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OPERATIONAL SCHEMES IN THE UPPER PALAEOOLITHIC AND EPIPALAEOOLITHIC OF RAQEFET CAVE

LENGYEL György¹

Abstract: *The cultural sequence of Raqefet presents three fundamental operational schemes. Scheme 1 shows that raw material nodules (bold lines) are used for blade and bladelet debitage. In Scheme 2, raw material nodules are used for flake, blade and bladelet debitage. Scheme 3, almost the hybrid of scheme 1 and 3, shows that raw material nodules are introduced into flake, blade and bladelet debitage. These schemes can be recognized in lithic industries of other Levantine sites studied from similar aspects. The sequences show that the lithic production system of this industry is based on laminar, especially on bladelet manufacture. In the bladelet production heat treatment of pre-cores seem to have been applied in order to change physical conditions of flints. Compared to the other Epipalaeolithic industries, this is the only one that performed significant flake debitage. Raqefet cave is situated on the southeastern side of Mount Carmel in North Israel, in a wadi of NW-SE direction, at an altitude of 230 m above sea level and approximately 50 m above the wadi (Olami, 1984).*

Keywords: *Southern Levant, schema, palaeolithic, levantine, geometric*

Introduction

Raqefet cave is situated on the southeastern side of Mount Carmel in North Israel, in a wadi of NW-SE direction, at an altitude of 230 m above sea level and approximately 50 m above the wadi (Olami, 1984). Tamar Noy of the Israel Museum and Eric Higgs of the Cambridge University conducted the first excavation between 1970 and 1972 (Noy & Higgs, 1971; Higgs, Garrard, Noy & Ziffer, 1975). Two other excavations were carried out in 2004 (Lengyel, Nadel, Tsatskin, Bar-Oz, Bar-Yosef Mayer, Be'ery, & Hershkovitz, 2005) and in 2006 (Nadel, Lengyel, Bocquentin, Tsatskin, Rosenberg, Yeshurun, Bar-Oz, Bar-Yosef Mayer, Beeri, Conyers, Filin, Hershkovitz, & Kurzwaska, in press).

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The chronological span of the archaeological remains extends from the Middle Palaeolithic to the Iron Age (Higgs, Garrard, Noy & Ziffer, 1975; Lengyel, Nadel, Tsatskin, Bar-Oz, Bar-Yosef Mayer, Be'ery, & Hershkovitz, 2005; Lengyel, Boaretto, Fabre, & Ronen, 2006. Lengyel, 2007). From this frame the Upper Palaeolithic to Epipalaeolithic cultural sequence consisting of five members is unique in Southern Levantine prehistory. A lithic technology study (Lengyel, 2007) has analyzed the production systems of the lithic industries at Raqefet of these periods. From that work the basic lines of the operational schemas are presented briefly in this paper.

The Indeterminate Early Upper Palaeolithic

This lithic assemblage derives from layer IV of excavation area B-G/18-23 dated to between 31-33 kyears BP. Although general Upper Palaeolithic types dominate the tool kit, neither Early Ahmarian nor Levantine Aurignacian fossil markers appear among the tools. Accordingly, this assemblage is called Indeterminate Early Upper Palaeolithic.

The industry consists of three main sequences of operation:

- 1 – blade production from raw flint nodules;
- 2 – bladelet production from raw flint nodules;
- 3 – 1 and 2 in a single chain, starting with blades and finishing with bladelets.

Besides these three sequences two others that demonstrate minimal lithic remains in the assemblage played insignificant role in the lithic production system of this industry: bladelet production from cores made on flakes and flake debitage. The sequences show that the lithic production system of this industry is based on laminar manufacture. A uniform feature of the three sequences is that the use soft hammer technique detached the removals in unidirectional manner.

Although the lithic production is dominated by laminar removals, the blanks of the tools in most cases are flakes, especially those of laminar production by-products and rejuvenating elements. In addition, bladelets that are numerous in the debitage have a single instance in the tool kit.

The Levantine Aurignacian

A typical Levantine Aurignacian assemblage derives from layer III of excavation area B-G/18-23. Underneath and on top of layer III a few dozens of artefacts were recovered from the uppermost level of layer IV and the base of the layer II. Radiocarbon dating for layer III and the top of layer IV produced dates of ca. 30 kyears BP.

This industry consists of eight sequences of operation:

Operational Schemas in the Upper Palaeolithic and Epipalaeolithic of Raqefet Cave

- 1 – flake production from raw flint nodule with a unidirectional oriented debitage;
- 2 – thick flake production from raw flint nodule with a changing orientation of debitage;
- 3 – large and medium blade production from raw flint nodule in a single sequence;
- 4 – fine blade production from raw flint nodules;
- 5 – large and medium blade production from large flakes;
- 6 – bladelet production from thick flakes;
- 7 – bladelet production from raw flint nodule;
- 8 – bladelet production from carinated and other thick endscraper types.

The composition of the lithic production system shows that most of the sequences obtained blades and bladelets. This high number of laminar sequences is in inverse ratio to the content of the products, which includes much more flakes than blades and bladelets.

Two different knapping techniques were used to detach the laminar removals: hard hammer technique in large blade debitage, soft hammer technique in fine blade and bladelet debitage, and both techniques in medium sized blade production. The flake debitage used solely hard hammer technique.

The tool kit of the industry also contains more flakes than laminar removals. However, only ca. 31 % of the flakes while ca. 48 % of the laminar removals are tools. All forms of removals, even knapping debris, are blanks of the tools.

The Late Kebaran

This assemblage was recovered from Layer I of excavation area B-G/18-23. Since no radiocarbon dates are available from this layer, its chronology position is based on the typology of the lithic tools that dates it to between ca. 16 and 14.5 kyears BP.

The industry consists of two sequences of debitage:

- 1 – blade and bladelet production in a single chain from raw flint nodules;
- 2 – bladelet production from raw flint nodules.

The sequences show that the lithic production system of this industry is based on laminar, especially on bladelet manufacture. A uniform feature in the sequences is the use soft hammer technique and the unidirectional debitage. Similarly to the Indeterminate Early Upper Palaeolithic industry, bladelet production from cores made on flakes and flake debitage were very occasional. Tools are made on all types of blanks, especially on bladelets.

The Geometric Kebaran

This assemblage derives from layer VII of excavation area J-M/24-28. Layer VII does not have absolute date, therefore its chronological position is based on the typology of the lithic tools that dates it to between ca. 14.5 and 12.5 kyears BP. This industry shows no significant difference in comparison with the Late Kebaran.

The Late Natufian

This assemblage derives from layer V of excavation area G-H/10-12. A radiocarbon date, ca. 11 kyears BP, is available for the Late Natufian from a pit in excavation area B-G/18-23.

This industry consists of three operational sequences:

- 1 – blade and bladelet production in a single sequence from raw flint nodule;
- 2 – bladelet production from raw flint nodule;
- 3 – flake production from raw flint nodules.

The sequences show that the lithic production system of this industry is based on laminar, especially on bladelet manufacture. In the bladelet production heat treatment of pre-cores seem to have been applied in order to change physical conditions of flints. Compared to the other Epipalaeolithic industries, this is the only one that performed significant flake debitage. All debitage is unidirectional with soft hammer technique in laminar and hard hammer technique in flake debitage. Tools are made on all types of blanks, especially on bladelets.

Conclusion

The cultural sequence of Raqefet presents three fundamental operational schemes (Fig.1).

Scheme 1 shows that raw material nodules (bold lines) are used for blade and bladelet debitage. Flake debitage is not or insignificantly performed. The cores of the blade debitage are also used for bladelet debitage (dashed line). Flakes (thin line) and blades (dotted line) of the blade production, and bladelets (dotted-dashed line) of the bladelet production are used as tool blanks. This pattern characterizes the Early Upper Palaeolithic, Late Kebaran and Geometric Kebaran.

In Scheme 2, raw material nodules are used for flake, blade and bladelet debitage. In addition, flakes from the flake debitage are selected for making

blade and bladelet cores. Blanks of each debitage are used for tool making. This scheme solely characterizes the Levantine Aurignacian.

Scheme 3, almost the hybrid of scheme 1 and 3, shows that raw material nodules are introduced into flake, blade and bladelet debitage. Cores of the blade debitage also are used in the bladelet debitage. Blanks of each debitage are used for tool making. In addition, flakes from the blade debitage are used as blanks of tools. This scheme solely characterizes the Late Natufian.

These schemes can be recognized in lithic industries of other Levantine sites studied from similar aspects. Scheme 1 characterizes Early Ahmari and other Early Upper Palaeolithic assemblages such as Nahal Nizzana XIII (Davidson and Goring-Morris, 2003), Boker A (Monigal, 2003), and Ksar 'Aqil 13-11 (Bergman, 1987) as well as Epipalaeolithic sites, such as Shunera XVII Late Kebaran, and Shunera XIIB, Azariq XVI and XVIII Geometric Kebaran (Marder, 2002).

Scheme 2 basically characterizes most Levantine Aurignacian industries such as Hayonim D (Chazan, 2001; Wiseman, 1993; Williams, 2003), Kebara I-II (Tostevin, 2000; Williams, 2003), and Ksar 'Aqil 8 (Bergman, 1987).

Scheme 3 is found in the final phase of Eynan Natufian site (Valla, Khalaily, Samuelian, Bocquentin, Delage, Valentin, Plisson, Rabinovich, & Belfer-Cohen, 1998; Valla, Khalaily, Samuelian, March, Bocquentin, Valentin, Marder, Rabinovich, Le Dosseur, Dubreuil, & Belfer-Cohen, 2001). The similarity between Eynan and Raqefet manifests in the signs of heat treatment, as well.

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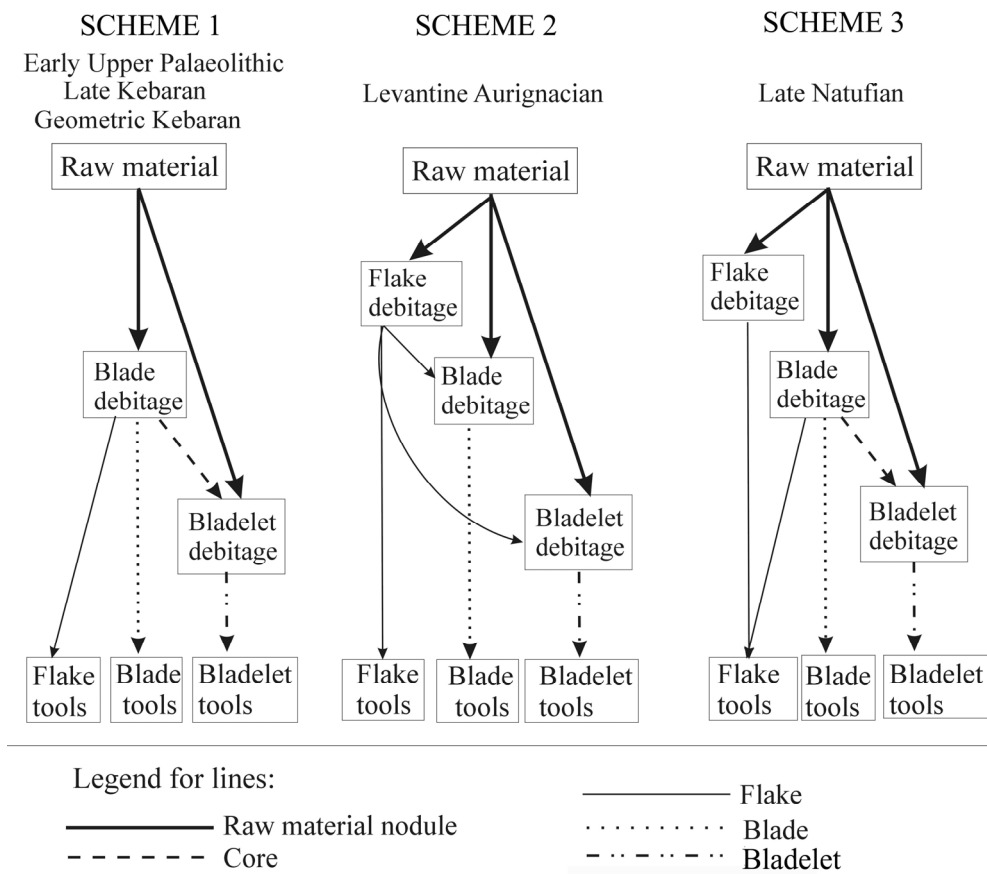


Fig. 1. Operational scheme patterns of Raqefet assemblages studied.

