were differences among serfs with respect to the place of living. A considerable number of serfs lived in the about 25-26,000 serf villages but most of the inhabitants of the about 900 market towns also belonged to the peasant society. The market towns were under landlord jurisdiction similarly to villages but had somewhat more freedom and rights (right of judging, they paid their taxes together in one sum to the landlord, right of holding markets, etc.)⁷ Serfs were attracted to market towns by the more favourable conditions, and, in consequence, the number of abandoned hides of land (*deserta*) increased in the villages. This was also the period when the system of farmsteads, flourishing in the 19th century, started to be formed in the Great Hungarian Plain. Huge pieces of land becoming barren was also due to epidemics but, for example, the great European plague of 1347-49 affected Hungary to a lesser extent than Western Europe. As in the Middle Ages, one of the major freedoms of serfs was the right of free movement there was no obstacle to serfs moving to towns. According to estimates, one fifth of the serfs lived in market towns. However, in the 15th century, there were already cases when movement was prohibited as landlords, especially the middle and lesser gentry, tried to retain workforce in their estates. (In 1510, in Poland, an act was passed for the prohibition of the movement of serfs to towns.) In Hungary, the lesser gentry strove to unify the burdens of serfs so that it would not be worth moving to towns for them. This is shown by the fact that both in 1492 and 1498, payment of the 'ninth' was made mandatory in every market town, however, it was impossible to implement it in practice. In 1492, freedom of movement was re-codified but in 1504, the permission of district administrators had to be obtained for movement.⁸

The greatest peasant revolt of the Middle Ages took place in 1514. In the revolt, priests, students, the poorer gentry and cattle-drovers (the *Haiduk*) also participated. What was the cause of this elementary revolt? Traditionally, historiography accounts for it referring to the ever increasing burdens of serfs. Undoubtedly, this played a role in the outbreak of the revolt but after 1514, peasants had to bear much higher burdens, and still, there was no revolt. In addition to the material burdens, the role of social and psychological factors cannot be

⁷ Szabó 1940: 9-14.; 15-16.; 19.; 25.

⁸ Szabó 1940: 26-28.

ignored, either: 'According to these theories, peasants' revolts took place at the time of general political crises, when peasants revolted against the power curtailing their former freedom and intending to introduce a new form of subject relation. ...After the revolt in England, the Jacquerie and other preceding peasant movements, it was predictable that with the large number of burdens, during the great decline of social conditions in the period following the rule of Matthias I, at the time of general political and social crisis, with the growing reactions to the transition started by market towns and free peasant communities intending to bind serfs, Hungarian serfs would break out in a revolt, for which outbreak only the possibility was created in 1514.'⁹ Following the suppression of the revolt, the parliamentary session held in 1514 took a cruel revenge. By declaring 'mera et perpetua rusticitas', the assembly deprived serfs of their right of free movement. Burdens were unified: a serf having a whole hide of land had to pay 1 forint census, the 'ninth', had to give presents and do 52 days' labour with work animals or 104 days' manual labour per year while an inquilinus or subinquilinus had to pay 1 forint census and do one-day labour per week. If a landlord took a serf who had fled, he was threatened with punishment under the act. The acts could not be implemented in full but the attitude to serfs undoubtedly underwent a change. István Werbőczy's Tripartitum, which was a fundamental document for the ideology of the lesser gentry until 1848, also wrote about the deprivation of rights of serfs: 'Dominisque ipsorum terrestribus, mera et perpetua jam rusticitate subjecti sunt', that is 'They became unconditional and perpetual serfs subjected to their landlords'¹⁰ It was from this period that Hungarian historiography wrote about perpetual serfdom, mentioning as its characteristics the growing burdens, the prohibition of movement and the extension of seigniorial estates, the consequence of which was the confiscation of the serfs' hides of land and the increasing obligation of labour. Although the acts passed some years later¹¹ restored the right of free movement, landlords tried to prevent it. At the beginning of the Early Modern Age, counties had to regulate movement in their own statutes, which proves that the acts could not settle the issue in a satisfactory way.

'Serfdom was perpetual, which did not only mean that the serf who was residing in his hide of land could not leave it but also that the landlord claimed the future heir to the plot of land, too, the son of the serf.'¹² In Hungary, the period of perpetual serfdom coincided with the time of the Turkish conquest.

⁹ Szabó 1940: 31.

¹⁰ Werbőczy, Section 406. Article 2, Part III. rész, 2. cikk. 406.

¹¹ 1547: 'nothing did more harm to the once flourishing Hungary than the oppression of the serfs whose cries of pain were continuously sent to God'. Szabó 1940: 39. In 1550 and 1556, free movement was allowed again. In 1608, the ablicensing act was passed which made movement dependent on the permission of the county.

¹² Szabó 1940: 41.

The defeat in the battle of Mohács (1526) and the disruption of the country into three parts had severe economic and social consequences. At the same time, the disorderly political, administrative and land possession (power) conditions were unfavourable for the prohibition of the free movement of the serfs. On the other hand, the decaying conditions of serfs were characterised by their hides of land getting smaller and smaller: 'The tax and talliage lists of the period clearly indicate a process of pauperisation with a continuous decrease in the number of serf households and an increase in the number of inquilina and subinquilina.'¹³

In the different parts of the country, there were completely different conditions from both a legal and an economic point of view. The period of the Turkish conquest broke the former political and economic unity of the country – although in many respects, the different parts of the country had been different earlier, too – and this had an effect on serfdom both in the Turkish period and later. In many cases, the serfs living in the middle part of the country under Turkish rule were forced to pay taxes to two authorities, namely, they paid taxes to the Turks and paid taxes to their landlords regularly returning to the area. Still, they lived under freer conditions than the serfs in the Hungarian kingdom as they could make use of the right of free movement to a greater extent. The constant wars and the obligation of maintaining an army meant a heavy burden. After the liberation of the country, the former presence of the Turks were indicated by abandoned and decayed hides of land (*deserta sessio*) and deserted villages. In the areas formerly under Turkish rule, the density of the population was much lower than in the former Hungarian kingdom, which later had a positive effect on the conditions of the serfs due to a lack of workforce there.

III. Peasant society in the 18th century until the socage reforms by Queen Maria Theresia

In Hungary, no reliable data are available about the full number of the population until the first census ordered by Joseph II in 1784, and renewed in 1787. The different tax assessments only took taxpaying inhabitants into account so the gentry, enjoying exemption from taxes, were, by definition, left out but the assessments did not cover the whole of the rest of the population, either. The census ordered by Joseph II was the first to establish the number of the inhabitants of Hungary with an acceptable error margin. According to it, the actual number of the population was 8,555,832 in 1787.¹⁴ The sources of this census do not make it possible to have a clear picture of the social strata but on

¹³ Szabó 1940: 42.

¹⁴ Danyi-Dávid 1960: 28.

the basis of the estimated data, it can be concluded that peasants made up over 90% of the population. At the beginning of the 18th century, the total number of the population, which can be estimated from the data of the 1715-1720 tax assessment, was less than half of that in the period of Joseph II but the rate of social classes was similar. On the basis of the 1715-1720 tax assessment, Ignác Acsády estimated the population of the country to be 2,582,000, István Szabó came up with a figure of 3-3.5 million, Imre Wellmann with 4-4.5 million and Zoltán Kovács thought it to be 5-5.5 million.¹⁵ The later censuses (*conscriptio animarum*), conducted between 1770 and 1782, show an increase in the number of the population but the rate of peasants was above 90% even then. So between the beginning and the end of the 18th century, the number of the population increased more than twice. This was partly due to the fact that the peace treaty of Szatmár, ending the war of independence of Rákóczi, created peace in the country while the wars of the Habsburg Empire (anti-Turkish wars, war of the Austrian succession, 7-year war) were not waged in the territory of the country, which meant favourable conditions for natural proliferation. On the other hand, due to both spontaneous and planned immigration, and government actions to this effect, settlers came from abroad, primarily from the hereditary provinces. They increased the population of the country but, at the same time, considerably changed its ethnic composition, too. 'In my opinion, the immediate roots of the settlement and urban network and the religious and ethnocultural structure, and related to these, the immediate roots of the economic and social structure of present Hungary (and, in a broader sense, this is true for the whole Carpathian basin) cannot so much be found in the age of the Hungarians' occupation of their homeland but rather in the great changes of the 17th and 18th centuries.'¹⁶

While at the beginning of the 18th century, 40-50% of the population of the country was Hungarian, in the second half of the century, this figure dropped below 40%. While the settlers changed the ethnic composition of the population, they did not change the social structure as both the voluntary immigrants and those brought to the country by the ruler or the landlords added to the number of peasant society. The population moving to the regions previously under Turkish rule almost completely consisted of peasants. From the northern and western parts of the country with a higher population density, where due to the breaking up of the units of land, there were only half units of land on the average, there was an increasing pauperisation of serfs so many of them moved to the regions formerly under Turkish rule. The free hides of land also enticed serfs with tax benefits. Act No. 103 of 1723 provided immigrants with six years' tax exemption.¹⁷ However, landlords tried to prevent the movement of serfs, fearing the loss of workforce. It was especially the lesser

¹⁵ Ifj. Barta 1996: 38.

¹⁶ Faragó 2000: 394.

¹⁷ Szabó 1990: 165-166.

gentry, possessing just a few serfs, who tried to prohibit movement. Act No. 101 of 1715 stipulated that serfs could not be allowed to move from one county to the other without a pass issued by the landlord, which soldiers had to check. In 1723, there were attempts to restrict the movement of those who originally had had the right of free movement while in 1724, the council of the governor-general ordered that the newly settling serfs could only get tax benefits if they had already possessed it at their former place of living. However, these measures could not prevent the migration of serfs and there was an increasing number of serf flights.¹⁸ As I have already mentioned, from 1723, every newcomer was granted a six-year tax exemption by the landlords, and in 1774, Queen Maria Theresia ordered that any tradesmen moving to the towns who were needed there should get citizenship and the master's rank free of charge, and should be exempt from any taxes for three years. However, the majority of the settlers were German peasants who settled in the huge and new estates of the royal treasury, mostly located in the southern parts of the country, or in the latifundia. Therefore, the ruler and the big landlords were those who brought the largest number of settlers into the country. (Sándor Károlyi, the Esterházy and Festetics families, Antal Grassalkovich, János György Harruckern, C. Mercy first governor of Temes, as well as church latifundia) The majority of the settlers came from western and south western Catholic German-speaking countries. The first phase of settlement started with the ruler's written order of population in 1698, and ended with the settlement of the treasury started by Queen Maria Theresia in the 1740s.¹⁹ It is clear why the state and landlords were interested in settlement but what were the motives of the settlers themselves? First of all, they could get ready-built houses and a farm with equipment, and they could enter into favourable settlement contracts including some years' tax exemption and the right of free movement. In this way, the number of serfs entitled to free movement increased in the country. After the years of tax exemption passed, these serfs entered into a contract (*contractus*) with their landlords and fully or partly commuted their services with money. That was the reason why they were called contractualists or, especially in the Transdanubian region, they were given the name 'árendás' (lease-holder) or in the Great Plain, 'taksás' (fee-payer). In general, earlier privileged elements, for example, members of the estate of warriors, who, under the new conditions, tried to get a more favourable position than that of those previously living under the bonds of serfdom, even if they did not get tax exemption, also increased the number of contractualists. Therefore, in the 18th century, peasantry was divided to two layers from a legal point of view: there were perpetual and free-moving serfs. The major difference between them was in the freedom of movement but at the beginning of the period, there was also a difference in services. The

¹⁸ Szabó 1990: 130.

¹⁹ Szabó 1990: 149-152.

parliamentary session in 1715 took the existence of free-moving rustica into account.²⁰ While free-moving serfs mostly paid a money allowance (fee or lease fee), the amount of which varied from 1 forint per year to 10-12 forints, perpetual serfs had the traditional obligations towards the landlord ('ninth', presents, labour, smoke money, church tithe, etc.) It became an objective for perpetual serfs to win the status of free-moving serfs. Hungarian historiographers agree that from the second half of the 18th century, the conditions of serfs started to deteriorate and free-moving serfs represented no exception to this, either. There was an increase in their burdens, and the period of hot demand for workforce being over, landlords attempted to put restrictions on their free movement again. Naturally, there were huge differences between the different regions of the country: serfs were still less burdened in the regions formerly under Turkish rule. According to János Varga, from the second half of the century, there were fewer and fewer differences with respect to services between perpetual and free-moving serfs with a kind of equalisation having taken place to the injury of the latter. It is also Varga's estimate that by the 1760s, the rate of free-moving serfs may have amounted to 30-40% of the full number of serfs.²¹ In my estimate, based on Zala, Borsod and Pest county data (Horváth 2008.), the rate of free-moving serfs may even have amounted to 50%. The more and more frequent complaints addressed to the ruler indicate the deterioration in the conditions of peasants (Szántó 1954.) At the same time, it must be pointed out that the cause of complaints was not primarily the increase in socage but the different abuses of the landlords and the fact that there was no legal redress for peasants (Hóman-Szekfű 1935: 539.) Particularly frequent complaints were that the landlord abused his right of preemption, that serfs often had to do long transportation jobs and that their ancient, acquired rights had been infringed. Historiography after 1945 found the reason for the increase in serfs' burdens primarily in the extension of seigniorial estates, and consequently in the fact that making use of the favourable market conditions, the landlord made serfs do more labour in order to get higher profits. This was necessary because the technological level of the landlord's estate was not much higher than that of the serf's farm so surplus could only be produced by causing more work to be done. It always depended on the market conditions whether the landlord demanded that his peasants do work or pay money. However, newer research proved that seigniorial estates were not extended so much, and if they were, this did not occur at the expense of the serfs' hides of land – but rather, cleared woodland or occasionally, the areas in common use were occupied (See for example, Ifj. Barta 1996: 70.) Emil Niederhauser estimated the rate of seigniorial estates to be 20-25% within the area put to agricultural cultivation. (Niederhauser 1999: 136.) Earlier publications indicated a rate of 50-50% of the

²⁰ Acsády 1908: 341.

²¹ Varga 1969.

distribution of workforce in allodia between serf labour and paid work. According to Zoltán Kaposi, the rate of paid labourers was 75-80% (Kaposi 1996: 195.) Although Marxist historiography overemphasized the ruthless exploitation policy of landlords, it should be accepted as a fact particularly in the light of serfs' complaints that peasants were dissatisfied with their conditions (For this, see Szabó D. 1933: 48-98.; Szántó 1954. and H. Balázs 1951.)

The idea of the necessity of the protection of serfs by the state already came up in the period of Charles III (Art. 9 of Act No. 101 of 1715 and Art. 4 of Act No. 18 of 1723) but specific measures were only taken in the period of enlightened absolutism during the rule of Maria Theresia and Joseph II. From the 1750s, peasants more and more often turned to the queen with their complaints expecting her to improve their conditions especially because Maria Theresia was widely believed to care about the fate of her subjects. Therefore, the queen decided to replace the Royal Court of Appeal with the Council of Governor-general as a forum of appeal for serfs. This measure of hers along with the reform of socage was not uniformly welcome by the gentry, who left no stone unturned to sabotage the reform. (Szabó D. 1934.) The Habsburg court centred the reform on the determination of the maximum of services to be performed for the landlord and that of the minimum size of the hide of land held under villeinage. From its foundation in 1761, the problems of the serfs in Hungary was constantly on the agenda in the State Council.

'Due to the primitive agricultural methods, in 18th century Hungary, it was still necessary to have nine people to work to be able to supply the tenth with food.' (Ifj. Barta 2000: 56.)

Therefore, 93-95% of the country's population worked in agriculture, 93-95% of whom had the status of serfs living under the jurisdiction (*juris dictio*) of the landlord. This social layer was not uniform in the 18th century, either. Differences were due to the person of the landlord, the geographical location of the village or market town, the local customs often going back to decades or even centuries, the market conditions, etc. Free-moving serfs were rather those who had settled or had been brought to settle in the region, former soldiers of the border castles, peasants living in market towns (the latter were mostly classified as *inquilina* or *subinquilina* in contemporary tax assessments) and those moving from the more densely to the sparsely populated regions of the county while those having lived in the place for a long time were considered to be perpetual serfs. There was also a difference among serfs according to the base of taxation, according to whether they had a written document setting forth their obligations or a contract, or they fulfilled their obligations according to the customs (*usus*) Historiographers agree that free-moving serfs paid tax on the basis of a contract while perpetual serfs on the basis of a written document or according to customs. (Csapodi 1991: 357-358.) My research gives a more

refined picture of this as it has revealed that there can be found examples of tax payment on the basis of customs with free-moving serfs, on the one hand, and examples of tax payment on the basis of a contract with perpetual serfs, on the other hand, too, and there were examples for written documents setting forth obligations with both categories of serfs (Horváth 2008: 235-247.) The number of free-moving serfs increased in the 18th century but this serf class had already existed as early as in the 17th century although this was not reflected in the legislation of the period. Even in the 18th century, there was no legal statute acknowledging the right of free movement and Act No. 62, passed by Parliament in 1723, also prohibited landlords to move their serfs to another estate of their own lying in another county if they could not replace them with others. (www.1000ev.hu and ifj. Barta 2000: 59.) Act No. 101 of the parliamentary session held in 1715 recognised the category of free-moving serfs in an indirect way. (www.1000ev.hu) According to the decree on socage, issued by Queen Maria Theresia in 1767, a person who had been living in the same place for at least 32 years was deemed to be a perpetual serf, that is, newcomers, having recently moved to the place, were deemed to be free-moving ones.

IV. Reform of socage

So, as she was unable to regulate the relationship between landlords and serfs in legal statutes, on 23 January, 1767, Queen Maria Theresia issued her decree on socage. In the assessment of this decree, usually positive elements are emphasized but its drawbacks cannot be ignored, either. One of the most important motives of the ruler at the start of the reform, the relief of services was not implemented everywhere. In those regions (mainly in the areas formerly under Turkish rule) where peasants had more moderate burdens prior to the socage reform, it actually resulted in an increase in them. The decree totally left free-moving serfs, constituting a considerable proportion of peasantry, out of consideration. At the same time, the decree provided an opportunity for them to maintain their former contract if it involved no higher burdens than those included in the decree. As a positive feature, it can be highlighted that the decree made the serf's right of use of his stipulated hide of land undisputable so the units of land held under villeinage became unalienable. In the regions where serfs had actually lived under miserable conditions before 1767, the decree on socage brought relief. In Transylvania, where peasants lived under the worst conditions, the reform was not implemented. It happened for the first time in Hungarian history (with the exception of Charles III's attempts at this) that the ruler interfered with the until then private relationship of landlord and serf on the side of peasants, thus elevating the issue of socage

from the level of private law to that of public law, and created uniform conditions even if this did not result in actual improvement everywhere. Property relations were left unaffected but the change of these were not even among the objectives of the court. The decree on socage made a legal distinction between tenements held under socage and land belonging to the landlord. At the same time, peasants were only allowed to extend their tenements with cleared woodland, vineyards, through peasant lease or with residual land. At the time of the issue of the decree on socage, about 600,000 family heads had approximately 6 million 'hold' of land at their disposal under socage. Between 1767 and 1848, the area of land under agricultural cultivation held by peasants as good as doubled while the rate of the growth of agricultural population was lower than this. (Kaposi 1996: 190.) The decree on socage was codified by the parliamentary session of 1790-91. It had its real effect in the emancipation of serfs in 1848, when only serfs with tenements held under socage could become owners of the pieces of land in their use.

V. Literacy and school attendance among serfs.²² Cultural poverty

'I have my second post as a priest in the town of Szarvas in Békés county! Here, I have been looking for the simplicity of village life, depicted by poets with delightful colours, but have only found simple-mindedness, stupidity, a lack of confidence even in the most useful proposals, insincerity, wickedness, fixedness and a deprivation of even the most important things.' (Tessedik 1979: 37.)

Poverty may not only be measured in material goods but cultural poverty, illiteracy and the lack of education often cause the lack of affluence, that is, economic poverty in themselves.

Although peasants made up 9/10 of the society, they were unable to assert their importance due to their deprivation of rights, in which their educational limits played a role, too. The majority of the sources of the history of peasants were not written by peasants themselves but by landlords or county and national authorities. A notable exception to this is represented by the confessions of peasants preserved from the period of Maria Theresia's reform. With the exception of this, their words could almost only be read in documents of legal proceedings. In this, not only their subjugated position could have played a role but their related illiteracy, as well.

At the beginning of the Early Modern Age, Western Europe witnessed a real revolution in the field of literacy, as a result of which at the end of the 18th

²² Peasant literacy was first investigated by Kálmán Benda on the basis of the answers given to a nine question survey taken at the time of the socage reform. Later, István György Tóth conducted detailed research into this issue. Benda, 1977: 123-133. és Benda, 1978: 287-308., Tóth István György 1996.

century, about half of the male population could read newspapers and were able to write. The use of writing was spreading quickly, and the importance of oral communication was gradually diminishing. In some parts of Sweden, Switzerland and Germany, evangelic priests made annual assessments of how many peasants could read. There is no such source available for Hungarian peasants. (Tóth I. Gy. 1994: 9.) The 1869 census was the first to assess the literacy of the population. Earlier, there are few sources providing reliable information about how literacy and education were spreading.

In contrast, in Hungary, literacy only started to spread slowly. The majority of the inhabitants of villages were unable to read and write even in the middle of the 18th century with a few of them being only able to sign his name.²³ In comparison with writing, the ability to read was more widespread, there were people who could read but had not learnt to write. This was due to a low-level school system having mostly uneducated schoolmasters, who hardly knew more than their students. (Tóth I. Gy. 1996: 11-56.) This was due to the fact that the main job of schoolmasters at this time was not teaching but precentorship. As it was remarked by abbot Johann Ignaz Felbiger, father of the school reform in Austria: 'any person who applies for the position of schoolmaster is found suitable for the job if he knows enough about music to be able to sing, lead the choir and play the organ, and can even write a little.' (Quoted in: Tóth I. Gy. 1996: 12.) Instead of rectors, Catholics often sent masters with lower qualifications (licentiates) but most often, Lutherans also sent masters with maximum academic grammar school qualifications to the villages in the 17th century. The lower level of literacy in comparison to Western Europe caused a problem even to missionaries in the 17th century as they could use written materials in their work only to a lesser extent. They several times complained in their letters sent to Rome that masses were held by illiterate licentiates: 'Due to general illiteracy, a piece of writing or a book often appeared to the congregation as an object vested with magic power but one which they could not read.'

In 1635, Péter Pázmány founded a university in Nagyszombat. In Nyitra, a college was organised by an order under the aegis of János Telegdy, bishop of Kalocsa, which proves that in Hungary, too, there was a demand for high culture and the sciences but this was in sharp contrast with the unculturedness of the majority of the people.' (Tóth I. Gy. 2007: 210.) Around 1770, about every fourth peasant learnt to read. (Tóth I. Gy. 1998: 198.)

According to the data in the minutes of church visitations (canonica visitatio) (Ördögh 1991-1998; Tóth I. Gy. 1996), by the 18th century, the network of schools in villages and market towns, which the children of serfs could attend, had been more or less built out. However, the level of education

²³ 1768: at most, 14% of the village magistrates were literate. Benda 1976: 56.

of schoolmasters left a lot to be desired. The state assessment of schools in 1770, for example, called the teacher in Nemeskeresztúr an idiot: he taught local children to read and write 'to the extent as such people of limited abilities can do so'. According to the same assessment, there were teachers who only taught reading as they themselves could hardly write or could not write at all. (Tóth I. Gy. 1996: 22.) Of course, there were also schoolmasters who could read and write, and even spoke Latin quite well. Ratio Educationis I of 1777 made it obligatory to attend school between 6 and 12 years of age, and children were obliged to learn Latin in addition to arithmetics, reading and writing but there were few teachers suitable for this even in the 18th century.

The low salary and the even then low prestige of a teaching position did not attract more highly educated urban teachers to take up positions in village schools. After finishing their studies in the local schools, few peasant children enrolled in academic grammar schools in the towns. István György Tóth also pointed it out that if in a peasant family, there was a demand for the schooling of children, they could enrol in academic grammar schools in the towns – though not without difficulty. (Tóth I. Gy. 1996: 47.) There was a considerable number of people who did not attend any school but learnt to read and write in another way. A lot of Protestants were unwilling to send their children to Catholic schools. According to the state assessment of schools in 1770, there were 4,000 small elementary schools in the territory of Hungary (without Transylvania and Croatia) but they were of very bad quality. The children of peasants mostly attended school in winter as they had to work in summer so they altogether attended school for 2 or 3 years and in winters (Tóth I. Gy. 1998: 183.)

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ASPECTS OF IOAN CIORDAȘ'S CULTURAL ACTIVITY

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Abstract: *There's no doubt that Ioan Ciordaș had a big contribution to the raising of Beiuș's cultural life. Beiuș represented a strong citadel of national resistance during the times of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Ioan Ciordaș offered his support to all cultural association, with a a semnificative militant character, that activated in his town. He acted in a exemplary manner to promote the culture, supporting the school and the church. Ioan Ciordaș's activity in the field of culture had like purpose cultural emancipation of Romanian people and the revival of national spirit.*

Keywords: *culture, reunions, cultural associations, statutes, branch, Beiuș*

Ioan Ciordaș was one of the most important promoters of cultural life in the Bihor's region. We meet him in the forefront of some cultural associations which fought for the strengthening of the Romanian national consciousness and enlightenment of the people through culture.

On July 7th 1906, Ioan Ciordaș took the lead of *Casina Română* from Beiuș¹, founded in 1871, in order to contribute to "the members' intellectual development through lecture and modest conversation, and brotherly support"². He acted in order to attract new members in the frame of *Casina Română* and to improve the economic situation of this association. Under his presidency, *Casina's* activity was diversified. This "entered a field of lively activity. Its members increased in number and the discussions of issues on the agenda were repeated every evening. The library stocked with works of modern writers, our newspapers were warmly supported"³.

Ioan Ciordaș was appreciated by the members of the *Casina's* committee, who recognized his merits. During the meeting on November 5th 1908, the committee acknowledged Ioan Ciordaș's letter, in which "under the

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¹ Radu Romînașu, Florin Ardelean, *Casina Română din Beiuș (1871-1920). Contribuții documentare*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2010, p. 240.

² Viorel Faur, *Cultura românilor din Bihor (1849-1918)*, Fundația Culturală „Cele Trei Crișuri”, Oradea, 1992, p. 60.

³ Petru E. Papp, *Din trecutul Beiușului. Pagini de glorie și de jertfe*, "Doina" Tipografie și Librărie, Beiuș, 1929, p. 86.

burden of too many occupations”⁴, he resigned from the function of *Casina*’s president. Concerning this case, Petru E. Papp said the following: “The Committee entrusted him about their steadfast and trustworthy support, being ready in any case, to help him, only to have him president, due to his elevated views and leading spirit furthermore”⁵. Following this inspiring call of the committee, Ioan Ciordaș remained in the *Casina*’s forefront. *Casina Română* was considered “the mother of all other institutions that were created in the Romanian Beiuș”⁶.

As *Casina* didn’t have its own headquarters, in order to solve this problem, Ioan Ciordaș took some decisions. During the meeting on March 15th 1909, he informed the association’s members that Alexandru Gera would agree “to build for the *Casina Română* a stable and suitable center”⁷. Thus, on November 7th 1909 the headquarters of *Casina Română* of Beiuș were inaugurated, which also hosted the meeting of the “*Lira*” songs’ reunion and the Beiuș subsidiary of Astra. Through the *Casina*’s activities, a great importance had the organisation of *national balls*, which expressed a deep romanian character⁸.

Since 1910, in collaboration with the Beiuș subsidiary of Astra and the local branch of the *Society for the Creation of a Romanian Theatre Fund* (*Societatea pentru crearea unui fond de teatru român*), *Casina* began to organize “literary evenings”⁹.

Under the presidency of the great cultural animator Ioan Ciordaș, *Astra’s branch in Beiuș*, founded on February 24th 1898¹⁰, would experience a remarkable development. It is of great importance the fact that *Astra*’s branch in Beiuș was the first subsidiary founded by ASTRA in Crișana region. In its field of activities there can be included the administrative circles Beiuș, Vașcău and Ceica. The activity of *Astra*’s branch in Beiuș took the form of “circle meetings”¹¹.

Ioan Ciordaș got involved in the activity of *Astra*’s branch in Beiuș beginning with 1904, when he participated, on October 30th at the association’s meeting in Beiuș. During this meeting, Ioan Ciordaș was elected in the committee to review the general report, concluding that the committee’s report was written in an exemplary manner, his activity “being worthy of all gratitude”¹².

⁴ Radu Romînașu, Florin Ardelean, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

⁵ Petru E. Papp, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Radu Romînașu, Florin Ardelean, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

⁸ Viorel Faur, *Cultura românilor din Bihor...*, p. 62.

⁹ Idem, *Contribuții la istoricul Casinei române din Beiuș (18971-1918)*, în *Crisia*, p. 221.

¹⁰ Titus L. Roșu, *Beiușul. Centru politic și de cultură românească*, Editura Buna Vestire, 1993, p. 246.

¹¹ Gavril Hădăreanu, *Afirmarea Beiușului în plan cultural*, în *Beiușul și lumea lui, Studiu Monografic*, vol. II, Editura Primus, Oradea, 2008, p. 532.

¹² Titus Livius Roșu, *op.cit.*, p. 252.

In 1905 the assembly of Căbești took place, where there was decided that, Ioan Ciordaș, Gavril Cosma and Augustin Antal were to participate at the general meeting of Astra and the inauguration of the National Museum, as representatives of Astra's branch of Beiuș. Ioan Ciordaș was elected the branch's vice president at the Committee's reunion on November 6th 1906.

According to the belief that "a poor people is and will always be a slave to others"¹³, Astra supported the funding of banking and economic institutions. On June 16th 1907, at Ioan Ciordaș's initiative, the credit and saving institute *Drăganul* was founded. Ioan Ciordaș's selfless soul combined banking with philanthropy. A well-known case is that of the teacher Ana Pop, that the Hungarian government refused to pay, and the Orthodox church didn't have financial possibilities to pay her. At Ioan Ciordaș's advice, *Drăganul*¹⁴ took the commitment to pay the teacher's salary annually. *Drăganul* had its contribution at the building of the Romanian Orthodox religious school for girls in Beiuș as well, and it also provided the orthodox parish with a significant amount of money.

On April 30th 1911 the general assembly of Astra's branch in Beiuș took place, where Ioan Ciordaș spoke about "the whole-hearted feelings and the sacrifice spirit that every Romanian scholar must have when it is about our cultural institutions"¹⁵.

During the committee meeting of February 16th 1913, Ioan Ciordaș proposed to organize an economic and ethnographic exhibition with substantial prizes, in order to commemorate the 15th anniversary of Astra's branch in Beiuș.

The branch's members focused their work on raising the people through culture and economy. They emphasized the dissemination of books in the widest possible media, the establishment of libraries, the organisation of conferences and popular lectures or artistic programs. On February 3rd 1912, Ioan Ciordaș required the central committee to provide the branch from Beiuș with all his publications¹⁶. Due to the large number of illiterate people, Ioan Ciordaș proceeded to organize literacy classes.

During the general meeting of Beiuș in 1913, Ioan Ciordaș was elected president, a position that he held until his tragic disappearance in April 1919. The Beiuș subsidiary of Astra's multilateral activity increased through meetings, lectures in the countryside, supporting schools, conferences, popular lectures. Ioan Ciordaș gave the Beiuș branch a projector¹⁷, in order to animate

¹³ Gavril Hădăreanu, *Torțe arzânde în țara Beiușului*, Editura Buna Vestire, Beiuș, 1995, p. 497.

¹⁴ Petru E. Papp, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

¹⁵ Titus Livius Roșu, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

¹⁶ Gavril Hădăreanu, *Torțe arzânde în Țara Beiușului ...*, p. 490.

¹⁷ Viorel Faur, Florin Ardelean, *Istoricul Despărțământului "Astrei" din Beiuș (1898-1918)*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2006, p. 264.

the popular lectures and conferences. For a better organization of conferences, the Beiuș intellectuals were convoked to a meeting on October 26th 1913. In its report of November 14th 1913, Moise Popovici, the branch's notary, wrote: "I have the pleasant responsibility to propose that to Mr. PhD. Ioan Ciordaș, the branch's director, to bring him protocolar thanks, on the one hand because he scoured by himself all 13 communes..., and apart from Beiuș, he held a lecture in every commune; on the other hand because during the lectures, his cart was always at the disposal of the lecturers and those who accompanied him"¹⁸.

During the management of Ioan Ciordaș, which was the "soul and the great militant of the branch"¹⁹ the villages which belonged to the branch were grouped in circles, so that the distribution of lectures on Sundays and religious feasts was more productive. Usually, on each village there were three speakers who dealt with issues of economics, ecclesiastics and literature. Lectures activity was diversified, the arguments were structured on certain topics discussed: the history and purposes of Astra, the importance of school, law, history, ethnography, literature, agrarian occupations, science, economics, medical education.