HUNGARIANS' MIGRATIONS TO PANNONIAN FIELD IN THE LIGHT OF THE RESEARCHES IN THE SOUTHERN POLAND

FLORIN SFRENGEU

Abstract: *This paper presents the causes which led to the migration of the Hungarians from the Don region to the Tisa Plain and Pannonia at the end of the 9th century and the way they followed through Ukraine and the Southern Poland. They present the archaeological discoveries in this region that confirm the old Latin-Hungarian and Russian chronicles, that show that the way followed by Hungarians in their migration was done through the path Verecke in the Wooden Carpathians.*

Keywords: *Hungarians, migration, Byzantin, archaeological, discoveries*

Hungarians, before leaving for their new homeland in the centre of Europe, are involved in the Byzantine-Bulgarian conflict, described by the Byzantine chronicles¹. Hungarians intervention is made at the request of the Emperor Leo VI the Wise (886-912) being in conflict with Simeon the Great (893-927), the tsar of the Bulgarians. The head of the Hungarians invaders was Liunticas, Árpád's son. The episode is suggestively shown by Georgios Kedrenos: "Deeply scarred by the shame brought by Simeon, the king sent the patrician Nichita, called also Skleros, over the Danube, to the Turks called Hungarians to persuade to cross the river and strafe as possible they can Bulgaria. And he came into contact with the Turks, after has convinced them to raise the arms against the Bulgarians, and took hostages and returned to the emperor ... And when Simeon was dealing with the army of Phocas, the Turks cross the river and hold up throughout whole Bulgaria. Simeon as soon as he heard that, leaving Phocas, turned against the Turks. The burning desires to fight with the Bulgarians, the last, on their turn pass Istria, throw themselves upon the Bulgarians and smashing them they win. Simeon saved hardly himself (retreating) in Dorostolon, also called Drista ..."².

¹ Leo Grammaticus în *FHDR*, II, p. 653; Theophanes Continuatus în *FHDR*, II, p. 679; Georgii Monachi in ed. Im. Bekker, Bonn, 1838, p. 357; Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, R.J.H. Jenkins, Washington, 1967, p.176-177, 250-251; Ioan Zonaras în *FHDR*, III, p. 211

² Georgios Kedrenos în *FHDR*, III, p. 135-137

The Hungarian troops crossed to south of the Danube with the help of the Byzantine fleet and after they defeat Simeon's army, they arrive at Preslav, the Bulgarians' capital. The tsar is forced to retreat to the fortress of Drista and obliged by circumstances, gives peace to Byzantines in favourable conditions to them. At the same time they ransom from the Hungarians by great sums of money the prisoners taken during the invasion, to persuade them to withdraw from the country. Thus Simeon proved to be a good diplomat, perhaps because he spent many years as a hostage in Constantinople, where he learned some tricks of the Byzantine diplomacy, managing to escape from the grip of the two forces³. Analyzing the information provided by the anonymous author of the Annals of Fulda monastery, the Romanian scientist Victor Spinei is of the opinion that there were two invasions of the Hungarians in Bulgaria, one in 895 and one in 896, when the Byzantines helped them to pass the Danube. Probably, the first invasion was also made at the Constantinopolitan court's suggestion, in conflict with the Bulgarians for more time⁴.

In the same Byzantine spirit, the tsar Simeon calls the enemies of the Hungarians, the Pechenegs, they being determined, through diplomatic methods, to participate to a joint action against the Hungarians. Otherwise, the Pechenegs who were pressed by the Uzi, had to hold the whole interest of all Hungarians' territories. The demographic convulsions of the East were caused as a result of the campaign in 893 led by emir Samanid Isma'il ibn Ahmed in Turkestan. That was when the Karlucs have been affected, and together with other Turanics made pressure upon the uzis. The Bulgarians and Pechenegs' attack occurred at a time when a part of the Hungarian troops left in a marauding expedition in 896, as shown above. The place of confrontation, as indicated by Reginald of Prum is located near the mouths of Don (Thanais), but the author makes a wrong dating of the confrontation in the year 889⁵.

Tóth L.S., analyzing the sources regarding this war, has another vision in relation to the manner of going off these events, the place and year⁶. Based on the Chapters 37, 38 and 40 of the work of Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, *De administrando imperio* shows that the war took place, very likely, in the year 895, and the place unmentioned, in a vast region located between Don and the Lower Danube. They mention that there were more battles between the Pechenegs and Hungarians, on the Don, on the Dnieper and other rivers and tributaries. The evacuation of Etelkuz by Hungarians is a result of many lost battles, not only of a decisive battle. The war has not lasted too long weakened the resistance of the Hungarians, who had great losses, and their

³ V. Spinei, *Migrația ungurilor...*, p. 117-118

⁴ *Ibidem*

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 118

⁶ Tóth L. S., *Az etelközi magyar-besenyő háború*, în *Századok*, 122, no. 4, 1988, p. 541-576

settlements being destroyed, while the Pechenegs were ready to install the entire population and in new territories⁷.

Seeing they cannot face the Pechenegs' penetration and after the disastrous effects of the Pechenego-Bulgarian attack, the Hungarians, with other of their allies, the Kabars have decided to leave the Northern-Pontic territories and to settle in the Middle Danube area, which offered good conditions for a nomadic way of life. They were known the area since the second half of the 9th century, when they were asked to intervene in the disputes between the Moravians and French⁸.

There is no uniform point of view as regards the way forward for the Hungarians to Tisa and Pannonia Plain. Many historians, relying on written sources testimony, argue that the movement was made up by the path Verecke in the Wooden Carpathians, while others argue that this movement was made through the paths in the Eastern Carpathians and the Danube valley, at Porțile de Fier (the Iron Gates). Information of the Old Russian and Hungarian chronicles show that, in their way to Pannonia, the Hungarian tribes passed nearby Kiev. The anonymous notary of King Béla tells us that the Hungarians have gone through Halici, then, after having crossed the forest Hovos, arrived at the Ungu parts, where they occupied the Munkács (Mukacevo, in Ukraine), inhabited by Slavs. From another passage of the same historiographer we find that Hungarians have left Kiev, passed through Vladimir and Halici, and then gone down in Pannonia⁹. Another historiographer, Simon Kéza who has inspired from other sources than Anonymus shows that the Hungarians in their way to Pannonia, passed through the Pechenegs' Country of the white Cumanians and through the fortress of Kiev, and then they raised a fortress after having reached the Ung river¹⁰. The Old Russian chronicle, *The Story of the Past Years*, tells us that the Hungarians passed by Kiev coming from East, then they went through the high mountains, known as Hungarian¹¹.

Based on the mentioned historiographers' passages it may consider that Hungarians' coming in the centre of Europe was made up by Verecke, believed to be a big gate of the migrations from the Eastern Europe to Central and West. These claims are reinforced recently by a series of archaeological discoveries,

⁷ *Ibidem, passim*.

⁸ V. Spinei, *Migrația ungarilor...*, p. 119-120, where it presents also the theory of the double dismounting. The advocates of this theory accredit the idea of affinity with Onogurs, coming in Pannonia in 670, and Hungarians, who are seen to colonize secondary, so there is continuity between 670 and 896. The unconvincing theory was rejected by including a part of the Hungarian historians.

⁹ Anonymus, *Gesta Hungarorum*, cap. XII, apud I. A. Pop, *Istoria Transilvaniei medievale: de la etnogeneza românilor până la Mihai Viteazul*, Cluj-Napoca, 1997, p. 61

¹⁰ Simon de Kéza, *Cronica*, apud I. A. Pop, *op. cit.*, p. 165

¹¹ Nestor, *Cronica*, apud I. A. Pop, *op. cit.*, p. 20

which sets out the present route as well by the ancient funerary complex assigned to the Hungarians are those of the upper Tisa basin.

In *Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense* is recorded an episode that comes in contradiction with the reports of the above mentioned chronicles. It is reported that in Transylvania had been killed Álmos, Árpád's father, and those who accompanied him would have remained there some time before he enters Pannonia. After he makes a whole series of arguments for rejecting the veracity of the reports, V. Spinei concludes that "Transylvania's nomination in the passage referring to Álmos' end in the *Chronicon Pictum Vindobonense* is probably the fruit of a transcript errors, the confusion between erdő (= forest) and Erdő-elve (= outside the forest), the Hungarian form for *Ultrasilvania*, name gradually substituted with Transylvania. Therefore, in the original source of the chronicle figured probably erdő term, designating the Ung woodland area, where the Hungarians arrived soon after they crossed the Verecke path"¹².

The archaeological discoveries in the Southern Poland show the route followed by the Hungarians to Tisa Plain. In 1936, J. Pasternak discovered near Halici, at Krylos, two graves with scraps assigned to the Hungarians. At a distance of 40 years, at Przemyśl¹³, while building a house, a rider's grave was discovered which inventory is similar to that of the Hungarian graves from the epoch of conquering the country. The discovery was framed in the group IV (according to Bálint Cs.), beside the human skeleton being stored horse bones. The horse skull was disposed at the basin and femoral bones level and the bones of the horse's feet were placed parallel with the tibia and fibula of the human skeleton¹⁴. The grave inventory contains the following items: a ceramic vessel (amphora) with two handles and grooved neck of type Horesm, a curb, two stirrups, three vertices of arrow, metal parts coming from a quiver, two buckles and two stones of flint steel¹⁵. The tomb was dated on the end of the 9th century and based on a rider's funerary inventory of the Hungarian-Kabar confederation¹⁶.

In the north and north-eastern Carpathians area Hungary (the upper Tisa), as to map no. 16 of the work of the two Polish archaeologists, A. Koperski and M. Parczewski they have made the following discoveries of old Hungarian type (horse graves and other discoveries): I. Poland: 1. Chelmiec Polski, 2. Demblin 3. Przemyśl; II. Ukraine 4. Beregovo 5. Huszt, 6. Halic-Krylos 7. Podpolozie 8. Sval'ava, 9. Salamunova III. Slovakia 10. Biel, 11. Cierna nad Tisou, 12. Dobra, 13. Košice, 14. Streda nad Bodrogom, 15.

¹² V. Spinei, *Migrația ungurilor...*, p. 121

¹³ A. Koperski, M. Parczewski, *Das Altungarische reitegrab von Przemyśl (Sudostpolen)*, in *AAASH*, XXXI, 3-4, 1979, p. 213-230

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 214 and fig. 4-6

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 216-221, fig. 7-10

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 228

Svinica, 16. Vel'ky Kamenec, 17. Vojcice, 18. Zemplin; IV. Hungary: 19. Anarcs, 20. Beszterec, 21. Demecser, 22. Eperjeske, 23. Gáva, 24. Gégény, 25. Geszteréd, 26. Hajdúdorog, 27. Karos, 28. Kenézlő, 29. Mádoc, 30. Nyiregyhaza, 31. Rakamaz, 32. Rétközberencs, 33. Sárospatak, 34. Szabolcs, 35. Szirmabesenyő, 36. Tarca, 37. Tiszabercel, 38. Tiszabездéd, 39. Tiszaeszlár, 40. Tiszalök, 41. Tiszatardos, 42. Tuszer, 43. Újfehérto, 44. Zalkod, 45. Zemplénagárd¹⁷.

Following the visit in June 2008 at the History Museum of the City of Przemyśl and the discussions we had had with the archaeologist Andrzej Koperski, we found that in Przemyśl was also discovered a cemetery with 16 graves of men, women and children assigned to a group of Hungarians who arrived in that area at the end of the 9th century and stationed at that strategic point, probably until the first quarter of the 10th century, thus providing for a period of 2-3 decades the defence of this important path in the Northern Carpathians¹⁸.

At the Polish-Ukrainian border, near Przemyśl, at Sudova Višnia, the department Lvov in Ukraine in 1962 was discovered a woman solitary grave with a rich inventory¹⁹. Of the 15 categories of objects of ornament, a number of seven were dated during the conquests of the country by the Hungarians, specifically at the end of the 9th century until the end of the 10th century: silver earrings spherical pendant shaped, leaf shaped pendants, plates with plant ornament, large and small rosette plates, the ring with setting and decorated applications. The silver pearls with small mound and bracelets drawn in silver wire were placed in the 10th and the 11th centuries, and the glass pearls and of segment type and the pearls of opaque paste, after the half of the 10th century²⁰. Based on these ornaments, with numerous analogies in the Eastern and Central European area, mainly, the tomb was dated on the 10th century and marks a route of the personal contacts between Hungarians and Ledzians, hence the name of *lengyel* that the Hungarians gave then to all the Polish tribes²¹.

The contacts between the habitants of the Small Poland (Malopolskie) and Ruthenia (Halych Ruthenia) with the Hungarians before the first half of the 10th century but, also the later established in the 11th-13th centuries, are analyzed

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 227, 229

¹⁸ A. Koperski, *Cmentarzysko "staromiazarskie" w Przemyślu*, in *Prace I Materiały Muzeum Archeologicznego I Etnograficznego w Łodzi*, Łódź, 29, 1985, p.261-267; Idem, *Groby wojownikow z koniem na cmentarzysku "staromiazarskim" w Przemyślu*, in M. Dulinicz (red.), *Słowianie I ich sąsiedzi we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Warszawa-Lublin, 2003, p. 365-374; Idem, *Początki Przemyśla w świetle źródeł archeologicznych*, in *W Przemyślu kiedyś...*, Przemyśl, 2006, p. 44

¹⁹ E. Dabrowska, *Éléments hongrois dans les trouvailles archéologiques au nord des Carpates*, in *AAASH*, 31, 1979, p. 341-354

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 343-352, fig. 3-4

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 343-352, fig. 3-4

in the light of the archaeological discoveries and of the toponymy, more recently, by Marek Florek²². This researcher too concludes that the archaeological discoveries of ancient Hungarian horizon (896-955/973) in this region: 1. Czechowice 2. Halicz-Krylos 3. Haliczany 4. Igolomia 5. Cracow, 6. Naszacowice 7. Przemysl-Zasanie 8. Radymno, 9. Sadowa Wisznia, some can be interpreted as traces of Hungarians passage through the Southern side of Ruthenia in their migration, and others may be related to the incursion of robbery of the Hungarians on the territory of Small Poland. The graves discovered at Przemysl, Halych and Sadowa Wisznia make the same researcher to think that they could be also evidences of a temporary dominance of the Hungarians on the local Slavic tribes²³.

Based on their inventory, the Hungarian graves from the 9th and 10th centuries were classified chronologically into two distinctive horizons, the first containing old Hungarian vestiges (with which the Hungarians came from Euro-Asian steppe: pieces of gear, weapons, objects of ornament) and the second type with necropolises of Bijelo Brdo type. The second is not specific only to the Hungarians, with a heterogenic character (Slavs, Germanic people, Romanians, Romanic Pannoniens). The inventory specific to the first phase of the Bijelo Brdo type culture (960 - the middle of the 11th century) is mainly composed of: lunulare pendants, temple rings with S shaped end, torsion wire bracelets, and bunch type earrings²⁴.

²² M. Florek, *Osadnictwo grup ludnosci z terenu Wegier w Malopolsce i na Rusi Halickiej w XI-XIII w. w swietle zrodel archeologicznych i toponomastycznych*, in *Wczesne sredniowiecze w Karpatach polskich*, Krosno, 2006, p. 729-740

²³ *Ibidem*, p.729-731; further on are presented the toponymies in the same region derived of the etnonymies „ungur” or „kawar-kabar”, in a number of 19 dating from the period of the 11th and 13th centuries.

²⁴ J. Giesler, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der Bijelo-Brdo Kultur. Ein Beitrag zur Archäologie des 10. und 11. Jhdts. im Karpaten-becken*, in *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, 56, no. 1, 1981, p. 3-167; Kiss A., *Zur Frage der Bjelo-Brdo Kultur*, in *AAASH*, XXV, 3-4, 1973, p. 327-340; Z. Vana, *Madari a Slovane ve svetle archeologickyh X-XII Stoleti*, in *Slav. Arch.*, II, 1954, p. 51-104



Photo 1-2: *The Museum of Przemysl*



Photo 3: *The tomb of a Hungarian horse-rider exhibited in the Museum of Przemysl*



Photo 4: *The tomb of a Hungarian horse-rider exhibited in the Museum of Przemyśl – detail with inventory pieces*



Photo 5: *The placard with the old Hungarian cemetery discovered on Rycerskie street in Przemyśl (the end of the 9th century-the first quarter of the 10th century)*



Photo 6-7: *From the tomb inventory of the old Hungarian cemetery discovered on Rycerskie street in Przemyśl (the end of the 9th century-the first quarter of the 10th century)*



Photo 8: From the tomb inventory of the old Hungarian cemetery discovered on Rycerskie street in Przemyśl (the end of the 9th century-the first quarter of the 10th century)

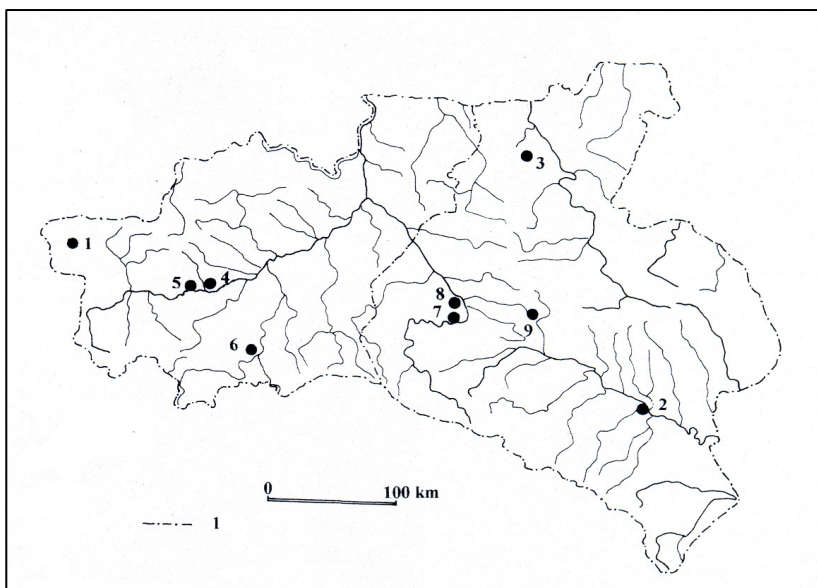


Fig. 1. Old Magyar finds in the Lesser Polish and Halicz Ruthenian territories: 1. Czechowice; 2. Halicz-Kryłos; 3. Haliczany; 4. Igołomia; 5. Cracow; 6. Naszacowice; 7. Przemyśl-Zasanie; 8. Radymno; 9. Sądowa Wisznia. The map shows the boundaries of Lesser Poland and Halicz Ruthenia in the 13th century. (after M. Florek 2006)

PECHENEG – HUNGARIAN RECONCILIATION AFTER THE DEFEAT AT RIADE

TÓTH Péter*

Abstract: *The defeat at Riade did have two consequences: on the one hand, the loss of regular taxes through the reduction of the areas suitable for plundering, and the possibility of a German revenge campaign on the other, which might as well have had fatal consequences in the case if Henry could find allies in the back of the Hungarians. Consequently, Hungarian diplomacy had a double task to solve: it had to find new territories for tax collection and plundering, and the country had to be secured particularly from the west but in general, as well.*

Keywords: *Pecheneg, Hungarian, cooperation, Riade, reconciliation*

In general, research by no means considers the defeat at Riade in 933 an event with such severe consequences as, for example, the defeat in the battle of Augsburg although György Györffy remarks that it marked the end of the most flourishing period of the raids and the beginning of decline, and that the 'severe financial loss' due to the non-payment of taxes 'might have been critical from the viewpoint of the provision of the escort if ... they had not managed to extend tax collection to a new area, the Balkan right in the following year'¹.

Although he considers the casualties significant, this is not held to be the primary affliction for the Hungarians by Gyula Kristó, either, but rather the fact that at this time, they were unable to take captives and that they could not force Henry to continue tax-payment as before by force of arms, either². There is at least one researcher who does not take any casualties into account as, according to him, when the Hungarians, already in retreat due to the cold and famine, caught sight of the armoured Saxon cavalry drawing up, they immediately fled leaving everything behind – although he later remarks that at this time, 'the Hungarians got very frightened' so much so that 'they steered clear of the

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¹ György Györffy, *István király és műve*. [King Stephen and his work] Budapest, 1977, p. 45–46

² Gyula Kristó, *Levedi törzsszövetségétől Szent István államáig*. [From Levedi's tribal confederacy to St Stephen's state] Budapest, 1980, 268 p.

country' until Henry's death in 936.³ What could have been the cause of this panic? In another work of his,⁴ Györffy suggests that it was to be feared that Henry would conduct a campaign in revenge: according to him, this can be seen from the fact that each of the second generation leaders got a river valley in the foreground of the western borderland obviously for the purpose that they could draw up by the rivers should the country be invaded from this direction. Even if, probably, one should not jump to a far-fetched conclusion from the place names, on which Györffy's assumption is based, there might easily have been the danger of an invasion from the west as Henry had ample reasons to take revenge.

This means that the defeat at Riade did have two consequences: on the one hand, the loss of regular taxes through the reduction of the areas suitable for plundering, and the possibility of a German revenge campaign on the other, which might as well have had fatal consequences in the case if Henry could find allies in the back of the Hungarians. Consequently, Hungarian diplomacy had a double task to solve: it had to find new territories for tax collection and plundering, and the country had to be secured particularly from the west but in general, as well.

* * *

It is enough to take a brief look at the map of contemporary Eastern Europe to see evidently from the geopolitical relations that the solution was to be found in the relations with the Pechenegs.⁵

According to the opinion of one researcher, the Hungarian-Pecheneg cooperation was one of the most fundamental elements of Hungarian foreign policy in the 10th century, and it started directly after 927⁶. One may more or less agree with this opinion but it must be remarked that the wording is a little bit misleading. As a matter of fact, cooperation was only true of the last two thirds of the century, which period is separated from the earlier decades with a very sharp dividing-line at the beginning of the 930s. Or in other words: at the

³ István Bóna, *A magyarok és Európa a 9–10. században*. ['Hungarians and Europe in the 9–10th centuries'] Budapest, 2000, 39 p.

⁴ *Magyarország története tíz kötetben 1. Előzmények és magyar történet 1242-ig*. ['The history of Hungary in ten volumes 1. Preceding events and Hungarian history until 1242.'] Budapest, 1984. (Hereinafter with Hungarian abbreviation: MOT.) Vol. I, 670 p.

⁵ Sándor László Tóth devotes a whole chapter to Pecheneg-Hungarian relations before Árpád's conquest of Hungary and the 10th century consequences of these relations in his monograph entitled *Levediatól a Kárpát-medencéig* ['From Levedia to the Carpathian basin'] (Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár, 14. Szeged, 1998.), p. 169–188

⁶ Ferenc Makk, *Magyar külpolitika (896–1196)*. ['Hungarian foreign policy (896–1196)'] Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár, 2. Szeged, 1993, 15 p.

beginning of the 930s, there was a very sharp turn in the Hungarian-Pecheneg relations, which, however, was obviously not without reason.

The Hungarian-Pecheneg relations, which, in the period following Árpád's conquest of Hungary, were certainly not characterised by cooperation but, to the contrary, by opposition, were vividly and summarily described by emperor Constantinus Porphyrogenetos in his work *De administrando imperio* (hereinafter: DAI). As he writes, '*The clan of the Turks is also very much afraid of the aforementioned Pechenegs as they have often been defeated by them, which almost put them on the verge of final decay. Therefore, Pechenegs always look fearful in the eyes of the Turks, which holds the latter at bay*'⁷. Naturally, researchers have long taken an interest in what the expression 'often' may stand for in this text, that is, how many wars the Hungarians could have waged with their eastern neighbours. From the aspect of the present topic, this issue is of no importance: the Pecheneg attack preceding and finally leading to Árpád's conquest of Hungary, the memory of which left a deep mark in the Hungarian tradition,⁸ accounts in itself for what is described by Constantinus.

We have another contemporary source which clearly reveals that Hungarian-Pecheneg relations were distinctly bad at the beginning of the 10th century. Again, in DAI⁹ it can be read that '*...when once the cleric Gabriel was ordered by the emperor to be sent to the Turks, and he told them that » the emperor's message is this: go and chase the Pechenegs away from their places of living and settle there (as earlier, you used to live in that place) so that you will be near to Our Majesty so whenever I want, I will send a courier to you and find you easily«*, all the leaders of the Turks unanimously shouted »we will not start a fight with the Pechenegs as we cannot fight with them because it is a large country and they are a large people and evil chaps; do not ever speak to us like this because this does not please us. «' –Obviously, the words cited got into Constantinus' work from the delegate's report of the cleric Gabriel. As no other source mentions this mission, it is not easy to determine its date: according to the two extreme viewpoints of the different researchers (cited by Gyula Moravcsik in his notes to this part), it might as well have happened before Árpád's conquest in Hungary or even in 948. These two latter attempts at dating are certainly cannot be taken seriously: with regard to other conditions, it is much more likely that the mission must have occurred not long after Árpád's conquest of Hungary and at the end of the 920s the latest.

György Györffy, for example, considers that 'relevant opinion' plausible which puts this event in the period of Leo the Wise, i.e. before 912¹⁰:

⁷ Gyula Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történelem bizánci forrásai*. [Byzantine sources of Hungarian history in the period of the Árpád dynasty] Budapest, 1984, 35 p.

⁸ MOT. Vol. I, 594 p.

⁹ Gyula Moravcsik, 1984, 36 p.