Speakers from outside of the Beiuș branch were invited, such as: Gh. Tulbure, Aurel Cosciuc and dr. I. Comșa. Aurel Cosciuc pointed out that he held most lectures in Beiuș: "where a movement of the most intense was started, in order to enlighten the people"²⁰. The lecturer Aurel Cosciuc thanked the Committee and acknowledged the special merits of Ioan Ciordaș: "The merit that I could keep so many lectures ... is primarily due to the Committee and I cannot express my thanks ... especially to PhD. Ioan Ciordaș, who accompanied me all over the place, leading me with his own cart. PhD. Ioan Ciordaș, moreover, after the information particularly received, provided his coach and horses to the branch in all situations ... For this noble act... he deserves all the praise and thanksgiving and is to be placed as an eternal example followed by others"²¹.

Ioan Ciordaș had an outstanding contribution to stimulate the activity of spreading scientific, cultural and historical knowledge; he claimed 45 conferences and lectures. From the subjects approached we nominate: *Astra and its Calling*, *The Meaning of Astra*; *About Funduary Books*; *Court Jury*; *Economical Advice*, *The Concubinage and their disasters*, *About Dowry and Women's Private Property*²².

¹⁸ Titus Livius Roșu, *op. cit.*, p.260-261.

¹⁹ Gavril Hădăreanu, *Torțe arzânde în Țara Beiușului ...*, p. 489.

²⁰ Viorel Faur, *Pagini din lupta populației din sudul Bihorului pentru afirmare culturală (Activitatea despărțământului beiușean al „Astrei” între anii 1898-1918)*, în *Crisia*, 1978, p. 459.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Transilvania*, 1914, nr. 7-9, p. 257.

The unprecedented activity of Beiuș subsidiary of Astra was interrupted by the release of the first world-wide conflagration and mobilization on the front of Ioan Ciordaș.

In 1905 the *songs' Reunion "Lira"* of Beiuș was founded, at the initiative of the Astra members, in order to attract "the middle class in the bosom of Beiuș subsidiary of Astra"²³, thus increasing its social inclusion. Ioan Ciordaș was elected president, "a man with heart and feeling for all Romanian affairs"²⁴. The Reunion's members led a heavy fight in order to obtain the government's approval for the reunion's statutes. While the authorities displayed a systematic policy of annihilation of the opportunities of cultural affirmation for Romanians, the statutes were approved only in 1912.

In August 1906, the Reunion's choir, with professor Ioan Bușița as the conductor, participated at the choral festival held in the Romanian Arenas in Bucharest. Through the words "Long live Romania"²⁵, the choir from Beiuș knew how to fascinate thousands of listeners. Returned home, the choir's members were disciplinary inquired. The Hungarian public opinion was informed that the songs' Reunion "Lira" would have presented anti-hungarian songs, which would have provoked a demonstration against the Hungarians. Ioan Ciordaș publicly denied this accusation, stating that the choir sang just the songs *Two hearts* (by C. Dima) and *March* (by G. Muzicescu), songs that are not irredentist and tendentious. In a report dated on November 19th 1906, Ioan Ciordaș notified the central leadership about the persecution that the reunion was subject to.

During the meeting held on December 4th 1906, Ioan Ciordaș presented the achievements of the reunion. He made reference to the reunion's first concert with "a high artistic performance"²⁶, supported in the St. Basil's evening in 1906. Then he directed his attention to the concert held on the second day of Pentecost, he said that "this was our first attempt to draw closer to us our estranged brothers, the orphan people, then we pronounced the first word, with which we called him to join us in the Romanian culture service ... With the occasion of this concert we have learned that the most direct and shortest way, through which you can pass the people in the field of romanian culture it is the songs ... The songs goes to the hearth, and if you want to conquer a great mass of people, you have to conquer it's heart and then you have won! ... If we want to see the people besides us, in our cultural zeals for the development of language and literature, we have to learn people's songs, because this is the voice of people, by this voice it will understand us and by

²³ Viorel Faur, *Cultura românilor din Bihor...*, p. 96.

²⁴ *Tribuna*, 1906, nr. 225, p. 4.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 1906, nr. 164, p. 3.

²⁶ *Monografia almanah a Crișanei-județul Bihor*, redactată de Tripon, Aurel, Tipografia Diecezană Oradea, Oradea, 1936, p. 294.

this voice it's conscience, it's dignity and it's proud of langue and origin, will became stronger! This is the aim and the direction for what our reunion must develop it's activity. I don't believe that among us are people that wouldn't keep like a sacred duty to work in this direction for helping our common wealth, our unitary culture, because a individual is not worthy of the nomination of a man and Romanian if he don't accomplish this duty ... to be member of our reunion with a so great and saint purpose..."²⁷. Also, Ioan Ciordaș mentioned the participation of the choir at the festival in Bucharest in 1906. At the end of his speech, Ioan Ciordaș urged the reunion's members: "We should not trust us and we should not be tempted by the achieved successes ... because we are only at the beginning, we ought to work together side by side, otherwise we will lose from one another, we will estrange from one another and our descendants will find only ruins"²⁸.

In 1907 the authorities started an investigation against individuals who were hired to sing in church. Thus, twenty-four dilettants were fined with the payment of twenty crowns "for the fact that they participated at the configuration of a reunion without approved statutes". Against this accusation, Ioan Ciordaș, a lawyer by profession, filed an appeal to the administrative leader. The issue was not solved in favor of the Romanians, moreover, the penalty of Ioan Ciordaș, Gheorghe Meze and Mihai Cosma was increased with twenty crowns²⁹.

In Beiuș, a strong citadel of national resistance, people felt the lack of a printing press, fact that mobilized scholars from Beiuș to act for the establishment of a printing house. In order to set up a printing press in Beiuș, while there were no economic resources, they founded a company based on shares. An initiative committee among the intellectuals from Beiuș was formed, in which we also meet Ioan Ciordaș. The company had for purpose: "the augmentation of love for books of the Beiuș inhabitants and environs, the spreading and lending of good books"³⁰. On March 1st 1911, the publishing house started its activity under the leadership of Ioan Ciordaș. The daily newspaper *Beiușul* objectively noticed that printing house was "created with the thought of spreading the culture in these lands and fighting for all that was Romanian on those times to be able to impose to public receptivity"³¹. Because the print house needed a means of disposal for releasing books, the typography acquired the *Doina* bookstore from Beiuș. In this way the typography took the name "*Doina*" bookstore and typography. Authorities considered the printing

²⁷ *Tribuna*, 1906, nr. 226, p. 5.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 1907, nr. 170, p. 5.

³⁰ Viorel Faur, *Cultura românilor din Bihor...*, p. 103.

³¹ Idem, *Contribuții la cunoașterea istoriei Bihorului*, vol. II, Comitetul pentru Cultură și Artă al Județului Bihor, Oradea, 1971, p. 132.

house as “anti-governmental”. The beginning of World War I brought the typography to bankruptcy. In this context, Ioan Ciordaș suggested to the Orthodox Archpriest Petru E. Papp to take upon himself the mission of its economic recovery, stating that: “if “Doina” is to die, it has to die in our arms”³².

Regarding the personality of Ioan Ciordaș L. Paukerow's statement is relevant: “In Beiuș there are few Romanians who are very active, very animated, who give their efforts for the permanent asserting of the Romanian soul and culture in Beiuș. First I have to quote Ioan Ciordaș, advocate with great reputation, the most popular figure in Beiuș, a good manager and a good Romanian, who together with his wife – Viora, a distinguished woman, with a poet's soul – work with much zeal to strengthen the Romanian feelings of Beiuș”³³.

Ioan Ciordaș, with his wife, had a great cult for “the Romanian theatre fund”. In 1910, under the presidency of Cornel Nyes, in Beiuș was established a branch of the Society for a fund theatre, Ioan Ciordaș and his wife were among the supporters. To be able to set up a troop of amateurs in Beiuș, Ioan Ciordaș invited there the band conducted by A.P. Bănuț, and also Horea P. Petrescu to hold a conference on theatre³⁴. Petru E. Papp said: “The theater troupes, which passed by our city, enjoyed the hospitality reception in the house of Ioan Ciordaș”³⁵.

Ioan Ciordaș promoted an intensive cultural activity. We note that “the national and cultural revival”³⁶ is closely connected to his name, Ioan Ciordaș engaged to a laudable effort to enlighten the people.

³² Petru E. Papp, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

³³ Teodor Neș, *Oameni din Bihor, 1848-1918*, Ediția a-II-a, Biblioteca Revistei Familia, Oradea, 2006, p. 440-441.

³⁴ Aurel Tripon, *op. cit.*, p. 295.

³⁵ Petru E. Papp, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

³⁶ Corneliu Mezea, *Martirii din Valea Beiuș-Vaşcăului, în Bihorul-Strajă la Hotare*, Oradea, 1933, p. 9.

GEORGE MOROIANU AND HIS CONNECTIONS TO THE BRITISH PRESS IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

*Monica POP**

Abstract: *Romania has attentively followed during this period, the evolution of the British foreign policy and its position to the major events of the international life. Faithful to its traditional policy and discontent of the French influence in the Southeastern Europe, England has paid less attention to its political relations with Romania. The diplomacy of Bucharest understood that England was not “vital interested” in the problems of the Center and East Europe.*

George Moroianu, the Vice President of the Anglo-Romanian Company, advert to the readers on the gratitude that the Romanians owed to some foreigners and prominent nobles in his memorable volume “Legăturile noastre cu Anglia”. The representatives of the British political and intellectual world gave valuable support to our people in its most difficult moments of its brave past in fighting for freedom and national unity.

Keywords: *British press, interwar period, foreign policy, journalists, diplomacy*

The Anglo-Romanian relations after 1922 had as main objective the economic and financial problems. The accreditation of N. Titulescu¹ as minister in the capital of England inaugurated a milestone in the history of the relations between London and Bucharest.

Romania has pursued during this period, with much attention the evolution of the British foreign policy² and its position against the main events of the international life. Faithful to its traditional policy and unhappy with the French influence in the Southeast Europe, England has paid less attention to its political relations with Romania. Bucharest diplomacy has understood that England is not “vital interested”³ by the issues of the Central and Eastern Europe.

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¹ Titulescu *și strategia păcii*, Iași, 1982, p.375-376 (letter from London, May 10, 1923 Titulescu to Duca)

² E. Campus, *Din politica externă a României, 1919-1939*, Bucharest, 1971, p. 198.

³ Valeriu Fl. Dobrinescu, *Relații româno-engleze (1914-1933)*, „Al. Ioan Cuza” University Publishing House, Iași, 1986, p. 152.

The May 1924 visit of the Romanian royal family in England⁴, as the contacts of I. G. Duca with the representatives of the Foreign Office⁵ in the years 1924-1926, are important moments of the Romanian-British political relations⁶ of the period. The trip ended with a “complete success”⁷ a shared opinion, unanimously, by the English press, too.

To the activation of the Romanian-English, relations in this period contributed the dynastic links between the two monarchs, and especially the role of some diplomats known in our country: Take Ionescu⁸ and Nicolae Titulescu⁹. For 15 years the Romanian-British political relations were correct, the writer and historian Valeriu Fl. Dobrinescu considered in his *Relațiile româno-engleze (1914-19330)*.

As the historiography of the political relations between Romania and England,¹⁰ there is not practically until now, nor in the Romanian historiography and, as far as is known, nor in the English one, a special monograph devoted to this theme showing the essential aspects of the Romanian-British political relations in the interwar period. However, the Romanian historian Valeriu Fl. Dobrinescu deals with the stage beginning with 1919, but only until 1933, in his work dedicated to the Romanian-British relations *Relațiile româno-engleze (1914-1933)*, and the historian Gheorghe Pașcalău addresses the same issue for the next period 1933-1939, in his work entitled *România și Marea Britanie; relații politico-diplomatice 1933-1939*.

In the English literature, if there is, as far as we know, no work to address the issue of the Romanian-British relations in the interwar years, there is instead a series of works¹¹ devoted to the British interwar foreign policy. The best summary of the interwar foreign policy of Great Britain¹², thanked to an English historian is considered so far, the work *Politica externă britanică de la Versailles 1919-1963*, of W. N. Medlicott, A. P. J. Taylor¹³ tackles, him too,

⁴ *Vizita M.M.L.L., Regele și Regina României la Londra în anul 1924*. Summary; file.

⁵ *Documents on British Foreign Policy: 1919-1939*, edited by E.I. Woodward and Rahan Butler, London, 1947.

⁶ Valeriu Florin Dobrinescu, *Some Considerations on the Romanian-English Relations 1914-1920*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A.D. Xenopol*, 4, Iași, 1983, p. 133-167.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ R. Seișanu, *Take Ionescu. Viața și opera sa*, Bucharest, 1930, p. 341.

⁹ V. Netea, *N. Titulescu*, Bucharest, 1969, p. 76.

¹⁰ P.A. Reynolds, *British Foreign Policy in the Interwar Years*, London, 1954.

¹¹ E.H.Carr, *British Foreign Policy from 1918 to 1939*, London, 1940; M.R.D. Foot, *British Foreign Policy since 1898*, London, 1956; G.P. Gooch, *British Foreign Policy 1919-1939*, London, 1968; C.L. Mowat, *Britain between the Wars, 1918-1940*, London, 1955; P.S. Northedge, *The Troubled Giant: Britain among the Great Powers, 1916-1939*, London, 1966; P.A. Reynolds, *British Foreign Policy in the Interwar Years*, London, 1954, A.J.P. Taylor, *English History 1914-1945*, Oxford, 1965.

¹² Great Britain, P.R.O., F.O., 371, 6215, 1921, f. 179-180.

¹³ A.J.P. Taylor, *English History 1914-1945*, Oxford, 1965.

some aspects of the British foreign policy in the years 1929-1933, in his work *Istoria engleză 1914-1945*.

Because Romania and England have adopted opposite attitudes to the problem of the revising the treaties, the Romanian-British political relations have experienced some cold moments in their evolution, although they were generally good in the interwar years, especially at the level of the governments.

The history of the press cannot be built nor understood without a constant reference to the overall development of the society. Perhaps, of all topics of the historical research, the newspaper is the one which has the most closely relations with the political state, with the economic situation, with the social organization and the cultural level of the country and of the era it reflects.

A difficulty of writing the history of the press belongs to the diversity of its forms. Since the 7th century, the concept of periodical mass media has covered a compound powerfully disparate by publications and in the following centuries, their types and categories have diversified to such an extent that the variety and multiplicity of the titles often hid the whole unit.

Beyond the common characteristics to all publications, the legal status mainly, the production technical details, and economic of the exploitation and beyond the formal aspect of the attitude, the originality of the content and the specificity of the audience of each title is an obstacle to the global survey of the press. The history of the press should try to reconcile the individual study of each title by presenting to the world of the press as a whole. In addition to the others, it faced with difficulty “to describe the trees and the forest at the same time”¹⁴.

The history of the press is more than the meaning shows it, a subsidiary science of the modern and contemporary history. „Arhive ale cotidianului”¹⁵, the journals are the most complete source of and in their diversity, the most objective source of the general history. The newspapers are documents of a considerable wealth, but difficult to use. One of the major goals of the media history is that of “the contact found beyond the passage of time, in the pages of the old newspaper collections, with the events of a hardened actuality, with the everyday concerns of the past generations and with the passions of the journalists”¹⁶.

GEORGE MOROIANU, Vice President of the Anglo-Romanian Society, the memorials volume *Legăturile noastre cu Anglia* draws the readers' attention on the gratitude that the Romanians due to some foreigners and respectable nobles representatives of the British political and intellectual world. Those gave valuable support for the most difficult moments of the past of our people of hard-bitten fights for freedom and national unity. The author reports

¹⁴ Pierre Albert, *Istoria preseii*, European Institute, Iași, 2002, p. 9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

that on July 14, 1918 he was in London (arrived since a few days from the Soviet Russia¹⁷ where he had been for two months together with his wife) in the capital where were all the representatives of the Allies in Petrograd. In those moments hard-bitten by the final ardent fights against the common enemy, the British were celebrating this great day in the history of France just as the French. On the streets of London were waving thousands of flags with the French tricolor, with as many English flags. On that day Clemenceau, too, celebrated his anniversary of 77 years of life. However, he also celebrated a quarter of a century since he opened generously his newspaper columns *La Justice* to defense the cause of the Romanians in Transylvania (1893). George Moroianu returns to the Romania connections and propaganda in England as the relations created with different British famous publishers and British politicians. He states that in the summer of 1909 the famous British historian and writer, Seton Watson (famed under the pseudonym Scotus Viator), made his first trip to our country whom he met in London in 1907, when he was consul of Romania, with the service deployed in the capital of England. Since then, the twos have discussed the Romanian issue in Transylvania and the nationalities matter in Austria-Hungary.

He spent then about three weeks in Romania, crossing the country far and wide, taking contact with the Romanian politicians of all parties, with the scientists of the country, including Nicolae Iorga, and he was received by King Carol in Sinaia¹⁸. In his works, Seton Watson has made known the problem of the nationalities in England of the late Habsburg monarchy, among which the Romanian one, too. We mention of his writings: *Racial Problems in Hungary*, *Corruption and Reform in Hungary*, *the Southern Slav Question*, *The War and Democracy*, *Romania and the Great War*, *Serbia and Yugoslavia* in the “British Encyclopedia”, *Transylvania* in “Slavonic Review”, and *English Origins* in “History” Review.

In the first two publications, he talks a lot about Romanians, too. After visiting Romania, Seton Watson has gone to Transylvania, visiting Sibiu, Blaj, Braşov and other cities, studying the problem of the Romanians and the other nationalities on the scene.

Returning to Bucharest in 1915, together with the Deputy Travallian, Seton Watson met the Romanian leaders and the Transylvanian refugees with whom he discussed the issue on the agenda: Romania entrance into the war to complete the nation. On that occasion, the two Englishmen met at the restaurant “Europe” with a few friends whom they talked late into the night about the entry of Romania into the war and the benefits that will follow from this participation. Scotus Viator discussed then the problem of the transfer of a

¹⁷ W. Bacon, *Secret Papers on the Failure of the Romanian Soviet Negotiations 1931* (Documents 3 and 4).

¹⁸ *Vizita M.M.L.L., Regele și Regina României la Londra în anul 1924*. Summary; file.

particle from Banat to the future Yugoslavia, taking into account especially the situation of Belgrade. In London, the Action Committee of Yugoslavia, the head of which was Trumbiĉi, the later Foreign Minister of the Serbian-Croatian-Slovene Kingdom, who established in London since the outbreak of war, worked with the greatest energy to popularize their claims in the widest circles of the British public. The representatives of this committee could be seen throughout the halls of the diplomats, at the Saturday teas at the Political Director of the paper *The Times*¹⁹ where they discussed the issues of the war and the peace conditions which were to be set.

“While the Yugoslavs were united, united to fanaticism in their views and demands, then our leaders did not know how to be united”²⁰ - specifies G. Moroianu, unfortunately.

The *Times* correspondent in Vienna, Henry Wickham Steed²¹, perhaps the greatest journalist of the time with Clémence Rose, the Viennese correspondent of the newspaper *Morning Post*, “one of the most intelligent women” ever encountered by G. Moroianu, as he characterized this one, joined the professor from the University of London. He was Mr. Cipicco who, together with his wife often met at the tea afternoons the British-French-Italian newspaper correspondents from Vienna. They held these tea parties mostly at Steed’s home, and they have expressed their desire to know and visit Romania. The trip, with propaganda purposes, too, eventually could be done, not without some difficulty, through the good care of Iuliu Maniu, the President of the Organizing Committee and the soul of several great national celebrations that held for few days, leaving a light footprint in the cultural history of Transylvania.

Thus, the hikers were able to see closely an impressive cultural event of the Romanians in Transylvania, also to take contact with the Romanian political leaders in the province.

After the trip end, George Moroianu, who separated from the journalists’ friends at Predeal, hurried to return to Sinaia to request an audience with King Carol I. The reason of the audience was, among others, that of thanking the Sovereign for the noble gesture he had done on the trip that had succeeded so well. He received the response to letter next morning and the Sovereign invited him to the Castle that evening at 7 o’clock. At the hearing that took one hour²² the Sovereign proved to be extremely friendly,

¹⁹ *The Times*, September 1, 1936.

²⁰ George Moroianu, *Legăturile noastre cu Anglia*, Cluj, 1923, p.73.

²¹ H. Wickham “Stickum” Steed, British journalist and historian, with his full name Henry Wickham Steed was born in October 10, 1871 in Long Melford, England and died in January 13, 1956.

²² Any sovereign when someone in the audience is documented on the person. Royal entourage provides details required by the Sovereign.

sat on the chair and invited him, too, to sit down²³, which meant that he was going to hold him some more time, and perhaps, to communicate something important, something that happened. Among the issues discussed, the King reminded the Romanians future and their national unity, as the Sovereign thought and as he intended to achieve it - given the political situation and the balance between the European countries at that time. They described the conversation with the King Carol I seven years later in a longer article, which appeared in the *Times*, in August 28, 1918, when the author was in London. The people in the country did not know the article because of the war. The important contemporary document showed us that the first King of the Romanians inspired himself by the ideal of the national unity that he wanted to accomplish as the general political circumstances allowed then. This high and patriotic thought of the King Carol Ist was also known by his counselors whom he worked with during his long reign of nearly half a century.

The *Times* made the following introductory note to this article: “I have received the following article from Dr. George Moroianu former member of the Romanian consular mission in the Southern Russia and former Commercial Attaché of Romania to the legions in Vienna and Berlin. Dr. Moroianu is a Romanian in Transylvania who became early Romanian citizen in his career.

The article in question is entitled: *The future of Romania* and subtitle: *King Carol and Germany*”²⁴.

George Moroianu was convinced that the ruling circles of England understood the late entrance of Romania into the war, and when it occurred, finally, they received the action of the Romanians with the same joy and satisfaction both in England and in other allied countries.

Immediately after the outbreak of the war in England, they have formed “Help Committees” for Romania. As a public subscription, they gathered nice money sums that they sent to the Romanian “Crucea Roșie”. The British “Crucea Roșie” sent directly to our country drugs, money and staff to help the wounded and so many sufferings left in the misery of the war.

Romania has attentively followed during this period, the evolution of the British foreign policy and its position to the major events of the international life. Faithful to its traditional policy and discontent of the French influence in the Southeastern Europe, England has paid less attention to its political relations with Romania. The diplomacy of Bucharest understood that England was not “vital interested” in the problems of the Center and East Europe.

²³ The King used to receive the visitors always standing. To greet he offered his hand only with two fingers. The conversation was going up standing.

²⁴ Apud George Moroianu, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

George Moroianu, the Vice President of the Anglo-Romanian Company, advert to the readers on the gratitude that the Romanians owed to some foreigners and prominent nobles in his memorable volume *Legăturile noastre cu Anglia*. The representatives of the British political and intellectual world gave valuable support to our people in its most difficult moments of its brave past in fighting for freedom and national unity.

PROFESSOR ION NESTOR CORRESPONDENCE

*Adrian DUMITRIU**

Abstract: *The year of 1928 marked the beginning of Ion Nestor postgraduate studies that he conducted until 1932 in Germany. He followed special courses at the Universities of Berlin and Marburg, under the guidance of professors Gero von Merhart, Gerhard Bersu, Hubert Schmidt, Carl Schuchardt, Max Ebert, Richard Thurnwald, Paul Jacobsthal. During doctorate preparation, he worked in Austria and Bulgaria under the attention of Professor Gerhard Bersu, forming as a archeologist in prehistory and millennium A.D. Between 1931-1932 he join the largest resort in the excavations of Neolithic from Goldberg (Nördlingen), standing out as an excellent observer. After Berlin, Ion Nestor continued his specialization at the University of Marburg, studying at Professor Gero von Merhart seminar; Professor Merhart founded the department of prehistory in Marburg¹.*

Ion Nestor completed his PhD thesis, being the only Romanian who followed the archaeology school courses of Philipp University of Marburg known and recognized throughout the scientific world; he was also among the 25 doctoral students of the “Merhart School”². PhD with specialization in archeology and ethnography, Ion Nestor became the seventh foreign archaeologist who achieved this title, along other personalities of archeology, as Joachim Werner, Rafael von Uslar, Friedrich Holste or Wolfgang Dehn³. So, in 1932, Ion Nestor achieved his Ph.D. in philosophy at the Philipp University of Marburg by presenting his master's thesis “Die ältere und jüngere Steinzeit in Rumäniens. Der Stand der Forschung”⁴. Studies in Germany, particularly

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¹ Wolfgang Dehn, *Das Vorgeschichtliche Seminar Marburg und seine Auslandsverbindungen*, în *Festschrift zum 50jährigen Bestehen des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg*, I, Gladenbach, 1977, p. 45

² Wolfgang Dehn, *op. cit.*, p. 48: Argentinien 1; Belgien 1; England 1; Finnland 1; Frankreich 2; Indien 1; Irland 2; Italien 2; Jugoslawien 3 (dazu 1 Gast-professor); Norwegen 1; Österreich 1; Polen 2; Portugal 1; Rumänien 1; Schweden 2; Schweiz 3; Tschechoslowakei 9; Ungarn 1; Vereinigte Staaten von Amerika 2

³ Mircea Babeş, *Hundertjähriges Jubiläum eines Humboldtianers: Ion Nestor (1905-2005)*, în *Mitteilungen des Humboldt-Clubs Rumänien*, 8-9, 2004-2005, p. 11-16, <http://www.instarhparvan.ro> accesat în 05/2010.

⁴ Edward Sangmeister, *50 Jahre Vorgeschichtliches Seminar der Philipps-Universität Marburg*, în *Festschrift zum 50jährigen Bestehen des Vorgeschichtlichen Seminars Marburg*, I, Gladenbach, 1977, p. 32

the preparation under the guidance of Professor Gero von Merhart, had consistently contributed to Ion Nestor formation in archeology.

Keywords: *Ion Nestor, Gero von Merhart, Marburg seminar, prehistory, formation*

Returning home, the young Romanian researcher will apply the acquired research methods and knowledge and he will honorably represent the German school in Romania, as Professor Merhart anticipated. Ion Nestor will keep in touch with the professor, both carrying a long correspondence between 1931-1942; after reading the correspondence, we are able to highlight professor Merhart appreciations about the young Romanian scientist efforts, vocation and good work carried out during the study period; it also allows outlining the special relationship between disciple and teacher, a relationship based on great mutual respect.

Therefore, in the following, the Professor Gero von Merhart essay on the Ion Nestor PhD thesis and several letters of correspondence between 1931-1942 speak for themselves.

13.VII.1931

Certificate

Ion Nestor candidate belongs to my seminar and has the responsibility to edit custom thesis for a rigorous examination. This paper aims accreditation candidate in advanced stages, is truly valuable, since it is supported by a candidate from abroad. I look forward for the candidate to complete his work and get ready to ensure its drafting. I trust candidate Nestor and I consider him a promising student.

M[erhart].

12.III.1932

Report of the Ion Nestor work:

*Die älteren und jüngeren Steinzeit Rumäniens. Der Stand der
Forschung*

Romanian-German commission reports contain summaries of prehistory research stages in different states, works that were provided by prominent researchers from these states. Two years ago, after a few contacts, I agreed to coordinate a dissertation of the assistants from the National Museum of Bucharest. I suggested them to send only the partial sections regarding the

Stone Age. Therefore, I know the work up to the Scythian period. Each section has independent value, both present the human culture period on the (actual) Romanian territory to early Metal age, that in our central Europe views, until the first half of the Bronze Age.

The Paleolithic is mostly handled in the form of a compilation, but we can also recognize in the summary notes, critical skills and self-judgment. Despite the difficult of reaching literature, the work provides a great time-saving guidance and confidence; the whole creation of the work deserves our consideration.

The second chapter orders in eight groups the several types of Neolithic pottery. He also worked in several writings, above all in PZ XIX, regarding the chronological and cultural issues of the late Romanian civilization; therefore, he stands on solid ground and enables reliable judgments and he indicates different ways of clarifying discussions. However, the investigation presented here, for example, must be properly applied as a good working hypothesis: Vința I culture (with Tordoș I) was formed, as its own homeland, from the Morava-Vardar. For the creation of Cucuteni-Erösd is presented the report of Dimini culture with some notes of spiral decorated stone sculpture. For the painting circle of Western Romania, it will probably make a position on Tordoș I-Vința I for Boian A under Erösd. Phase early Gumelnița lower covers with some of Cucuteni A.

Your payment is not insignificant, giving a shortly overview, really only for professionals, about current research, which is the first chapter, very desirable; the second chapter lives up to independent scientific performance. This achievement is significant, the author shows throughout a presentation with good trial methods and materials. Nestor will honorably represent the German school in Romania, although he is a young scholar. First of all, I suggest adopting the predicate college work.

2.V.1932

Dear Mrs. Ion

With many thanks for your letter of 18. and annex with the new article. So it must be, as you wrote, I hope, however, that both articles to be published together. Do me the pleasure and edit the article as you see it fit and do not protect the “wonderful” editorial stuff anymore.

Best regards,

Yours

Marburg.

Adrian DUMITRIU

Mr. Ion Nestor passed the doctoral thesis on *Die älteren und jüngeren Steinzeit Rumäniens. Der Stand der Forschung*. Mr. Nestor returns to his position as assistant to the National Museum of Bucharest.

6.VII.1932

To dr. Ion Nestor Bucharest

Dear dr. Ion Nestor!

We ask you politely but imperative to send us urgently the required picture, usual size 9x12 cm, along with that of your wife, for our gallery of photos. Please do not hold instead of continuing our gallery of photos and keep yourself in the Central Europe by sending them.

Best regards from the big chief, his horde and office stuff

15.VIII.1932

Dear dr. Nestor,

Please, write me, the three new books titles on Greek Neolithic. I need to ease my eyes and I unfortunately can not look in the literature. But, please write me and if your and your wife pictures does not arrive I rather hang an empty frame in which I'll write: "Picture is missing because Dr. Nestor lives in the Balkans." Understand? Not in Eastern Central Europe!

Best thoughts to your wife, too!

Yours,

M[erhart].

Bucharest 27.IX.1932

Dear Professor,

I received two days ago a letter from you dated 15 July (this means a copy of it!) and I hasten to answer. I barely touch the typewriter buttons with my fingertips, but, at least, you'll ease your eyes. I did not receive your original letter, probably lost, as it was sent to our old address. Meanwhile we have

moved. A greeting from Mr. Werner that was sent in May came from only a few days ago!

I will send the pictures as soon as I can. The lack of money and time have so far been an obstacle. Apart from that I thought this is not a priority up after holidays.

Reports about Greek Neolithic which you are interested in:

1. Korakou (in Professor's Jacobsthals library);
2. K. Blegen, *Zygouries*, Cambridge 1928 (in Prussian State Library);
3. *Idem*, Gonia, Metropolitan Muz. Studies, 3, 1, 1930 (*ibid.* and also in the old museum in Berlin).
4. E. Kunze, *Ceramics Neolithic*, Orchomenos 2, Abhandl. Bayram. Akad. D. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Abtlg., N. F., 5, 1931 (in Frankfurt / M).
5. The note with the Olynthos excavations report which I do not have it on my hand, but the book was discussed by Reinecke in "Germany" in 1931 and is located in Frankfurt/M.

I would like to draw your attention to a work of *L'Eta del bronzo nel Piceno*, which is printed in *Daco-Romanian Ephemeris* V. The work is reproduced and also unedited. The book is in Frankfurt.

Our *Dacia* walks too slowly through the press, now I'm working on an index to all volumes (1-4). I have not forgotten about the copy that I have promised you, I'm just waiting for the magazine to be available again. You will receive the volumes 1 and 2. You should not be surprised about the Romanian shipping rate, everything I send you it is done with the greatest pleasure in the gratitude and attention that I want to show you. This depends not only on me personally, but my fellow citizens and who have not gone through the German school.

Since I have returned home, I cannot write too much. In Little Wallachia (Romanian Country) I visited about 10 settlements and a field where we exhumed three urns cremation graves from the Bronze Age. They are part of the culture-Klicevacer Bjelo-Brdo. If this year we will receive money for excavations, which is very unlikely, I will excavate the entire site.

I am currently writing a book review for PZ about Cucuteni of Hubert Schmidt. The book is largely very good, only I am not agree with earlier theories.

We have put together for you a trunk full of beautiful pieces, there is even a couple of dishes that can be entirely reconstructed. I want to talk as soon as possible with the German emissary here to send the suitcase. See that I have not forgotten you!

My wife and I wish you quick recovery. We are very happy to hear that you are better. My new address is very safe, I expect to communicate all your wishes on this address, I assure you that I consider as a duty to satisfy.

Best regards,

Yours Ion Nestor

Adrian DUMITRIU

Please accept the most beautiful pieces from my collection. I give them to you with great pleasure. I hope your illness does not bother you too much.

Best regards and quick recovery,
Roza Nestor

19.I.1934

Dear Dr. Nestor

The money I have sent are from me and from the committee for relation with foreign countries. This support should take place so that you ensure food and medicines to recover your health. Drinks and cigarettes can not be considered a means of recovery. I have sent you the money without writing you because I had no time and I thought you would understand. Please so and work towards, hoping to receive news about your health recovery. I have received the *Dacia* and I thank you warmly for it. I wonder if I need to write another letter to Mr. Andrieşescu.

To satisfy your wish of doing me a favor. Please, be so kind and order to a bookseller both works of Mrs. Vulpe, one of which includes the Iron Age and the other, as it seems, includes relations between Eastern and east Italy. Please persuade the bookseller to urgently send me the books.

Best regards to your wife too,
Yours, M[erhart].