¹⁰ MOT. Vol. I, p. 596–597

what is more, as he suspects a connection between Gabriel's mission and the report in DAI, according to which the whole territory of the Hungarians only included the areas around the river Tisza and its tributaries, he suggests that it happened before the occupation of Transdanubia, i.e. between 895 and 899. Through a chain of assumptions, Gyula Kristó rather supposes that the mission was related to the events in the Balkan around 924-925, namely, the Byzantine-Bulgarian conflicts¹¹. If at this time, Bulgaria really attempted to set up an anti-Byzantium coalition, then it might really have been in the interest of Byzantium to get the potential members of this coalition to confront one another thus neutralising them. However, this may be valid for any period of the three decades after Árpád's conquest of Hungary, when Byzantium was often threatened by a Pecheneg-Bulgarian collaboration. From our viewpoint, the exact determination of the date of Gabriel's mission is of secondary importance, anyway, as the only important thing is that the whole three decades following Árpád's conquest of Hungary was characterised by the Hungarians' keeping distance or strong fear of the Pechenegs, which is well illustrated by the aforementioned two sources.

In any case, the general political conditions of the Balkan cannot be ignored in the investigation of the Pecheneg-Hungarian relations. The place of the Pechenegs in the foreign policy of Eastern Europe's leading power, Byzantium is defined by Constantinus Porphyrogenetos like in a policy: according to it, if there is peace between the Pechenegs and the Byzantine, then neither the Russians nor the Hungarians dare either to attack or harrass Byzantium with extravagant demands as they are afraid of the military power of the aggressive and strong Pechenegs, which can be deployed against them at any time¹². From this, it clearly follows that the Pecheneg-Hungarian relations were basically determined by the interests of Byzantium. However, in the knowledge of the structuring of DAI, it is justified to put the question: can the emperor's words be applied to the whole of the first fifty years following Árpád's conquest of Hungary or only to some periods of this era? Or, in other words, were there any turns in the obviously complicated and varied system of the relations between peoples, which is difficult to reconstruct, in any case, due to the lack of sources?

In fact, this picture does not even fit the beginnings: it is a well-known fact that in 895, on the advent of Árpád's conquest of Hungary, the Hungarians, in alliance with Byzantium, were attacked by the Pechenegs at the request of the Bulgarians, who they were at war with then, (and naturally, for other reasons, too) so it could not serve Byzantine interests. The aforementioned mission by Gabriel may only be imagined to have happened in such a period

¹¹ Gyula Kristó, 1980, p. 302–305. Perhaps Ferenc Makk (1993. 14 p.) also has this date in mind, when he writes about the mission and its possible objectives.

¹² Gyula Moravcsik, 1984. 35 p.

when Byzantium considered it more likely that the Pechenegs would confront them than that the Pecheneg threat would keep their invaders at bay. Therefore, from the point of view of Balkan politics, the first third of the 10th century was not and obviously could not be the period characterised by long-lasting alliances.

Anyway, in the first third of the 10th century, the Byzantine-Hungarian relationship was characterised by peacefulness: so much so that the contemporary or almost contemporary sources attempt to depict the Hungarians as people subordinated to or striving to be subordinated to Byzantium¹³. (Naturally, it is a question whether following from the aforementioned, this state was the result of a permanent threat from the Pechenegs or not.) Peaceful relations seem to have been broken by only one event: the battle near Anchialos in 917, in which the Hungarians took part in alliance with the Bulgarians and the Pechenegs according to just one source, *Miracula Sancti Georgii*, written at the beginning of the 11th century¹⁴. And although the listing of the names of peoples seems to be a convention, what is more, the editor of the source himself warns that certain writers 'pile these names upon one another without being aware of their meanings', and it is highly likely that it is true in this case, as well, still, some researchers consider it possible to prove solely on the basis of this source that this event was the beginning of the Hungarian raids against Byzantium and after this until 927, that is, until the death of Bulgarian tsar Symeon, Hungarian raids plundering Byzantine territories became regular¹⁵. However, this assumption is in remarkable contradiction with the almost contemporary chronicle which expressly emphasises, obviously not without any basis, that the Turks or Hungarians led their *first* campaign against the Romans in 934¹⁶.

All in all, we must imagine the relationship with the Pechenegs of the Hungarian tribal confederation, having settled down in the Carpathian basin, as, being characterised up to the 930s by fear verging on terror so in this period, any kind of cooperation was clearly out of the question. The possibility of cooperation was created by the death of Bulgarian tsar Symeon in 927, whose successor, Tsar Peter concluded both peace and an alliance with Byzantium, also confirmed with marriage. As György Györffy puts it, this alliance clarified the frontlines so from this time on, Byzantium and Bulgaria could only be attacked together¹⁷. However, it must be underlined that this only created the

¹³ Ferenc Makk, 1993, 14 p.

¹⁴ Gyula Moravcsik, 1984, p. 77–79

¹⁵ Ferenc Makk, 1993, p. 14–15; Gyula Kristó, 1980. p. 302–303

¹⁶ The continuation of Friar Georgios: see Gyula Moravcsik, 1984, 61 p. It is adopted by Pseudo-Symeon's chronicle (*Ibidem*, p. 70), which is also often referred to in connection with this topic (e.g. Gyula Kristó, 1980, 268 p.)

¹⁷ MOT. Vol. 1/I, 597 p.

possibility: the actual realisation of the cooperation that later really proved to be solid depended on a really critical situation.

* * *

And here, we must return to our starting-point: the situation that arose after the defeat in the battle at Riade as in my opinion, the explanation for the Hungarian-Pecheneg reconciliation is hidden in it. Taking the potential consequences into account, the leadership of the tribal confederation, or rather the Grand Duke himself – according to the Hungarian legend recorded by Anonymus, it was Zolta¹⁸ – took the earlier almost inconceivable step: he concluded peace and, what is more, an alliance with the formidable enemy. The memory of this was preserved in the Hungarian tradition, as well: Anonymus writes that after the borderlines of the country were marked out, Duke Zolta had a wife brought for his son, Taksony¹⁹ from the land of the Cumanians. As Taksony ruled until the very beginning of the 970s, at that time, he must have been in his childhood, which fact also underlines the possibility of the political motives of this marriage. We can also get to know from legend that Zolta settled a considerable number of Pechenegs at the border, beyond the swamp named Moson for the defence of the country, fearing the attacks of the Germans being infuriated by their insults²⁰. Anonymus himself seems to connect these two facts: however, their dates are clearly determined by the fact that the revenge of the Germans infuriated by their insults had to be feared after the defeat at Riade. And this is not yet the end of the events: the following spring, a common Hungarian-Pecheneg campaign was started against Byzantium. The most detailed account of this campaign, considered by Byzantine authors to be the first Hungarian raid towards the Balkan, was left to us by Al-Massoudi²¹. His description makes it clear that the united Pecheneg-Hungarian armies were very successful: after defeating the Byzantine (and perhaps Bulgarian) army drawing up against them, they ransacked the whole region and their captives were redeemed by the emperor himself – thus, military success was accompanied by financial profits, as well. It also seems to turn out from this

¹⁸ *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum.* (hereinafter: SRH.) Budapestini, MCMXXXVII. vol. I, p. 114

¹⁹ „... *tunc dux Zolta duxit filio Tocsun uxorem de terra Cumanorum.*” SRH. vol. I, p. 114. Researchers agree that as the area that was the ‘land of the Cumanians’ at the time of Anonymus used to be inhabited by Pechenegs, the wife must evidently have been Pecheneg.

²⁰ „... *in eodem confinio ultra lutum Musun collocavit etiam Bissenos non paucos habitare pro defensione regni sui, ut ne aliquando in posterum furibundi Theotonici propter iniuriam sibi illatam fines Hungarorum devastare possent.*” SRH. vol. I, p. 113–114

²¹ English translation: On the ancestors of Hungarians and on Árpád’s conquest of Hungary. Budapest, 1975, p. 100–103. *A honfoglalás korának írott forrásai.* [‘Written sources of the age of Árpád’s conquest of Hungary’] Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár, 7. Szeged, 1995, p. 52–56

account that the army consisting of two parts and having double leadership laid great stress on fair cooperation – as it can be expected in the case of the first common enterprise of ancient enemies concluding an alliance.

To sum up: in the second half of 933 or at the very beginning of 934, the leadership of the tribal confederation achieved that all the potential consequences of the defeat in the battle at Riade no matter how large the extent of it was could be averted as it got military force to protect the western borderlines, eliminated the continuous pressure from the eastern borders, excluded the possibility of a German-Pecheneg alliance against Hungary, and, finally, opened up a new area extremely suitable for plundering and in the long run, for the collection of taxes, which could make up for the revenues lost in the West. And all this was achieved with one *single* move of diplomacy: that as good as defeating itself, it concluded peace and an alliance with the earlier formidable enemies, the Pechenegs. In the knowledge of the preliminaries and consequences, it is not an exaggeration to say that this peace treaty and alliance, also confirmed with a marriage and immediately demonstrated with a military enterprise, was one of the most significant if not *the* most significant move of Hungarian foreign policy in the 10th century, which cannot be praised highly enough by posterity.

«POS DEI HISTORIAN SYNGRAPHEIN»¹

Sever DUMITRAȘCU, Mirela VESA

Abstract: *The authors present concisely the work of Ion Horațiu Crișan (1928-1994), a scientific researcher at the Institute of History from Cluj, the Institute of History and Archaeology and the Institute of Archaeology and History of Art, respectively. He has profoundly studied the Dacian people civilization and culture, becoming one of the well-known researchers in this domain. The archeologist from Cluj published a monograph that has opened roads, has raised and will raise problems in the Romanian and European historiography: Burebista și epoca sa (Burebista and His Time), Bucharest, 1977, 531 p. The broad horizon of the researcher was always “curbed” by diggings and field researches (Fântânele, Cugir) and we are referring to his special contributions reporting on the health issues in antiquity, to the delivery of the Roman civilization encyclopedia and of the archaeological repertoire of Cluj County.*

Keywords: *archeology, Dacians, research, civilization, Cluj*

Ion Horațiu Crișan (1928-1994), a scientific researcher at the Institute of History from Cluj, the Institute of History and Archaeology and the Institute of Archaeology and History of Art, respectively, has profoundly studied the *Dacian people* civilization and culture, becoming one of the well-known researchers in this domain.

In these lines we present the scientific approach of the researcher from Cluj: *field research - monograph - synthesis.*

A.1. *Archaeological diggings at Grădiștea Muncelului (cf. SCIV, VI, 1955, p.195-232, Materials, III, 1957, p. 256-277, Materials, V, 1959, p. 379-401, Materials, VI, 1959, p. 331-358; Materials, VII, 1961, p. 301-321 (in collaboration). The researches are fulfilled by publishing the monograph: Daco-Getic Ceramics. With Special Regard to Transylvania, Buc., 1969, 365 p.*

2. *Archaeological diggings at Pecica, Arad County, concluded from the methodological point of view with the publication of the monograph: Ziridava. Diggings from Șanțul Mare in the Years of 1960, 1962, 1964, Arad, 1978, 323 p.*

¹ Lucian din Samosata, *Pos dei historian syngraphein = How history should be written*

B. *Archaeological diggings in the Mediaș area, Sibiu County and Carei-Cumești area*, regarding the relations between the Gaeto-Dacians and the Scythians, the Celtic, respectively, which are also fulfilled by the monographic publishing of : a) *Once More About the Scythian Problem in Transylvania*, in *Dacia*, IX, 1965, p. 133 -145 and *Das Kelten problem in Siebenbürgen* in *ArchRoz*, 5, 1971, p. 548-558, Cf, and *La nêcropole de Fântânele et son importance pour le problème des Celtes de l'Europe centrale*, in *Alba Regia*, XIV, 1975 , p. 185-187.

C. *Research of the Dacian archaeological discoveries in the territory of Slovakia* meant the publication of the study: *The Problem of the Daco-Getae Housing in the Territory of Slovakia in the Light of the Recent Archaeological Discoveries* in *ArhMold*, VI, 1969, p. 91-111, cf, and *Zur Frage der dako - getische Besiedlung auf dem Gebiet der Slowakei* in *Studiné Zvesti*, 18, 1970, p. 83-106.

This happens in the eighth decade of the last century when the archaeologist from Cluj publishes the pathfinder monograph, that has raised and will raise problems in the Romanian and European historiography: *Burebista and His Epoch*² , Buc., 1977, 531 p.; *Burebista and His Time*, Buc., 1978, 253 p. *Burebista és kora*, Buc., 1980, p. 486

D. The wide horizon of the researcher always “restrain” through the field diggings and researches (*Fântânele, Cugir*) and we refer to his contributions, of great value, to *The History of the Romanian Medicine*, Buc., 1972, p. 27-44, 50-65) and we refer to the medicine issues in the Ancient times, the contributions to *The Roman Civilization Encyclopaedia*, Buc., 1982, 158 voices, and then, the publishing (in collaboration) of *The Archaeological Repertoire of Cluj County*, Cluj-Napoca, 1992, 459 p. + 250 il.

These researches, detailed efforts, monographs and their entry into the pan-Dacian and European horizon of the researches allowed him to write the syntheses: *Gaeto-dacians civilization*, Buc., 1993, I, 311 p., II 273 p. and *Gaeto-dacians spirituality*, Buc., 1986, 448 p.

So: *the real research, archaeological diggings - Monograph and Synthesis* as fulfilment of a researcher’s destiny. The value of his scientific approach and his work are turning into a *model* worth to be followed by everyone who wants *honestly* and *disinterested* to follow his scientific destiny.

Thus, Ion Horațiu Crișan - by the model that he gives us, by his prestigious *example*, *has changed* the scholar’s diatribe of Samosata into reality, into a model to be followed, in a viable work. That’s the reason to write these lines.

² 2nd Edition

POS DEI HISTORIAN SYNGRAPHEIN»³

Ion Horațiu Crișan (1928-1994) a fost cercetător științific la Institutul de Istorie din Cluj, respectiv Institutul de Istorie și Arheologie, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei. A studiat cu har civilizația și cultura dacilor, devenind unul dintre cercetătorii recunoscuți ai domeniului.

În aceste rânduri prezentăm demersul științific al cercetătorului clujean: cercetare de teren – monografie – sinteză.

A.1. Săpături arheologice la Grădiștea Muncelului (cf. SCIV, VI, 1955, p.195-232; Materiale, III, 1957, p. 256-277; Materiale, V, 1959, p. 379-401; Materiale, VI, 1959, p. 331-358; Materiale, VII, 1961, p. 301-321 (în colaborare). Cercetările se împlinesc prin publicarea monografiei: Ceramica daco-getică. Cu specială privire la Transilvania, Buc., 1969, 365 p.

2. Săpături arheologice la Pecica, j. Arad, încheiate din punct de vedere metodologic cu publicarea monografiei: Ziridava. Săpăturile de la Șanțul Mare din anii 1960, 1962, 1964, Arad, 1978, 323 p.

B. Săpăturile arheologice din zona Mediașului, j. Sibiu și de zona Carei-Ciumești, privind relațiile dintre geto-daci și sciți, respectiv celți, care sunt și ele împlinite prin publicarea monografică: a) Once More About the Scythian Problem in Transilvania, în Dacia, IX, 1965, p. 133-145 și Das Kelten problem in Siebenbürgen, în ArchRoz, 5, 1971, p. 548-558; Cf, și La nécropole de Fântânele et son importance pour le problème des Celtes de l'Europe centrale, în Alba Regia, XIV, 1975, p. 185-187.

C. Cercetarea descoperirilor arheologice dacice de pe teritoriul Slovaciei a însemnat publicarea studiului: Problema locuirii daco-geților pe teritoriul Slovacia în lumina recentelor descoperiri arheologice, în ArhMold, VI, 1969, p. 91-111; cf, și Zur Frage der dako-getische Besiedlung auf dem Gebiet der Slowakei în Studině Zvesti, 18, 1970, p. 83-106.

Aceasta este în momentul deceniului opt al secolului trecut când arheologul clujean publică monografia deschizătoare de drumuri, care a ridicat și va mai ridica probleme în istoriografia română și europeană: Burebista și epoca sa2, Buc., 1977, 531 p.; Burebista and His Time, Buc., 1978, 253 p.; Burebista és kora, Buc., 1980, 486 p.

D. Orizontul larg al cercetătorului mereu „strunit” prin săpături și cercetări de teren (Fântânele, Cugir) și ne referim la contribuțiile sale, de seamă, la Istoria medicinei românești Buc., 1972, p. 27-44; 50-65) și ne referim la problematica medicinei în antichitate, contribuțiile la Enciclopedia civilizației romane, Buc., 1982, 158 voci; și mai apoi publicarea (în

³ Lucian din Samosata, *Pos dei historian syngraphein* = *How history should be written*

colaborare) a *Repertoriului arheologic al județului Cluj, Cluj-Napoca, 1992, 459 p. + 250 il.*

Acestor cercetări, strădani de amănunt, monografi și înscrierea lor în orizontul pan-dacic și european al cercetărilor i-au permis scrierea SINTEZELOR: CIVILIZAȚIA GETO-DACILOR, Buc., 1993, I, 311 p., II 273 p. și SPIRITUALITATEA GETO-DACILOR, Buc., 1986, 448 p.

Așadar: cercetare concretă, săpături arheologice – Monografia și SINTEZA, ca împlinire a unui destin de cercetător. Valoarea demersului său științific și opera sa se împlinesc într-un model demn de urmat pentru oricine dorește sincer și dezinteresat să-și urmeze destinul științific.

Astfel Ion Horațiu Crișan – prin modelul ce ni-l oferă, prin exemplul său prestigios a transformat diatriba cărturarului din Samosata în realitate, în model de urmat, în operă viabilă. Este motivul scrierii acestor rânduri.

NOTES ON JOHN HUNYADI'S ACTIONS AND IMAGES

Alexandru SIMION¹

Abstract: *Sources, edited or still confined to the boundaries of archives and libraries, are not as gene-rous with John Hunyadi as they are with his younger son or with his nephew. This is one of the major reasons for which it will be difficult to offer in the near future, at least, a solid and extensive perspective on his life. This is also why several questions and debates will subsist. A few of them, more or less grounded, are 'listed' in this short paper, in close connection especially to the controversial battle of Belgrade in late July 1456 which made John Hunyadi's final glory.*

Keywords: *John Hunyadi, Mehmed II, Belgrade, crusade, medieval*

Sources, edited or still confined to the boundaries of archives and libraries, are not as gene-rous with John Hunyadi as they are with his younger son or with his nephew. This is one of the major reasons for which it will be difficult to offer in the near future, at least, a solid and extensive perspective on his life. This is also why several questions and debates will subsist. A few of them, more or less grounded, are 'listed' below, in close connection especially to the battle of Belgrade which made Hunyadi's final glory. Consequently, the following list of 'questions' remains open².

I. The Medieval and Modern Legacies of Crusader and Magnate John Hunyadi

The story of Belgrade is another never-ending story. One of the reasons is the 'what if John Hunyadi had lived'. Another is the 'what if Mehmed II the Conqueror had won'. A third one could well be 'why sultan Mehmed did not strike back', not even after John Hunyadi's subsequent death. Such questions merely complete a framework made out of controversies and contradictions³.

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² E.g. Johannes Hofer, „Der Sieger von Belgrad", *Historisches Jahrbuch* (Cologne), LI (1931), p. 163-212; Franz Babinger, *Der Quellenwert der Berichte über den Entsatz von Belgrad am 21/22 Juli. 1456* (offprint from *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, NS, VIII (1956), 6) (Munich 1957), p. 4-6; András Kubinyi, *Matthias Rex* (Budapest 2008), p. 33-36

³ F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit. Weltenstürmer einer Zeitenwende* (Munich 1959²), p. 102-105; Al. Simon, 'The Lion in the Winter: John Hunyadi's Career from

1. The Ages and Impacts of the Hunyadis between ‘Minor Topics’ and ‘Major Concepts’

The Ottoman impact of Belgrade, aside from the questions of the actual extent of Mehmed’s losses or of the long-term consequences of the siege, is underlined also by a peculiar ‘artistic’ aspect⁴. In the mosque erected in Plovdiv by Murad II, immediately after the victory of Varna and his renewed abdication in Mehmed’s favor, only two battles are depicted in contemporary graffiti. The first is naturally the conquest of Constantinople (1453). The other is the battle of Belgrade (1456).

This explains rather well why Tursun Bey⁵ felt the need to write that, immediately after Mehmed II’s retreat, John Hunyadi was killed by an Ottoman arrow after he finally left his ‘fort’. This was the Ottoman version of ‘poetic justice’. In return, if Hunyadi died because of the plague, it is hardly conceivable that his infected corpse was moved to Transylvania, and not buried on site, like he too should have done, and probably did, with the other corpses of Belgrade, in order to avoid the spread of the plague which had affected the Ottomans. Maybe the fatal *plague* stood for another sickness. Whatever the truth may be, this issue could be deemed as a quite ‘minor’ dilemma.

The Medieval and Modern Fame and Fortune of the Hunyadi Family

In Kenneth M. Setton’s great synthesis on the later crusades, one can find a statement, made in reference to Hungary’s situation in late 1483⁶. In our opinion, it is probably one of the best summaries of the story of the Hunyadi family, the *Kennedy family of medieval Hungary*⁷. Setton wrote: *Whatever hardships Corvinus and his famous father John Hunyadi had found on the field of battle, obviously personal poverty was not among them*. It should probably be added that Setton often turned out to be a rather unconditional admirer of

Kossovopolje to Belgrade (1448-1456)’, in *Between Worlds*, II, *Extincta est Lucerna Orbis: John Hunyadi and his Time (=Mélanges d’Histoire Générale*, II, 2), edited by Ana Dumitran, Loránd Mádly, Al. Simon (Cluj-Napoca 2008), p. 491-522

⁴ Dimităr and Nikolaj Ovčarov, ‘Le siège de Constantinople par les Turcs d’après un graffiti sur l’Imaret djemie à Plovdiv’, *Bulgaria Pontica Medii Aevi* (Nessebar), III (1992), p. 95-104

⁵ Tursun Bey, *La conquista di Constantinopoli*, edited by Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont, Michele Bernardini, Luca Berardi (Milan 2007), p. 106

⁶ *The Papacy and Levant (1204-1571)*, II, *The Fifteenth Century (=Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, CXXVII) (Philadelphia 1978), p. 377

⁷ Al. Simon, *Ștefan cel Mare și Matia Corvin. O coexistență medievală* [Stephen the Great and Matthias Corvinus: A Medieval Coexistence] (Cluj-Napoca 2007), p. 454, note 35

Hunyadi (even in relation to Capestran) and, at times, avoided to pass out severe judgments on king Matthias Corvinus' Ottoman politics.

Although, as already noticed by Norman Housley in his essay on crusading in the 1400^s,⁸ the author in question had an obsolete, on occasion, sense of moral in history, more befitting of Anglo-Saxon concepts of the 18th-19th centuries (namely in regard to the 'Turkish Peril' as Setton used to call it), this particular phrase touches the bone of the main dilemmas posed by the 'Hunyadi Age'. A similar line of financial-cultural-military reasoning was used by Ferenc Szakály, but only in regard to Matthias⁹. In return, John seems to have been spared such analysis, though his contemporaries, as well as his own acts or deeds, recorded that he was much more than just 'the ideal crusader'¹⁰.

It is interesting to note, leaving aside the further lines of thought which developed and enveloped these reasonings, that both the 'old' (1930'), the right-wing, and the 'new' (1950'), the left-wing, Hungarian historiographies seemingly agreed on the role of the personal 'greed and need' factor in the actions of the Hunyadis¹¹. Such a 'consensus' was reached apparently prior to Erik Fügedi's works on the social mobility of the Hungarian realm in the 1400^s¹². Pál Engel's study on the events of 1444 increased the change (his influential study of 1994 was first published in *Hungarian* in the *Festschrift* for Elemér Mályusz, printed in 1984; it should probably be added that E. Mályusz had laid the foundations for this Hungarian historiographical change already in the mid 'red 1950'¹³).

In this respect, as time went by, an interesting trend, opposite to the one imposed upon Romanian works, emerged. In Hungarian writing, compared also to the magnitude of their deeds, respectively to the value of their political positions and ranks, Matthias received a more 'gentle' treatment than his father, unlike in Romanian historiography. Both prior and after 1918, 1944 or

⁸ 'Introduction', in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*, edited by N. Housley (New York 2004), pp. 6-7; see also his 'Giovanni da Capistrano and the Crusade of 1456', in the same volume, p. 94-115

⁹ 'Mecenatismo regio e finanze pubbliche in Ungheria sotto Matia Corvino', *Rivista di Studi Ungheresi* (Rome), IV (1989), p. 19-35.

¹⁰ Csaba Csapodi, 'Hunyadi János és Poggio Bracciolini' [John Hunyadi and Poggio Bracciolini], *Egyetemes Philológiai Közöny* [Universitary Philological Selections] (Budapest), NS, XI (1965), p. 155-158

¹¹ For instance Gyula Szekfű in his joint synthesis with Bálint Hóman, *Magyar Történet* [Hungarian History], II (Budapest 1936), p. 466-467, or Lajos Elekes' *Hunyadi* monograph, published in Budapest in 1952

¹² E.g. Fügedi's studies collected by János M. Bak in *Kings, Bishops, Nobles and Burghers in Medieval Hungary* (London 1986); see in particular nos. VI-VII, as examples.