Bucharest, 25.XII.1941

Dear and esteemed Professor,

It's been a long time, again, since you haven't heard of me. So far, I was not sent to war. Generally speaking, we are doing well, things we're missing are less important. I didn't feel the war as it was, except the obvious darkness due to the occasional visit of the Russian by whom the Bucharest should be burned to ground; only that we, insensitive Europeans from the southeast, didn't feel this way. It is still something that makes things more profitable. Our losses were strong enough, no one expected us to win, not without losses. And we overcame with the Germans, that, you can easily imagine, filled my heart with great satisfaction. Now things have to go so. We can not excavate this year because of the war, however I made a conservation grave in Ploiesti. I might like to give up Monteoru the next year. Meantime, new *Dacia* will appear and you might be interested in. I made a short study in a few sentences, about each

group of burnt ceramic that I am less interested. I will dare to show, in a few articles, some details about the objects belonging to the group of burnt ceramics from Transylvania found in the castle of Medias.

Someone else was with us recently, as you noticed, early Thracian group in central Romania and northwest part of Hungary stands out more clearly which I will indicate it, based on things occasionally found in late Bronze Age obstructed by elements from the eastern and western provinces of Romania and elements from Bulgaria and south Russia. My position here is still not that I want for all my development work plan. I see that those who are already there don't let me go up, however I get along with the thought that it has always been so, geniuses are not understood, but mocked!

I preferred to constantly think of you and the place of Marburg where you teach, dear Mr. Merhart and I always felt fulfilled. This year, in May, Mr. Henzler was here, as an officer, I talked to him and I tried to make it easier to stay away from home among strangers. Holste has not written me for an eternity, I understand better Werner's situation. Dehn regularly sends me reprints that unfortunately I do not respond with the same attention because I print less and not send. In any case I want to believe that someone thinks about me. I feel very fortunate that our people has finally found his way and will remain so!

I want to try the offers received, come to Germany and afterwards to see you. I hope you are feeling fine, that is what I wish you!

We wish you all the best as far as possible, and fulfillment of all desires. The same good wishes to all those out there (Philipp first) and we ask Holste to pay his greetings. We want from you a few words; when you are not writing, please think about our poverty. You can write us whatever you like even if you do it once an year.

Best regards,
Ion Nestor and his wife

DR. PETRU GROZA AND THE UNIVERSITY MAN VICTOR JINGA IN THE AUTUMN OF 1944. A FAILED ATTEMPT OF POLITICAL RECRUITMENT

Mihai D. DRECIN*

Abstract: *Victor Jinga, economist and professor at the Academy of High Commercial and Industrial Studies in Cluj, started in politics in 1926 as a member of the National Peasant Party. In this capacity, he held important leading positions in the National Peasant Youth in Transylvania and Banat, then in the entire country, in Cluj and Brasov County organizations.*

Refused repeatedly to run for the office of Deputy in the Parliament of Romania in the summer of 1938 he joined the pro-Carolist group led by Armand Călinescu, supporting the authoritarian regime of King Carol II, in the hope of saving the country integrity and independence. He becomes deputy and member of the Front of National Rebirth Party, member of the governments in 1939.

In the period 1942-1945 as a Rector of the Commercial Academy Cluj-Braşov, is involved in the process of reintegration in the fruntariile of the country, of the released Bessarabia. He collaborates by means of works of specialty with the Office of Peace - organized in 1943 by the Antonescu Government - which prepared the Romanian participation to the peace negotiations after World War II end. Since the spring of 1944, he considers a program of democratic reforms of Western-European type for the postwar Romania. Victor Jinga, was a good connoisseur of the reforms after World War I. These reforms represented a forward step in the process of modernization and democratization of the Romanian geographical area, understanding that after World War II will take place a similar step, the higher rates of the democracy and organization of the country. He refuses to collaborate with the communists and their acolytes in the autumn of 1944, rejecting the offer of the pro-communist Vice Prime Minister Dr. Petru Groza to join the Communist Party or the Plowmen's Front against some important political and material advantages. As a result, since 1945 the communists will arrest and pursue him, purged of the high education, removed from the democratic intellectual and political elite until 1963.

We deduct of Victor Jinga's political development in the years 1938-1945, his involvement in defending the integrity of the sovereignty and

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independence of the country, the principles and morality of Western-European type, the anti-communism and idealism to the uncertain future of the after 1945 Romania.

Keywords: *Victor Jinga, Armand Călinescu, government, deputy, communist purge*

Both during his life, of the concrete activity carried out and received by the Romanian society of the time, and of the studies which have been dedicated him by researchers after his passing away (July 1, 1990) - Victor Jinga imposed himself in the mentality of the national collective as economist. He has been specializing in the Western- European co-operation type field, professor - mentor to generations of students, researcher - theorist and practitioner. Alike, the professor was the author of several studies and books, the founder of the village and town cooperatives in the area of production and products commercialization. He also was editor and founder of the social-economic journals that have tried to accelerate and deepen the democratization of the Romanian society, proposing reforms of substance for the country. He led and founded institutions - Rector of the Academy of High Commercial and Industrial Studies in Cluj-Braşov (1942-1945) -, a personality of the science and culture of national and European breathing¹.

A less known aspect of the life and work of the economist and Professor Victor Jinga, but no less remarkable, was that done in the political sphere. For 65 years, they considered him a disciple and militant of the National Peasant ideas in a political life strewn over not less than five political regimes, with the classic vicissitudes that it might reserve to any politician. Always, however, he was driven by the defense national interests of the moment. The firm principles that have guided him in his life were anchored in the sphere of the work and democracy of the Western-European type, and not once sacrificing his personal and family interests to the national ones.

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Between 1926-1938 Victor Jinga works in the National Peasant Party, first in the Braşov and Cluj County organizations, then Transylvania and Banat, as national Vice President of the National Peasant Youth (March 1930-1935), General Secretary of the National Peasant Youth for Transylvania and Banat (August 1935-1937), national President of the National Peasant Youth (January 1938). For thirteen years, Victor Jinga responded promptly to all the callings of

¹ See parts of this activity in the life of Victor Jinga in Mihai D. Drecin, „Postfață”, in Victor Jinga, *Probleme fundamentale ale Transilvaniei*, Muzeul Judeţean de Istorie Publishing House, Braşov, edition II, 1995, p. 701-722.

the National Peasant Party, participating to meetings and activities mainly in the Transylvanian and Banat organizations but, also, to the top meetings of the party, in Câmpulung Muscel and Bucharest. He collaborated on scientific and political field with the party leaders of academic life, also with Iuliu Maniu, but especially with Ion Mihalache. He tried to spread the national-peasant ideology not only among the peasants and workers, but also among the intellectuals from villages and towns, including among the students from Cluj. As a true intellectual, he shared the demarches of the left wing of the National Peasant Party, focused on the national electorate of more modest material condition. Refusing to engage in politicking combination within the party that cultivated family relationships, group economic interests, the Transylvania and Banat regionalism - Victor Jinga, despite of the organizational work of substance carried out and recognized by the common party members - was not included into the National Peasant Party electoral lists in any of the five parliamentary elections held between 1928-1938. Moreover, in the first months of Carolist authoritarian regime, continuing to carry out party work by participating to "intimate conferences" on the top management of the National Peasant Party, Victor Jinga will suffer the rigors of new laws that banned the activity of the political parties, and they will suspend him from the Cluj University Department for six months.²

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The precipitation of the European political scene in the second half of 1938, when the fascist policy promoted by Germany and Italy threaten the territorial status quo enshrined at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919-1920 produced a real shock by signing the München Agreements in late September 1938.

The territorial bluntness of Czechoslovakia, ally of our country, with the consent of the traditional friends, England and France, leads to a reorientation of many intellectuals to the Carolist politics handwritten forces, which gave the impression that the union of all the Romanian political makers could avoid an experience like Czechoslovakia. To achieve this national objective the immolation of the interwar feeble Romanian democracy seemed to be a price not too high.

In this context, Victor Jinga, aligns himself to the Armand Călinescu group³ that became an important pillar of the Carolist regime. Moreover, Jinga knew personally Armand Călinescu, also a former important leader of the National Peasant Party. In this context, they will exclude Victor Jinga from the

² Mihai D. Drecin, *Victor Jinga – omul politic. Etapa (1926-1938)*, 31 p. mss., under print in „Studii de istorie economică și istoria gândirii economice”, Academia Română Publishing House, Bucharest, vol. XIV.

³ It seems that the decision is taken in the summer of 1938, maybe in August.

National Peasant Party, a more symbolic exclusion considering the interdiction of the activity of all the political parties by the regime. Some friends bring on the critics; Jinga responds them with arguments and dignity⁴. However, Victor Jinga felt in a select company in the new political environment, with many academics of certain intellectual value, economists, lawyers, historians, philosophers, sociologists, engineers such as Mitiță Constantinescu, Victor Slăvescu, Mihail Ghelmegianu, Victor Iamandi, Petre Andrei, Mihail Ralea, Silviu Dragomir, Constantin C. Giurescu, Mihai Șerban, etc.

Member of the National Renaissance Front – the Carolist unique party, Jinga will have important responsibilities in the organization of the subsidiaries in the counties of Brașov and Trei Scaune⁵. From February 1 to November 23, 1939, he will be a member of several governments, as State Secretary in the Ministry of National Economy, engaging for cooperation⁶. Member of the Chamber of Deputies, he will have well documented interventions, as an economist and patriot, aimed at the economic and emotional strengthening of the country in its international and internal policy difficult moments in the spring-summer of 1940⁷.

The disposal of the Northeast Transylvania to the fascist Hungary by the Vienna Dictate, finds Victor Jinga in Cluj. He will be among the intellectuals who will organize demonstrations against the mutilation of the country territory. He will go into retirement among the last university men in Cluj⁸, settling in Brașov, where they have transferred the Commercial Academy.

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In Brașov Victor Jinga engages in the reorganization and development of the Commercial Academy as a professor and Rector in the period 1942-1945. At the beginning of the academic year 1940-1941, a group of Legionary students will accuse the Professor of false patriotism, anti-Romanism, promoter of the ideas of left, collaboration with various Romanian and foreign

⁴ Mihai D. Drecin, „Viața politică din România anilor 1931-1940, oglindită în corespondența lui Victor Jinga cu Gheorghe Moroianu”, in vol. *Relații internaționale și studii de istorie. Omagiu profesorului Constantin Bușe*, University Publishing House, in Bucharest, 2009, p. 316.

⁵ The Central Historical National Archives, Bucharest, *Fond: Frontul Renașterii Naționale*, file Nine, f. 241, 247, 276 (member in the Superior National Council F.R.N.), dos. 20, f. 19, 26, dos. 56, f. 5-6, 8-101, 106-126, 127-128, 129.

⁶ Stelian Neagoe, *Istoria guvernelor României de la începuturi - 1859 până în zilele noastre - 1995*, Machiavelli Publishing House, Bucharest, 1995, p. 125-130.

⁷ Also, see *Discursul la Mesajul Tronului rostit de d-l. deputat Victor Jinga în ședința de la 14 martie 1940*, the Official Monitor and State Printings, Central Printing, Bucharest, 1940, 42 p.

⁸ Constatin Mustață, *File din Biblia Transilvaniei*, Daco-Press Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 1994, p. 232-233; Also, see Archives Victor Jinga, Bucharest, (found in the possession of the family), *Activitatea privitoare la Transilvania, activitate antirevizionistă, în cele trei zile, la Cluj, după Dictatul de la Viena, și în timpul refugiului (prezentare sumară)*, p. 1. The text is typed and annotated by Professor.

intellectuals, including Hebrew, who rejected the national-extremist doctrine. They will threaten him with the physical liquidation, living thus in uncertainty until January 1941⁹.

As a Rector, he sets up new departments: economical, financial and social sciences; political economy; industry and teaching. In 1943, he creates the “Economic and Social Research Institute”, then the “Institute of Modern Languages”. He reprints the magazine the “Socio-Economic Observatory”, Series II. The Professor publishes three volumes of study and communications of the Institute (≈ 1800 p.) and the “Academy Annals of High Commercial and Industrial Studies in Cluj-Braşov” (over 2000 p.). The number of students increases rapidly from 520 (1941/1942) to 1128 (1945/1946). He created and organized student hostels and a canteen, built three halls for courses, increased the number of scholarships¹⁰.

During 1942-1943, in a broader national action, in which other categories of intellectuals participated (hierarchs of the Romanian Orthodox Church, ministers, and experts in different areas: school, industry, commerce, etc.), together with a group of colleagues and students, Victor Jinga made several visits in Bessarabia and Trans-Nistria, including Odessa. The aim of the visited objective was to restore the province between the Prut and Nistru in the realities of the Romanian state, after the sad experience of the Soviet occupation¹¹.

After the battle of Stalingrad that resulted in the defeat of the Axis armies, the German Eastern Front started phasing out to the West. In this context, the government in Bucharest understood that Germany and its allies would loose the war, eventually. With the acceptance of Marshal Ion Antonescu, the Romanian state’s leader will act on two levels. On the one hand he will try to get the country out of “Hitler’s War”, on the other hand will start preparing the documents that Romania will present at the future Peace Conference after the end of the war. In this connection is established the “Peace Office”, along the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Together with specialists from various areas, especially academics, Victor Jinga will work within the “Peace Office” directed scientifically by Silviu Dragomir and C. C. Giurescu. He will write a series of works with economic character of which resulting the age and the permanence of the Romanian element in Transylvania, the indissoluble links between the Transylvanian and the extra-Carpathian area for centuries,

⁹ Mihai D. Drecin, „Postfață”, p. 711.

¹⁰ Archives Victor Jinga, Bucharest, *Date biografice și activitate profesională*, p.2. The text comprising 5 pages, is an uncompleted memoir of activity, written by hand. Please note that the documents are not sorted and inventoried;***, *7 decenii de învățământ superior economic clujean 1920-1992*, University „Babeş-Bolyai” Publishing House Cluj-Napoca, Faculty of Economics, 1992, p. 15-16.

¹¹ National Archives - Braşov County Service, *Fund: Commercial Academy of Cluj, 1921-1949*, file 5, vol. III, f. 248.

Romania's interwar policy that allowed all the inhabitants of Transylvania, regardless of ethnicity, to grow and prosper economically exceptionally compared to the Austria-Hungarian rule¹². Eventually, his principal work, "Fundamental problems of Transylvania", published in 1945 and awarded in 1946 with the „ Leon Gh. Palade Award" of the Romanian Academy, he wrote it in the support of the Romanian delegation at the Peace Conference that glimpsed after the cessation of the armed hostilities¹³.

Sensing the course of the national history the economic realities of the country, Victor Jinga was convinced that after the end of the war, amid a new radicalization of the society (took the example of the situation after World War I), will require further reforms with a more pronounced social character. The Romanian society will have to take a forward step towards the democratization, to ensure a more real social equity for the many. Of course, he saw these necessary changes in the framework of a democratic society of Western-European type. Moreover, a political creed he expresses in his economic studies published even since the years 1937 to 1944. The most interesting and clear statement, with direct reference to the near future, is the study "Beyond the Bourgeoisie and Capitalism", written and popularized even since 1943¹⁴. Here Jinga theorizes the co-operative economy of Anglo-Saxon type as an alternative between the classic, wild capitalism and the socialist economy of Soviet-style, of state, uniformity and adversary declared of the private property.

In this context, in June-July 1944, they printed, surreptitiously, a document entitled "Project of Principle and Programmatic Enunciations". Signed by a number of academics, lawyers, former mayors and deputies of Braşov, Sighişoara, Oneşti, Blaj, Zalău gathered in the so-called "Study Committee and Drafting Group of the magazine «Țara de mâine»" is in fact the scientific and political elaborate of Victor Jinga. The emerged ideas, the topic of the sentence, the typical phrases found in the writing of the Professor enable to make this statement. The document suggests a program of reforms characterized of left, in the Western-European sense, which Romania had to introduce after the war¹⁵.

In fact, in the spring and summer of 1944 we witness a series of open letters addressed to the Chief of State - Marshal Ion Antonescu, and manifests that circulated clandestinely around the country - in which they were asking the government the out of "Hitler's War" and democratization reforms, not

¹² Srelian Mândruţ, „Victor Jinga și «Centrul de Studii și Cercetări privitoare la Transilvania» (1944-1946)", in vol. *Din viața și activitatea economistului profesor Victor Jinga. Culegere de studii*, „Mihai Eminescu" Publishing House, Oradea, 1994.

¹³ „Astra" Publishing House, Braşov, vol. I - 370 p., vol. II - 581 p.

¹⁴ *Dacia Traiană* Printing House, Sibiu, 1944, 77 p.

¹⁵ Mircea Băltescu, Emil Poenaru, *Un document al luptei universitarilor braşoveni pentru democrație și progres*, in „Cumidava", Braşov, 1979-1980, p. 319-334.

necessarily of Bolshevik type. The Special Intelligence Service, by its agents of the territory, transmits to the Central of Bucharest information in this regard. The political range of those involved in the drafting and dissemination of these documents is very wide, from the Maniu's sympathizers, democrats of the left, communists or even pro-Germans in good relations with the German Legation in Bucharest. Radiant centers of these ideas are the academic centers of Bucharest and Iași, which spread their materials also in Transylvania¹⁶, where they intersect with the Brașov academics' document.

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The surprising coup of August 23, 1944, shifts the country towards the interwar democracy. At least they were the political world and the most voters' hopes. The support and coming of the Anglo-Americans were on the lips of the Romanians alarmed by the Red Soviet Army advance.

The national political spectrum acquires a spectacular development. The democratic left orientation is visible in the speeches of the political leaders of all parties, whether traditional or newly established.

In the mid-September, a National-Peasant group, headed by Mihail Ralea, Stanciu Stoian, Demostene Botez, Octavian Livezeanu, put the foundations of the Peasants Socialist Party, with the official newspaper "Desrobirea"¹⁷. Party colleagues with Victor Jinga in the interwar Peasant National Party, Mihail Ralea and his team invite the Rector of the Commercial Academy in Brașov in a discussion. The meeting takes place on 10 September in Bucharest. Stanciu Stoian, col. Petre Petrescu, accompanied Mihail Ralea, lawyer Grigore Geamănu, Octav Livezeanu, lawyer Gh. Tomoșiu, Dr. Radu Olteanu, and Victor Jinga by Alexandru Herlea and Vasile Gionea. Jinga as a representative of the "Socialist Center Grouping" created in Transylvania in June 1944 discussed with the team of Mihail Ralea "the complete agreement on a joint action, in the Peasant-Socialist Party under the leadership of Professor Mihail Ralea. The Peasant Socialist Party will soon start a vigorous political action in Transylvania and Banat based on the Socialist Peasant program". By the re-bordering of Cluj in Romania's bounds, the provincial organization of the Socialist Peasant Party, led by Victor Jinga, will have its location in Brașov. Jinga's group media will be "Romania of Tomorrow"¹⁸.

The very nervous political movements that occur in the country during the first month following the overthrow of the Antonescu regime are just collected and interpreted, and sent to the government led by the General Constantin Sănătescu by the Special Intelligence Service. In an informative note on the internal political realities, on 30 September 1944, the Special Intelligence

¹⁶ Archives Romanian Special Intelligence Service, *Fond D*, file 606, f. 133, 134, 135.

¹⁷ „Desrobirea” (Bucharest), year I, no. 1, 16 September 1944, 2.

¹⁸ „Tribuna” (Brașov), 15 Spetember 1944, p. 4.

Service, of the nine noteworthy problems, the ninth inventories the political activity held in Braşov by Professor Victor Jinga. They specify that Jinga “carries a political activity ... to gain adherents to the Socialist Peasant Party, under the leadership of Mr. Ralea ... helped by the assistant professors Herlea and Gionea. The first made national-peasant policy, and the second liberal. Following this action, Professor Jinga was attacked in the newspaper «Drum Nou» of Braşov, on the data of September 21, calendar year”¹⁹.

According to oral history sources, meanwhile they re-engaged Victor Jinga in the National Peasant Party²⁰. In a context, it seems that the Professor understood the role of “fellow traveler” played by the Peasant Socialist Party, like other small leftist parties - emerged as “the mushrooms after rain”. It happened in the first weeks after 23 August 1944, in the efforts of the Communist Party (d.), Romania forcing the conquering of the political power under the protection and control of the Soviet occupiers. It seems that the idealism of Professor Victor Jinga received a decisive blow, which has strengthened his democratic principles of Western-European type inherited from the family, cultivated in the university schools of Italy, France and Switzerland in the early ‘20s of the last century.

In November 1944, after the installation of the second government Constantin Sănătescu, infiltrated with pro-communist politicians, Dr. Petru Groza became Vice President of the Council of Ministers. Dr. Petru Groza knew Victor Jinga even since the interwar period, appreciated his intellectual capacity and popularity that he enjoyed in the academic world as a cultivated and moral personality. The Communists and pro-communist struggles to manufacture a democratic image towards the Western-European allies, the interwar intellectual and political personalities recruiting was an urgent necessity. In this “plan”, also came Victor Jinga, the university man, the left national peasant, former minister, the Rector of a prestigious academic institution.

Dr. Petru Groza invites Victor Jinga to a discussion at the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. The Professor comes with two young men close collaborators, academics in Brasov, Vasile Gionea and Alexandru Herlea. Over the years, Vasile Gionea described this meeting as: “in truth, when Petru Groza was Prime Minister (confusion - our note M.D.D.) has urged Professor Victor Jinga, by me (V. Gionea - our note M.D.D.) and Prof. Alexandru Herlea to enroll in the Plowmen Front and gave us: to Victor Jinga a post of minister, to me and Herlea a post of ambassador in any socialist country or prim-secretary

¹⁹ Archives Romanian Intelligence Service, Bucharest, *Fond Documentar*, file 4036, f. 28. Note has 5 pages, listed f. 25-28. Thanks to Professor Petre Țurlea for signing this document, received in Xerox.

²⁰ Information received from Mrs. Citta Maria Jinga, the wife of Professor, in 1994, when we performed a new archive and library research in Bucharest.

of legation in any capitalist country ... None of us has accepted the proposals, because we realized that the Plowmen Front was the antechamber of the Communist Party, or we did not understand to make a policy of communist nuance”²¹.

Professor Vasile Gionea detailed to me this episode at the first National Symposium “Aspects of the Life and Work of the Economist Professor Victor Jinga” organized by the University of Oradea on 30 April 1992. Later he put me on paper the above quotation. He failed to write me other more details about the dialogue Petru Groza - Victor Jinga, which he had told me in Oradea. At that meeting, Professor Victor Jinga replied to the Vice Prime Minister that he follows principles and cannot accept the condition neither of a member of the Plowmen Front or that of a communist. Dr. Petru Groza would have replied saying: “Professor, you will die with the principles. That you suffer, go go. However, your family, your wife and children will suffer, too. The communists know what they want. Who is not with us is against us”.

Remaining firm on his democratic and moral principles, Victor Jinga will pass through the communist ordeal, as Dr. Petru Groza predicted him. At the beginning of 1945, he will be “unlocked” as Rector. Between April-May 1945, they will arrest and deport him to the camp from Caracal. On October 1, 1947, they will purge him of the higher education. From August 15, 1949, he will be arrested, peregrinating and suffering, in two “rates”, in the communist killing prisons: Codlea, Braşov, Văcăreşti, Aiud, Danube-Black Sea Canal, Jilava²².

His robust physical and mental body-build, of peasant origin, completed with an exceptional intellectual level, allowed him to stand and go out of prison. He lived almost 90 years, being active in his research, writing books, and publishing, resembling confidence among the young researchers whom he knew and asked his advice.

He remained in the memory of the young as an outstanding exceptional personality of the Romanian scientific and political world, marked by an incurable idealism. Although from idealism to naivety, there is only one-step!

²¹ Letter dated 16 November 1992, Bucharest, sent to us and located in the personal archive.

²² ***«Însemnările» autobiographical of Professor Victor Jinga about the concentration universe in the Romanian Communist prisons in the years 1945-1963 (I), neat edition by Mihai D. Drecin, in „Caietele David Prodan”, Cluj-Napoca, year II, no. 2, 1994, p. 235-262, Mihai D. Drecin, *Victor Jinga și închisorile sale (1945-1963)*, in „Studii de istorie economică și istoria gândirii economice”, vol V, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2003, p. 117-125.

OF THE UNION OF PATRIOTS HISTORY - BIHOR COUNTY (1945-1946)

*Gabriel MOISA**

Abstract: *The political attitude taken by the Bihor County's organization of the Patriots' Union in the first years after the World War II was one that seemed to be xenophobic. However, no one could talk about such thing because the whole situation was caused not by any xenophobic attitude of the local political leaders, Romanians or Hungarians, of the Union of the Patriots - organization of Bihor County. This successful attempt to segregate ethnic formation had joined the effort almost general of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania ceded to Hungary after the Vienna Award, which aimed the preserving of this territory to Hungary. For this, it did not hesitate to separate from the Romanians constituting its own political structures to campaign in this regard. The Hungarian Popular Union was the most important of them, found in a close alliance relationship to the Romanian Communist Party. A Romanian Communist Party dominated in the respective period at the decisional level by ethnic Hungarian and Jewish elements in Transylvania, the latter of Hungarian culture. The very representative Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party sent to Oradea to target the local organization of the Patriots' Union, Tóth Imre, was a Hungarian Jew from Transylvania, as he himself acknowledges. The findings of his report are relevant in this regard. Even he, a messenger of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, suggests the separation on ethnic principles which shows the official line of at least a substantial part of the central management of the Romanian Communists.*

Keywords: *the Patriots' Union, Bihor County, Transylvania, Xenophobic Organization, communism*

Situated in the category of "the traveler fellows" of the communists, the Patriots' Union of Romania played an important role in the effort to conquer the power, along with other such structures as Plowmen Front, Hungarian People's Union, Patriotic Defense, etc.

The Union of Patriots was founded by the communist circles in Romania as an illegal organization in the summer of 1942, in order to contribute to finalize a comprehensive internal opposition as against the war unleashed against the Soviet Union. After August 23rd 1944, its work was

quickly redirected in order to *un-fascism* the country. The Union of Patriots joined the platform draft of the National Democratic Front prepared by the communists and claimed Dr. Petru Groza government installed on March 6th 1945, under which the government had 5 ministries¹. That in the conditions under which one of the party's leader, Gheorghe Vlădescu-Răcoasa, said in September 1944 that the Union of Patriots was not "*a political party that splits posts and ministries*"². Since September 1944 the Union of Patriots assignment remained the coordination of the *citizen committees* and *village committees* recently emerged. Structures of the Union of Patriots have been established throughout the country, with the purpose of "*cleaning enterprises, institutions, faculties and schools of Guard elements*"³. In the world of villages, the members of the Patriots' Union joined first the organizations of the Plowmen Front to "share as" the greater properties than 50 hectares. In cities, the "guards" of the organization dealt with "unmasks" within the frame of the "*saboteurs of enterprises, speculators and owners who dose goods*"⁴.

The General Congress of the Union of Patriots in January 10-12th 1946 decided to turn this organization in the National People Party. Among the 120 members of the Central Committee of the new party were among others Dr. Dumitru Bagdasar, Petre Constantinescu-Iasi, Traian Săvulescu, Andrei Oțetea, Alexandru Philippide, George Călinescu, etc. It was passing to a new stage in the conquest of the power by the communists, and they had to be stronger organized, the year 1946 being a decisive year in this respect with regard to runoff election in November.

The first organization of the Patriots' Union in Bihor County was founded on October 15th 1944 in Beiuș even before the total release of Bihor County by the Romanian and Soviet armies, at a setting meeting, followed by a call on the purpose and program exposure of the organization⁵. This meeting was attended by several residents of Beiuș city, the most of them attending out of curiosity rather than of a real interest. The population was not extremely eager to enroll in the new political structure. This can be found also from a report of January 17th 1945, where they were placed 200 members on the lists of Beiuș organization. But only 50 of them paid regularly their membership fee and only one, in the person of the branch president, Alexandru Rițiu, could be

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¹ The National Bank of Romania, *Restituție. Viața și opera lui Mitiță Constantinescu*, nr. 4 , Martie, 2004, p. 13.

² Gheorghe Onișoru, *Alianțe și confruntări între partidele politice din România (1944-1947)*, Fundația Academia Civică, București, 1996, p. 142.

³ Idem, *De la Uniunea Patrioților la Partidul Național Popular, 1942-1949*, în „Anuarul Societății de Științe Istorice din România. Filiala Prahova”, tom III-IV, 1992, p. 163.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁵ Arhivele Naționale – Direcția Județeană Bihor, *Fond Partidul Național Popular – Organizația Județeană Bihor*, dosar nr. 4/1945, f. 1 (în continuare A.N.- D.J.Bh).

considered active, the other members remaining “inactive”⁶. Also, the report mentioned that despite of this situation, the political party supporters were numerous, at least 3000 - 4000 people, “closely grouped around the P.U.”⁷. Given this situation, only a small number of persons of the supporters of the crowd succeeded to be worked in, the document noted that there was “a defect in the organization”⁸; blamed on the “lack of propaganda and the small number of the held meetings”⁹. On the other hand, it was specified here, “the lack of a democratic political party”¹⁰ more difficult to organize because people wanted “to join not the organization but the democratic political parties”¹¹, cause of which it was believed that the “Plowmen Front would be more successful”¹².

Since January 1945 they started the expansion of the Patriots’ Union, moving the party delegates in over than 30 communes and towns of the county area and the organization of some constituent assemblies. Of the 30 localities only 20 were able to begin the organizing of the committees of the Patriots’ Union. In the other region of the county the structure of the organization was in progress.

In the northern part of the county, the Union of Patriots was founded on October 20th 1944, soon after setting free of Oradea. The starting point was the general meeting of the day of November 12th 1944, held in a building in Oradea, 6 no. Theater Street¹³, when it was formed a provisional County Committee composed by 9 members. Two were intellectuals, a clerk, a craftsman and five workers. Also, on this occasion it was set the political line, taking the decision to fight “against the national chauvinism existing between the cohabitant peoples (Romanian-Hungarian) and against the Nazi-fascist enemy until his final destruction”¹⁴. The first initiative in this regard was the exclusion of the two intellectuals who belonged to the provisional committee for that they proved to be “unhealthy elements, one of them having a fascist past”¹⁵.

About how to conduct the Union organization in Oradea we find from a report of the local leaders of the party at December 30th 1944: “The village organization is running slowly and very hard, because the city population majority is Hungarian, in terms of propaganda we should act in two languages, Romanian and Hungarian, and the field of organization of the P.U. is the

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, d. 5/1945, f. 2.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, d. 1/1944, f. 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 2.

middle population stratum - intellectuals, merchants, craftsmen - and until today they withdraw to enter the political organization. But mostly that withdrawal is felt from the Romanian population, which both intellectual and the rest of the population is tested by chauvinist ideas and we are regarded as communists"¹⁶. However, in the first month of 1945, the Patriots' Union organization in Oradea had registered 170 members of whom 30 Romanian, 60 Hungarian, 50 Jews and 30 other nationalities (Germans, Serbs, Bulgarians)¹⁷.

During this period, the Union of Patriots carried a little more consistent propaganda through the press articles explaining "*What is the Patriots' Union?*"¹⁸ So, according to that "*the P.U. is an organized mass movement. To it can participate and can be joined by all the patriots determined to fight against the oppressor and exploiter Hitlerism and fascism without difference of gender, age, language or religion, being excluded only the enemies of democracy*"¹⁹. Meanwhile the political line of the Patriots' Union is defined as one which "*is reflected in its platform of fight and it is alongside the political struggle of the Romanian Communist Party, the most achievable progressive political line*"²⁰.

An overview of the political life in the north-central part of our county is presented by Imre Tóth, an activist of the C.C. of the R.C.P. sent from Bucharest to Oradea in February 1945 to organize, control and direct the activities of the Patriots' Union - Oradea. A few days after his arrival in the city on the Crisul Repede River he found that the political scene was monopolized by the left forces: "*The M.N.S. groups (n.n. Magyar Nepi Szövetség – the Hungarian People's Union), the Plowmen Front and Union Organization are highly organized, but M.N.S. grouped inside many Hungarian reactionary elements*"²¹ – the activist warned. The conducted survey reveals the exclusiveness practiced by the Hungarian revanchist circles infiltrated in the leftist parties, particularly the communist²². This situation is aggravated in his view as the Communists of Bihor sat the Hungarian national interests before those of the party. "*The Communist Party, composed of the Council of 11 persons attending the board: Mikloş Gyarmati, Boroş Janos, Feldman and Balasz Emil lead the N.D.F. organization following their own principles*"²³,

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 3.

¹⁸ *Ce este Uniunea Patrioţilor?*, in „Viaţa Nouă”, an I, nr. 17, 4 februarie 1945, p. 2.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ A.N.- D.J. Bh., fond Partidul Naţional Popular – Organizaţia Judeţeană Bihor, dosar nr. 4/1945, f. 4.

²² Ion Zainea (coordinator), *Democraţie occidentală şi democraţie populară: evoluţia spectrului politic în nord-vestul României (1944-1950)*, Oradea, Editura Universităţii din Oradea, 2004, p. 166.

²³ A.N.- D.J. Bh., fond Partidul Naţional Popular – Organizaţia Judeţeană Bihor, dosar nr. 4/1945, f. 4.

says the report by Tóth Imre. Regarding the Union of Patriots, the Romanian Communist Party put its great expectations to attract people on its side; the activist sent from Bucharest noted that *“the line of the Union of Patriots is no existing”*²⁴.