¹³ 'János Hunyadi and the Peace of Szeged (1444)', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest), XLVII (1994), p. 241-257 (the first draft was published in Hungarian in *Társadalom és művelődés-történeti tanulmányok. Mályusz Elemér Emlékkönyv* [Studies in Social History and in the History of Arts. *Festschrift* Elemér Mályusz], edited by Eva H. Balázs, E. Fügedi, Ferenc Maksay (Budapest, 1984), p. 83-101).

1989, following Iorga's rather distorted footsteps¹⁴, historians, 'nationalists', 'communists' or 'Europeans' (there is no shortage in unjustified labels), have usually praised Hunyadi (less if 'from the South' or from 'the East'¹⁵) and attacked, in general based on the Polish and German sources, Matthias for his (Walachian) political actions. Such 'details' and 'concepts' can hardly be deemed as surprising.

Crusader Honesty and Crusader Profit in the Cases of the Hunyadis

One of the main problems for these variable perspectives was the matter of the 'crusader sincerity' of the Hunyadis, in particular of the most important two: John and Matthias (with different nationalist or modern *Christian* implications from case to case). In John Hunyadi's case, his conduct of 1444 or 1448, in both cases closely linked to the question of the estates of Hungary of George Branković and to further (royal in 1444 at least) profits, left little room for doubt, even for his admirers¹⁶. By crusading, Hunyadi understood more than just fighting for the Cross in view of a reward in heaven. By financing thousands of armed men under his banner, John Hunyadi was not only doing his duty as a pious magnate, but expected profit and compensation for his deeds.

The problem is not that he did so. Otherwise, it would have been quite unnatural. The problem is in fact that, according to medieval and modern theories, he was expected to do a *pro bono* work (obviously, the contemporaries noticed that such a conduct was virtually impossible and, according to interests, tried to accept it; the Sforzas are a very good example¹⁷). This was something that his son, who largely benefited from his experience and endeavors, never did¹⁸. Had Hunyadi been any closer as a character to Philip the Good¹⁹ who was nevertheless a duke from God's grace and some 1.500 miles away from the Ottoman front, it is highly

¹⁴ For instance: *Istoria românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria* [The History of the Romanians from Transylvania and Hungary], (Bucharest 1915), p. 94-95. For the opposite recent trend, see Iulian Mihai Damian, *Ioan de Capestrano și Cruciada Târzie* [John Capestran and the Later Crusades], PhD Thesis (Cluj-Napoca 2008), p. 90-94, 208-211

¹⁵ E.g. Radu Constantinescu, 'Quelques observations sur l'époque de Vlad Țepeș' (I-II), *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* (Bucharest), XVII (1978), 1, p. 25-39; 3, pp. 315-321. In comparison, see: Sorin Iftimi, 'La politique de Jean Hunyadi en Moldavie', in *Between Worlds*, II, p. 367-368

¹⁶ E.g. P. Engel's well-known 'János Hunyadi', p. 103-123, or the work of Joseph Held, *Hunyadi: Myth and Reality* (Boulder 1985), p. 141-146

¹⁷ For instance: Emilio Motta, 'Un ambasciatore tartaro a Venezia, 1476', *Ateneo Veneto* (Venice), XIX (1889), p. 145-153; Al. Simon, 'Anti-Ottoman Warfare and Crusader Propaganda in 1474: New Evidences from the Archives of Milan', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, XLVI (2007), 1-4, p. 25-39

¹⁸ Gyula Rázsó, 'Die Türkenpolitik des Matthias Corvinus', *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* (Budapest), XXXII (1986), 1-2, p. 3-50

¹⁹ See Jacques Paviot, 'Burgundy and the Crusade', in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 70-80

doubtful that he would have reached such fortune or, furthermore, that his family would have survived his death of 1456.

There seems to be one aspect that advocates and adversaries of great political (crusader) figures must accept. Personal need and greed and actual (not only temporary) crusader victories went hand in hand. Personal piety did not exclude rash secular ambition, or vice versa²⁰. We may, with cause, challenge devotional images (namely those of later origin), but we cannot challenge the personal devotion of the historic figures, as long as sources do not permit it.

Like other personalities, medieval figures, marked by crusader images and keywords, were 'walking paradoxes', from a modern, first of all, perspective, but also, at times, for several of their contemporaries. On a *Christian* level, where temptation commonly met with ambition in the 1400's, such aspects were well noticed by Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini (Pius II)²¹ or later, on Hungarian soil, by Péter Varádi²².

This however leaves another question open, more than in Matthias' case, that of how 'popular' the *hero* John actually was upon his death in Hungary. Several answers can be given. Some could start with a new analysis of Thuróczy's and Bonfini's role in shaping our image of the Hunyadis (following the works of Elemér Mályusz²³ and Péter Kulcsár²⁴), respectively with the study of the conduct in 1457-1458 (in relation to Ladislas V' most generous offers) of the Walachian nobles from the Banat²⁵, or with the study of Michael Szilágyi's 15.000 followers ('voters') of early 1458²⁶.

2. 'Pillars', 'Burdens' and 'Obstacles' of the Crusade on the Eve of the Battle of Belgrade

In spring 1456, hope, not only worries, gathered for John Hunyadi. In the Italian Peninsula, every-body awaited a truce between Ladislas V Posthumous and emperor Frederic III of Habsburg, *per la via del legato*

²⁰ For an overview, see N. Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe. 1400-1536* (Oxford 2002), *passim* (or Idem, *Contesting the Crusades* (Oxford 2006), in particular chaps. V-VII).

²¹ For instance: [Pius II], *Opera geographica et historica Aeneae Sylvii Piccolominei postea Pii II papae* (Helmstad 1699), p. 245-247; See also the analysis of Ovidiu Mureşan, 'John Hunyadi - the Ideal Crusader -in Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini's Letters and Historical Writings', in *Between Worlds*, II, p. 35-41

²² See Petrus de Warda, *Epistolae cum nonnullis Wladislai II. regis Hungariae litteris Petri causa scriptis*, edited by Carl Wagner (Bratislava-Kosice 1776), no. 66, p. 129-130

²³ *Thuróczy-krónika és forrásai* [The Thuróczy Chronicle and its Sources] (Budapest 1967).

²⁴ *Bonfini Magyar történetének* [Bonfini's Hungarian Histories] (Budapest 1973)

²⁵ See, starting from the 1440's, the analysis by Cosmin Popa Gorjanu, 'John Hunyadi and the Collective Privileges of the Romanian Nobles from the Banat', in *Between Worlds*, II, p. 205-210

²⁶ See Vilmos Fraknói old, but not obsolete *Szilágyi Mihály Mátyás király nagybátyja* [Michael Szilágyi, King Matthias' Great-Uncle] (Budapest 1913).

apostolico [Juan Carvajal] *e de Janus Vaynoda*. The prospect was highly menacing for Ulrich von Cilly, Mehmed II and even Venice, due to its Italian consequences. The presence of the Ottoman ambassador in Venice fueled speculations. Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, received news of the *intelligentia secreta* allegedly established between Venice and Istanbul. Venice was expected to side with Cilly too, who had asked for her help against Frederic III. According to his envoy, Frederic III prepared an attack on him (Milan highly doubted this, because of the emperor's planned anti-Ottoman action). This envoy had reached Venice at about the same time as the Ottoman envoy²⁷.

The messages, meetings and rumors of April and May 1456 are rather eloquent for one of the greatest problems of the crusade in the 1450': achieving and preserving an entente between Frederic and John. Earlier (e.g. winter 1446-1447), Frederic had almost constantly accused him of attacking Habsburg lands together with *Serbians, Turks and Walachians*²⁸. The entente between his greatest enemies, Frederic III (due namely to Austrian reasons) and John (due to Ottoman and Hungarian reasons), was one of the greatest threats to Cilly's expanded regional power.

Hunyadi's Friends and Foes on the Western and Eastern Shores of the Adriatic Sea

Ulrich von Cilly had another major problem: his control over Hungarian and Bohemian king Ladislas V the Posthumous who had to get married. John Vitéz, bishop of Oradea and secret chan-cellar, had apparently much increased his personal influence over Ladislas V. Palatine Ladislas Garai and Nicholas Újlaki, still voivode of Transylvania too, disliked the perspective of another 'Hu-nyadi style' hegemony. One of John Hunyadi's four known²⁹ letters (aside from them, if we are not dealing with a copy of his letter sent to Denis Szécsi,

²⁷ For instance: Archivio di Stato di Milano (ASM), Archivio Ducal Sforzesco (A.D.S.), Potenze Estere, Venezia, cart. 343, 1456, fasc. 4, Aprile, nn; fasc. 5, nn, Maggio (26th of April, 1st and 3rd of May).

²⁸ *Regesta chronologica-diplomatica Friderici III. Romanorum Imperatoris*, edited by Joseph Chmel (Vienna 1838 [1840]), no. 2232, p. 226; N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle*, IV, 1453-1475 (Bucharest 1915), no. 18, p. 36

²⁹ Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna (HHStA), Handschriftensammlung (Hs.S.), B(lau) 8, f. 83^v-84^r [this *Kanzleiregister* is in fact that of Sigismund of Luxemburg and a few materials on the Hungarian-Austrian events of 1456-1457 were appended at its end]; it was quoted also by J. Held, 'Peasants in Arms. 1437-1438 & 1456', in *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi. War and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Hungary*, edited by J. M. Bak, Bela M. Király (New-York 1982), p. 93; Georgius [György] Fejér, *Genus, incunabula et virtus Joan-nis Corvini de Hunyad, regni Hungariae gubernatoris* (Buda 1844), nos. 77-78, p. 223-227; *Codex Diplomaticus Partium Regno Hungariae Adnexarum. Magyarország Mellékartományainak Oklevéltára (=Monumen-ta Hungariae Historica*, I, 31, 33, 36, 40), II, *A Magyarország és Szerbia közti összeköttetések oklevéltára. 1198-1526* [Documents regarding the Relations at the Meeting-point between Hungary and Serbia. 1198-1526], edited by Lajos Thallóczy, Antal Aldásy (Budapest 1907) (*Szerbia*), no. 277, p. 208-209 (henceforth CDH, II, *Szerbia*).

archbishop of Esztergom he also sent one to Venice according to the senate³⁰) after Belgrade was sent to Garai (connections between Cilly and Vlad III the Impaler, who betrayed John Hunyadi in that summer of 1456, are still unknown³¹).

Cilly tried to marry his *figliolla*, most likely a niece or a grand-daughter in marriage to Ladislas. Ulrich's only daughter, Elisabeth, betrothed to the Matthias, John's son, in a failed attempt to re-concile the two families, had died in 1455. Ulrich's sons, Hermann and Georg, had died before³². In 1455, he had promised this *figliolla* to one of Alphonse V of Aragon's nephews. It is tempting to presume, due to her own Byzantine and Serbian connections, which would have given prestige to Cilly's matrimonial offer, Mara Branković's involvement in these affairs. After 1451-1453, the widow of Murad II and George Branković's daughter led an increasingly independent policy in relation to her father's interests, best revealed by her final attitudes towards planned marriages to Byzantine emperor Constantine XI Palaeologus and Hussite captain Jan Jiškra, probably John Hunyadi's greatest military adversary³³. Pope Calixtus III and *certi cardinali* however quickly reacted to Ulrich von Cilly's plans and tried to arrange a marriage between Ladislas V and one of the daughters of the French king³⁴. Madeleine de Valois, Charles VII's daughter, became Ladislas V's fiancé.

In this respect too, Ulrich von Cilly was in a rather difficult position, which John Hunyadi may have hoped to exploit if he outlived the imminent clash of Belgrade. John Hunyadi's death naturally refortified Ulrich von Cilly's position. As papal legate, Giovanni Castiglione, bishop of Pavia, duke Francesco Sforza's long-term trustee in Vienna, put it, Ulrich von Cilly *fa tucto* in Hungary³⁵.

A month after John Hunyadi's death, king Ladislas V sent a message to the major German political figures, in view of the crusader Reichstag of Nürnberg. No mention was made of Hunyadi or Belgrade, though Byzantium's fall was emphatically stressed out³⁶. Meanwhile, Serbian despot George

³⁰ Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato Secreti, *Deliberazioni*, reg. 20, 1453 [MV 1454]-1459, c. 99^r (12th of August 1456; edited by Giuseppe Valentini: *Acta Albaniae Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV*, Pars secunda, *Saeculi XV Scanderbegianam periodum complectens*, XXIII, 1455-1458 (Munich 1977), no. 6448, p. 161).

³¹ Al. Simon, 'Milanese Perspectives on the Hungarian Events of 1456', in *Miscellanea Historica et Archaeologica In Honorem Professoris Ionel Cârdea*, editors Valeriu Sârbu, Cristian Luca (Brăila 2008), p. 249-260

³² E.g. the Cilly perspective on the 1450' in their chronicle: HHStA, Hs.S., R(ot) 2, p. 125-132, 205-223

³³ Mihailo Popović, *Mara Branković: Leben und Wirken einer Frau an der kulturellen Schnittstelle zwischen Serben, Byzantinern und Osmanen*, PhD Thesis (Vienna 2005)

³⁴ ASM, A.D.S., Potenze Estere, *Venezia*, cart. 343, fasc. 5, nn; from the 3rd, 11th, 15th of May 1456).