In the report drawn up on February 13th 1945, Imre Tóth specified that if till that moment the organization had registered 350 members of all nationalities, after that *“it has ceased to be even a democratic mob directly to the Communist Party, with the main influence of Mikloş Gyarmati, who sent a circular to all members of the U.P.”*²⁵. The same figure was presenting a bleak picture of the party: *“Their indiscipline (n.n. of U.P. members) led to the disintegration of the Union of Patriots that deliberately dissolved in several ethnic cells. We notify all the members of other origin than Romanian, women, youth, and friends that the organization of Oradea does not accept any more as so far members of any ethnicity - as instructed from the center. So, only people of Romanian ethnic origin can be members of our organization. For this purpose we please the friends - who we are sure they will understand the political deep meaning of this issue - to be enrolled in Madosz²⁶ and Jewish Democratic Union”*²⁷.

In a letter on February 12th 1945, concluded with the slogan of FREEDOM! (text broadcast in Hungarian and translated into Romanian), signed on behalf of the Patriots' Union - Oradea organization of Balogh Dumitru, Aranycs M., Szabo Dumitru, Rifflood M., Zuh Alexandru, Juhasz G. and Lusztig I., addressed *“To all the members of the ns organization in Oradea of non-Romanian origin”*, it was clearly called on ethnic segregation. It was, clearly, a text and an action of ethnic discrimination, produced, in fact, of political calculations, invoking inexistent provisions whereby the members of the Patriots' Union who were not Romanian, were encouraged to enroll in the Hungarian People's Union and the Jewish Democratic Union. The address asked the Romanian exclusivity of this organization, *“without any justification for those who had registered or intended to join and without any real benefit for the Romanian population and beyond any of its requirements, in the place of this expected justification, just the expressing of the confidence in the friends who we are sure they will understand the political deep meaning of this issues ...”*²⁸

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ It is certainly a confusion, as they are Nepi Szövetség Magyar - Hungarian People's Union Mandosz, as an organizational structure of the Hungarians in Romania has been in the interwar period.

²⁷ A.N.- D.J. Bh., fond Partidul Național Popular – Organizația Județeană Bihor, dosar nr. 4/1945, f. 3.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 2.

In fact, the measure to forbid the non-Romanians to enter the Union of Patriots, despite the invocation of some provisions received from the higher bodies, was found to be abusive and - in a determined way - local generated by obvious political interests of group.

The conclusions drawn by Tóth Imre led to eliminate from the Union of Patriots in Oradea of all those who were not ethnic Romanian. Therefore, only 40 people remained registered. This fact actually showed something else, the desire of the power to implement a new stage of organization and struggle of the Hungarians, that of regrouping in a single pole of power, of the Hungarian People's Union, which could provide a better coordination of the planned actions, but also the discipline necessary to achieve the final objective²⁹, namely to keep the Northern Transylvania on Hungary.

In short time, the Union of Patriots – the organization of Bihor County, has become a structure composed exclusively of Romanian ethnics. They have organized a meeting on February 18th 1945, where “*with Dr. Simonca presidency all the ethnic Romanians joined the block and entered the Union of Patriots but without any program, any organization and any instructions given by us with the principles they had from various chauvinist parties. Being a special Romanian party, under the camouflage of the U.P., taking the first meeting, there was divergence between the principles of the U.P. and of the new congeries and, in fact, I wanted to intervene to explain the U.P. line, I was off being Jew ...*”³⁰. We are here in a paradoxical situation in which after Tóth Imre's report practically prompted the leaving of Hungarians from the organization of the Patriots' Union, it is him who deploras all this in an ostentatious gesture of facade.

On February 18th 1945, in the Heymann cinema hall of Oradea, the general meeting of the Union of Patriots took place, attended, in addition to representatives of the other democratic organizations in the county, about 600-700 Romanians. As we learn of the daily *Viața Nouă* (*New Life*) “*during this great assembly, the intellectuals and Romanian democratic citizens of the town joined the organization of the Union of Patriots*”³¹. Also during this meeting, they elected the Union of Patriots County Committee, composed of 7 members, and the Board of Directors of the Union of Patriots of 22 people³². On February 20th 1945, the first sitting after the general meeting of the management structure was completed in the following structure: first president - Gheorghe Șimonca (General Attorney), President - Ștefan Lipcei (Lawyer), Executive Chairman -

²⁹ Ion Zainea (coordinator), *op. cit.*, p. 166-167.

³⁰ A.N.- D.J. Bh., fond Partidul Național Popular – Organizația Județeană Bihor, dosar nr. 4/1945, f. 4 and back

³¹ *Înainteai marii adunări a U.P.*, în „*Viața Nouă*”, an I, nr. 30, 18 februarie 1945, p. 1.

³² A.N.- D.J. Bh., fond Partidul Național Popular – Organizația Județeană Bihor, dosar nr. 5/1945, f. 3.

Virgil Ciacan (Lawyer), First Secretary - Dumitru Balogh (Official), Secretary - Iosif Tăutu (Official), treasurer - Michael Arania (Craftsman) plus two members of the Board - Ioan Magdu (Official) and Teodor Popa (Lawyer)³³.

The Board consisted of: Laurențiu Botoș (Judge), Aron Popoviciu (Court Official), Traian Surducu (Sedra Orphan County Chairman), Teodor Prodan (City Hall First Advisers), Gavril Seleșiu (Senior Official of the Municipality), Ioan Abrudan (T.T.P. Engineer), Petre Fărcașiu (Inspector T.T.P.), Iosif Caba (Conductor T.T.P.), Iosif Pop (Police, retired), Alexandru Pop (Police, retired), Alexander Caloș (Finance Official), Ioan Florea (Finance Official), Ioan Rosca (Bank Director), Dumitru Hera (County School Inspector), Ernestine Tiponuțiu (Official), Ioan Mezei (Trader), Vasile Oraș (Craftsman), Peter Hușca (Craftsman), John Breban (Craftsman), Teodor Bențiu (R.R.W. Official), Traian Leu (Worker) and Dumitru Sabău (Worker)³⁴. In the same meeting, there were also elected the members of the organization that would represent the Union of Patriots in the County Parliament of the N.D.F., respectively Simonca Gheorghe, Ciacan Virgil and Arancici Mihai, as the old representation in the person of Mr. Pop Ionel should be changed. As it can be ascertained, the management structures were composed exclusively by Romanian ethnic citizens.

In conclusion, we can say that the whole situation was caused not by any xenophobic attitude of the local political leaders, Romanian or Hungarian, of the Union of Patriots – the organization of Bihor County. This successful attempt to segregate the formation on ethnic criteria had joined the effort almost general of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania ceded to Hungary after the Vienna Dictate, which aimed at preserving the territory to Hungary. This did not hesitate to separate from the Romanians constituting its own political structures to campaign in this regard. The Hungarian People's Union was the most important of them being in close alliance relationship adjunct to the Romanian Communist Party, a Romanian Communist Party dominated in that period at the decisional level of Hungarian and Jewish ethnic elements in Transylvania, the latter of Hungarian culture. The very representative of the C.C. of the R.C.P. sent to Oradea to target the local organization of the Union of Patriots, Tóth Imre, was a Hungarian Jew of Transylvania, as he himself acknowledges. The conclusions of his report are relevant in this regard. Even he, a messenger of the C.C. of the R.C.P., suggests the separation on ethnic principles which shows us the official line of at least a substantial part of the central management of the Romanian communists.

The leaders of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania did not hesitate for a moment during that period being involved in their national interest, to *acquire* communist feelings, hoping that they will come to meet Moscow and

³³ *Ibid.*, f. 1.

³⁴ *Comitetul de conducere al U.P.*, în „Viață Nouă”, an I, nr. 38, 28 februarie 1945, p. 2.

Stalin who has not decided yet the fate of the Northern Transylvania, showing be more loyal and more reliable to the Soviet power than the Romanians. Moscow's decision of March 9th 1945, according that Transylvania lost by Romania after the Vienna Dictate is in the composition of the Romanian state has produced disappointment among the Hungarian minority leaders. Their effort to *communize* after in the interwar period they had, as members of the Hungarian Party, an anti-Soviet position had been in vain. They have not however dropped the idea and the examples are numerous in the years following the World War II.

After the return of the Romanian administration in the Northern Transylvania, the Hungarian local political structures have temporarily suppressed their impulses, even if only of surface, bound to accept the international realities of ethnic cohabitation with the Romanians until the arrival of better times. Locally, shortly after returning of the Transylvanian territories to Romania, on March 18th 1945, were published "The Appeal of the Patriots' Union and of the Plowmen Front to the Romanian Brothers in Oradea and Bihor County" and "The Appeal of the Hungarian People's Union to the Hungarian Population of Bihor County", produced and disseminated in the context of restoring the Romanian administration in the Northern Transylvania, which was urging the citizens to discipline and mutual respect³⁵.

³⁵ *Apelul Organizațiilor democratice de masă ale Frontului Național Democrat adresat populației române și maghiare a județului Bihor, în "Viața Nouă", an I, nr. 47, 18 martie 1945, p. 3.*

GÉOGRAPHIE DE GEORGES HAUPT. DES STALINISMES NATIONAUX AU SOCIALISME INTERNATIONAL

*Andrea PANACCIONE**

Abstract: L'article se propose d'analyser les contributions les plus importantes de Georges Haupt historien du socialisme international – sa conception d'une histoire "totale", la définition d'une géographie du socialisme, etc. – à partir de sa biographie politique et intellectuelle.

L'intérêt constant et critique de Georges Haupt pour les développements du socialisme, jusqu'aux socialismes "réalisés" de son temps, est documenté par une série de travaux qui constituent une partie intégrante et importante de son oeuvre d'historien et de militant sans parti.

Mot clés: socialisme, Union Soviétique, Roumanie, Deuxième Internationale

Le champ d'études principal de Georges Haupt est notamment le socialisme à l'époque de la Deuxième Internationale. Il me semble, toutefois, qu'il faut rappeler l'importance d'autres contributions, en particulier celles qui ont à faire avec l'histoire du bolchevisme et de la dissidence en Union Soviétique, compte tenu aussi des éléments de clarification qui en peuvent dériver pour la compréhension de ses travaux sur l'histoire du socialisme international. Mais je voudrais partir, avant tout, par l'examen d'un texte qui me paraît particulièrement riche de suggestions à propos de l'histoire du pays qu'il a laissé en 1958 et à propos de la situation dans laquelle est maturée sa décision d'émigrer: une décision, comme l'on sait, sur laquelle Haupt ne s'est jamais étendu par écrit et, paraît-il, très peu verbalement aussi. Il s'agit d'un article qui est présenté par l'auteur comme "un remaniement d'un exposé fait en janvier 1968 au Russian Institute de l'Université Columbia" et donc comme "une introduction à une discussion" qui "n'a nullement la prétention d'être une étude d'ensemble"¹.

L'article est une confirmation du caractère de l'année 1956, et en particulier du XX^e congrès du Pcus et du rapport de Chruščev, comme un "moment crucial" pour tous les pays du "socialisme réel", et en même temps de

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¹ G. Haupt, "La genèse du conflit soviéto-roumain", *Revue française de science politique*, Août 1968, p. 669. Je remercie Michele Nani pour m'avoir signalé cet important article.

l'impasse immédiate du processus de déstalinisation, dans un pays comme la Roumanie, où le maintien au pouvoir du "petit Stalin" Gheorghiu-Dej passe à travers une accentuation du caractère "national" du communisme roumain qui assume comme cible le Chruščev déstabilisateur de la dénonciation de Stalin et qui utilisera habilement, dès la fin de 1956, l'impact des événements hongrois contre le "nouveau cours" soviétique. L'article de Haupt est en même temps une des premières analyses des "communismes nationaux" dans leur fonction conservatrice et de stabilisation de la classe au pouvoir dans les pays "socialistes"², et un témoignage de la rapide dissolution des espoirs de renouveau dans une situation comme celle roumaine. L'implication personnelle de l'auteur filtre à travers un passage un peu chiffré à propos de la réunion secrète des cadres et de l'appareil du comité central et de l'organisation de Bucarest sur le rapport Chruščev, convoquée par Gheorghiu-Dej en mars 1956: "Le seul exposé discordant fut celui d'un jeune professeur de l'Académie des sciences sociales (l'école supérieure du parti), appelant à l'analyse critique de l'action des dirigeants du Parti roumain à la lumière du XX^e congrès du Parti de l'Union Soviétique"³.

Préparé par une campagne "paradoxale" contre le nationalisme et le revisionisme, qui visait surtout à la déstalinisation amorcée par Chruščev et à ses effets dans l'Octobre polonais et hongrois, et qui "n'eut de conséquences pratiques que pour la minorité hongroise de Transylvanie"⁴, le nouveau cours de Gheorghiu-Dej allait déboucher dans "une alliance entre l'appareil et l'intelligentsia bourgeoise": "Cette alliance se renforça et facilita la grande offensive nationaliste qui s'annonça dès 1962 et culmina en 1965"⁵, lorsque se seraient manifestées ouvertement les composantes économiques et politiques du conflit soviéto-roumain.

Dans cet article aussi, Haupt n'a pas éclairé les contingences précises de son choix d'émigrer, mais il en a dessiné très bien la toile de fond, qui est celle de la défaite politique d'une idée de socialisme capable de rompre avec le stalinisme et des conséquences qui en dérivait pour son métier d'historien. L'expérience vécue du "socialisme réalisé" et de ses impasses peut être considérée, à mon avis, un caractère distinctif – même en comparaison avec d'autres importants auteurs dans son champ de recherche – du travail de Georges Haupt historien du mouvement socialiste international.

La liaison persistente de Georges Haupt avec les questions du "socialisme réalisé" est témoignée en premier lieu par ses contributions à la

² Sur la variante d'une "désatellisation" sans déstalinisation dans les processus entamés par la crise de 1956, Haupt est revenu dans son article sur "L'URSS et les pays socialistes: rapports idéologiques et politiques", *Politique aujourd'hui*, Mars 1972, p. 51-62

³ *Ibid*, p. 676

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 679

⁵ *Ibid*

connaissance en Occident du mouvement de la dissidence, en particulier en Union Soviétique. Les *Préfaces* de Haupt en 1972 à deux publications de Roj Medvedev – respectivement “le document politique le plus volumineux émané des milieux critiques soviétiques”⁶ et l’important ouvrage historiographique sur le stalinisme⁷ – constituent à mon avis une présentation très informée et organique de ce mouvement, qui vient d’un intérêt continu et l’on pourrait dire militant⁸. Haupt est parmi les premiers en Occident à tracer une histoire de la dissidence en Urss (la déstalinisation, la génération des années Soixante, 1968), qu’il définit à plusieurs reprises comme un réveil de l’*intelligencija* et dont il examine les différentes positions politiques et culturelles. L’intérêt particulier pour une position, comme celle de Medvedev, qui se définit socialiste ou communiste critique, ne lui interdit pas d’avancer des remarques substantielles à propos de l’esprit “vieux-bolchevique” et du retour aux premières années post-révolutionnaires, les références sur lesquelles Medvedev édifie son alternative aux perils de retours staliniens.

A la première période post-révolutionnaire Haupt lui-même était révenu, mais avec une opération plus complexe et de caractère historiographique, en présentant avec Jean-Jacques Marie un choix des autobiographies, ou des biographies autorisées des dirigeants bolcheviques, parues à Moscou dans le dictionnaire encyclopédique de l’Institut Granat en 1927-29⁹. Il s’agissait de matériaux pour lesquels une analyse critique des témoignages était particulièrement nécessaire (et dans l’introduction l’on se référerait à Marc Bloch et l’on analysait les conditions et le contexte politique de la production de ces témoignages, les vicissitudes et les caractères des témoins: “le milieu”, “l’époque”. “le narrateur”), mais qui fournissaient néanmoins un image complexe et diversifié du bolchevisme, qui était résolument en contradiction avec le monolithisme qui allait s’affirmer dans le champ historiographique, comme dans beaucoup d’autres. Ce qui en résultait c’était une façon de faire histoire et d’organiser la mémoire collective dans l’Urss des années Vingt qui, bien qu’inspirée en sens téléologique et nourrie de finalités polémiques et de dénonciation, dans une situation où les institutions scientifiques étaient déjà monopolisées par le parti au pouvoir, indiquait toutefois dans la prise du pouvoir par les bolchéviks la conclusion d’un processus dans lequel avait été impliqué dans son ensemble le mouvement

⁶ R. A. Medvedev, *De la démocratie socialiste*, Préface de Georges Haupt, Paris, Bernard Grasset, 1972; la définition est dans l’Avertissement de l’éditeur.

⁷ Je cite l’édition italienne, parue en même temps que celles anglaise et française: R. A. Medvedev, *Lo stalinismo*, Prefazione di G. Haupt, Milano, Mondadori, 1972

⁸ En 1970, par exemple, une revue communiste dissidente de Wien avait publié un *Vortrag* de Haupt en décembre 1969: “Radikalen, Rebellen, Nonkonformisten”, *Wiener Tagebuch*, Juli – August 1970, une contribution à “l’histoire de l’agitation intellectuelle et politique en Union soviétique depuis la mort de Stalin”.

⁹ Georges Haupt – Jean-Jacques Maries, *Les bolchéviks par eux-mêmes*, Paris, Maspero, 1969

révolutionnaire et socialiste dans la recherche d'une réponse aux problèmes du développement social du pays et de la crise du capitalisme pendant et après la première guerre mondiale. C'est ça qui avait permis la publication d'une grande quantité de mémoires de militants des différents partis antizaristes, surtout grâce à des organisations comme la Société des anciens prisonniers et déportés, une activité éditoriale qui n'aurait été plus possible dans les années '30.

En anticipant nombre de réflexions successives sur les dictionnaires biographiques, Haupt et Marie soulignaient la fonction de diversification et d'enrichissement de ce type d'instruments: l'ensemble des biographies et des autobiographies faisait "à la fois éclater et se diversifier tout d'abord la formule confuse et simpliste de 'vieille garde bolchévique', puis le terme à résonance uniforme et apparemment monolithique de 'Bolcheviks'"¹⁰. La disparition de ces biographies, qui allait du même pas que celle de leurs titulaires, était un exemple majeur de l'héritage historiographique du stalinisme, de la transformation de l'histoire en mythologie qui devait s'accomplir dans l'Union Soviétique des années Trente..

La lettre bien connue de Stalin à la revue *Proletarskaja Revoljucija*, que Haupt a citée et commentée à plusieurs reprises et qui sanctionnait la séparation de l'histoire du bolchevisme de celle du socialisme international sur la base de l'incapacité du stalinisme "d'analyser les réalités du passé et du présent autrement qu'en termes manichéens"¹¹ et de la liquidation d'un héritage historique complexe¹², peut être assumée comme la pierre milière d'un chemin à rebours, que l'historien devait et pouvait parcourir seulement dans l'émigration: c'est l'inspiration de l'édition de la correspondance Lenin – Huysmans¹³, qui replaçait Lenin dans l'univers politique et dans les débats de la Deuxième Internationale, mais c'est plus en général le sens d'une grande partie du travail de recherche de Haupt, un projet qui commence par la revendication de ce que Stalin avait défini la "thèse bureaucratique" qu'il faut appuyer ses propres vues historiques sur l'examen des documents¹⁴.

Le travail de description et de présentation des sources, qui aboutissait à l' "étude critique" sur les sources de la Deuxième Internationale¹⁵ était exemplaire d'une approche que Haupt aurait défini ensuite comme l'exigence

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 15-16

¹¹ G. Haupt, *L'historien et le mouvement social*, Paris, Maspero, 1980, p. 12

¹² "... à travers la II^e Internationale, c'est moins l'opportunisme qui est répudié que les idées et les valeurs traditionnelles qui s'attachent au socialisme et à la démocratie" (*Ibidem*, p. 10).

¹³ G. Haupt (Ed.), *Correspondance entre Lénine et Camille Huysmans, 1905 -1914*, Paris – La Haye, Mouton, 1963

¹⁴ Stalin se confirmait ici, contrairement à l'image qu'en a laissé Trockij, un ennemi de la bureaucratie, même si les objectifs de son combat ne pouvaient pas être moins limpides.

¹⁵ G. Haupt, *La Deuxième Internationale 1889 – 1914. Etude critique des sources. Essai bibliographique*, Paris – La Haye, Mouton, 1964

d'une "histoire ouvrière à part entière"¹⁶, qui aurait donné la vraie dimension de l'histoire du socialisme international et pour laquelle Ernest Labrousse, parlait, dans sa *Préface à La Deuxième Internationale*, d'une "histoire scientifique du socialisme". Il s'agissait de sources institutionnelles, parce que l'Internationale était une institution avec ses règles, ses rituels, les processus mêmes de cristallisation idéologique et d'organisation desquels elle était le résultat¹⁷; mais il s'agissait aussi, comme indiquait Labrousse dans la *Préface* citée, d'un "repertoire de problèmes", de sources qui renvoyaient – à travers les rapports, les manifestations des différentes mentalités, les correspondances, la presse, etc., et à travers les questions posées par un examen critique de ces matériaux – à des mondes sociaux et culturels plus larges que les acteurs et les organisations examinés. Le résultat le plus important de cette approche peut être indiqué dans une idée du *making* du mouvement ouvrier, analysé avec la même inspiration anti-économiste et anti-finaliste du *making* de la classe ouvrière de Edward Thompson.

Un essai postérieur, dédié aux groupes dirigeants internationaux du mouvement ouvrier, nous a laissé un exemple de cette "histoire à part entière" en tant que critère d'interprétation d'une phénoménologie sociale (la formation des groupes dirigeants, justement) analysée dans différentes époques et conjonctures politiques et idéologiques du mouvement ouvrier international. Cela signifie une multiplicité d'approches, de l'histoire sociale¹⁸ à celle politique¹⁹ et culturelle (le rôle des dirigeants et des idées, mais surtout les processus de rayonnement, l'histoire sociale des idées, la transformation des idées en mentalités, psychologies collectives, traditions); mais cela signifie

¹⁶ G. Haupt, *Pourquoi l'histoire du mouvement ouvrier?*, in: *L'historien et le mouvement social*, Paris, Maspero, 1980, p. 33

¹⁷ Sur les processus de cristallisation des formes d'organisation du mouvement ouvrier de la Première à la Deuxième Internationale: G. Haupt, "Le origini dell'organizzazione operaia in Europa: partiti e sindacati", *Movimento operaio e socialista*, N. S., a. I, n. 3, settembre 1978, p. 175-208.

¹⁸ "Le problème de la définition et de la délimitation des groupes de dirigeants du mouvement ouvrier International est un problème historique qui revient à aborder l'étude du phénomène comme un produit du processus historico-social de la structuration et de la métamorphose du mouvement ouvrier qui le secrète et le façonne aux diverses phases de son développement"; *Groupes dirigeants internationaux du mouvement ouvrier*, in G. Haupt, *L'historien et le mouvement social*, p. 271

¹⁹ Avant 1914, "l'émergence des groupes de dirigeants nationaux et internationaux qui portent la marque des caractéristiques et des exigences du mouvement ouvrier à l'époque de la IIe Internationale ainsi que de la structure de l'institution qu'elles commandent et que l'on pourra désigner comme une fédération de partis autonomes" (*Ibid*, p. 274); dans l'Internationale ouvrière et socialiste, "des leaders qui ajoutent à la notoriété accumulée avant 1914, au prestige des succès remportés à la tête de leur parti, celui de l'homme d'Etat qui dispose d'un palmarès gouvernemental" (*Ibid*, p. 277); dans l'Internationale communiste, "leur histoire se dégage des mythes qui l'entourent: l'image de l'état-major de la révolution internationale recouvre en fait la réalité d'une intendance" (*Ibid*, p. 279).

aussi la nécessité de se mesurer avec le rapport entre individuel et collectif et donc avec le thème des biographies individuelles et collectives du mouvement ouvrier. La dimension personnelle était évoquée dans cet essai pour les “représentants de premier plan”: “Leur origine sociale, leur qualification, leur éducation sont autant d’éléments à prendre en considération; mais ils s’articulent autour d’un axe: l’itinéraire militant et le mécanisme grâce auxquels ils ont acquis la consécration internationale”²⁰ Mais quelques pages auparavant l’on avait rappelé l’exemple de Jean Maitron et de sa contribution à l’histoire sociale et l’on posait la question “si l’heure des biographies collectives a sonné. Théoriquement, oui”²¹.

Au moment de laisser la Roumanie Haupt portait avec soi un bagage qui n’était pas seulement la réaction aux effets politiques et historiographiques du stalinisme ou du néo-stalinisme: un ensemble de problématiques et de terrains de recherche déjà défrichés dont il n’est pas difficile de retrouver l’empreinte dans ses travaux successifs.

D’une part, la question de l’historiographie du mouvement ouvrier comme construction de mythes et de légendes s’enlargissait, au delà du stalinisme et du communisme²², à une réflexion sur la fonction politique et de légitimation de l’histoire pour ce mouvement en général dans ses différentes phases de développement²³

D’autre part, il avait déjà derrière soi beaucoup de travaux centrés sur la question de la formation d’un mouvement socialiste dans une situation “arriérée” de l’Europe et les questions principales qui en dérivait: le rôle des intellectuels et l’impulsion qui venait, dans une situation comme celle roumaine, de la grande saison de l’*intelligencija* russe des années Soixante-Dix et des mouvements de “l’allée dans le peuple”; les parcours de circulation des idées à travers plusieurs formes d’activité intellectuelle – en commençant par la littérature, la voie la plus directe pour arriver à une audience de masse et pour véhiculer les idées révolutionnaires – et à travers les vicissitudes d’un particulier type de militants comme le réfugié Costantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea, le héros

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 291

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 280

²² Important à ce propos sa référence à Arthur Rosenberg, historien du bolchevisme et critique des “légendes historiques” de droite et de gauche, dans “Arthur Rosenberg e l’Internazionale comunista”, *Movimento operaio e socialista*, XV, 2, avril – juin 1969, traduction partielle de sa préface à A. Rosenberg, *Histoire du bolchevisme*, Paris, Grasset, 1968. Haupt reconnaît en Rosenberg, en particulier dans l’*Histoire du bolchevisme*, la capacité du témoin engagé de se transformer en historien et en général un exemple d’histoire critique et sévère du socialisme, inspirée toutefois à la passion politique d’un militant sans parti.

²³ Les considérations à ce propos dans l’essai cité, *Pourquoi l’histoire du mouvement ouvrier?*, avaient été partiellement exposées déjà dans les interventions de Haupt dans la discussion publiée dans *Jahrbuch Arbeiterbewegung* 2, 1974, “Zwischen Sozialgeschichte und Legitimationswissenschaft”, p. 267-300.

principal de son travail “roumain” sur les rapports révolutionnaires entre Roumanie et Russie²⁴ et le premier historien en Roumanie du nihilisme russe et de “l’allée dans le peuple” (*merge în popor*)²⁵; l’adhésion générique au socialisme comme une exigence et une promesse de modernisation, dans laquelle des forces sociales différentes pouvaient se reconnaître, et les processus particulièrement tortueux et fluides des premières organisations socialistes; la confrontation avec la question paysanne et les questions nationales. Ce qui pouvait paraître, dans la phase d’affirmation du modèle stalinien dans les pays satellites et dans la carrière professionnelle d’un jeune historien comme Haupt, une thématique de recherche “convénable”, sinon obligée²⁶, se transformait dans ses mains et se serait développée après l’émigration, en une série de travaux qui reprenaient, approfondissaient, élargissaient ces thématiques²⁷, et en une approche tout à fait innovatrice à la géographie du socialisme (et du marxisme) en tant qu’instrument indispensable pour leur histoire²⁸. Sur ce

²⁴ Gheorghe Haupt, *Din istoricul legăturilor revoluționare româno-ruse (1850 – 1881)*, Bucarest, 1955

²⁵ “L’allée dans le peuple a été la première formule révolutionnaire avec laquelle a commencé le mouvement nihiliste”; C. Dobrogeanu – Gherea, *Din viața nihilistor ruși (De la vie des nihilistes russes)*, în *Lumea Nouă*, I, 1896, p. 2

²⁶ “Comme la situation politique des pays de l’Europe de l’Est l’exigeait au lendemain de la guerre, les relations amicales avec la Russie et les traditions révolutionnaires communes devinrent un objet privilégié de la recherche historique”, Miklos Molnar et Robert Deutsch, “Histoire et sciences historiques dans les pays socialistes d’Europe. Esquisse d’une typologie historiographique”, *Le Mouvement Social*, 111, avril – juin 1980: *Georges Haupt parmi nous*, p. 247

²⁷ Quelques titres: avec Michael Lowy et Claudie Weill, *Les marxistes et la question nationale, 1848 – 1914*, Paris, Maspero, 1974; “Rôle de l’exil dans la diffusion de l’image de l’intelligentsia révolutionnaire”, *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique*, No. 3, 1978, p. 235-249; “Il ruolo degli emigrati e dei rifugiati nella diffusione delle idee socialiste all’epoca della Seconda Internazionale”, *Anna Kuliscioff e l’età del riformismo*, Milano, Mondo Operaio – Edizioni Avanti!, 1978, p. 59-68. Un retour exemplaire sur quelques problématiques originaires de Haupt on peut le voir dans un de ses derniers essais, dédié à Rosa Luxembourg: “Les rapports entre mouvements nationaux et mouvement socialiste qui se font face dans un vaste espace allant de l’Europe centrale et orientale jusqu’aux Balkans s’avèrent d’une extrême complexité, en fonction même de l’expansion du capitalisme aux régions arriérées, des spécificités de son développement et des bouleversements qu’entraînent les nouveaux rapports de production. Ils sont conditionnés aussi bien par les décalages dans le développement que par la diversité historique, sociale et ethnique: ils vont de la complémentarité, de la compétition, des rivalités, de l’hostilité déclarée à la substitution des objectifs socialistes ou au travestissement des mouvements nationaux dans des parures socialistes” (“Dynamisme et conservatisme de l’idéologie: Rosa Luxembourg à l’orée de la recherche marxiste dans le domaine national”, *L’historien et le mouvement social*, p. 301).

²⁸ Ernest Labrousse avait intitulé “Géographie du socialisme”, un article paru dans un des premiers numéros de la nouvelle série de la *Revue socialiste*, juin 1946. Dans un cadre national, Labrousse indiquait, en se référant à un texte de André Siegfried de 1913, *Tableau politique de la France de l’Ouest sous la Troisième République*, les continuités et les changements de

thème Haupt est intervenu avec une série d'essais spécifiques, avec une réflexion méthodologique dans une importante relation aux conférences de Linz²⁹, et avec ses éditions des sources (en particulier la correspondance de Kautsky avec les socialistes de l'Europe sud-orientale, portée à terme par deux historiens qui lui étaient particulièrement proches, Janos Jemnitz et Leo van Rossum³⁰). Mais il s'agit d'une problématique que l'on retrouve aussi dans ses travaux d'édition des documents du Bureau socialiste international ou des Congrès de la Deuxième Internationale et sur l'histoire du socialisme (par exemple, la transformation de la "charte internationale du socialisme" dans l'histoire de la Deuxième Internationale au tournant du siècle). Les implications les plus intéressantes de cette approche et son espace de rayonnement apparaissent avec une grande clarté dans les essais sur la formation du marxisme et sur le parti-guide³¹.

En conclusion, Haupt indiquait dans une entière époque du mouvement socialiste un facteur essentiel pour la formation d'un réseau de cultures, de valeurs, de mentalités et de comportements collectifs constitutifs de la société européenne. Je crois que par cette voie, en partant des questions originaires et concrètes du rapport entre l'histoire internationale et les histoires nationales du socialisme, de la diffusion des idées et des relations entre les centres et les périphéries du mouvement ouvrier dans sa phase de formation, il était parvenu à dépasser un point de vue hiérarchique, exclusiviste, unidirectionnel et qui se suffit à soi-même – comme l'a démontré la publication qu'il a dirigé avec Madeleine Rebérioux sur la Deuxième Internationale et l'Orient³² – sur l'Europe et sur ses mouvements³³. Les "vies révolutionnaires" dont il s'est occupé –

l'implantation de la gauche de la France montagnarde de 1849 à la France socialiste et communiste de 1946.

²⁹ G. Haupt, *Zur Problematik "Geographie des Marxismus". Einige Bemerkungen*, ITH – *Tagungsberichte*, 7, 1973: IX Konferenz, Wien, Europa Verlag, 1974, p. 35 . 46. En conclusion, Haupt soulignait que les processus de diffusion (*Ausbreitung*) et d'irradiation (*Ausstrahlung*) du marxisme n'étaient pas principalement une question de théorie mais de la praxis des différents mouvements socialistes. Sur le "développement inégal et contrasté de l'implantation du marxisme", cfr. "Dynamisme et conservatisme de l'idéologie", p. 339.

³⁰ G. Haupt – J. Jemnitz – L. Van Rossum (Hg.), *Karl Kautsky und die Sozialdemokratie Südosteuropas. Korrespondenz 1883 – 1938*, Frankfurt M., Campus Verlag, 1986.

³¹ "De Marx au marxisme" et "Parti – guide: le rayonnement de la socialdémocratie allemande dans le Sud-Est européen", dans G. Haupt, *L'historien et le mouvement social*, p. 77-107 et 151-197.

³² G. Haupt – M. Rebérioux (sous la direction de), *La Deuxième Internationale et l'Orient*, Paris, Cujas, 1967

³³ D'autres essais, interprétatifs ou bibliographiques, donnent une idée de l'extension et des parcours de cette géographie du socialisme et d'une vision de l'internationalisme comme élément constitutif pour les mouvements socialistes qui se développent au dehors du cadre des grands Etats nationaux consolidés: "Le début du mouvement socialiste en Turquie", *Le Mouvement Social*, 45, octobre – décembre 1963, p. 121-137; "Introduzione alla storia della Federazione operaia socialista di Salonicco", *Movimento operaio e socialista*, N. 1, 1972, p. 99-

Charles Rappoport, Constantin Dobrogeanu- Gherea, Anna Kuliscioff, Cristian Racovski, mais aussi Rosa Luxemburg – intéressaient Haupt non pour leur pureté idéologique ou même pour leur cohérence, mais surtout pour les liaisons qu’elles avaient contribué à former.

La question de la guerre était pour Haupt l’aboutissement d’un univers politique, social, culturel, non dans le sens banal de lire l’histoire de la IIe Internationale et de ses partis comme une succession de splendeurs et de misères, mais dans la prise d’acte d’un passage d’époque qui plaçait toute les vieilles questions dans une constellation nouvelle (je crois que pour lui “constellation” était mieux que “structure”). Mais guerre et socialisme est un thème très complexe dans sa production, sur lequel il est maintes fois retourné, comme montrent entre-autre les différentes éditions et annexes documentaires de son travail sur le “congrès manqué”. L’on devrait en discuter à part.

112; “La Roumanie”, dans *1871. Jalons pour une histoire de la Commune de Paris*, *International Review of Social History*, 1-2, 1972, p. 477-489; *Le mouvement ouvrier bulgare. Essai bibliographique*, Paris, Editions de l’EHESS, 1984.

PURGE OF THE ROMANIAN WORKERS' PARTY IN THE YEARS 1951-1952. CASE OF THE ORADEA TOWN COMMITTEE

Ion ZAINEA*

Abstract: *Following the verification of the members of the Romanian Workers' Party in the years 1951-1952, they passed to exclude from the party of those deemed unworthy of this quality. They based the exclusions of the basic organizations of the Oradea Town Committee on the criteria got from the Romanian Workers' Party leadership. The first targets were the "exploiting elements" (kulaks, speculators, merchants, employers). Then, those "with activity in the fascist organizations", those elements who "participated in robberies and crimes against the Soviet people", but also for the "hostile activity after 23 August 1944", "moral decay" and "serious deviation from the party line", the chauvinist, anti-Soviet elements, the right-wing Social Democrats, considered to be "breakers of the unity of the working class".*

Keywords: *checks, exclusions, kulak, fascist, enemy*

In Romania, the purge was a programmed process, started immediately after 23 August 1944, perverted by the communists after 6 March 1945 and held almost continuously until the early '50s. It got dressed, in a first instance, the appearance of the elimination of the "fascist" and "Nazi" elements of the public life, continued in the years 1945-1948 with the removal of the "anti-democratic" elements, because in the early '50s, as a result of the checks in the single party, to remove the "careerist", "opportunistic", "exploitative" and "hostile" elements¹.

Since December 1947, they have stopped the admission to the party and checked those remaining. They conducted the checking of the R.W.P members, after the Marxist-Leninist Doctrine and Bolshevik Party² experience from November 1948 until April 1950, as announced by Gheorghiu-Dej in the Political Report presented at the Congress I of the R.W.P. in June 1948. The

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¹ Ion Zainea, *Politică și Administrație în România (6 martie 1945-1 martie 1946)*. Epurarea, University of Oradea Publishing House, Oradea, 2004, p. 9.

² Nicoleta Ionescu-Gură, „Verificarea membrilor Partidului Muncitoresc Român”, in *Arhivele Securității*, Nemira Publishing House, Bucharest, 2004, p. 326.

purge of those considered unsafe followed the verification. The amount of the members was now less important than the quality. They gave greater attention to the knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist theory and examined more carefully the social origins of the members³.

After ending the verification, the task to decrease the number of the small-bourgeois element has become a priority for the party, because, according to the opinion of Gheorghiu-Dej, the R.W.P. was not a mass party, but a class one, and its composition should prevail the proletarian element. The fight to clean the component of the party, as stated in documents, should not be a matter of season or campaign, but a permanent, day-by-day preoccupation of each organ, of each organization and of each party member individually. The Central Committee of the R.W.P. has developed guidelines for the use of the county commission presidents who showed the criteria for exclusion from the party. The first targets were the "exploiting elements" (kulaks, speculators, merchants, employers). Then, those "with activity in the fascist organizations", those elements who "participated in robberies and crimes against the Soviet people", but also for the "hostile activity after 23 August 1944", "moral decay" and "serious deviation from the party line", the chauvinist, anti-Soviet elements, the right-wing Social Democrats, considered to be "breakers of the unity of the working class". If in 1944 in Oradea, there were only seven communists⁴, in 1951-1952 there were about 30 basic organizations of which inside they made about 70 exclusions only during 1952. They made them in the meetings of the organizations; then, they analyzed the exclusions in the Oradea Town Committee and later confirmed by the Bureau of this Committee.

They have made the most of the exclusions from the Basic Organization in no.2, Street. The first mention of an exclusion from this organization, which numbered 108 members, dated 21 November 1951 when Wiesel Magdalene was excluded by 78 votes pro, 2 against, because she has not attended anymore the meetings of the organization and has not made any activity on the party line⁵. An the meeting of the organization dated 11 December 1951, they discussed the issue of excluding Stancovity Gheorghe, a worker, on that he had been a member of the National Renaissance Front and had been part of the Legion movement and of the Democratic-Socialist Party. They charged him that he hid his past from checks and the Communist Party joined to deceive the vigilance and hit the party in its back. They excluded him, even if at the end of the meeting Stancovity said that he was not a legion that he loves his party and the membership card, and his heart hurts him, as he has to disassociate with it.

³ Stelian Tănase, *Elite și societăți. Guvernarea Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej 1948-1965*, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 1998, p. 49.

⁴ Robert Levy, *Gloria și decăderea Anei Pauker*, Polirom Publishing House, Iași, 2002, p. 67.

⁵ National Archives-Bihor County Service (hereinafter N.A.-Bh.C.S.), fond *Comitetul județean Bihor al PCR*, file 27/1952, f. 106-108.

At the hearing on February 1, 1952, they excluded Persz Francisc, settled already in Israel, for “immoral behavior”, in his case meaning, the intent implemented in practice to leave the country. At the meeting on the following day, February 2, 1952, in the presence of 68 of the 108 members of the organization they discussed the exclusion of the office-man Szánto Alexandru. They reproached him his hostile manifestations against the Republic, agitations against the regime, and they declared him an enemy of the working class, as he got out of the house those who were collecting money to help the Korean people. The Town Committee Office has confirmed the exclusion because he had repeated chauvinistic and anti-Semitic manifestations⁶. At the meeting of the organization on 18 July 1952, in the presence of 71 members, they discussed the exclusion of Csepreghy Gizella Kiss considered a kulak. The reasons showed had nothing to do with her work within the party, but with the past of her father and husband. She was a daughter of exploiting element and her husband, cleared when checking, has stolen of the goods of the working class, and they sentenced him to seven years of hard labor. We mention that not less than 20 “comrades” have signed up the discussions and the Town Committee Office has confirmed the exclusion on that he was “an enemy element crept into the party”⁷. At the meeting of 25 July 1952, they discussed the situation of Essezes Alexandru, a small artisan. In the essay presented by the Secretary of the organization, they classified Essezes as an exploitative because he had more employees, and his home considered “a nest of the mysticism and of the reaction”. Essezes has not recognized any of the charges. However, all of the 71 members present voted for exclusion, confirmed by the Town Committee on 8 August⁸. From the same organization they excluded Hermman Bella, a housewife, because she did not give up the enrollment for departure to Israel, and Iuhasz Cornelia, a kindergarten teacher, daughter of a kulak (a shepherd), who formerly was a village mayor, a function exploiting the working peasantry⁹.

The first exclusion from the Street basic Organization no.5, took place on July 3, 1951. It is about Gall Margareta, a peasant, because since the enrollment in 1945, she has never taken part in the meetings of the organization, demonstrating an anti-democratic behavior, and Barta Margareta also a peasant, who returned the party card, instigated against the party did not attend the meetings and did not pay the dues¹⁰. From the Basic Organization of the 2 years Special School, they excluded on 18 August 1951, Bone Alexandru, a worker, whom they had stolen the party card while he was at the swimming

⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 104-105, 252-254.

⁷ *Ibid.*, file 26/1952, f. 152-156.

⁸ *Ibid.*, file 30/1952, f. 120-122.

⁹ *Ibid.*, file 32/1952, f. 11-13, 21-24.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, file 25/1952, f. 9-10 and 11-12.

pool. They accused him of negligence in keeping the card. One of those who had a speech exemplified the Soviet sailor, who, during a storm, has lost his coat in the seaside together with the party card. Then, he took the plunge in water to recover it. As usual, Bone Alexandru made his auto-criticism, saying that he deserves the exclusion, but that he will work tenaciously to regain the card¹¹. They excluded Ieduca Ioan from the S.M.T Mechanical Center on 3 August 1951, for deviations from the discipline of party. They accused him of collecting money from workers, as well as contributions that he did not consign. In addition, they had seen him drunk at 6 o'clock in the morning, in the restaurant of the station. They voted unanimously for expulsion, although he made self-criticism, promising not happen again¹².

They excluded Bauman Ștefan, a lawyer, from the Street Basic Organization no.1, on 17 September 1951, because he could not convince his family to give up going to Israel. That also made to Andrași Ana, a housekeeper, former member of the Democratic Socialist Party since 1946, because she kept in touch with the "excluded elements", such as Varga Iuliana and in addition, on her husband's exclusion she said that those in the leadership of the Party Town Committee were "some hoodlums"¹³. They excluded Cservok Alexandru from the Basic Organization of the Enterprise of Regional Industry of Wine and Alcoholic Products, at the hearing on 16 November, 1951, which was attended by 11 of the 16 members, because he belonged, after 1940, to the (Hungarian) Revisionist National Guard, he was on the anti-Soviet front and had anti-communist manifestations. They also blamed him because he did not embrace the ideology of the party, although he had had officials, however, that he used to replace the honest working elements with others, dubious of his clique¹⁴.

On 20 November 1952, at the meeting of the Basic Organization "Work-Bear" they excluded Ballo Ludovic. He has fought as a lieutenant, on the anti-Soviet front, serving the Antonescu and Hitler's troops as liaison and interrogating the Soviet prisoners. After the war, he was part of the Hungarian Popular Union leadership and, in the party, he has proved "careerist tendencies and bourgeois mentality"¹⁵. They have excluded from the Street Basic Organization number 3 of the 6 months Party School Cseke Carol, for deviations from the party line, on the occasion of the field work¹⁶, Gogu Traian,

¹¹ *Ibid.*, file 26/1952, f. 19-21.

¹² *Ibid.*, f. 151-155.

¹³ *Ibid.*, file 29/1952, f. 116-120.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, file 27/1952, f. 95-100.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, f.101-103.

¹⁶ He did not attend the assigned place, lost the car RAJ, consumed alcohol, sang dirty songs, arrested two people; added to other irregularities, such as misconduct at the workplace, drunken at the classes, liar

a teacher, the son of a railway worker, because he had joined the Liberal National Party - Gh. Tătărescu because he had hidden, when checking, the past on the anti-Soviet front and during the Legionary rebellion, Ciobanu Ionella, a teacher, daughter of kulaks (teachers), Pop Antony, a priest until 1948, then a professor, that because he entered the house into his wife's name not to be nationalized and sold illegally the wine bought from the villagers¹⁷. Although the allegations were supported by the party colleagues / "companions"¹⁸, those accused are defending or denying everything, the case of Gogu Traian or not recognizing the charges, the case of the teacher-priest Popa Antoniu, or promising that they will prove they are not enemies of the party and of the working class, the case of Cseki Carol.

They have declared Meteșan Viorel a hostile element slipped inside the party, a clerk, the son of a landowner¹⁹ imprisoned for sabotaging the national economy. At the meeting on 20 December 1951, they discussed the exclusion of Unita Petru, recalling the need for the "permanent strengthening of the party vigilance", they accused him that he had hidden his social origin, and in the party had made "bungling works to induce in error"²⁰. From a Regional Basis Organization R.W.P. at the meeting on 18 February 1952, in the presence of 126 members out of the 172, they excluded Göncz Alexandru, a regional activist. His past was incriminating him. He was, until 1944, a maintenance worker at the Hungarian Railways; in 1946, he joined the Democratic Social Party and made propaganda against the Communist Party of Romania, which he attended in personal interests. In addition to the charges that he praised the Antonescu's regime, had evidenced a nationalist attitude, because he had crossed the border in Hungary, but as they criticized him there, too, and not receiving any service, he came back. The accused said that those shown did not correspond to the reality, he did not oppose to the interests of workers, at the same time promising that he will prove it, anywhere he will be sent. Although he conceived attachment for his party, the Town Committee confirmed the exclusion, as well as in the case of Gal Andrei, a shoemaker by profession, excluded from the Basic Organization "Solidaritatea" No.2, at the meeting on 15 February 1952. They had sanctioned him for losing his party card. They gave him the opportunity to prove by labor his commitment towards the working class, but he remained passive, so that the members of the organization voted unanimously his exclusion²¹.

¹⁷National Archives-Bihor County Service, fond *Comitetul județean Bihor al PCR*, file 25/1952, f. 88-92, file 30/1952, f. 132-133, file 32/1952, f. 66-67, file 33/1952, f. 134-135.

¹⁸ No fewer than 40 of the 80 members present took part in discussions on the occasion of meeting for excluding Cseki Carol on December 4, 1951.

¹⁹ Owner of a gold mine, engine mill, boilers for brandy.

²⁰ National Archives-Bihor County Service, fond *Comitetul județean Bihor al PCR*, file 27/1952, f. 74-77.

²¹ *Ibid.*, file 27/1952, f. 148-150, 171-173.

More exclusion took place in the Basic Organization of the Regional People Council of Bihor County; the reasons were different. Cornel Dumitriu proved to be “a drunkard element with low moral”, thus undermining the party. Nevertheless, Prisztas Andrei as a director had worked “sectarian, dictatorial”, without keeping the contact with the Basic Organization and the enterprise council; in addition, a clique made up of elements thrown out from other companies because of the political past and the hostile attitude against the regime surrounded him. They expelled Fleischer Nicolae, a painter, without fortune, but grown from a small bourgeois family, from the organization because of his social origin: he came from a family of exploiters, inherited the fortune of Weiszlovici, “the greatest bourgeois in Oradea”, who welcomed Horthy at the Hotel “Parc” in the town.

Such an element could only be a stranger towards the working class. So, not less than eight “comrades” have shown²², even though two of them did not know him that Fleischer was a demagogue. The latter transformed the School of Arts – which he had led - in “a place of refuge for ladies and young ladies”, instead to make it a school of education for the working staff; he misled the party, like Vasile Luca, being only a member because of the lack of vigilance in the organization²³. Molnar Ludovic, a mechanic worker, as president of the Central County Subdivision, they accused him of nepotism, of installing his relatives in positions of responsibility; of sharing, without approval, the goods of the high kulaks and not exposing the kulaks elements of the Collective Farming Biharea. As a guide of the Collective Farming on district, he has encouraged and developed factions among the members. In his defense, Molnar Ludovic showed that the kulaks elements have crept in other Collective Farming, too, and he repeatedly exposed kulaks, but being members of the party they could not expel them²⁴.

Other exclusion took place from the Basic Organization Finance no.5 (the Financial Sector no. 5) of the Town People's Council. They expelled Szigeti Ioan, an official, for “drinking excessively”, in addition, he has appropriated the collected money and avoided from his political work. They suggested excluding Szilagyfi Francisc, also an official, because “he manifested against the financial reform”. All of the 15 party colleagues who have joined the discussions demanded his exclusion. They excluded Kulics Ludovic, an unqualified worker, because “he manifested against the Government and the Central Committee of the Great Romanian Party” regarding the distribution of

²² In the meeting that discussed his case on 16 July 1952, at which were present from the Town Committee Office, Molnar Ana, Szúcs Francis, a secretary, and Kiss Iosif from the Town Committee, and the „comrades” Chioroghia and Schwartz.

²³ N.A.-Bh.C.S.AN-SJBH, fond *Comitetul județean Bihor al PCR*, file 29/1952, f. 141-145.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, file 33/1952, f. 79-82.

the food cards, they voted his exclusion unanimously. They excluded from the same organization Urszinyi Eva, a clerk, because of her past²⁵. They proceeded in the same way with Doborgazi Gheorghe, a clerk, the son of a small craftsman, declared an inappropriate element because he had been a tracker in the bourgeois-landlord regime (1927), took part in the fascist army, revealing extra that he was a mindless man, undecided, drunk, terrorist, careerist, who joined the party to hide his dirty past. They expelled Folk Alexander, a carpenter, the son of a worker, because he fought against the U.S.S.R., in a detachment that had the mission to hunt partisans, a fact that he has recognized, but as a military he “was forced to execute the order”²⁶.

At the meeting on 22 January 1952, they excluded Abraham Iosif from the Railway Basic Organization considered a traitor, together with a certain Molnar, as we learn from the report prepared on the hearing for excluding Brîndaş Ioan, on 30 June 1952. They accused the latter of anti-Semitic attitude, because he has acquired assets of the Jews, during their deportation, but also of a hostile attitude against the party because he kept in touch with the “traitors Molnar and Abraham”, taking over and continuing their “opportunistic and factional ideas”. At the meeting took part 75 of the 113 members of the organization, and 11 enrolled in discussions. From the same organization they also excluded Bogdan Vasile, locksmiths, because he owned 1, 5 yoke of land and made jobbery with goods received from the relatives in America. The 14 who spoke asked for the exclusion, convinced that they must clean the party of the opportunistic elements²⁷.

Other excluded came from the Basic Organizations Fruit-Export, U.R.C.C., “Zorile Roşii” and “Cimentul”. From the former they excluded on 20 May 1952, Tiberiu Garai, an officer, because he was an exploitative, as well as his wife, owner of a mill. They excluded from the Basic Organization U.R.C.C. Zövinger Ladislaus, a waiter, without fortune, but of small bourgeois social origin for deviation from the party line. They excluded Klein Alexandru who had sneaked into the party to strike in his interests, from the Organization “Zorile Roşii”, and for his small bourgeois origin. And from the organization “Cimentul” they excluded Pop Coriolan, the son of a priest, a clerk by profession, former notary in Săcuieni who “was together with the kulaks to the arrival of King Mihai”, and even favoring them when handing in the quotas. Seventeen colleagues of the party have exposed his facts, but at the end of the meeting, Pop Coriolan said that neither 5 per cent of those presented are true²⁸.

²⁵ Her father was the President of the Court of Appeal, she came from a bourgeois family so she herself worked as a journalist at the newspaper "Estilap", she had been a D.S.P. member since 1945.

²⁶ N.A.-Bh.C.S., fond *Comitetul judeţean Bihor al PCR*, file 33/1952, f. 64-67, 83-90.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, file 28/1952, f. 32-38, file 29/1952, f. 38-40.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, file 28/1952, f. 78, 81-82, file 29/1952, f. 57-60, 162.

Another Basic Organization that has made more exclusion was Bernath Andor. They excluded Nacsadi Ioan and Klein László on 3 July 1952. They accused the former of supporting the Legionnaires, in addition to lack of the activity in the organization, and Klein László, a jeweler, because he dealt with speculation in gold and signed up to go to Palestine. As stated in the minutes by “the mentality of small bourgeois has shown that he has nothing in common with the working class, focusing on the ideology of the Anglo-American imperialists”²⁹. At the meeting of the organization on 17 July 1952, they discussed the exclusion of Burick Gheorghe, a turner by profession, member of the party since in 1945. The 12 members of the organization, who spoke, accused him that he launched false rumors about the U.S. and “tried to convince the workers that the Americans’ aggressive and hostile policy was fair”. In addition, they accused Burick of “hostile policy of undermining the regime of popular democracy”, denigrating its achievements, especially the currency reform and the revision of the allowances³⁰.

They excluded from the Basic Organization “Cootex” the tailors Löb Leopold and Weiszbrun Adam, both for their small bourgeois social origin. The first, enrolled in the party in 1946, had worked with 4-5 journeymen, regarded as being exploitative, had hostile manifestations against the Party and the Government on revising the rules. Although he said that he felt along with the working class, they saw him as an activist of the movement of emigration and they found him on the lists for leaving to Israel. They accused, in his turn Weiszbrun Adam for “losing his sense of class and joining the enemy camp”, because he refused to sign the “Call for Peace”. He is among the few who recognizes his mistakes and is not surprised of his exclusion³¹.

For “serious deviations from the party line”, they excluded from the Basic Organization of Crucea Roşie, Mateaş Alexandru, a worker. He presented himself in the district of Săcuieni as an organ of Security, a mistake he has recognized. Exclusions also occurred in the Basic Organization of Adults Unified Hospital in Oradea. At the meeting of 10 July 1952, they discussed the situation of the doctor Bauman Clara, enrolled in the Communist Party of Romania since 1945. They discovered her sentence of three months with execution for smuggling gold. Of the 70 members of the organization all, the 50 members present voted the exclusion, like in the case of Both Iuliu, a sanitary officiant, expelled because he was a kulak, as his wife’s family, which had had boilers for brandy³². They excluded from the Basic Organization of the Polygraphic Enterprise in Oradea, Frenckel David, a printer, enrolled in the party in 1947. In his case, they claimed that before 1947, he has been a market

²⁹ *Ibid.*, file. 30/1952, f. 111-113.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, file, 29/1952, f. 190-200.

³¹ *Ibid.*, file, 33/1952, f. 137, file 29/1952, f. 111.

³² *Ibid.*, file, 29/1952, f. 184, 220-221.

speculator, and in the enterprise, he undermined Abraham Iuliu, the technical chief. It noted that he “reached through demagoguery the Union Committee and convinced the workers not to comply with the management decisions”. There was “hostile to the Soviet delegates” and “against the change of the rules”, the accusations being supported in writing by 27 members. Although the accusations were overwhelming, Frenczkel refused to book his card in front of the organization office, saying he would do so only to the party. At the meeting on 15 July 1952 the Basic Organization of the Regional Asset of the Great Romanian Party, in the presence of 118 members out of 194, they expelled from the party Patai Iuliu, an elementary teacher. The paper read by the secretary of the organization, shows that he fought as a volunteer on the front against the Soviet Army, and during the withdrawal, he went to Germany, where he enrolled in the S.S. units. He registered himself in the party to conceal his past, and his hostile attitude arose from the fact that he married a kulak. From the Basic Organization no.3 of the Enterprise “Solidaritatea” they excluded Popovici Aron, at the hearing on July 19, 1952, an official, a former administrator at the Middle School “Pietonul”, on the grounds that he was a kulak slipped in the party, where he led a “hostile work”. Similarly, Ulman Paul, a carpenter, from a bourgeois family (his father was a bank director), who in the Horthy regime was an agent to exposure the communists and showed an “incorrect attitude towards the working class”. Ulman acknowledged that had no place in the vanguard of the working class, but not that he was an agent of the Horthy regime³³.

The Basic Organization of the Cooperative “Progresul” they excluded from its ranks, at the meeting on 29 July 1952, Farkas Ignatiu, a shoemaker, because he gave up going to Israel and neglected “to improve his political and ideological level”. In the meeting of the Basic Organization C.D.E. on 30 July 1952, they discussed the exclusion of two members, Feurstein Aniko and Slézinger Rozalia. The first, a typist of profession, came from an exploitative capitalist family. She does not wonder they excluded her. She studied the teachings of Marx and Stalin and she knows that has no place in the party. In her turn, they excluded Slézinger Rozalia, a hairdresser, because they found that she had nothing in common with the working class, though she came from a family of workers. She did not participate to the meetings of the organization and “did not live the party life”³⁴. From the Basic Organization of the Cooperative “Lemnul” they proposed the exclusion of Dengelegi Lajos, a small artisan, because he had the mentality of a small bourgeois, exploited the journeymen in his workshop and did not fulfill the tasks received from the party. The Basic Organization C.D.P. discusses at the meeting on 14 August 1952, in his turn, Bauer Andrew, an unqualified worker, of small bourgeois

³³ *Ibid.*, f. 222-228.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, file, 30/1952, f. 134-135.

origin, who has no place in party as he supports the departure to Palestine. From the Basic Organization "Prodaliment" they excluded, on 21 August 1952, Steiner Gheorghe, a butcher. As shown in the lecture and discussions, he ruthlessly exploited 70 workers at the time when he was the owner of a leather factory. No fewer than 17 members have requested his exclusion when 18 of the 20 members of the organization attended the meeting³⁵.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, file 32/1952, f. 1-4, 14-17.

ASPECTS OF CONSTANTIN DAICOVICIU'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH LEADING FIGURES OF THE ROMANIAN HISTORY AND ARCHEOLOGY

*Mihaela GOMAN**

Abstract: *The complex scientific personality of the historians and archaeologist from Cluj can be highlighted also through the careful study of the correspondence, which he had with some historians and archaeologists both from home and abroad. Although as the number ultimately prevails, of a real interest are the letters he received from some colleagues, later became leading figures of the Romanian history and archeology (I. I. Russu, Dumitru Protase, Kurt Horedt, Marius Moga, Radu Vulpe, Hadrian Daicoviciu, Ion Mitrofan etc.).*

Keywords: *correspondence, history, archeology, archeological site, Constantin Daicoviciu*

Professor and mentor to dozens of generations of students Constantin Daicoviciu has always been concerned about his own teaching and scientific training and in parallel showed a great care for his students solicitous of studying the history of the Romanian ancestry. He sent some of them to study abroad to specialize (I. I. Russu to Rome, Ioan Piso to Vienna), others were assigned in the head of some prestigious museum institutions (Marius Moga at the Museum of Banat in Timișoara). However, most of his disciples were formed and were later perfected as true professionals “under his baguette”, in the historical and archaeological school in Cluj, namely on the numerous archaeological sites that have studded after 1949, the entire country. Some of them have made their apprenticeship by participating for years in the team under his leadership on the “site – school” in the Orăștie Mountains. (This fact follows from the simple consultation of the annual digging reports published in journals of specialty such as *Studies and Researches of Ancient History*, year I, no. 1, 1950 and the following, respectively *Archaeological Materials and Researches*, vol. III, 1957 and the following}. They were then charged to lead on their own archaeological sites (Dumitru Hearing, Kurt Horedt, Hadrian Daicoviciu, Ion Mitrofan, etc.), thanks to their historical and archaeological profound preparation that they showed. Of this last position they maintained

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regularly the contact with that one who was their teacher, consulting him every time vis-à-vis the findings, asking for his advice, inviting him on that site to see on the scene the richest archive that is - the Romanian ground. To illustrate the above mentioned we would illustrate below with four letters and a postcard (signed by Radu Vulpe), we believe, representative in this respect.

I. I. Russu who was in Rome for specialization sends the first letter dated November 6, 1929 to Professor Constantin Daicoviciu. Of its contents, we find that this latter sent an article about the inscriptions of Durostorum. They were going to publish it in the first volume of the *Yearbook for the Historical Monuments Commission - the Department for Transylvania (A.C.M.I.T.)* per year “for the simple reason of not be published by others moreover, since these monuments were for a couple of years, visited by many tourists”¹. Certainly the idea of publishing in the pages of the *Yearbook* already mentioned was suggested by Professor Constantin Daicoviciu in a previous letter in which he was informed about the “discovery of that great mausoleum at Sarmizegetusa”, a “sensational” discovery with other “progress made on the realm of the archaeological research”². Kurt Horedt, Dumitru Protase, Hadrian Daicoviciu and Radu Vulpe sign the next three letters and the postcards, which we present in Appendixes. The first three have formed as leading figures of the Romanian Archaeology in Cluj, around the historical and mostly archaeological school in Cluj run by Constantin Daicoviciu. The most faithful disciple of the master Vasile Pârvan was undoubtedly Radu Vulpe³, a famous scientific figure in the Romanian archaeological research. Radu Vulpe was contemporary with Constantin Daicoviciu (Radu Vulpe was born on 29 December 1899 and died in 1982, and Constantin Daicoviciu was born on 1 March, 1898 and died on 27 May 1973). Radu Vulpe would become a close collaborator (we consider the years 1925-1927 for Constantine Daicoviciu and, 1924-1926 respectively for Radu Vulpe, spent in Rome as members of the *Accademie di Romania*, for specialization) and later a craft colleague of the distinguished professor of Cluj. For both, we note, especially, the interest in studying the Dacian civilization (Constantin Daicoviciu in Transylvania, in the Orăștie Mountains and, Radu Vulpe in Moldavia, but in the Mountainous Plain where he found in addition to the Dacian cities also the Bastarnic and Carpi civilizations).

Kurt Horedt was an archaeologist who was concerned with the problems of the Bronze Age and Iron Age in Transylvania. They knew him for his

¹ The National History Museum of Transylvania, *Fondul Constantin Daicoviciu* (inventoried logo C₂), C₂ 1261 (herein after MNIT, *Fondul C. Daicoviciu*, C₂...).

² *Ibid.*

³ Sever Dumitrașcu, *Radu Vulpe*, in *Crisia*, 1982, p. 503-508.

research on the Wietenberg culture and on the iron metallurgy penetration in Transylvania, in the first age of the Iron Age, Hallstatt. His letter, dated 11 August 1959⁴, is sent to his Professor (became a member of the Romanian Academy in 1955) from the archaeological site from Porumbenii Mici (a vill in the village Porumbenii Mari, Harghita County). The digging campaign began on 2 August and it would extend throughout the whole months, Zoltan Szekely belonging to the collective.

Dumitru Prostase has dedicated his entire life studying the Dacian-Roman continuity. One of his standard-sites was that of Obreja (Caraş-Severin County), a Dacian settlement of the Roman age very representative, if we consider the archaeological inventory emerged during the digging campaigns, not few in number. The letter that he sends to his Professor dates on 31 July 1966⁵, namely “after several days of digging”. The most important discovery is “a Roman bronze fibula, dating from the first half of the III century. It is the *fourth* fibula discovered so far in this settlement and *the first of this kind*”⁶. The Bucharest Institute of Archaeology has allocated for the diggings at Obreja in that year, the sum of 9000 lei. Dumitru Protase planned to participate also in the diggings at the Roman camp from Berzovia (Caraş-Severin County), under the jurisdiction of the Museum of Reşiţa. Therefore, he requested the Capital Institute Accountantship to transfer the sum of 2500 lei of those 9000 lei for Berzovia and with the rest of 6500 lei to complete the diggings at Obreja. After a telephone conversation, Professor Constantin Daicoviciu proposed to Dumitru Protase to participate in the works of the site from the Iron Gates. The latter showed to be interested in how the diggings at Berzovia, in Banat, have started or not.

Hadrian Daicoviciu wrote to his father on the archaeological site from the Feţele Albe in the Orăştie Mountains on 18 August 1967⁷. The diggings would carry out throughout the whole month of August, as long as Hadrian had an “exam in Cluj on 1 September”⁸. In letter there are in addition to the main discovery, of the respective year, the fully carved circular building (that the author of the diggings does not consider a sanctuary) and certain family problems.

Radu Vulpe finally sends the last letter, namely a postcard that we submit to the reader’s attention, to the Professor from Cluj in the early 1942, i.e., on 2 January 1942⁹. There were troubled times for the Romanian people, when, after the Vienna Dictate and the occupation of the Northern

⁴ MNIT, *fondul C. Daicoviciu*, C₂2884.

⁵ *Ibid.*, C₂2522

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ MNIT, *fondul C. Daicoviciu*, C₂3669.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ MNIT, *fondul C. Daicoviciu*, C₂1276.

Transylvania, the Cluj University "Regele Ferdinand I" and its profile specialized institutions had moved in Sibiu. Then, they accorded an important role to Professor Constantin Daicoviciu who tried hard that this function normally, keeping alive the unextinguished flame of the Romanian science and culture. They have mobilized Radu Vulpe on the Odessa front¹⁰, but being on leave on holidays (in Bucharest), he took the time to clarify some issues of scientific interest that he notified to his friend and colleague.

We also mention that Radu Vulpe was the last craft colleague who saw Constantin Daicoviciu alive, namely at the funerals of Grigore Moisil, the famous mathematician. Here is how Radu Vulpe reported his last meeting with Constantin Daicoviciu: "...commenting the death of Grigore Moisil, who was afflicting with the heart, found his end during a mission in Canada, Daicoviciu wanted to reveal me his decision not to travel abroad, not to see him in a similar situation in a foreign country. I was scared of the unusual pallor of his figure presented at that time, as symptoms of the cardiac disorders that he had long ago suffered, too. I agreed him, unable to imagine still, neither I nor he that our exchange of friendly words around some gloomy issues would be the last and that in the very night of that day, en route to his Cluj, this disease, which he defeated many times, would be fatal to him"¹¹.