³⁵ ASM, A.D.S., Potenze estere, *Germania*, cart. 569, 1450-1458, fasc. 7, 1456, nn; 29th of August 1456; edited, with a few differences, in CDH, I, *Szerbia*, no. 291, p. 216; following probably a copy from cart. 649 or 650, *Ungheria*, which I could not find).

³⁶ Stadtarchiv Aachen, Aachen, Reichsakten, II, fasc. W, no. 360 (10th of September 1456)

Branković too tried to make the most out of the recent events and dispatched the same Junio de Gradibus, which he had sent in 1454 to Milan or in 1455 to Genoa, to Alphonse V, king of Naples³⁷. Unaware of Hunyadi's death, in spite of de Gradibus' arrival a few days earlier, Alphonse wrote to John (*ilustri et magnanime comes magne vaywoda devote nobis dilecte*) to congratulate him on his victory and to assure him of his maritime support³⁸. He did not say a word on Branko-vić's messenger. Things soon changed for king Alphonse V too. 1457 began as clouded as 1456.

The Crusading Hunyadis and their 'Fellow *Athletes*' at Christendom's Border

Since Francisc Pall's studies³⁹ increasingly little emphasis has been placed on the relations (medieval as well as modern) between John Hunyadi and George Castriota Skanderbeg, which of major importance, in terms of medieval actions and perceptions, in particular for the time span we have tried to reflect. Lately however, more scholarly attention was given to Skanderbeg's long, as well as intriguing career, in particular, to his western and northern connections⁴⁰. Eager for fame and profit, as Hunyadi was, but in a comparatively more delicate position, both on the foreign and on the domestic level, Skanderbeg seemingly retakes center-stage. It is rather astonishing, in East-Central and South-East European terms in particular, to see how the crusader actions of John Hunyadi and *George Skanderbeg* were analyzed separately, unless labeled as 'the common great fight'.

Skanderbeg's 'crusader rise' largely coincided, namely, after 1450, with John's years of 'anti-Ottoman decline'. It seemed as if already prior to Hunyadi's death, the papacy, first of all (under both Nicholas V and Calixtus III), was promoting the Albanian lord as the *vaivoda's* crusader success-*or*⁴¹. The *athleta Dei* he became in 1457 was not so much a sign of the crisis in which John's death had plunged the crusading world, but a result of process which had began at least 7 years earlier. This crisis, which nevertheless, existed, is best revealed by the *athlete* title given in the same year by pope Calixtus III to the 'pirate-lord' Simeon Zenobesi⁴². Given both aspects, the relations between Skanderbeg and Matthias Corvinus, who constantly failed to aid him,

³⁷ CDH, II, *Szerbia*, no. 255, p. 191; no. 293, p. 217

³⁸ CDH, II, *Szerbia*, no. 804, p. 472 (8th of September 1456)

³⁹ E.g. 'Skanderbeg et Janco de Hunedoara', *Studia Albanica* (Tirana) VI (1968), 1, p. 103-117

⁴⁰ In particular Oliver Jens Schmitt's 'Skanderbegs letzte Jahre. West-östliches Wechselspiel von Diplo-matie und Krieg im Zeitalter der osmanischen Eroberung Albaniens (1464-1468)', *Südost-Forschungen* (Mu-nich), LXIV-LXV (2004-2005), p. 56-123

⁴¹ Joseph Gill, 'Pope Callistus III and Skanderbeg the Albanian', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Rome), XXXIII (1967), 2, p. 534-562

⁴² Ignazio Parrino, *Acta albaniae vaticana res albaniae saeculorum XIV et XV atque cruciatam spectantia* (Vatican City 1971). no. 82, p. 129

'with help' from Mehmed who knew well how to militarily and strategically too exploit the dysfunctional crusader ties or plans, be-comes of paramount importance for the comprehension of regional anti- and pro-Ottoman actions.

A striking feature, if we taken into account the later 'crusader events' of the 1470' too, has to be noted. Rome increased its symbolic goodwill towards Skanderbeg, though still seemingly avoi-ding, due to its Hungarian and Italian constraints, to let two athletes coexist. It should be stress-sed out that the *athlete* title conferred to Hunyadi turned into an almost a post-mortem distinction, as it was virtually pushed into history by pope Calixtus III' letter of August 14, 1456⁴³. In return, it was Venice who, prior and after 1456, often supported and maintained the crusader status of the Hunyadis, her 'strange allies'. For her Skanderbeg was a liability and, at times, a direct threat, due to the disputes over Venice's influence in *Albania* and the lord's pledged lo-yalty to Naples⁴⁴.

Once Skanderbeg was gone (1468) and as the relations between Venice and Buda rapidly deteriorated, the republic tried to, carefully, given her Ottoman defeats, to build a 'crusader alter-native' to the Hunyadi line. From 1474 on, she supported 'newcomer' Stephen III of Moldavia, challenging the Hunyadi 'crusader supremacy'⁴⁵. It could be argued that, under different circum-stances, Venice would have already done the same for Skanderbeg, also due to a significant ex-tent, to Hunyadi's contacts to Genoa of 1454-1455⁴⁶. This is just a possibility, re-levant however for John Hunyadi's altogether delicate position even on the crusader level in the early and mid 1450'.

II. *Walachian Attitudes at the Time of the 'Peoples' Battle' of Belgrade*

Three modern nations claim preeminence in the 'peoples' victory' of Belgrade in late July 1456. Hungarians, Serbians and Romanians alike join in a contest, naturally less dramatic than that be-tween John Capestran's and John Hunyadi's late medieval followers. Yet, 'some' of their forefathers were equally influential, at times, in the summer of 1456 as captain John Hunyadi's adversaries⁴⁷.

⁴³ Augustinus Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historica Hungarica sacram illustrantia*, II, *Ab Innocentio PP. VI. usque ad Clementem PP. VII. 1352-1526* (Rome 1860), no. 414, p. 281; see also the selection (1444-1456) in Edgár Artner, *Magyarország mit a Nyugati Keresztény művelődés védobástyája: a Vatikánai Levél-tárnak azo okiratai, melyek oseinknek a Keletrol Európát fen yegeto veszedelmek ellen kifejet erofeszítéseire vonatkoznak (cca. 1214-1606)* [Hungary as *Propugnaculum* of Western Christianity: Documents from the Va-tican Secret Archives (ca. 1214-1606)], edited by Szovág Kornél (Budapest 2004), nos. 83-89, p. 133-144

⁴⁴ See O.J. Schmitt's forthcoming book on Skanderbeg's Italian, Ottoman and Albanian careers.

⁴⁵ Simon, *Ștefan cel Mare și Matia Corvin*, p. 110-112

⁴⁶ See also the data in our 'The *Captain* and the *Superba*: Relations between John Hunyadi and Genoa (October 1444, September 1455)', in *Between Worlds*, II, p. 333-364

⁴⁷ See here also David Prodan, *Din istoria Transilvaniei. Studii și evocări* [From the History of Transylva-nia. Studies and Images] (Bucharest, 1991), p. 258-259

1. Hunyadi's Medieval and Modern *Walachian* Roads to Belgrade

One of the greatest merits of Ioan Drăgan's synthesis on the Romanian medieval nobility in the Hungarian kingdom⁴⁸ was to reveal the real importance of the 2.000 men strong (according to a report from king Matthias' days) Walachian unit, *most loyal* to the Hunyadis⁴⁹. Since king Sigismund of Luxemburg's decade, namely anti-Ottoman warfare made the fortune of Walachian communities. John Hunyadi's career resulted from and defended this feature. But as any major military or political figure, medieval or not, John Hunyadi too was not spared unnecessary, but detrimental, controversy.

In his works, severely marked by personal bias, which compromised, rather than enforced (as they were allegedly intended to do) necessary reassessments in Romanian historiography, Adrian Andrei Rusu⁵⁰ claimed that *Iancu* as a Romanian designation of Hunyadi was a product of post-1956 'nationalist-communist writings' and that Pietro Ransano's⁵¹ statement that the Romanians and Italians used *Ianco* as the name for the father of Ransano's royal master was unsubstantiated. Recent archival discoveries (let alone older edited sources⁵²) prove how false the modern statement, part of a wider series of 'verdicts' and 'conceptions', enhanced by extreme right-wing overtones, is and how correct the medieval lines were. We therefore randomly turn to one of these reports.

Names and 'Nations' at Christendom's Humanist Borders

In late 1454, anti-Ottoman activity was once again reported on the lower Danube line. One of the reports (sent from Ragusa and Venice to Milan and copied there, as well as in Venice) read⁵³.

Notificamo allla Vestra Signoria de certe nove le quale havemo havute per la/ via de Sme-derevo. Como el governatore Iancho passò el Danubio cum gran copia di gente adi 24/29 del passato,/ el qual ando alla via de Rudistri

⁴⁸ *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania, 1440-1514* [The Romanian Nobility of Transylvania, 1440-1514] (Bucharest, 2000).

⁴⁹ N. Iorga, *Acte și fragmente cu privire la istoria românilor* [Documents and Fragments on the History of the Romanians], III [1399-1499] (Bucharest, 1897), p. 101

⁵⁰ For instance: *Ioan de Hunedoara și românii din vremea sa. Studii* [John Hunyadi and the Romanians of his Time: Studies] (Cluj-Napoca, 1999), p. 14-15

⁵¹ [Pietro Ransano] Petrus Ransanus, *Epithoma rerum Hungaricum id est annalium omnium temporum liber primus et seagesimus*, edited by Péter Kulcsár (Budapest, 1977), p. 29, 34

⁵² See the forthcoming printed version of Ioan-Aurel Pop's lecture ('The Names in the Hunyadi Family') at the 2008 Matthias Corvinus' conference (*Hungary at the Dawn of the Renaissance*) in Budapest.

⁵³ ASM, A.D.S., *Potenze estere, Turchia-Levante*, cart. 647, fasc. 1 *Albania*, nn (10th of October 1454).

The name was both natural and clear (moreover, it appeared as such in a copy of the report, probably in the *Ungheria*, section of State Archives of Milan, according to its editors Lajos Thallóczy and Antal Aldasy from the early 1900', now missing however, and was printed as such in Budapest⁵⁴). It came up in identical (*Jancho*) or similar (*Janco Vaivoda*) form in, for instance, the classical Venetian work of the famous Byzantine refugee Theodore Spandounes [Spandougino] in the early 1500'⁵⁵.

Although their actual historical importance is rather small, as they do not provide us with any great data on otherwise known events⁵⁶, such reports are of value in these matters. They are important not only in terms of modern debates, of more or less, usually less in spite of their impact, scientific origin, but in terms of medieval perceptions of a character who started making his fortune, in quite unknown ways, in the Duchy of Milan and then rose to fame in the late medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Such reports and Pietro Ransano's pages are even more relevant in regard to the medieval relation between popular and official perception, for the official political records, regardless of origin, were dictated by the official form of Hunyadi's name, from *Iohannes* to the god-like *Janus*⁵⁷.

Medieval nations and nationalisms had little in common with their modern 'counterparts'. For instance, one of the reports, sent from Venice to Milan, on the bloody battle of Baia, between king Matthias Corvinus of Hungary and Stephen III of Moldavia, of mid December 1467, read as follows⁵⁸:

*Essando ribellati alcuni populi a la/ Corona chiamati Seculi, lo prefato Re [Matthias] ando in quel paese con V^m cavalli et altrettanti a piede et essendo lo **Brancho** suo patre originario de/ dicti Seculi credeva debelare facilmente con poca gente. Et a la prima sachezo alcune terre et abruzo. Vedendosi malmenati, / <li Seculi> domandano aiuto a soy vicini chiamati Valachia, quali antichamente furo Romani et segono la lor parlare latina et romana fine in questo tempo, / et sono valentissimi a cavalo, et parte d'essi anchora che siano*

⁵⁴ CDH, II, *Szerbia*, no. 252, p. 187

⁵⁵ Theodore Spandounes [Spandougino], *Patritio Constantinopolitano, de la origine deli Imperatori Otto-mani, ordini della corte, forma de guerreggiare loro, religione, rito, et costumi della natione*, in *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyen Âge*, edited by C[onstantin]. N. Sathas, IX (Paris, 1890), p. 153, 163 (English version: *On the Origin of the Ottoman Emperors*, edited and translated by Donald M. Nicol (Cambridge, 1997), p. 31, 45).