In conclusion, the correspondence study of the illustrious professor and archaeologist of Cluj is important while it is a true open "window" in time. Moreover, it is a "connecting bridge" between the generations of researchers who formed at the great national school of history and archeology pre and proto historical, whose ideals have served with dedication and devotion, each of them there where the destiny has led their steps, guided by the "lonely" Pârvan, and other disciples of him, among which Constantin Daicoviciu, too.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Case mentioned by Radu Vulpe in one of his evocations entitled *În amintirea lui Constantin Daicoviciu*, read at the opening meeting of the Scientific Session of the Transylvanian History Museum on 27 May 1981. MNIT Fund C. Daicoviciu , C₂872.

Anexe documentare

C₂1261

Roma, 6. XI 1924

Iubite Domnule Profesor

Cu o mică întârziere trimit articolul despre inscripțiile din Durostorum, pregătit cam în grabă și poate cu unele lacune în documentare, cari însă cred că nu sunt chiar atât de grave, dat fiind felul și starea de conservare a inscripțiilor. Deaceia unele corecturi sau întregiri - mai ales că aici în Roma n'au putut consulta acum un epigrafist din cei cu mare autoritate - va scrie și ar fi bine venite din partea oricărui specialist cu mai multă experiență. Cel puțin în ce privește forma externă, deoarece euse curioasă condițiile tehnice ale noului format pe care-l îmbracă Anuarul. Trimit și câteva o copie fotografică, rugându-vă, dacă e posibil, să le reproduceți, și rugându-vă mai ales să le pu-

blicati neapărat în numărul acesta al Anuarului,
 pentru simplul motiv de a nu fi publicate de altii în
 altă parte, de vreme ce aceste monumente au fost,
 de vro doi ani, vizitate de mulți turisti.

Au primit scrisoarea și mă bucur foarte mult
 de toate cele comunicate. În special mă surprins
 descoperirea acelu mare mausoleu la Sarmisegetusa,
 care mă făcea, în primul moment să mă gândesc la
 vre-un monument de acest fel ridicat de Traian la
gornarilor răi din războaiile dacice. În orice caz
 descoperirea ved că e sensatională. Mă pare foarte
 bine de progresele realizate pe tărâmul cercetă-
 rilor arheologice.

(Centru SC[1]RVIVS? din inscripția dela muzeu
 cf. CIG 1957 Σικτίος(?). Centru numerus militum cf.
 W.M. Ramsay în Studies in the History and art of the Eas-
 tern provinces of the Roman Empire, London, 1906 p. 268,
 care vrea să dea nouă lectură CIL III 7405.)

~~Scrupule~~ lucrurile merg pe aceeași linie; multa
 treabă și foarte multe preocupări. Iți vom scrie
 nimic. Așteptând un răspuns, cu drag al dăruirii
 H. B. Ramsey

Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, fond Constantin Daicoviciu, C₂1261 (verso)

C22889

Porumbeni Muz., 11. VII 1958

Mull stimata tovarose academiana,

vă mulțumesc pentru rîndurile Dr. Vrîi care mî
 în curaj, tot și scriu un articol de 10 pagini
 de etnografice pentru Stockholm.

Mi pîndesc să scriu și despre "Transilvania
 și Micene" și "Centrul de locuire din sec. VII-X
 din regiunea catalinilor Mureșului". Fiind vorba de
 numai 10 pag. sper că îl pot redacta în
 septembrie pînă la data fixată. Numai să nu fi
 ocaz pînă la urmă din volum, ca al pentru Roma-

De la 2 august mîi dăpîm azi pe "Salată"
 și am venit în sfîrșit să delimităm după
 anumite complexe îndepărtate materialul destul de
 răzleț și amestecat, cîntărind defectele faze și
 construcțiile și fabricațiile existente.

După cultura Wietenberg vine o fază vîrstă
 epocă bronz sec. III și după aceea una de aspect
 "ceramic horizont" circa sec. IV. Ultimele este
 cea de tip "Mureș" sec. VI. În total deci pot fi 3-4 faze.

Care sfîrșitul lumii sper că vom
 termina compunerea și în această și săptămîna de
 la Porumbeni Muz.

Cu salutații respectuoase și din partea tovar.
 Găhălă

al Dr. K. Kovács

Adresa mea este: Coștice, județul raional

C2522
Obreja, 31 iulie 1966.

Mult stimat domnule profesor,

Despre rezultatele săpăturilor în aşezarea dacică de epocă romană de la Obreja intenţionez să vă prezint o dare de seamă detaliată, verbal sau în scris, numai după terminarea lucrărilor, aşa cum am făcut şi în anii trecuţi. Dar, din convorbirea telefonică de miercură trecută, am înţeles că dvs. aţi dori să ştiţi rezultatele obţinute chiar în primele zile care s-au scurs de la începerea cercetărilor din acest an.

Până acum, abia după câteva zile de săpătură, lucruri senzationale nu avem, dar ne gândim mereu la ele, le aşteptăm. Vă pot spune doar că ceea ce altădată era senzational în problema dacilor sub romani a devenit acum ceva firesc, obişnuit — aşa cum dvs. aţi intuit şi preconizat admirabil de aproape trei decenii. Mă refer la prezenţa unor elemente de cultură materială dacică în ambianţa elementelor de

- 2 -

civilizație romană provincială din mediul rural. În linii mari, aceasta este situația la Obreja. Și aici văd o confirmare a unor afirmații, făcute de Dvs. cu mulți ~~ani~~ ani în urmă, în problema continuității pe pământul dacic. Strălucită confirmare, dacă se are în vedere faptul că atunci Dvs. dispuneți de material documentar puțin și nu totdeauna concludent.

Concret, la Obreja încep să apară, și în săpăturile din anul acesta, gropi de provizii și locuințe-bordeie, în care se află obiecte mărunte și olărie romană diversă laolaltă cu fragmente de vase dacice modelate cu mâna sau lucrate la roată, inclusiv cestile-afumătoare tipice. Într-o asemenea groapă, în umplutura căreia erau multe fragmente de vase romane și o ceașcă dacică ruptă, am găsit și o fibulă romană de bronz, databilă în prima jumătate a sec. III. Este a patra fibulă descoperită până acum în această așezare și prima de acest tip.

- 3 -

O dificultate de care mă izbesc în anul acesta aici este aceea că gospodăria agricolă de producție, contrar înțelegerii, a în-sămânțat porumb și tutun în partea așezării unde programasem să fac cercetările în cursul acestei veri. Mi-a rămas liberă doar o porțiune de un hectar, unde am mai tras secțiuni și în anii precedenți. Fiind îngădit în acest fel, cu totul neas-teptat, am cerut Contabilității Institu-tului de arheologie din București ca din fondul de 9000 lei alocat pentru Obreja să-mi transfere suma de 2500 lei pentru Berzovia, ceea ce s-a și aprobat. Așa că cu cei 6500 lei rămași sper să închei lucră-rile sâmbăta viitoare, când - dacă Filia-la va trimite camionul programat - mă voi întoarce la Cluj.

În privința participării mele la lucrările șantielului Porțile de Fier, de care m-ați întrebat la telefon, nu vă pot da un răspuns categoric înainte de a ști dacă Reșița are ori nu fondurile bănești promise pentru săpăturile la castelul roman de la Berzovia. Acest

- 4 -

luem vremează să mi-l comunique
directorul Muzeului din Reșița, că-
ruia i-am scris chiar astăzi în a-
ceastă chestiune.

Cu deosebită stimă și devo-
tamentul de totdeauna
al dvs. S. Protase

Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, fond Constantin Daicoviciu, C₂2522 (4)

C23669

Fetele Albe, 18-VIII-1967

Dregeț tata,

Pe aici toate bune; aproape zilnic răpătura
ne oferă câte o surpriză. De exemplu, locuința
răpăți parțial anul trecut s-a dovedit a fi
o mare construcție circulară (dar eu cred că
fi sântuar!). După toate acestea însă vom sta
de vorbă la Cluj.

Sunt cam îngrijorat de situația de ecară:
bale soacă-mii, posibilitatea lui Diki de a
măia și, la spitalul lui, de a pleca în concediu
etc. Uă, nu se poate mult, pe timp și pe
masă, și la dat: tot ajutorul în puterile.

Dă: îi va mică raport kov. Protopopescu,
și spune și lui că masă unzele va trebui și

pe aici, la cabana din Costesti, in ziua de 31 august
la vechi 11 sau 12. Daci trebuie sa mergi si dupa
Focuzi la Iasi, pe elcet: pentru aceasta o alta
zi cui sa au examen la Cluj in ziua de
1 septembrie; nu pot, deci, accepta cu placere
dupa 31 august.

Ce ai facut cu memoriul? L-ai trimis? Sper
ca el va provoca o buna discutie la minister
de nivel mult.

Vale!

Hedra

Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, fond Constantin Daicoviciu, C₂3669 (verso)

C2 1276
București, 2. I. 1942

Dragă Daicoviciu,

Înainte de a lua treburile mele spre Olt, țin să îți dau un raport de lucrări
cu privire la chestiunile științifice pe care le-am
comunicat prin ultima mea scrisoare. Amens,
am verificat la Muzeu, identitatea vârnului
reprodus în fotografia atât de imprecisă din Daic,
p. 283, fig. 27, 5. Toate îndoielile mele dispar.
E vorba, sigur, de un vârnău conic din tipul
celor porase no. 2, p. 290 (p. 290, fig. 43, 1-4),
cu o toartă. Toată e ruptă, dar se văd unele
extremități. Epoca romană: sec. II-III p. Chr.
Asemenea vase mi se găsesc în stăruile „Kuleno”
deast în epoca romană. În stăruile pregetice
lipsesc.

Cu urările cele mai prietenoase pentru
sănătate și furtună, te salutăm alături de toți
R. V. R.

RADU VULPE- LE DISCIPLE DE VASILE PÂRVAN

*Doina OLARIU**

Résumé: *La vie du réputé archéologue Radu Vulpe, né à Albești, dans les territoires de Ialomitza, a été marquée par la passion pour l'histoire. Comme étudiant, il a parcouru, pas à pas, La Plaine Roumaine pour y découvrir les traces des anciens logements créés par les habitants de là-bas. Il a obtenu ainsi des connaissances historiques bien solides attirant l'attention du professeur Vasile Pârvan. Radu Vulpe fera plus tard l'éloge de l'activité du savant comme directeur du Musée National des Antiquités, parce qu'il l'a transformé dans un véritable Institut d'Archéologie s'efforçant d'aider les jeunes passionnés par l'archéologie dans la recherche et dans la parue de leurs propres études. A la mémoire de Radu Vulpe persévère une importante préoccupation de son professeur, celle d'organiser L'Ecole Roumaine de Rome. Il ne s'imaginait que, dans deux années, il en sera un des membres. Revenant a l'importance de l'œuvre de Vasile Pârvan pour son disciple, elle se reflète dans les environs 150 articles et recherches lesquels montrent dans quelle mesure son activité reste attaché à la personnalité et au travail de son maître.*

Mots-clés: *Radu Vulpe, Vasile Pârvan, recherches, Accademia di Romania, disciple*

La vie du réputé archéologue Radu Vulpe, né à Albești, dans les territoires de Ialomitza, a été marquée par la passion pour l'histoire. Dès ses premières années d'études à l'école, il a essayé de franchir les secrets des replis de terrain fortifiés « romanes » de Dobrogea. Plus tard, pendant le lycée, quand il s'est réfugié en Moldavie, pendant la guerre, le jeune Radu lissait à la lumière d'une lampe *De Bello Gallico*. Comme étudiant, il a parcouru, pas à pas, La Plaine Roumaine pour y découvrir les traces des anciens logements créés par les habitants de là-bas¹. Il a obtenu ainsi des connaissances historiques bien solides attirant l'attention du professeur Vasile Pârvan. Celui-ci lui a nommé, avant de finir ses études à l'Université, assistant au Musée National des Antiquités, emploi qu'il a eu jusqu'en 1926.

*University of Oradea.

¹ Ecaterina Dunăreanu-Vulpe, *Cuvânt înaintea Radu Vulpe, Columna lui Traian. Monument al etnogenezei românilor*, Sport Turism, București, 1988, p. 5 (à la suite Radu Vulpe, *Columna...*).

Radu Vulpe fera plus tard l'éloge de l'activité du savant en tant que directeur du Musée National des Antiquités, parce qu'il l'a transformé dans un véritable Institut d'Archéologie, dans son effort d'aider les jeunes passionnés par l'archéologie dans la recherche et dans la parue de leurs propres études. Dans la même étude, publiée en *Carpica*, à l'occasion de l'anniversaire du centenaire de la naissance du maître, on élogiait le mérite du Vasile Pârvan d'avoir édifier une école roumaine d'archéologie. Son premier pensé en édifiant cette école a été celui de créer une équipe des gens bien instruits qui puissent dévoiler le passé du territoire roumain, l'importance de laquelle Pârvan avait formulé dans son livre sur *Salsovia*, en 1906². L'affirmation de l'école archéologique de Vasile Pârvan a eu lieu en 1911, en même temps que l'exploitation de la forteresse romane d'Ulmetum, au centre du Dobrogea³.

L'autorité du maître parmi ses étudiants, disait Iorga, était « presque mystique », beaucoup de jeunes l'ont suivi, attachés à l'idéal de l'investigation de l'histoire ancienne du peuple roman, formant une véritable école d'archéologie⁴. Parmi ces étudiants, dont Iorga parlait, c'était Radu Vulpe aussi, un apprenti dans le domaine de l'archéologie. Pendant l'été du 1922, il montra à son professeur, qui faisait encore des recherches à Histria, des fragments de céramique gétique mélangés avec des morceaux de céramique grec apportées, lesquelles il les avait découverts dans la petite forteresse de Piscul Crăsanilor, près de la rivière Ialomitza.

L'intérêt du professeur en a été tant grand que, mené par Radu Vulpe avec ses deux collègues, celui-ci a rendu une visite à la petite forteresse. Pendant toute l'été le maître a parcourus toute La Plaine Roumaine cherchant des anciennes forteresses. Il les a confiés aux ses étudiants pour en faire les recherches nécessaires.

Radu Vulpe s'en souvient que pendant les recherches faites dans La Plaine Roumaine, son maître corrigeait le tome *Les origines de la vie romane aux bouches du Danube*. Il en a eu le privilège de lire le placard du livre qu'apportait des épreuves sur la persistance du romanisme aux bouches du Danube et sur le caractère occidental de la culture romane dans cette région⁵.

Pârvan lui a confié le placard au moment lequel, sur le chantier de Histria, le jeune Radu s'initiait dans les fouilles d'archéologie classique, pour le faire plus proche des problèmes de la Dobrogea Romane. Beaucoup de ces placards contenaient d'informations sur Histria. Étudié avec beaucoup d'intérêt, le jeune a été enchanté par la richesse des faits et d'interprétations. Il est resté

² Radu Vulpe, *Vasile Pârvan, creator de școală științifică*, en *Carpica*, Muzeul Județean de Istorie și Artă, Bacău, XIV,1982, p. 7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁴ Al. Zub, *Pe urmele lui Vasile Pârvan*, Editura Sport Turism, București, 1983, p.148.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

interdit observant que lui ont été valorifiés les résultats des recherches faites dans La Plaine Roumaine, dont il en a participé.

Après des années, le disciple, devenu lui même le maître, rééditera l'oeuvre de son maître, après plus de demi siècle de son parution.

C'est toujours à Histria que Pârvan portait des longues conversations avec le jeune disciple, provoqué par les questions du celui assoiffé d'information. A la mémoire de Radu Vulpe persévère une importante préoccupation de son professeur, celle d'organiser L'École Roumaine de Rome. Il ne s'imaginait que, dans deux années, il en sera un des membres⁶.

Préoccupé pour consolide son collectif et ayant compris que le problème de l'éthnogénèse du peuple roman ne pouvait être résolu qu'étudiant la civilisation italique sur le territoire ou elle s'est développé, Vasile Pârvan a proposé, en 1912, l'établissement d'un Institut des Etudes Supérieures à Rome pour lequel le ministre C. Diamandy en a porté des négociations avec le gouvernement italien. Après la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale, Pârvan parle de nouveau de la nécessité de cette École Roumaine à Rome et il en commencera l'organisation comme directeur, en 1921. Appelé par les italiens, « Accademia di Romania », L'école Roumaine de Rome a été destiné à facilité aux archéologues, historiens, philologues et aux artistes roumains la perfectionnement « dans le berceau de l'ancienne civilisation romane et de la Renaissance »⁷.

La majorité des disciples du maître y sont passés. Tous ont publié des études remarquables dans les annuaires de spécialité de l'école : *Ephemeris Dacoromana* et *Diplomatarium Italicum*. Constantin Daicoviciu, Gh. Ștefan, Dorin Popescu, Ecaterina Dunăreanu-Vulpe et Radu Vulpe ont eu la chance d'y faire leur spécialisation, le dernier se rejoyissant de la confiance du professeur qui confiait les compétences de chercheur scientifique. Il en finira comme membre de L'École Roumaine, en 1924.

Pendant deux années, en 1926, sous l'influence de L'Eternelle Cité, Radu Vulpe a assidument travaillé aux ses deux études: *Gli illiri dell'Italia imperiale romana (Les ilyres de l'Italie Imperiale Romane)* et *La civiltà dell'ferro in Illiria (La Civilisation de fer en Ilyrie)*, le deuxième étude constituant même le sujet de son thèse de doctorat dont il a soutenu, avec succès, à l'Université de Bucharest, obtenant la titulature de docteur ès sciences, magna cum laude, en 1927⁸.

Érigé à l'école prestigieuse de son maître, Radu Vulpe a adopté une méthode par laquelle il associait toujours les données archéologiques obtenues

⁶ Radu Vulpe, *Cuvânt înainte*, la Vasile Pârvan, *Începuturile vieții romane la gurile Dunării*, Editura Științifică, București, 1974, p. 22-23.

⁷ Radu Vulpe, *Vasile Pârvan, creator de școală științifică*, în *Carpica*, XIV, 1982, p. 13.

⁸ ***, *Le Professeur Radu Vulpe a son 70e anniversaire*, en *Dacia. Revistă de Arheologie și Istorie Antică*, Editura Academiei R.S.R., București, XV, 1971, p. 6.

dans des fouilles archéologiques avec les informations des sources épigraphiques et littéraires de l'Antiquité. Pour lui l'archéologie était faite à achever l'information issue des sources écrites et la combinaison des deux poursuivrait la reconstitution des événements jusqu'à la découverte de la structure historique⁹. Utilisant la méthode, il a obtenu des résultats spectaculaires, identifiant l'habitat géto-dacique de Poiana, dans le département de Galatzi, avec celui de Piroboridava. Il a déterminé une des capitales de Burebista, Argedava, à Popești et celle d'Angustia avec Brețcu. Avec l'aide de la même méthode il a montré l'abandon du territoire gétique dans le nord du Danube, sous le règne d'Augustus et de ses successeurs et le déménagement des populations dans les territoires balcaniques contrôlés par les romains. Il a identifié la repli de terrain fortifié du sud de la Moldavie avec les retranchements construites par les gothes de Atanarich et il a aussi identifié l'origine romane du repli de terrain fortifié entre Leova et Bender et entre Vadul lui Isac et Tatar Bunar.

La plus part de ses découvertes ont été publiés avec l'aide de Vasile Pârvan. Ainsi, dans la revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, *Dacia*, fondé par le maître, Radu Vulpe et Ecaterina Dunăreanu-Vulpe ont publié, en 1924, l'étude intitulée *Les Fouilles de Tinosul*, dédié aux découvertes faites dans l'habitat gétique de Tinosu, lequel ils ont visité en 1922, accompagnés par Vasile Pârvan. Radu Vulpe a publié aussi des études en *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, fondée par Pârvan et appartenant à l'Ecole Roumaine de Rome. L'Ecole a atteint son but, contribuant considérablement au développement qualitatif de l'archéologie et des études classiques en Roumanie.

Revenant à l'importance de l'oeuvre de Vasile Pârvan pour son disciple, elle se reflète dans les environs 150 articles et recherches lesquels montrent dans quelle mesure son activité reste attaché à la personnalité et au travail de son maître.

Etant un des plus importants élèves de Vasile Pârvan, après la mort du maître, Radu Vulpe a continué de reprendre son oeuvre historique à travers des conférences, dans des diverses études, parmi lesquelles: *Vasile Pârvan, créateur d'école scientifique*, publié dans la revue *Carpica*, 1982; *L'Activité scientifique de l'historien Vasile Pârvan*, dans la revue *Studii* 1957; *A la mémoire de Vasile Pârvan*, publié dans la revue *Recherches d'histoire ancienne et contemporaine (SCIV)*, 1937, avec l'occasion de la 90e anniversaire de la naissance du grand historien.

Radu Vulpe a même réédité quelques oeuvres de Vasile Pârvan: *Les origines de la vie romane aux bouches du Danube*. Il a voulu faire connaître mieux l'une des oeuvres les plus représentatives de Pârvan, à laquelle il s'est toujours rapporté. Il faut aussi mentionner la traduction en roumain de l'oeuvre

⁹ Ecaterina Dunăreanu-Vulpe, *Cuvânt înainte* à Radu Vulpe, *Columna...*, p. 5.

Dacia. Les anciennes civilisations des régions carpato-danubiennes, parue en anglais, à Cambridge, en 1928, après la mort du maître¹⁰. Ce livre est traduit et publié pour la première fois à Bucharest en 1937, à l'initiative de l'Association Académique « Vasile Pârvan », parmi ses fondateurs, Radu Vulpe, dont il a été le président pendant 1928- 1948. La traduction n'a pas été faite par Radu Vulpe d'après le texte publié en anglais, mais après celui inédit, rédigé en français par Vasile Pârvan qui lui avait assigné en copie dactylographié, pour élaborer une charte de l'oeuvre. La copie a été ensuite déposée à l'Académie Roumaine. Les nouvelles éditions, celles de 1957 et 1958 ont été amendées parce qu'on a utilisé cette fois-là le manuscrit originel, considéré perdu. Les amendements n'ont pas résidé en modifications du texte rédigé par le maître mais en annotations du traducteur faites à attirer l'attention du lecteur sur des opinions et faits périmés par les nouveautés archéologiques parues entre temps¹¹.

L'oeuvre *Dacia. Les civilisations anciennes dans les pays carpato-danubiennes* a été parfois considéré un résumé du livre *Getica*, laquelle, selon Radu Vulpe, reste une des chefs d'oeuvres parce qu'elle a enrichi l'histoire des roumains avec plus d'un millénaire apparus « des ténèbres des époques préromanes » mais aussi parce qu'elle parle de l'origine du peuple roumain, ça veut dire des gètes ou des dacs¹².

Une autre contribution de l'élève pour garder la mémoire du maître a été la publication du tome *Vasile Parvan. Correspondence et actes*, sous le soigne de Alexandru Zub. Radu Vulpe a donné au collectif qui redigeait l'oeuvre 74 lettres que Pârvan avait écrites à Marin Simionescu- Râmnicéanu et une lettre écrite à Aristide Blank.

L'excellent disciple de Pârvan écrivait, à la 50^e anniversaire de la mort du maître : « Je prends toute la liberté de donner voix au même sentiment de reconnaissance et piété et, au nom de mes collègues, les premiers représentants de son École Scientifiques, j'exprime mes hommages en quelques mots, mots que le maître avait formulé pour édifier la liaison entre les générations : « Gens nouveaux, qui fleurissent dans la grande lumière de la vie, qui tournent avec recueillement vers le terrain où reposent nos ancêtres, la force desquels eux-mêmes ont surgit, les gens nouveaux, comme les nouveaux fleurs qui surgissent de la poussière des anciens fleurs »¹³.

¹⁰ Radu Vulpe, *Vasile Pârvan-Savantul*, en Ștefan Lemny et Al. Zub, *Vasile Pârvan*, Editura Eminescu, București, 1984, p. 276.

¹¹ Radu Vulpe, *Prefața traducătorului* à *Dacia. Civilizațiile antice din țările carpato-danubiene*, Editura Științifică, București, 1967, p. 29.

¹² Al. Zub, *Pe urmele lui Vasile Pârvan...*, p. 323.

¹³ Radu Vulpe, *Vasile Pârvan-Savantul*, en Ștefan Lemny și Al. Zub, *Vasile Pârvan...*, p. 279.

THE ISSUE OF SAVING FROM DEATH THE JEWS FROM HUNGARY AND NORTHERN TRANSYLVANIA (YEAR 1944) IN 1980-1985

*Antonio FAUR**

Abstract: *The author uses scientific rigour to analyse the level of research referring to actions of saving from death the Jews from Hungary and Northern Transylvania (in the spring of 1944) by organising illegal crossings of the border to Romania. On this occasion, the focus is on the period 1980-1985, a time with more commemorations and scientific events than before. Particular stress is laid on the commemoration of 40 years since the tragic experience that the Jews underwent in 1944 (the ghetto and deportation to death camps at Auschwitz and Birkenau). The drama determined by the Holocaust was reconsidered, as well as the way in which the locals expressed their solidarity with the victims by taking the risk of guiding them over the border to Romania. The most important texts referring to this historical issue are updated in a systematic and chronological manner. They clearly show that there is an active reconsideration of humane realities whose existence has been acknowledged and supported by irrefutable documentary arguments.*

Keywords: *Jews, salvation, Hungary, Transylvania, 1944*

The issue of having saved Jews from Hungary and Northern Transylvania in the year 1944 came to the foreground in the Romanian historiography particularly in 1976. This issue reached its climax in the ninth decade of the past century due to the involvement of both internal and external factors determining a deeper concern to recover this historical aspect. The initiative belonged to Jew historians from the Yad Vashem Institute for the Study of Holocaust in Jerusalem. Romanian state institutions joined the initiative as they were interested in improving their relations with Israel.

A volume of studies published by the Yad Vashem Institute in 1980 comprised the work entitled *Jews in Northern Transylvania*¹ by Professor Béla

*University of Oradea.

¹ *Pinkas Hakehilot, Rumania*, Yad Vashem, Institutul pentru Studiul Holocaustului, vol. II, Jerusalem, 1980 (Apud *40 de ani de la masacrarea evreilor din Ardealul de Nord sub ocupația horthystă*, Federația Comunităților Evreiești din Republica Socialistă România, București, 1985, p. 23-25.

Vago. From a contemporary perspective, we have to notice the information and comments referring to placing Jews in ghettos in Sighet², Târgu Mureş³, Cluj⁴, Satu Mare⁵, Dej⁶, Bistriţa⁷ and Vişeu de Sus⁸. Certainly, the actions of saving the Jews from Northern Transylvania and Hungary, which is the object of our research, are important.

Being in close connection with local peasants, many Jews from Bistra and Budesti hid in the woods, where they were provided with food by the peasants. In Budesti (where 16 out of 20 Jews were saved, while only four of them were caught and deported), they were sheltered in the inhabitants' houses⁹. Only eight Jews were saved in Bistriţa with the help of a ranger, Gheorghe Gadinea¹⁰. In Şimleu Silvaniei, a few young Jews "scattered" in the neighbouring villages were sheltered by the inhabitants¹¹. The Ionescu brothers, classmates of the Deutsch sisters and Rachela Zipsen from Sighet, arranged for a shelter in the woods for them and their parents where only the girls stayed eventually. At the end of July, the Ionescu brothers were enlisted and the young girls had to feed on mushrooms and leftovers until they found out that their town was free on October 15, 1944¹². Certainly, it was important that they remained alive as they received the help they needed to survive at the right time.

Ranger Nicolae Ichim (from Targul Lapusului) protected the family of Samuel Dub who managed to stay alive despite all hardships¹³.

Young Helen Victor suffered a genuine adventure. She evaded from the ghetto in Dej, dressed up like a peasant and crossed the border. She went to Turda, then to Bucharest, where she was informed on what the Jews in Hungary and Northern Transylvania could expect from the Nazis. She returned to Northern Transylvania with the aim of warning her family and acquaintances about what would happen to the Jews. Yet she was caught by the patrols and put on the train to Auschwitz. She managed to escape. She then went to Dej, where the ghetto was empty. She decided to return to Romania, where she was when the war ended. We have to notice that other Jews hid in the woods around Dej and were provided with food by peasants in neighbouring villages¹⁴.

² *Ibid.*, p. 214.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 139, 214.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

The inhabitants of the village of Moisei suffered an unprecedented tragedy in the history of the place in 1940. They were on the Jews' side and offered their wagons to avoid walking 12 km with luggage and children. At the same time, the local priest hid two Jew families but he was turned in. The Hungarian patrols caught and executed them, both the Jews and the priest¹⁵. So, we can see that sometimes the saviours shared the fate of the persecuted Jews, thus becoming victims of the Hungarian authorities because they tried to save at least a few human lives meant to die.

A book making reference to these actions of human solidarity (we will mention it below, as it is the result of an important research activity) was published five years later in Bucharest. The following statement in the book drew our attention:

“Little by little, we gathered in this book a *range of gratitude* that is even more precious as *no reward has been claimed. Their gestures, from the priest to the peasant, are but one more testimony that characters honouring the notion of human being come to light and glow in hard times*”¹⁶ (underl. – A/N).

It was the same year 1980 when a collaboration¹⁷ was “initiated” between Yad Vashem and the Institute for Historical and Social-Political Studies of the C.C. (Central Committee) of the P.C.R. (Romanian Communist Party) with the aim of getting documents referring to Jews and making party historians in Bucharest become familiar with the “subject of the Holocaust”¹⁸. In the autumn of 1981, the directors of the two institutions¹⁹ signed a “collaboration agreement”²⁰.

According to the agreement, on 11-13 June 1984 was held the second Romanian – Israeli Symposium in Bucharest on the topic of the *Situation of Jews in Transylvania in the Interwar Period and during the Holocaust*²¹. One of the papers by Prof. Efraim Ofir was entitled *Actions of Saving Jews in Northern Transylvania and Hungary. 19 March – 23 August 1944*²².

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Remember: 40 de ani de la masacrarea evreilor din Ardealul de Nord...*, p. 48.

¹⁷ *Final Report*, International Commission for the Study of Holocaust in Romania, Editura Polirom, Iași, 2005, p. 353.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Aurică Simion, *Simpozion științific româno-izraelian* (București, 11-13 iunie 1984), in *Anale de istorie*, 1984, nr. 6, p. 87-94.

²⁰ The agreement was signed by Ion Popescu-Puțuri (Director of the Institute for Historical Studies...) and Yitzak Arad (President of the Directorate of the Yad Vashem Institute (*Ibid.*, p. 87).

²¹ *Ibid.* Ion Popescu-Puțuri and the scientific researchers Livia Dandara, Ion Calafeteanu and Aurică Simion participated as members of the Romanian delegation. The Israeli delegation was represented by Prof. Dr. Israel Gutman (Scientific Director of the Yad Vashem Institute), Dr. Jean Ancel (scientific researcher at the same institute) and professor Efraim Ofir (collaborator at the Institute).

²² *Ibid.*, p. 90-91.

The Zionist youth realised that the authorities were preparing an operation against the Jews (sending them to ghettos and deporting them to death camps). They were therefore seeking for means of salvation. One of the most advantageous ways was illegal crossing of the border to Romania. They envisaged reaching Romania by providing them with the opportunity of getting shelter and identity documents in the following towns: Arad, Turda, Beiuş, Timişoara, Sighişoara and others. In the opinion of the Israeli historian – who “made a pertinent analysis of elements helping Jews go to Romania in just a few months”²³-, about 6,000 – 7,000 Jews from Hungary and Transylvania were saved and reached Romania. Out of them, about 5,000 intended to go to Arad²⁴.

So this was the most widely used area by the victims of the Holocaust. The access to Arad was provided through tens of crossing points on the western border of Romania, an action both risky and complex in which the *guides* (almost all were inhabitants of Romanian border villages) and certainly the Jews from Hungary and Romania were actively involved (from Tinca, Beiuş and Arad).

The secretary of the “Habonim” Zionist Youth Organisation Arie Hirsch (Adler) confessed that he had a “frail health” to avoid being included in the “forced labour units”. He settled in Turda, where he accepted to get involved in actions of saving the Jews from abroad, from Hungary to Romania. To make sure of the success of the operation, he “resorted to the support of peasants from the villages of Feleacu and Aiton, which lie next to Turda, who had connections abroad, in order to transfer the runaway Jews to Romania”²⁵.

The situation in Turda – where there was a Zionist organisation making lobby at Romanian authorities – was risky, i.e. the runaway Jews could be transferred back to Hungary, where they were arrested and sent to ghettos. Therefore, Arie Hirsch concluded that it was necessary to resort to the help of A.D. Finkelstein and his collaborators with experience in having useful connections with local authorities. According to Efraim Ofir’s convictions, A.D. Finkelstein “understood that the operation (of saving the Jews – A/N) could not be achieved without the support of the police and the security. He called his friends members of those bodies. He explained the situation to them and that he could not ignore the fate of his brothers abroad. He also asked them for help. Although some of them were ready to help, they decided that it would be better if they knew less, while Finkelstein and his friends were to work very carefully. The aim was to avoid the news to get to other people that might complicate the situation and lead to failure of the action”²⁶.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

Professor Efraim Ofir noticed that the Jews were saved mainly due to the humane attitude of the Romanians that was not “spiteful towards the Jews”²⁷. Due to the interesting information provided by the author of the book we refer to, we can notice that he mentioned the initiative of Rezo Rosenberger who – urged by the conclusions – passed “the border illegally to Oradea Mare twice, in order to stimulate the Jews to run to Romania, thus showing that they did not run any danger”²⁸.

It is obvious that Professor Efraim Ofir knew very well the realities on which he focused, as well as prior works (such as the one by A.D. Finkelstein) and the testimonials of participants (such as Arie Hirsch) to actions in the Cluj – Turda area. He had correct opinions on saving initiatives thus contributing to “releasing again” this historical issue.

Other papers relating to the topic were presented during the symposium, such as: *Saving the Jews from Southern Transylvania under Antonescu’s Regime (autumn 1942)* (by Dr. Jean Ancel), *Horthy’s Regime in North-Western Romania. Policy Regarding non-Hungarian and non-German People* (by Dr. Aurica Simion) and *Position of Romanian Authorities Regarding the Situation of Jews in Northern Transylvania (March – August 1944)* (by Dr. Ion Calafeteanu)²⁹. In the opinion of a participant to this event, the debates “took place in a relaxed environment respecting the opinions of the reporters and the historical truth. The general tone was that of mutually completing the ideas expressed by the reporters based on documents existing in the archives in Romania or Yad Vashem”³⁰.

In the final meeting, different points of view were expressed, such as that of Prof. Dr. Israel Gutman (head of the Israeli delegation), who concluded that “the Jew issue is more complicated than it seems at a first glance. The conception of approaching the historical events in black and white is usually untrue. When the Jews went to Churchill and Roosevelt to present their tragedy, they replied that the best way would be leaving them lead the world to victory, as a victory against the Nazi Germany would be the victory of the Jews. *The representatives of the Jews replied that the victory would come, but the Jews would not live to see it. This was the tragedy of the Jews.*”³¹ (underl.-A.F.) We should also bear in mind the closing sentence of the Israeli historian: “The Jewish people will never forget that after the war, the greatest community of Jews in Europe was in Romania”³².

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 88-93.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 93-94.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 94.

This “scientific symposium” took place in a significant moment for the historical research regarding the Jews in Northern Transylvania (1940-1944) and the actions meant to save some of them by setting up the conditions to illegally cross the border to Romania.

In the summer of 1984, the Federation of Jewish Communities in Romania organised the *commemoration* of four decades since the “Jews’ massacre” in Northern Transylvania under Horthy’s occupation (June 1984)³³. Personalities from Romania and abroad were invited to participate to the event reminding of this historical tragedy, thus providing a high profile to the event (particularly in Israel and the USA). Considering that it was the first time that such an event was organised in Romania, important delegations were present, such as: Israel (“a large delegation” led by the Minister of Communications, Mordechai Zipori), the United States of America (a personal representative of the President R. Reagan, the writer and university professor Elie Wiesel, and the Executive Manager of the World Jewish Congress, Prof. Dr. Israel Singer), and Sweden (deputy Per Ahlmark, the leader of the Liberal Party and a former Vice-Prime Minister). The Prime Minister of Israel, Shimon Peres, sent a message to the participants through which he expressed his “feelings of piety towards the victims of the Holocaust, which spread its deadly arm over the Jews in Northern Transylvania in the summer of 1944”³⁴. Other diplomats in Bucharest attended the event, such as ambassadors (Zwi Brosch – Israel, David Funderbunk – USA; Jacques Simoni – Canada)³⁵.

The event “began” with a mass (on June 14, 1984) at the Coral Temple in Bucharest performed by the chief Rabi Dr. Moses Rosen. It was followed by a pilgrimage (*In memoriam*) in several Transylvanian towns (Cluj-Napoca, Sărmaş, Dej, Sighet, Satu Mare, Carei and Oradea), “where the same chief Rabi performed other sermons laying stress on the unparalleled tragedy “with noble fervour”..., the sacrifice of brothers, sisters and children sent to gas chambers... There were not 130 thousands of people in North-Western Romania, on the territory of Northern Ardeal, temporarily under the occupation of Horthy’s armies that died, it was a threat to destroy a culture that had developed throughout hundreds of years”³⁶.

It was followed by a symposium “dedicated to the memorial and analysis of the Transylvanian Holocaust and of the Romanian Jews’ situation in general”³⁷. Professor I. Bauer (head of the “Holocaust” chair at the Hebrew

³³ *Remember: 40 de ani de la masacrarea evreilor din Ardealul de Nord sub ocupația horthystă...*, p. 6.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

University in Jerusalem) and the scientific researcher Dr. J. Ancel³⁸ (Yad Vashem Institute) expressed their points of view.

The climax of the memorial was a visit to Northern Transylvania to “pay their respects” to their fellow countrymen who “went on the way of no return” in 1944³⁹. The first stop was at Cluj where – in the Temple of the Deported – the “genocide in “Northern Transylvania” was condemned by Dr. Mordechai Zipori, Elie Wiesel, Bishop Paul Szendressy and Dr. Virgil Campeanu (President of the Local Committee for Defence of Peace). A sensitive moment happened at Sighet, where Elie Wiesel uttered the following warning: “Fanaticism leads to anti-Semitism, and anti-Semitism is a danger not only for the Hebrew people. Anti-Semitism is a danger for the country where it exists, for the culture originating it and for the society preserving it. We mean that it is better not to hate somebody but to collaborate with them; that on behalf of all this suffering we can claim everything from humankind, even some justice”⁴⁰.

The pilgrimage ended in Oradea, in the presence of 1,000 people, most of them Jews. Bishop Dr. Vasile Coman had a memorable speech⁴¹ of which we quote the following:

“There are facts and events in history that cannot be forgotten, that can reveal either the dignity or the decadence of a human being to the chasms of barbarism.

The holocaust whose victims were the Hebrew people in Northern Transylvania is a powerful testimony of the madness seizing Fascist and Horthyist authorities when sentencing to death innocent people, children, women and old people.

We appreciate the commemoration of the Jew martyrs 40 years ago as a natural and humane act”⁴².

The scientific and commemorative events in the summer of 1984 turned into an important landmark in the historiographic reconsideration of the way in which the “final solution” was enforced on Jews in Northern Transylvania, a territory belonging to Horthy’s Hungary after the Vienna Dictate (1940). When the tragic fate of the holocaust victims was brought to the foreground in several Northern Transylvanian settlements, there were speeches of gratitude for those

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 3 (Summary). The attitude of chief Rabi of Romania, Moses Rosen, is criticised in the *Final Report*. In our opinion, the ecclesiastic leader of the Jews in Romania could not be “attracted” by the political authorities in Bucharest to an “anti-Hungarian nationalist” campaign. Naturally, Moses Rosen was mainly concerned with the tragic fate of the Jews in Northern Transylvania and in the country. The political context only permitted that in 1984-1985, which the chief Rabi did with explainable stress.

who risked their lives to contribute to saving some Jews either by sheltering them, or by helping them cross the border to Romania.

In 1985, the chief Rabi Moses Rosen was concerned with editing a volume, otherwise *the first volume in Romanian*, mentioning the events organised to commemorate four decades since the “massacre against the Jews in Northern Transylvania” (under Horthy’s occupation). It also comprised several chapters on the attitude of the Hungarian authorities that enforced the so-called “final solution” “with maximum emergency... and savageness” materialised in a fast gathering of Jews in ghettos (where they experienced “the meeting with loot, toil and organised human misery”) and their deportation to camps in Auschwitz-Birkenau. A chapter of the volume is significantly entitled: “*They not only tried to destroy a population, but a whole culture*”⁴³. Naturally, the final part of the book included a chapter in which we are particularly interested since it belongs to the humanitarian element of the issue.

The same year, Ion Calafeteanu’s work was published. It was entitled *Poziția autorităților românești față de situația evreilor din Transilvania de Nord (martie-august 1944)*⁴⁴ (Position of Romanian Authorities Regarding the Situation of the Jews in Northern Transylvania (March-August 1944)). It was based on documents in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (most of them brand new) and made a great contribution to knowing the way in which the Romanian Government reacted to the issue mentioned in the title of the work. As Ion Calafeteanu pointed out: “The special interest of the Romanian authorities regarding the situation of Jews in Horthyst Hungary can be better understood if we connect it to the Romanian – Hungarian relations at the time, if we consider that the anti-Semite policy of the Horthyst Government hit the Jew population in Northern Romania, a territory taken away by the Vienna Dictate..., a Romanian territory that the Romanian Government could not avoid being concerned with”⁴⁵. As a matter of fact, a memo of the Romanian special intelligence service read that “the crossing of Jew refugees from Hungary to Romania has been highly supported so far”⁴⁶ by both the Romanian inhabitants and local authorities.

We have to mention that the same year at least two historiographic sources were published. First, there was a reply (published by Oliver Lustig in *România literară*⁴⁷) to the remarks made by a foreign author to the book entitled *Dicționar de lagăr*⁴⁸ (*Camp Dictionary*), published by Editura Dacia,

⁴³ *Remember*, p. 44-50.

⁴⁴ See *Anale de istorie*, 1985, no. 1, p. 102-111.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁴⁷ Oliver Lustig, *Excepție ?...Da, a fost excepție!*, in *România literară*, 1985, no. 45, p. 8.

⁴⁸ The first edition was published in 1982 (see Oliver Lustig, *Dicționar de lagăr*, Editura Cartea Românească, București, 1982). The book explains for the first time *phrases* used in the death camps at Auschwitz-Birkenau that have remained in the memory of the victims.

Cluj-Napoca, in 5000 copies (in Hungarian). In his intervention⁴⁹, E. Féher Pál did not agree to the following fragment in Lustig's book: "And Himmler, helped by Eichmann, the whole SS and the Gestapo made sure that the whole Europe, from West to East and from North to South – France and Belgium, the Netherlands and Greece, Czechoslovakia and Poland, Norway and Italy – were impeccably rummaged. Still, there was an exception: Horthyst Hungary. It was not rummaged. Here, the Gestapo did not have to hunt the Jews or waste their time arresting them and rummaging towns and villages as it happened in other countries. The Horthysts, the police and the guards, gathered the Jews one by one according to the records of the police and put them... in transition ghettos, then embarked them on cattle coaches handing them over to the SS at the northern border of the country. The train coaches were not unlocked and the engine did not change all the way. Only the Horthyst policemen were replaced by SS members and the train went on to Birkenau-Auschwitz"⁵⁰.

A counterargument to E. Féher Pál's assertions is an illuminating quotation from a document elaborated in Budapest (June 19, 1944) that circulated in all official and informal groups in Switzerland: "... all Jews in Hungary are sentenced to death. There is no escape, there is no place to hide; we are awaiting our destiny. There is no possibility to take refuge in a neighbouring country. The only country we could consider is Romania, yet the Hungarians are carefully guarding the Hungarian – Romanian border, so that crossing is almost impossible"⁵¹. These were the convictions of the authors of the document from which we have extracted the terrible words above. It warned the states of the world that the Jews in Hungary had been gathered within an iron circle and they could only escape to Romania with great difficulty. We have to mention that recently documents have been discovered in the Romanian archives⁵² attesting the illegal crossing of thousands of Jews from Hungary to Romania in the summer of 1944.

Oliver Lustig's reply to the manner in which one of his contemporaries in Budapest understood to show certain historical aspects of the Holocaust in Hungary may be considered an initial polemic act opening a whole series of contradictions on the topic mainly due to certain leaders on both sides (Romanian and Hungarian). The polemic has lasted to this day and therefore we can say that we deal with an important yet controversial historical reality.

⁴⁹ E. Fehér Pál's text was published in the Budapest periodical *Nepszabadság* (a paper belonging to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party expressing the official point of view of the state power in Hungary) on 10 July 1985.

⁵⁰ Oliver Lustig, *Excepție ?...*, p. 8.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* (Apud *Vádirat a náciizmus ellen*, Budapest, 1958, vol. II, p. 253.

⁵² Antonio Faur, *România – poartă deschisă pentru salvarea evreilor (aprilie-august 1944) din Ungaria și Transilvania de Nord. Contribuții documentare*, Editura Universității din Oradea, 2010, p. 55-403.

A book published the same year entitled *Teroarea horthysto-fascistă în nord-vestul României (septembrie 1940-octombrie 1944)*⁵³ (*Horthyst – Fascist Terror in North-Western Romania (September 1940 – October 1944)*), comprised some pages⁵⁴ (pp 251-279) on the tragedy of the Jews in Northern Transylvania. In the first lines at the beginning of the chapter, we can find the statements belonging to the American historian (of Hebrew origin) R.L. Braham as published in a book edited in 1983. In his opinion, the Jews in the area were “exterminated with an unprecedented speed through the toughest deportation and the most unmerciful programme of massacre during the war”⁵⁵.

We have to notice in the book on the Horthyst terror some items of information less considered, such as the article in the newspaper *Ellenzek* (dated May 4, 1944) significantly entitled: *Jews in Oradea tried to run to Romania*⁵⁶. We also have to investigate a statement that might be an important historiographic source if it is confirmed: “Until June 20, 1944, *only in Oradea 960 people were sued* (fined or sentenced to prison) *for the crime of supporting the Jewish population*”⁵⁷ (underl.-A.F.). Consequently, other forms of human solidarity may be identified.

Referring to the “days when the Jews were sent to ghettos or were deported to Hitlerian extermination camps”, the author of the part dedicated to the Jews in the abovementioned book noticed that there were “acts of mutual support, salvation, hiding, shelter, border crossing of several Jews”⁵⁸ (children, women, men), thus saving them from imminent death in the Nazi death camps. Most of them were highly humane actions of the Romanians who expressed their solidarity and offered their support, facing the Horthyst police and patrols”⁵⁹.

⁵³ [Editura Politică], București, 1985, (coordinators: Mihai Fătu and Mircea Mușat). One of the chapter authors was Oliver Lustig. The chapters dedicated to Jews are probably published due to him.

⁵⁴ Undoubtedly, images referring to Jews and their synagogues as shown in the book are expressive (see: p. 255, 256, 260, 261, 262, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271).

⁵⁵ Randolph L. Braham, *Genocide and Reward*, Boston-Haga-Dordrecht-Lancaster, 1983, p. 691. The same author published an annotated bibliography on the Holocaust in Hungary: *Perspectives on the Holocaust. The Hungarian Jewish Catastrophe. A selected and Annotated Bibliography*, Institute for Holocaust Studies, City University of New York, New York, 1984.

⁵⁶ Apud *Teroarea horthystă...*, p. 254.

⁵⁷ National Archives – Bihor County Office, *fund Primăria Municipiului Oradea*, file 419/1944, f. 1911 *Ellenzek* (on 21 June 1944), *Teroarea horthystă...*, p. 269.

⁵⁸ See examples at p. 268-269 and 272-278 (*Ibid.*).

⁵⁹ *Teroarea horthystă...*, p. 268. The *Final Report* of the International Commission for the Study of Holocaust (p. 351) comprises surprising statements, such as: the anti-Semite policy of the Horthyst Hungary is approached carefully” (in the book on *The Horthyst Terror*), or: “Hungary’s participation to the Holocaust is broadly analysed” (*Ibid*), which is not true. A more accurate assessment on the Holocaust can be made from the perspective of the works published in 1985-2010. They have largely broadened the area, so that we can now state that the work on *The Horthyst Terror* (mainly focused on the suffering of the Romanian inhabitants in Northern

After a silence imposed for 40 years, a time when too few truths on Holocaust and on the actions meant to save the Jews (such as the ones by Mihai Marina and Bela Katona in 1976) “could break through”, there was a major impact and a growing scientific and media concern with this issue. Consequently, we can consider that the events we have referred to “opened” a consistent chapter in the historiography of the issue that cannot be ignored. Hebrew scientists and politicians from Romania and abroad largely contributed to its configuration. Their participation to such events in the Romanian public life accredited the idea that the time came to reveal the truth on the victims of Holocaust (in 1940-1944), particularly in Northern Transylvania, as well as on the actions meant to save from death some of them by helping them to illegally cross the border to Romania.

Transylvania during the four years of Horthyst occupation on this territory) has *brief* remarks on the issue based on previous texts (signed by Béla Katona, Mihai Marina, Abraham Iacob and R.L. Braham) and on documents (see p. 273).

SYNTEZIS OPERA OF THE ARCHAEOLOGIST ISTVÁN FERENCZI

*Laura ARDELEAN**

Abstract: *Related to the spirit of those times, Ștefan Ferenczi, together with other two archaeologists, published in 1989 a volume dedicated to the Dacian fortresses and settlements in the South-Western Transylvania. His contribution to it was very important, being based on his field observations (geological, geomorphological, geographical, archaeological, ethnographic, historical) collected by himself.*

Keywords: *Ștefan Ferenczi, archaeological monographs, Dacian Fortresses, Sarmizegetusa Regia, defensive system*

In the ninth decade of the last century, it was decided to be published a series of archaeological monographs of Dacian objectives from Orăștie Mountains, under the aegis of the Romanian Academy, Institute of History and Archaeology of Cluj, with the following content:

Vol. I: *Cadrul geografic și geologic, Istoricul cercetărilor și Repertoriul antichităților dacice și romane din Munții Șureanului; Bibliografie selectivă (The Geographical and Geological View, The History of Research and The Repertoire of the Dacian and Roman Antiquities from Șureanu Mountains; Selective Bibliography);*

Vol. II: *Cetatea și așezarea de la Costești (The Fortress and the Settlement from Costești);*

Vol. III: *Cetatea dacică de la Costești-Blidaru (The Dacian Fortress from Costești-Blidaru);*

Vol. IV: *Sarmizegetusa Regia;*

Vol. V: *Cetatea de la Luncani-Piatra Roșie și fortificațiile de la Cioclovina-Ponorici (The Fortress from Luncani-Piatra Roșie and the Fortifications from Cioclovina-Ponorici);*

Vol. VI: *Așezările civile dacice din zona Sarmizegetusei (The Dacian Civil Settlements from the Region of Sarmizegetusa);*

Vol. VII: *Fortificațiile romane din Munții Șureanului (The Roman Fortification from Șureanu Mountains) and*

Vol. VIII: *Istoria statului dac cu centrul în Munții Șureanului (The History of the Dacian State with its Centre in Șureanu Mountains)¹.*

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Romanian historiography, in this case specialists in archaeology from Romania had published in the second half of the 20th century *monographs* from several Romanian historical provinces: *Cetatea dacică de la Piatra Roșie*² (The Dacian Fortress from *Piatra Roșie*) (1954), *Sarmizegetusa*³ (1942), *Cetățile dacice din sudul Transilvaniei*⁴ (*The Dacian Fortresses in Southern Transylvania*) (1966), *Cetățile dacice din Moldova*⁵ (*The Dacian Fortresses from Moldova*) (1969), *Așezări getice din Muntenia*⁶ (*The Getic Settlements from Muntenia*) (1966), *Ziridava*⁷ (1978), *Căpâlna*⁸ (1989), *Tilișca*⁹ (1989), *Cetatea dacică de la Marca*¹⁰ (*The Dacian Fortress from Marca*) (1974), *Așezarea dacică de la Arpașu de Sus*¹¹ (*The Dacian Settlement from Arpașu de Sus*) (1976), *Buridava dacică*¹² (*The Dacian Buridava*) (1981), *Dava de la Sprâncenata*¹³ (*The Dava from Sprâncenata*) (1986), *Zargidava. Cetatea dacică de la Brad*¹⁴ (*Zargidava. The Dacian Fortress from Brad*) (1995). We can notice that the scientists were interested to publish archaeological monographs dedicated to the Dacian fortresses from the period of Burebista-Decebal kings from across the Romanian provinces: Transylvania, Muntenia, Oltenia, Moldova, Crișana and Banat, so from a large area.

In 1989, the first volume of the above mentioned series of monographs related to the fortresses from Meridional Carpathians were published with the

¹ Acad. Ștefan Pascu, Director of the Institute of History and Archaeology, the director of Chair of History from the University of Cluj-Napoca, *Cuvânt introductiv (Foreword)*, in H. Daicoviciu, Șt. Ferenczi, I. Glodariu, *Cetăți și așezări dacice în sud-vestul Transilvaniei (Dacian Fortresses and Settlements in the South-Western Transylvania)*, Cluj-Napoca, 1989, p. 8.

² C. Daicoviciu, *Cetatea dacică de la Piatra Roșie (The Dacian Fortress from Piatra Roșie)*, București, 1954.

³ C. Daicoviciu, H. Daicoviciu, *Sarmizegetusa. Cetățile și așezările dacice din Munții Orăștiei (Sarmizegetusa. The Dacian Fortresses and Settlements from Orăștie Mountains)*, București, 1962.

⁴ M. Macrea, Oct. Floca, N. Lupu, I. Berciu, *Cetățile dacice din sudul Transilvaniei, I (The Dacian Fortresses from the South of Transylvania)*, București, 1966.

⁵ N. Gostar, *Cetățile dacice din Moldova (The Dacian Fortresses from Moldavia)*, București, 1969.

⁶ R. Vulpe, *Așezări getice din Muntenia (Getic Settlements from Muntenia)*, București, 1966

⁷ I. H. Crișan, *Ziridava*, Arad, 1978.

⁸ I. Glodariu, V. Moga, *Căpâlna*, București, 1989.

⁹ N. Lupu, *Tilișca. Așezările arheologice de pe Cătânaș (Tilișca. Archaeological Settlements from Cătânaș)*, București, 1989.

¹⁰ S. Dumitrașcu, V. Lucăcel, *Cetatea dacică de la Marca (The Dacian Fortress from Marca)*, Cluj, 1974.

¹¹ M. Macrea, I. Glodariu, *Așezarea dacică de la Arpașu de Sus (The Dacian Settlement from Arpașu de Sus)*, București, 1976.

¹² D. Berciu, *Buridava dacică (Dacian Buridava)*, București, 1981.

¹³ C. Preda, *Geto-dacii din bazinul inferior al Oltului. Dava de la Sprâncenata (The Geto-Dacians from the Lower Basin of Olt River. The Dava from Sprâncenata)*, București, 1986.

¹⁴ V. Ursachi, *Zargidava. Cetatea dacică de la Brad (Zargidava. The Dacian Fortress from Brad)*, București, 1995.

title of *Cetăți și așezări dacice în sud-vestul Transilvaniei, I (Dacian Fortresses and Settlements in South-Western Transylvania)*, written by Hadrian Daicoviciu, Ștefan Ferenczi and Ioan Glodariu. This first volume has the following structure:

Chapter I: Cadrul geologic și geografic (Geological and Geographical View), p. 17-86 written by Șt. Ferenczi;

Chapter II: Istoricul cercetărilor (The History of Researches), with the following subchapters:

1. *Primele știri referitoare la cetățile dacice (The First News Regarding the Dacian Fortresses)* written by Șt. Ferenczi (p. 21-124);
2. *Descoperirea tezaurului și urmările ei (The Discovery of the Treasure and its Consequences)* written by Șt. Ferenczi (p. 124-132);
3. *Cercetările dintre 1806-1914 (The Researches between 1806-1914)*, written by Șt. Ferenczi (p. 132-137);
4. *Cercetările dintre 1921 și 1944 (The Researches between 1921-1944)*, written by Șt. Ferenczi (p. 137-149);
5. *Cercetările dintre 1949 și 1984 (The Researches between 1949-1984)*, written by Hadrian Daicoviciu and Ioan Glodariu (p. 149-174);

Chapter III: Repertoriul antichităților dacice și romane din Munții Șureanului (The Repertoire of the Dacian and Roman Antiquities from Șureanu Mountains), with the subchapters:

Areal I. Valea Apei Grădiștii (The Valley of Grădiște River), written by H. Daicoviciu and I. Glodariu (p.175-195);

Areal II. Teritoriul de la vest de Apa Grădiștii (The Territory from the Western Part of Grădiște River), written by Șt. Ferenczi (p. 195-205);

Areal III. Teritoriul de la est de Apa Grădiștii (The Territory from the Eastern Part of Grădiște River), written by H. Daicoviciu and I. Glodariu (p. 205-211);

Areal IV. Teritoriul de la sud de Apa Grădiștii (The Territory from the Southern Part of Grădiște River), written by Șt. Ferenczi (p. 211-217);

Areal V. Regiunea estică a Munților Șureanului și regiunea nordică a Munților Cibinului (The Eastern Region of Șureanu Mountains and the Northern Region of Cibin Mountains), written by H. Daicoviciu and I. Glodariu (p. 224-228), and

Încheiere (Conclusions), chapter written by I. Glodariu (228-263).

Knowing the mountains which were wandered since his childhood, perhaps like no other among archaeologists, being familiar with the geological and geographical researches due to his father, the archaeologist Sándor Ferenczi, and also to his uncle, the geologist István Ferenczi, Ștefan Ferenczi

gives us the key to understanding the historical phenomena that occurred in ancient Dacia in the subchapter entitled *Bazele geologico-geografice ale formării puterii centrale dacice în aripa de nord-vest a Munților Șureanu*¹⁵ (*Fundamentals of Geological and Geographical Founding of the Dacian Central Power in the Northwestern Part of Șureanu Mountains*). We also can outline the discoveries of some metallurgical workshops. His researches complete and explain other researchers works as I. Glodariu's¹⁶, E. Iaroslavschi's¹⁷ and V. Wollmann's¹⁸ and even his researches regarding this aspect of Dacian civilization. Sarmizegetusa Regia was characterized by E. Iaroslavschi¹⁹ as an important metallurgical center in Antiquity. A significant contribution to the researches regarding this important aspect of the Dacian civilization was brought by István Ferenczi²⁰.

„In conclusion we can say that Șureanu Mountains have several underground riches which are all geological factors able to have an important role in the process of founding the centre of Dacian power between 1st century B.C.- 1st century A.D. specifically in the Northwestern Transylvania”²¹.

In the *Problema amplasării cetăților dacice din Munții Sebeșului* (*Positioning Problem of the Dacian Fortresses from Sebeș Mountains*), it is stated: „According to our knowledge about the Dacian fortresses complex from Șureanu Mountains it is clearly revealed that the all gateways to the great fortress from Grădiștea Muncelului were strucked by some serious natural

¹⁵ H. Daicoviciu, Șt. Ferenczi, I. Glodariu, *op.cit.*, p. 17: *natural conditions*.

¹⁶ I. Glodariu, *Un atelier de făurărie la Sarmizegetusa dacică (A Metallurgical Workshop from Dacian Sarmizegetusa)*, in *ActaMN*, XII, 1975, p. 107-134.

¹⁷ I. Glodariu, E. Iaroslavschi, *Civilizația fierului la daci (Dacian Iron Civilization)*, Cluj-Napoca, 1979, 1979.

¹⁸ V. Wollmann, *Minele, salinile și carierele de piatră în Dacia romană (Mines, Salt Mines and Quarries in Roman Dacia)*, PhD Thesis, Cluj-Napoca, 1983; cf. Idem, *Mineritul metalifer, extragerea sării și carierele de piatră în Dacia romană (Metalliferous Mining, Salt Mining and Quarries in Roman Dacia)*, Cluj-Napoca, 1996, p. 11-15.

¹⁹ <http://www.Revistaclipa.com/375/201005>.

²⁰ I. Ferenczi, *Premisele naturale ale metalurgiei fierului în Munții Orăștiei (Natural Premises of Iron Metallurgy in Orăștie Mountains)*, in *StCom Caransebeș*, II, 1977, p. 299-309; Idem, *Importanța unor metale neferoase și a unor minerale în procesul de formare a puterii dacice din Munții Sebeșului (The Importance of non-Ferrous Metals and Certain Minerals in the Founding of Dacian Power in Sebeș Mountains)*, in *Sargetia*, XIV, 1979, p. 93-101; Idem, *Die Voraussetzungen für die Verarbeitung des Eisens im Gebirge südlich von Orăștie*, in *Dacia*, NS, XXIV, 1980, p. 151-156; cf. Idem, *Contribuții la soluționarea problemei formării orașului la daci (Contributions to Solving the Problem of the Dacian Urban Development)*, in *Studii dacice*, Cluj-Napoca, 1981, p. 48-64; Idem, *Contribuții la problema formării așezărilor cu caracter protourban la daci (cu privire specială la Sarmizegetusa to Basileion) (Contributions to the Problem of the Founding of Protourban Dacian Settlements (especially to Sarmizegetusa to Basileion))*, in *Apulum*, XXV, 1988, p. 127-159 (I); XXVI, 1989 p. 99-134 (II).

²¹ H. Daicoviciu, Șt. Ferenczi, I. Glodariu, *op.cit.*, p. 50.

obstacles. From south and south-east, the high peaks, practically unapproachable for an army, certainly provided enough safety to the settlement behind them... These conditions were missing in the case of Poiana Ruscă Mountains. Therefore, probably, Burebista preferred to found his residence, defended by the imperfect circle of the fortifications, at the foot of Godeanu Mountain, in a hidden location, protected, and not somewhere in the surroundings of the Poiana Ruscă Mountains' highest peak"²².

According to his opinion (in *Observații geomorfologice privind așezarea naturală a complexului cetăților dacice de pe Platforma Luncanilor - Geomorphological Observations Regarding to the Natural Settlement of the Dacian Fortresses Complex from Luncani Platform*), the previous researches made by D. M. Teodorescu²³ and C. Daicoviciu²⁴, these geomorphological „original” land conditions „imposed” the placement of the Central settlement from Grădiștea Muncelului, „relied on empirical geographic knowledge connected with an extensive land configuration experience and climatic conditions”²⁵.

The following two subchapters: *Dispunerea așezărilor în funcție de formele de relief (The Placement of the Settlements Based on Landforms)* and *Drumurile de acces posibile peste grupul central al Carpaților Meridionali în epoca dacică (Possible Access Roads over the Central Group of Meridional Carpathians in Dacian Period)* are conceived by the specialist who was familiarized even from childhood with these aspects of the Dacian objectives, joined by the geomorphological and geographical knowledge of the land and the climate of the „Hunedoara” Carpathians. He knew every height, every valley and all access roads to the Dacian fortresses and settlements: „Dacian settlements, especially on the heights, apparently in correspondence with some statements of ancient authors, but not necessarily leading to the conclusion that the Dacians did not use the natural floodplains and terraces along Mureș corridor, its affluents valleys from the Strei-Cerna (Hunedoara) Depression or from the Hațeg Basin. The numerous agricultural tools, the characteristic

²² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

²³ D. M. Teodorescu, M. Roska, *Cercetări arheologice în Munții Hunedoarei (Archaeological Researches in Hunedoara Mountains)*, Cluj, 1923, p. 3, 23-24.

²⁴ C. Daicoviciu, *Dacica. Studii și articole privind istoria veche a pământului românesc (Dacica. Studies and Articles about the Ancient History of the Romanian Land)*, in seria Bibliotheca Musei Napocensis, I, Cluj, 1969, p. 28, specified the followings: „Regarding the way of the fortresses and the fortifications placement it is shown without any doubts that their role was to defend and protect a *central point*, a major settlement like the Great Fortress of Grădiștea Muncelului [...]. We are convinced in suposing that in the fortified settlement it must be identified the famous Ptolemeus' Sarmizegetusa to basileion from Grădiștea Muncelului, as well as the Strabo's sacred mountain, the Kogaionon, therefore the political and religious center of the Dacian rule.”

²⁵ H. Daicoviciu, Șt. Ferenczi, I. Glodariu, *op.cit.*, p. 73-77.

conical handmills, the grain reservoirs and so on, undoubtedly prove that the Dacian population farmed the land”²⁶.

The placement on the field of the Dacian fortresses (including the sacred constructions-sanctuaries) shows, according to I. Ferenczi, ”the grandeur of the complex from Lunca Platform, equivalent by material (technical and economic) and spiritual point of view with the political grandeur of the statal formations led by Burebista and his followers to Decebal”²⁷.

We may state that István Ferenczi knew from his family not only the entire scientific literature dedicated to the researches from Sebeş Mountains, but sometimes he participated together with his father and other archaeologists even to the excavations from Grădiştea, Costeşti or he restored the walls of Blidaru fortress (see the historical researches up to 1944), as well as he knew *Repertoire* of the Dacian and Roman discoveries from the mountains, some made by himself.

All these consequent researches, the richness of the information (geological, geomorphological, geographical, archaeological, ethnographic, historical) are included in this volume, a sum of his investigations regarding the Dacians from the of Burebista-Decebal kings period.

We conclude by adding that the volume is remarkable and it remains a *sui generis* synthesis of the researches made in the mountains, it is also a tribute not only to his predecessors, but to his younger colleague who was for a period the leader of the excavations from Grădiştea Muncelului, Hadrian Daicoviciu, passed away during the ninth decade of the 20th century.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

POST-REVOLUTIONARY HISTORIOGRAPHY CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE ROMANIAN INTERWAR CULTURAL ASOCIONALISM IN BIHOR COUNTY

*Radu ROMÎNAȘU**

Abstract: *All the historiographical approaches of the issues set out after 1989 tried to unravel the cultural propaganda purposes, its motivations, the interaction with the economic, social and interwar political factors, to identify the institutions that organized and promoted the cultural act for the civil society.*

There is a lot of toil in this historiography posted. That happens because the European historiography has to be exploiting to the most. This comes with a new vision and interpretation, re-coursing to a new method. The method is that of bringing to the fore the era mentality, the impact of the cultural act in the civil society, calling on the simple citizen to the stage of the cultural history, his integration in national, regional and European context, the exploration of the tangents with the neighbors, the identification of the ways. All these are made - through a fair and correct reporting to the history of the cultural life in the past - making possible the “close” between people and institutions. All these are sufficient grounds, and they are not the only, highlighting the need for further historical investigation on the phenomenon of the interwar cultural association on another plan, one that exceeds the positivist stage, but does not abandon, but fits it harmoniously and scientifically in the new modern visions of the current historiographical discourse.

Keywords: *historiography, culture, association, interwar, Bihor County*

All the Romanian historians who have studied the interwar period came to a unanimous conclusion: the time between the two world wars is one of the landmark moments for the Romanian culture and spirituality, a time full of intellectual ferment that we can hardly find in the history of the Romanian culture. If you give up any formula cliché, to the inherent idealization of any appreciation of the local cultural space, we will see that the period between the two world wars was, indeed, an important first step in the act of the critical exercising of a culture that tended to a clear performance. This statement is

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tried by an entire intellectual elite, but also by the existence of many cultural associations and meetings set up in the entire Romania, that have succeeded to reconfigure a profile, unique in its own way, of the Romanian intellectual space by its connecting to the stream of the European tradition and beyond.

In the interwar period, we are dealing with a turbulent history, lively and unpredictable. We are immediately after the “great war”, following, which, the old continent away empires, some nation states are round, and some new ones appear. The political regimes fall into a diverse spectre, ranging from democracy to totalitarianism. The social and ethnic conflicts are numerous; the alliances are generous, but often ineffective.

In this space and chronological arc, we also net the Romanian interwar world, as complex and contradictory, dominated by searches, confrontations and reorientations in cultural, political and economic plan, in the conditions created by the historic act of December 1, 1918.

Throughout the ages, the Romanian nation was faced with major choices that have depended on its further development in all aspects and established relations with Europe. The fundamental question of the time, “Which way we should evolve?” was explained and commented throughout the completely temporal gap between 1919 and 1940. The answers listed were different; they materialized into currents and trends that offered multiple solutions, in resonance with the mentality, personality and creativity of those employed in the great debate initiated by the two systems of thought and perception of reality: traditionalist and Europeanist.

During the period that is subject of our attention, the Romanian state has conducted an extensive action of promotion of the cultural act at the level of the whole country. They awarded the idea that without a modern and open culture to new there is the risk of perpetuating an isolated and sterile environment in relation to the circuit of the European spiritual and universal values, waiting for dynamism, quality and competitiveness.

The Romanian interwar cultural associations issue has captured the interest of entire generations of historians. Moreover, the process was approached in multiple views. Therefore, a complex historiography has resulted that is based on the plurality of the problems identified and discussed.

In this case, we intend to present the main post-revolutionary local historiographical contributions that have addressed the issue stated in the title of this study.

The objective of our investigation was to research the books, studies and articles published after 1989 about the cultural life of the Romanians in Bihor County held between the two world wars. This begins by analyzing the writings of the historians Viorel Faur¹ and Ion Zainea², from the University of Oradea,

¹ Viorel Faur, *Contribuții la istoricul bibliotecilor românești din Crișana (1830-1940)*, Cultural Foundation Publishing House “Cele Trei Crișuri”, Oradea, 1995, 164 p. ; Idem, *Marea*

with the research carried out by Lucia Cornea³, a former curator at the “Țării Crișurilor” Museum in the locality. The works of those mentioned above seem to us the most consistent, taking into account the issue already mentioned. They have noted that they had presented the internal laboratory of creation of some cultural meetings in Bihor County (The Great Cultural Meeting “Cele Trei Crișuri”, The Meeting of Songs “Hilaria”, The Theatrical Association “Vestul Românesc”, the branches in Bihor County of “Astra”) showing how they marked, peremptory, the Romanian culture in Bihor County. They also wrote about the attempts to transfer the intellectual issue among people. Consequently, the cultural and artistic programs of the associations were considered, the public lectures supported by an entire intellectual elite, which endorsed the reinstatement in a critical discussion of all cultural and spiritual issues that troubled the interwar Romanian world. Thus, the cultural associations mentioned alongside those of the Romanian women, of the teachers, many Orthodox and Greek Catholic religious meetings were able to introduce to the public circuit the intellectual debate, even academic, making it understandable. It was not about any emphasis, but about a modesty of some strong characters who wanted to popularize the cultural act, to take it out from a state of ossification, to fertilize and to revive it through a direct contact with an audience eager for knowledge. From this perspective, we believe that the future historiographical approaches should insist more on the public interwar attitude,

Reuniune “Cele Trei Crișuri”, in *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 1990, no. 2, p. 3; Idem, *Noi corespondențe ale bihorenilor cu N. Iorga*, in *Bihorul*, 1990, no. 11, p. 7; Idem, *Nicolae Iorga și bihorenii*, in *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 1990, no. 4-5, p. 11; Viorel Faur, Radu Romînașu, *Statutele asociațiilor culturale românești din Oradea și Bihor (1849-1933)*, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2007, p. 86-135.

² Ion Zainea, *Aurel Lazăr (1872-1930) viața și activitatea*, Cluj University Press Publishing House, 1999, 394 p.; Idem, *Dr. Aurel Lazăr și “Cele Trei Crișuri”*, in *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 1996, no. 1-2, p. 4; Idem, *Un străjer cultural al României întregite - Reuniunea “Cele Trei Crișuri”*, in *Munții Apuseni*, 1996, no. 2. p. 41-46; Idem, *Societatea “Vestul Românesc” și preocupările privind înființarea unui teatru românesc în Oradea*, in *Aletheia*, 1999, no. 10, p. 249-252.

³ Lucia Cornea, *Repertoriul cărții românești editat în Bihor în perioada interbelică*, in *Crisia*, 1990, p. 249-335; Idem, *Aspecte ale activității „Astrei” bihorene în perioada interbelică. Activitatea despărțămintelor (I)*, in *Ibid.*, 1991, p. 165-188; Idem, *Adunarea generală de la Oradea a „Astrei”*, in *Analele Universității Oradea*, 1991, History Fascicle, p. 88-96; Idem, *Aspecte ale activității „Astrei” bihorene în perioada interbelică. Activitatea despărțămintelor (II)*, in *Crisia*, 1992, p. 211-236; Idem, *Considerații privind asociaționismul cultural interbelic în Bihor*, in *Ibid.*, 1993, p. 143-155; Idem, *Principalele direcții de activitate ale Astrei bihorene în perioada interbelică*, in *Ibid.*, 1994, p. 145-205; Idem, *Continuitate și restructurare în istoria culturală a Oradei interbelice*, in *Familia*, 1998, no. 4, p. 65-69; Idem, *Acțiuni specifice ale „Astrei” în plasele Beiuș și Vașcău (1919-1940)*, in *Munții Apuseni*, 2002, no. 1-4, p. 39-42; Idem, *Dispariția asociațiilor culturale în epoca stalinistă. Studiu de caz - Dispariția “Astrei” bihorene*, in *Crisia*, 2000, p. 519-531; Idem, *Contribuții la o istorie a orașului Salonta în perioada interbelică. 1919-1945*, Publishing House of the Museum of Țării Crișurilor, Oradea, 2005, 240 p.

which was assisting a real spectacle of ideas. Everything was remarkably and smooth combined with the idea of culture, which was not a mere abstract concept or an operational concept, but a value assumed consciously by an entire generation engaged in the process of nation and spiritual re-building.

An addition of the analyzed writings also results from the attempts to detect the major joints of cultural associations in Bihor County, a less known aspect by the cultural history, which the authors were able to bring to light to us for a thorough knowledge of the local interwar intellectual history.

The research was a methodical one, done with great accuracy, the text itself having a certain scientific value, through the consistency of the archival material and of information from the press of time, all of them recovered in an accessible form both for a specialist in the field, and for the common reader.

The list of these authors continues with the names of Titus L. Roșu and Gavril Hădăreanu⁴ (both have developed syntheses about “Țara Beiușului”). Here they have allocated spaces for the presentation of the interwar association’s phenomenon, the latest being also the signing of the chapters on the cultural interwar life that pulsed in the town of Beiuș with some gaps and omissions in the documentation and presentation of the cultural and religious activity of some Orthodox religious associations and meetings, such as “Oastea Domnului” - Beiuș Subsidiary, the Association “Sfântul Gheorghe”, the Association *Andrei Șaguna of the Romanian Orthodox Metropolitan clergy in Transylvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș* - the local branch, etc., inserted in the 2nd volume of the latest synthesis devoted to Beiuș town, then following Liviu Borcea and Gheorghe Gorun⁵, the coordinators of the synthesis paper *The History of Oradea City*, a monograph published in Oradea in 1995, with a second edition, revised and enlarged in 2007, where are also reviewed the main local interwar cultural associations, Stelian Vasilescu, Nae Antonescu and Mircea Gh. Popa⁶ (contributions to some aspects on the interethnic cultural collaboration), Elisabeta Pop, Dumitru Chirilă and Lucian Drimba, Cornel Crăciun⁷, (with studies dedicated to the interwar Romanian theatrical life in

⁴ Titus L. Roșu, *Beiușul, centru politic de cultură românească*, Oradea, 1993, p. 288-297; Gavril Hădăreanu, *Torțe arzânde în Țara Beiușului*, Buna Vestire Publishing House, Beiuș, 1995, p. 446-570; Idem, *Afirmarea Beiușului în plan cultural*, in *Beiușul și lumea lui. Studiu monografic*, coordinators Ioan Degău, Nicolae Brânda, vol. II, *Primus* Publishing House, Oradea, 2008, p. 518-566; Idem, *Înflorirea culturii în perioada interbelică*, in *Ibid.*, p. 630-687.

⁵ ****Istoria orașului Oradea*, coordinators Liviu Borcea, Gheorghe Gorun, *Cogito* Publishing House, Oradea, 1995, p. 352-389; Second edition revised and enlarged, *Arca* Publishing House, 2007, p. 364-375.

⁶ Stelian Vasilescu, *O experiență a dialogului interetnic. Revista Aurora (1922-1923)*, in *Aurora*, 1993, no. 1, p. 17-20; Nae Antonescu, *Relații româno-maghiare. Momentul Oradea*, in *Aurora*, 1997, no. 8, p. 89-96; Mircea Ghe. Popa, “*Cele Trei Crișuri*” și apropierea româno-maghiară, in *Ibid.*, 1991, no. 6, p. 11.

⁷ Elisabeta Pop, *File de istorie teatrală. Aristide Demetriade și Beiușul*, in *Familia*, 1998, no. 4, p. 60-64; Dumitru Chirilă, Lucian Drimba, *Teatrul românesc la Oradea. Perspectivă*

Bihor County), Mircea Gh. Popa, I. Baba, Iudita Călușer and Ana Ilea, Constantin Moșincat, Nae Antonescu and Cristina Iagăr⁸ (signed articles on the activity of the Cultural Meeting “Cele Trei Crișuri” or made tangential references about the mentioned cultural association), Iudita Călușer⁹ (offers unpublished and interesting data about the professional meetings of the Greek Catholic teachers in Bihor County).

All these scientific contributions have the merit of presented the local interwar cultural phenomenon as part of a much larger process, aiming the strengthening of the Romanian unitary national state. From this perspective, the cultural associations have returned two tasks: to strengthen the national sentiment in society, the commitment to the entire Romania and identify the most effective pedagogical tools to form the Romanian citizen able to achieve a consensus around the new political system created after the 1918 moment.

Before 1989, some aspects of the cultural interwar life have been avoided in whole or in part. Moreover, it was false and biased by those political enlisted by the Communist Party. In this case, it is especially about religious associations formed in both Romanian churches, which were outlawed by the atheist communist leadership, some of which are considered to be made in the interests of neo-fascist and reactionary circles¹⁰, who plot against “revolutionary achievements” of the working class. After the establishment of a democratic regime, a number of intellectuals began to recover partially or by comprehensive studies, so in a scientific manner, the activity of the main Orthodox and Greek Catholic religious meetings which existed with remarkable results in the Bihor County interwar society.

In this regard, we remember the contributions of Liviu Borcea¹¹, Gheorghe Lițiu¹², Ioan Porumb¹³, Teodor Savu¹⁴, Ioan Mihălțan¹⁵, Miron

monografică, Publishing House of the Magazine *Familia*, Oradea, 2001; Cornel Crăciun, *Viața artistică în presa interbelică din Beiuș*, in *Crisia*, 1991, p. 339-344.

⁸ Mircea Ghe. Popa, the Magazine “Cele Trei Crișuri”, in *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 2004, no. 4-6, p. 21-27; I. Baba, Hungarian literature in “Cele Trei Crișuri”, in *Crisia*, 1992, p. 237-252; I. Călușer, A. Ilea, Public Library of Oradea, i the period 1920-1930. *Începuturile bibliotecilor românești*, in *Crisia*, 2002-2003, p. 247-271; Constantin Moșincat, “Cele Trei Crișuri” Magazine Founder, Generalul Ghe. Bacaloglu – in notes in grades, in *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 2005, no. 1-3, p. 62-64; Nae Antonescu, Reviews of Transylvania, The Library of the review *Familia*, Oradea, 2001; Cristina Iagăr, the Great Cultural Meeting “Cele Trei Crișuri”, in *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 1996, no. 3-4, p. 5.

⁹ Iudita Călușer, *Reperle privind asociațiile și reuniunile profesionale ale cadrelor didactice greco-catolice din comitatul Bihor (1875-1923)*, in *Crisia*, 1993, p. 215-222.

¹⁰ Appropriate the Orthodox Association „Oastea Domnului” in the Romanian Orthodox Church. See this Traian Dorz, *Istoria unei jertfe*, Vol IV, „Oastea Domnului” Publishing House, Sibiu, 2002, p. 168-172.

¹¹ Liviu Borcea, *Academia Teologică din Oradea și lupta antirevizionistă*, in *Academia Teologică Ortodoxă Română Oradea. 70 de ani de la înființare*, Oradea, 1995, p. 111-114.

Erdei¹⁶, Aurel Jiri¹⁷, Traian Dorz¹⁸ (works published posthumously in 1994 and 2009), Blaga Mihoc¹⁹, Iudita Călușer²⁰, and of the younger generation Sorin Cuc²¹ and Radu Romînașu²².

We believe that all of the historiographical approaches of the already mentioned issue have attempted to unravel the cultural propaganda purposes, its motivations, and the interaction with the economic, social and political factors, to identify the institutions that organized and promoted the cultural act for the civil society.

All the historiographical approaches of the issues set out after 1989 tried to unravel the cultural propaganda purposes, its motivations, the interaction with the economic, social and interwar political factors, to identify the institutions that organized and promoted the cultural act for the civil society.

There is a lot of toil in this historiography posted. That happens because the European historiography has to be exploiting to the most. This comes with a new vision and interpretation, re-coursing to a new method. The method is that of bringing to the fore the era mentality, the impact of the cultural act in the civil society, calling on the simple citizen to the stage of the cultural history, his

¹² Gheorghe Lițiu, *Academia Teologică din Oradea - sprijinitorii a activității culturale și misionare în eparhie*, in *Ibid.*, p. 109-110; Idem, *Arhiereul Andrei Magieru-Crișanul, primul profesor și rector al Academiei Teologice din Oradea*, in *Ibid.*, p. 32-35.

¹³ Ioan Porumb, *Activitatea cultural-artistică a studenților Academiei Teologice din Oradea. Societatea de lectură "Atanasie cel Mare"*, in *Ibid.*, p. 115-118.

¹⁴ Teodor Savu, *Lupta episcopului Roman Ciorogariu pentru înființarea Academiei Teologice ortodoxe din Oradea*, in *Ibid.*, p. 11-14; Idem, *Încununarea luptei Episcopului Ciorogariu. Academia Teologică din Oradea - începuturi și dezvoltare* in *Ibid.*, p. 17-21.

¹⁵ Ioan Mihălțan, *Episcopul Dr. Nicolae Popovicu - mentor al Academiei Teologice din Oradea*, in *Ibid.*, p. 28-31

¹⁶ Miron Erdei, *Propovăduirea în Biserica Ortodoxă Română din Transilvania în prima jumătate a secolului XX*, Cogito Publishing House, Oradea, 2001.

¹⁷ Aurel Jivi, *Dascăli bănățeni ai Academiei Teologice Ortodoxe din Oradea. Nicolae Firu*, in *Academia Teologică Ortodoxă Română Oradea. 70 de ani de la înființare*, Oradea, 1995, p. 43-44.

¹⁸ Traian Dorz, *Hristos mărturia mea. Scurtă și sfântă povestire a vieții mele sau istoria unor cântări nemuritoare. 70 de ani de la 1914 până în 1984*, vol. I, "Oastea Domnului" Publishing House, Sibiu, 1994; Idem, *Fericiții noștri înaintași*, „Oastea Domnului” Publishing House, Sibiu, 2009, p. 72-85, 231-237.

¹⁹ Blaga Mihoc, *Biserica și societate în nord-vestul României*, Logos'94 Publishing House, Oradea, 2003, p. 221-234.

²⁰ Iudita Călușer, *Episcopia greco-catolică de Oradea. Contribuții monografice*, Logos' 94 Publishing House, Oradea, 2000

²¹ Sorin Cuc, *Episcopia Ortodoxă de Oradea (1920-1940)*, Oradea University Publishing House, 2005, p. 342-360.

²² Radu Romînașu, *Asociații culturale românești din Oradea și județul Bihor în perioada interbelică*,), Oradea University Publishing House, 2008, p. 366-440 ; Idem, *Activitatea cultural-religioasă și filantropică a Asociației "Oastea Domnului"- filiala Oradea în perioada interbelică*, in *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 2005, no. 4-7, p. 19-30.

integration in national, regional and European context, exploring the “sine ira et studio” of the tangents with the neighbors, the identification of the ways. All these are made - through a fair and correct reporting to the history of the cultural life in the past - making possible the “close” in present.

We will understand our cultural identity and through a continual reference to the other. The response of the specialists in the field is unanimous when debated the construction of an identity: the report at that next to you, to the stranger, for the image of the different of yourself can give you the mirror of your own identity²³.

All these are made - through a fair and correct reporting to the history of the cultural life in the past - making possible the “close” between people and institutions. All these are sufficient grounds, and they are not the only, highlighting the need for further historical investigation on the phenomenon of the interwar cultural associations on another plan, one that exceeds the positivist stage, but does not abandon, but fits it harmoniously and scientifically in the new modern visions of the current historiographical discourse.

Thus, any future scientific approaches, rigorous and honest, of cultural history will be not able to eliminate these key issues concerning both the theoretical and methodological approaches and the role of the cultural associations and meetings in redefining the Romanian intellectual space.

²³ Ștefan Purici, Harieta Mareci, Dumitru Vitcu, “*Frontiere și identități*” în *istoriografia românească postdecembristă*, in *Codrii Cosminului*, 2005, no. 11, p. 177.

THE CHRONIC OF THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITY IN THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2010

In the academic year, 2010 the members of the Department of History issued at **publishers recognized CNCS**, the following **books**: Antonio Faur, *Romania - "Open Window" to Save the Jews (April-August 1944) in Hungary and the Northern Transylvania. Documentary Contributions*, Oradea, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2010, 403 p; Antonio Faur, *Teodor Popoviciu - the Savior from Death of Hundreds of Hebrews*, Oradea, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2010, 175 p.; Ion Zainea, *The Romanian Historiography and the Communist Censorship (1966-1977)*, Oradea, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2010, 366 p.; Gabriel Moisa, *The Romanians Historiography in Hungary from 1920 to 2010. Between Ambition and Reality*. "NOI" Publishing House, Gyula, 2010, 311 p.; Florin Sfrengeu, *Promotion of the Archaeological Cultural Heritage of the Counties of Bihor and Satu Mare*, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2010, 80 p.; Radu Romînaşu, Florin N. Ardelean, *Romanian Casina of Beiuş (1871-1920). Documentary Contributions*, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2010, 297 p.

In addition, they have written **chapters of books to publishers CNCS**: Antonio Faur (*Considerations about the Terms of Bandits, Enemies and Terrorists Used by the Communist Authorities against the Political Opponents*, the volume *Interpretazioni del documento storico. Valore documentario e dimensioni letterarie*, a cura di Dan Octavian Cepraga e Sorin Şipoş con una prefazione di Lorenzo Renzi, University of Oradea Publishing House, Oradea, 2010, p. 205-216); Ion Zainea (*The Historic Speech Referring to the Territories of the Eastern Romanian Space, in the Years 1966-1977 and the Censorship. Comparative View*, in vol. *Imperial Politics in the Eastern and Western Romanian Space* (coordinators Sorin Şipoş, Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, Igor Şarov, Ioan Gumenâi), University of Oradea Publishing House / Chişinau Cartdidact Publishing House, Oradea- Chişinau, 2010, p. 472-488; *Natural Disasters and their Consequences on the Bihor County in the Interwar Period*, in vol. *Historical Demography Studies (17th-21st Centuries)* (coordinators Corneliu Pădureanu, Sorin Bolovan), Gutenberg Universe Publishing House, Arad, 2010, p. 289-314) Gabriel Moisa (*Settlements on the Upper Valley of Bistra in the Interwar Period, in the Villages on the Upper Valley of Bistra - Micro-Monograph*, Oradea, University of Oradea Publishing House, Oradea, 2010, p. 78-108; *The Hebrew Community of Oradea in the Romanian Press (The Western Gazette) in the Years of the Economic Crisis during 1929-1933*,

(Coordinators: Iosif Iulian Oncescu, Radu Florian Bruja), *History between Myths and Realities of the Modern Romania*, Cetatea de Scaun Publishing House, Târgoviște, 2010, p. 240-254; *Independence of Romania (1877-1878), Part of the "Oriental Crisis" under the Magnifying Glass of the Communist Censorship at a Century from Achievement* in vol. *State and Society in Europe*, II, Aius Print Publishing House, 2010, Craiova, 2010, p. 127-142; *The Romanians Historiography in Hungary about the Beginnings of the Romanian Community in the Trianon Hungary*, in vol. *Romania in the International Relations. Diplomacy. Minorities. History. In Honorem Ion Calafeteanu* (Silviu Miloiu editor), Cetatea de Scaun Publishing House, Târgoviște, 2010, p. 277-283; *Highlights on the Bihor County Historiography in the Interwar Period and during World War II*, in vol. *The Interwar Romania. History and Historiography* (Ovidiu Pecican editor), Limes Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2010, p. 277-288; *Historiographical « Imperialism » in the Eastern and Western Borders of Romania (1948-1989)*, in the volume *Imperial Politics in the Eastern and Western Romanian Space*, University of Oradea Publishing House, Chișinău Cartdidact Publishing House, 2010, p. 72-87; *Absences in the Map. Bessarabia Issue in the Historiographical Imaginary of the Ceaușescu Regime*, in Andi Mihalache, Marin-Barutcieff Silvia (coordinators.) *From Real to Fictive. Image. Imaginary. Imagology*, Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași Publishing House, p. 447-45, Florin Sfrengu (*Bistra Valley in the Romanian Ancient Era (8th-11th Centuries) and the Early Middle Ages (12th-14th Centuries)*), in the *Villages on the Upper Valley of Bistra - Micro-Monograph*, Oradea, University of Oradea Publishing House, Oradea, 2010, p. 15-24, *The Reflection of the Anti-Imperialist Attitude in the Latin-Hungarian Chronicles during the 12th-14th Centuries* in S. Șipoș, M. Brie, I. Horga, I. Șarov, I. Gumenâi (coordinators), *Imperial Politics in the Eastern and Western Romanian Space*, Oradea / Chișinau, 2010, p. 99-104, *Historiography and Archeology: Information of Anonymus' Gesta Hungarorum on the Duchy of Menumorut and the Diggings from Biharea (Storiografia e archeologia: informazioni della Gesta Hungarorum di Anonymus, riguardanti il ducato di Menumorut e le ricerche archeologiche di Biharea)*, in *Interpretazioni del documento storico. Valore documentario e dimensioni letterarie, a cura di Dan Octavian Cebra e Sorin Șipoș con una prefazione di Lorenzo Renzi*, Oradea, 2010, p. 38-52; Radu Romînașu (*Participation of the Villages on the Upper Valley of Bistra to the Major Events of the Social and Political Life in Bihor County (1711-1919) in the Villages on the Upper Valley of Bistra - Micro-Monograph*, Oradea, University of Oradea Publishing House, Oradea, 2010, p.46-68; *The Austria-Hungarian Educational Policy in Transylvania and the Romanian Parliament Attitude (1890-1907)*, in the volume *Imperial Politics in the Eastern and Western Romanian Space*, University of Oradea Publishing House, University of Chișinău Publishing House, 2010, p. 320-334), Bodo

Edith (*Settlements on the Upper Valley of Bistra in the 17th Century, in the Villages on the Upper Valley of Bistra - Micro-Monograph*, Oradea, University of Oradea Publishing House, Oradea, 2010, p. 35-45; *Effects of the Protection Policy of the Austrian State on the Peasantry in the Bihor County (18th century - the early 19th Century)*, in *Imperial Politics in the Eastern and Western Romanian Space* (coordinators: Sorin Şipoş, Mircea Brie, Ioan Horga, Ion Gumenâi), University of Oradea Publishing House/Editura Chişinău Cartdidact Publishing House, Oradea/Chişinău, 2010, p. 220-227). They have also published two chapters of **book at international publishing houses**: Sorin Şipoş, Stelian Nistor, Bodo Edith, *Demographic and Historical Considerations about the Evolution of the Population in the Upper Valley of Bistra (Bihor County, Romania)*, in *Cross-Border Partnership With Special Regard to the Hungarian-Romanian-Ukrainian Tripartite Border* (coordinators: Ioan Horga, István Süli-Zakar), University of Debrecen Publishing House / University of Oradea Publishing House, Oradea-Debrecen, 2010, p. 103-108; Sorin Şipoş, Laura Ardelean, *Between the Turk and the Hungarian: the Alba-Iulia Treaty on 20 May 1595 and Its Political and Religious Implications*, in *Media and European Diversity*, Edited by Luminiţa Şoproni and Ioan Horga, Bruyant, Belgium Publishing House, 2010, p. 241-247.

The teachers of the Department published in 2010 a series of studies and articles in journals recognized **CNCS, rated ISI, B + and C**. Antonio Faur (*Les démarches de Nicolae Titulescu contre le projet du Pacte à Quatre Puissance (1933)*, *Transylvanian Review*, 2010, no. 4, p. 83-89 – **ISI** ; *The Repressive Policy of the Communist Authorities in Bihor County against the Neo-Protestant Cults (1987)*, in *Perichoresis*, vol. 8, 2010, p. 115-125 (**CNCS - B+**; *Organizations of the National Peasant Party - Maniu in Bihor County (1944-1946)*, in *Annals of Banat S.N., Archaeology - History*, XVIII, **2010**, p. 303-325 (**CNCS - B +**), Gabriel Moisa (*Parliamentary Elections in Bihor County and Their Results between Two World Wars the in Romanian Journal of Political Geography*, year XII, no. 1, **2010**, p. 98-115, **CNCS B +**; *Historiography, History, Politics. Romanians Historiography in Hungary on the Historic Past of the Community (1920-2010)*, in *Crisia*, no. XL, **2010**, p. 287-307, **CNCS B +**; *Oradea Museum in the Early Postwar Years*, in *Crisia*, no. XL Supplement, **2010**, p. 67-74, **CNCS - B +**; *History and Archaeology Society of Bihor County and Țării Crişurilor Museum – Historiographic Production Centers in Oradea* in *Crisia*, no. XL Supplement, **2010**, p. 89-112, **CNCS - B +**), Florin Sfrengeu (*Aspects Regarding the Evolution of the Organizational Policies in the Northwestern Romania at the Beginning of the Middle Age*, in the *University Annals “Constantin Brâncuşi” in Târgu Jiu, Letters and Social Sciences Series*, **2010**, no. 3, p. 105-120, **CNCS - B +**); Cornelia Romînaşu, Radu Romînaşu (*Contributions to the History of the Orthodox Association "Oastea Domnului" - Subsidiary of Beiuş - in the*

Interwar Period, in *Crisia*, **2010**, p. 307-313, CNCS - B +). The articles listed C (each of the members of the department has published one article) were included in the Yearbook of the Department of History - *Annals of the University of Oradea, History-Archaeology Fascicle*, which benefits of a site (<http://www.anale-istorie-oradea.ro/>). The lecturer Monica Pop, specialist in Philology - English Language and Literature, translates most of the articles.

That same year, the Department of History organized a series of sessions and scientific local and national conveyances: *Scientific Session of Ph.D.-s in History at the University of Oradea*, Oradea, the fifth edition, March 12, 2010 (principal organizer Professor Dr. Mihai D.Drecin; *Annual Scientific Session of the Department of History - University of Oradea*, the twentieth edition, May 21, 2010 (principal organizer Professor Dr. Antonio Faur, all the members of the department presented papers on the sections: Ancient History and Archeology, Middle Age History, Modern and Contemporary History); National Session *High Education in Romania (the 16th Century – the Beginning of the 21st Century)*, Oradea, May 20, 2010 (in organizing the event were involved all the members of the Department) Symposium “Vasile Stroescu” organized by the Cultural Foundation „Munții Apuseni”, Oradea, 5-7 June 2010 (main organizers: Professor Sever Dumitrașcu, lecturer Ph.D. Florin Sfrengeu).

The department was also involved in organizing of four International Scientific Sessions: International Symposium on *Imperial Policy in the Eastern and Western Romanian Space*, Oradea-Chișinău, 10-13 June 2010; The International Summer School *Challenges of History as a Science and Discipline of Education at the Beginning of the Third Millennium*, Oradea- Băile Felix, 5-11 July 2010 (presented lectures: Professor. Dr. Antonio Faur, Professor Dr. Aurel Chiriac, prelector Dr. Gabriel Moisa, lecturer Ph.D. Florin Sfrengeu); International Conference *Romanian Society between Imperial Frontiers*, Chișinău, 7-9 October 2010; *Situation of Jews in the Central Europe at the End of World War II (1944-1945)* - November 2010 (principal organizer Professor Dr. Antonio Faur) . The year we refer to, the members of the department have presented all in all 40 papers, in several local, national and international scientific sessions.

Also in 2010, they approved a series of research contracts: Gabriel Moisa, Research Contract with the Cultural Association “Ion Bradu”, no. 30, of 30.06.2010, to write a chapter of the *Monograph of Bihor County*, worth 1200 lei; Florin Sfrengeu - Bihor County Project Coordinator, Menesi Beata - Satu-Mare County Project Coordinator, Cornel Achim - Project Manager: *Promotion of the Archaeological Heritage of the Counties of Bihor and Satu Mare*, funded by the National Cultural Fund Administration. Grantee: Community Association of Crasna Domănești. Partner: Association of the Students in History „Gheorghe Șincai” of Oradea. The total value of the project: 23.777, on July 14, 2010, Bodo Edith - Financing Contract no.60 of 06.12.2010

(Sponsor: County Council) of the project: *The Rural World in Bihor County after the Theresian Urbarial Regulation (1771-1820)*.

The Department of History has publicly brought out the following Ph.D. theses during 2010: Adrian Popoviciu, *David Mitray and the Functionalism*, Lilian Zamfiroiu, *Romanian -Italian Diplomatic Relations between 1918-1940*, Alina Stoica, *History of the Romanian-Portugal Diplomatic Relations. Martinho of Brederode - Diplomat (1919-1933)*, Roxana Maria Borzan (Man), *Traditional Roma's Occupations in the Mureş County (20th Century)*, Adrian Dimitriu, *Ion Nestor - Creator of Archaeological School*, Ioan Mihele, *Historical and Cultural Personalities in the post-December Sculpture in the Northwestern Romania*, Ovidiu Marc, *History of the Romanian Mathematics between 1945-2000*, Sorin G. Ionescu, *Medieval Military Architecture in Banat*, Gabriel Cheregi, *Life and Scientific Work of Professor Mircea Petrescu-Dâmbovița*, Claudia Tișe, *Administration and Policy in the Hungarian Autonomous Region (1952-1968)*, Călin Ovidiu Pop, *Book and Society on the Upper Valley of the Mureş River in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, Ronald Hochhauser, *Documentary Contributions on the Factory Industry in Oradea during 1848-1948*, Mariana Barna, *Industrialization and Demography in the Great Urban Centers of Crișana (1960-1980)*, Marinel Vasile Pop, *Political Life in the Interwar Romania (1919-1938). Activity of the National Party and National Peasant in Transylvania and Banat*, Florin Chiș, *Epidemics and Their Eradication in the Northwestern Romania (18th-19th Centuries)*, Livia Muntean, *Historical Geography Elements of Bihor County (18th Century and the First Half of the 19th Century)*, Adrian Dumitru Dume , *Wine and Vineyard in the 18th and 19th Centuries in Crișana*, Petru Ardelean, *Violence in the Rural World of the 18th and 19th Centuries in Crișana*, Laura Ardelean, *Ferenczi Family of Cluj - Researchers of Dacian and Roman Remains in Transylvania*, Marinel Roșu, *Celts on the Romanian Territory*, Sorin Vasile Hendea, *Cooperative Credit and Banking Institutions in the Counties of Maramureș and Sătmar (1867-1918)*, Horațiu Bocșan, *Orthodox Ecclesiastical Institutions in Crișana at the End of the 19th Century and the Beginning of the 20th Century*, Cristian Apati, *The Austrian State and the Orthodox Church in Transylvania and Hungary in the Effort to Modernize the Romanian World*.

Also, Professors Viorel Faur, Barbu Ștefănescu, Mihai D. Drecin, Ioan Horga, Aurel Chiriac and Ioan Godea were invited, as referees, when bringing out several doctoral theses in prestigious university centers in the country.