⁵⁶ L. Elekes, *Die Verbündeten und die Feinde des Ungarischen Volkes in den Kämpfen gegen die türki-schen Eroberer* (= *Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, IX) (Budapest, 1954), p. 34-35

⁵⁷ For further data and analysis, see also Simon, 'The Lion in Winter', p. 508-511, and Idem, 'Milanese Perspectives', p. 256-259

⁵⁸ ASM, A.D.S., Potenze estere, *Venezia*, cart. 354, 1468, fasc. 2, *Febbraio*, nn (18th of February 1468). See also our 'Brancho's Son and the Walachians in 1467', *Historical Yearbook* (Bucharest), VII (2009).

ultra lo Danubio dano tributo al Turcho, li altri piu lontani dal Danubio/ verso Polana vivano hodie so le sue lege quasi in libertà, et si ano alcuno Vaynoda per signore li dano pocha cossa de tributo.

Historical and political data mingled with humanist formulas and licences on the Adriatic shores too.

Several interpretations (such as: ‘popular Iancu’ was a Szekler, or originally there was a ‘giant’ Walachia stretching over both banks of the Danube) are possible. In both cases, posing the question of credibility is more than necessary. Still, some matters should be reviewed in relation to this peculiar humanist report. For Venetian bureaucracy, John’s son, on his enthronement, was *d’origine hum-ile de progenie de Valacchia*⁵⁹ and, as a *Valachorum regulus*⁶⁰ he was one of the most *Hungarian* bearers of St. Stephen’s crown. In reference to anti-Ottoman campaigns south of the Danube and the actions of the Hunyadis, over three generations, the issue of the Vlachs, both adversaries, as Ot-toman subjects, and loyal helpers of the marching Christian armies, has to be re-analyzed⁶¹.

The Walachians at the Battle of Belgrade and the Composition of John Hunyadi’s Army

Direct information on the presence of the Walachians at Belgrade is unknown. This seemed ir-relevant for the contemporary sources. The ‘main ethnical’ problem at Belgrade (perhaps more social, but namely in terms of ‘chain of command) was that between *German* and *Hungarian* crusaders⁶². On the other hand, the matter is relevant for both the structure and the size of Hunyadi’s army in particular, for he seemingly threw into battle all his Walachian resources. Starting with spring, the Walachian troops from Maramureş too, usually used only on northern campaigns, were moving to Belgrade (just before his flight to Vienna, Ladislas, probably advised, had been careful to grant them with privileges⁶³). Apparently, this had not been the case since the first decade of Sigismund’s reign.

⁵⁹ Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Handschriften-, Autographen- und Nachlass Sammlung Cod. 3275, 6215-6217 (Stefano Magno, *Annali veneti e del mondo [1443-1478]*), II, *Ad annum 1457* [1458], f. 6

⁶⁰ [Antonio Bonfini] Antonius de Bonfinis, *Rerum Ungaricarum decades*, edited by József Fögel, László Juhász, Béla Iványi, III (Leipzig, 1939), p. 224, 243; IV (Leipzig 1941 [Budapest], 1945, p. 212

⁶¹ See Nicoară Beldiceanu, ‘Les Valaques de Bosnie à la fin du XV^e siècle et leurs institutions’, *Turcica* (Paris), VII (1975), p. 122-134

⁶² See I.M. Damian, ‘Giovanni da Capestrano, i valacchi e la battaglia di Belgrado: Fonti e ideologia della crociata dei minori’, in *Between Worlds*, II, p. 455-461

⁶³ Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească*, p. 373

Though during the year for which he had been appointed captain-general of the realm by the Diet⁶⁴. Hunyadi had been compelled by the need to strength his position to move namely outside most of his areas of trust, he seemingly made the most of his journeys of 1453 and 1455 in order to strengthen the loyalty and prepair the troops of his familiars in the Banate and in Transylvania name-ly. On Walachian soil, the events of 1457 and of 1490 indicate that this loyalty was not 'perfect'⁶⁵.

Officially since 1432-1433, the Walachian nobles of Transylvania (predominantly from the Land of Hațeg) formed a distinct unit within the Hungarian royal army⁶⁶. The safest estimate for the number of their men comes from Matthias' days: 2000⁶⁷. Under exceptional conditions, such as those of 1456, they could have been joined, in distinct Walachian units, by 1.000-1.500 from the Banate and up to 500 from the Maramureș⁶⁸. In 1456, at Belgrade, the Walachian units totaled at best 4.000.

In order for the Walachians not to stand out in Hunyadi's army at Belgrade, deemed as gene-rally *Hungarian* by contemporaries, they must have represented no more than a third of his army, including Szilágyi's troops. It is thus not impossible that the figure of 4.000 given for Hunyadi's army⁶⁹ stood in fact for his primary Walachian forces. The fact that, unlike at Kossovopolje, in 1448, and Varna, in 1444, or later Câmpul Pâinii, where troops from Walachia (1444, 1448) and Moldavia (1448) too came⁷⁰, the participation of Walachians (from the realm) received virtually no attention, can be attributed first to the greater stakes of the confrontation in the summer of 1456, Christian, Ottoman, of the battle and second to the Hungarian political banner under which they fought.

2. Forms of Acceptance of the Ottoman Offers and the Rejection of Crusader Calls

From a rather general Romanian historiographical perspective, the key event in 1456 was not the battle of Belgrade, but the official payment of the <first> [known] Moldavian tribute to an Ot-toman sultan. Discussions were not

⁶⁴ *Decreta Regni Hungariae. Gesetze und Verordnungen Ungarns*, edited by Ferenc Döry, György Bónis, Géza Érszegi, Zsuzsa Teke, Vera Bácskai, [I], 1301-1457 (Budapest, 1976), I, 25th of January 1454, p. 353-359

⁶⁵ E.g. Al. Simon, 'Valahii și Dieta de la Rákos (1505). Considerații asupra sfârșitului epocii huniade' [The Walachians and the the Diet of Rákos (1505). Considerations on the End of the Age of the Hunyadis], *Apulum*, XLIII (2006), p. 99-121

⁶⁶ *Decreta Regni Hungariae*, I, 1432-1433, Propositiones, art. 21, p. 418-420

⁶⁷ *Acte și fragmente*, III, p. 101

⁶⁸ See also the data in Radu Popa, *Țara Maramureșului în veacul al XIV-lea* [The Land of Maramureș in the 14th Century] (Bucharest 1970), p. 232-236, alongside the overview in Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească*

⁶⁹ Matei Cazacu, *Dracula [suivi du "Capitaine Vampire" une nouvelle roumaine par Marie Nizet (1879)]* (Paris, 2004), p. 455, note 39

⁷⁰ Drăgan, *Nobilimea românească din Transilvania*, p. 364-403

few in number, in particular in the 1930' and in the 1980'⁷¹. Most of them regarded the charter of Vaslui which confirmed Moldavia's submission to the Porte.

The charter was the protocol concluded (either) by a 'reduced' version of a gathering of the 'Moldavian Diet' or by an 'extended' form of the princely council⁷². The context of 1455-1456 allows however the co-existence, simultaneous or not, of both forms of 'political gathering'. The meeting was dated either to the 5th <of January> or to the 5th <of June> 1456.

The Payment of the Moldavian Tribute in the Context of Mehmed II's Plans of 1456

Between October 5, <1455>, and June 9, 1456, Moldavia became the tribute paying vassal of the Ottoman Empire and paid its first (known) tribute⁷³. In October, sultan Mehmed II had officially accepted Peter III Aron's 'offer' to become his tribute paying vassal and ordered him to pay the tribute within a delay of 3 months. On June 9, 1456, from Yeni Derebend, whether in the Bosnian or in the Bulgarian area, depending on interpretation, sultan Mehmed II granted trading rights in the Empire to Moldavian merchants, indicating that the tribute had recently been paid and that thus the arrangement between Suceava and the Ottoman Porte had therefore become fully functional.

⁷¹ For an overview: Franz Babinger, 'Cel dintâi tribut al Moldovei către sultan' [Moldavia's first Ottoman Tribute], in *Omagiu fraților Alexandru și Ion I. Lapedatu la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani* [Festschrift for the Brothers Alexandru and Ion I. Lapedatu on their 60th Birthday] (Bucharest 1936), p. 29-37; Șerban Papa-costea, 'La Moldavie état tributaire de l'empire ottoman au XV^e siècle: le cadre international des rapports établis en 1455-1456', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire* (Bucharest), XIII (1974), 3, p. 445-461; Ștefan S. Gorovei, 'Moldo-va în Casa Păcii. Pe marginea izvoarelor privind primul secol de relații moldo-otomane' [Moldavia in the *House of Peace*: On the Sources regarding the First Century of Moldavian-Ottoman Relations], *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A.D. Xenopol* [The Yearbook of the A.D. Xenopol Institute of History] (Iași), XVII (1980), p. 631-639; Leon Șimanschi, 'Închinarea de la Vaslui (5 <iunie> 1456)' [The *Submission* of Vaslui. 5th <of June> 1456], *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A.D. Xenopol*, XVIII (1981), p. 613-637

⁷² Mihai Costăchescu, *Documente moldovenesti înainte de Ștefan cel Mare* [Moldavian Documents prior to Stephen the Great], II, *Documente interne. Urice (ipsoace), Surete, Regeste, Traduceri. 1438-1456. Docu-mente Externe. Acte de împrumut, de omagiu, tractate, solii, privilegii comerciale, salv-conducte, scrisori. 1387-1456* [Domestic Documents: Charters, Regests, Translations. 1438-1456. Foreign Documents: Letters of Cre-dit, Hommage Deeds, Treaties, Embassies, Trade Privileges, Safe-Conducts and Letters. 1387-1456] (Iași, 1932), no. 233, p. 797-808 (= *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, A. Moldova, II, 1449-1486, editors L. Șiman-schi, Georgeta Ignat, Dumitru Agache (Bucharest 1976), no. 58, p. 85-87).

⁷³ *Documente turcești privind istoria României* [Turkish Documents on the History of Romania], I, 1417-1774, edited by Mustafa Ali Mehmed (Bucharest 1976), no. 1-2, p. 1-3

It is difficult to believe that, given the context and the tone of the contemporary documents⁷⁴, including that of Vaslui, that, on one hand, Peter III Aron could afford to delay the payment of the tribute, and, on the other hand, that he took the decision of offering his and Moldavia's submission to the Porte without consulting with members of the elite. A meeting/ gathering similar to that attested by the document of Vaslui (5 <?> 1456) probably took place also prior to chancellor Mihul's first (known) embassy to Mehmed II in the fall of 1455⁷⁵. In return, logic as well as the tone of the pre-served Moldavian and Ottoman documents, suggesting a Moldavian ineffective attempt to bargain and waiting period, sometime in 1456 (prior to June 9), on behalf of sultan Mehmed II in view of the fulfillment of (one of) his request(s), indicate that maybe two other gatherings took place.

The first of them probably took place after Mihul's return to Suceava in late 1455. The second could be dated to late May 1456. In both cases, one should take into account that Mihul's journeys from Suceava to the Ottoman Empire required more than just a few days, up to two weeks (if he did not make a detour via the Black Sea, from Cetatea Albă to Mesembria, which would have taken longer⁷⁶), especially as he had to cross either the area of Chilia or Walachia proper, where, both in late 1455 and in particular in mid 1456, the situation was very tense⁷⁷. In this respect, the document of Vaslui, resembling more a charter, guaranteed by the metropolitan (Theoctist I⁷⁸, a staunch anti-unio-nist and a trustee of Ghenadios Scholarios) and intended to protect the members of the 'gathering' and namely Peter Aron and Mihul for local charges of selfishly refusing to fight the *Turk*, could be dated to January, as well as June 1456 (both favored by one of Mehmed's two mentioned documents).

Given Mehmed II rather frequent problems of financing his summer campaigns, before all his revenues had been collected (in 1462, he had to loan 500.000 ducats from the bankers of Istanbul for his Walachian campaign⁷⁹) and the multiple Ottoman stakes of 1456, it is highly probable that he asked in

⁷⁴ See, for instance: József Gelich, Lajos Thallóczy, *Diplomatarium relationum reipublicae regasane cum regno Hungariae. Ragusa és Magyarország összeköttetéseinek oklevéltára* (Budapest, 1887); nos. 334-337, p. 528-586; no. 340, p. 589; CDH, II, *Szerbia*, nos. 270-271, p. 203-204; no. 272, p. 204-206; nos. 729-733, p. 463-471

⁷⁵ *Documente moldovenești*, II, no. 233, p. 797-808

⁷⁶ For traveling speeds: Vladimir Segeš, 'Time, Space and Mobility in the Wars of the Late Middle Ages', in *Fight against the Turk in Central Europe in the First Half of the 16th Century*, edited by István Zombori (Budapest, 2004), p. 103-113

⁷⁷ Simon' *The Captain and the Superba*, p. 360-364

⁷⁸ Dan Ioan Mureșan, 'De l'intronisation du métropolitain Théoctiste I^{er} au sacre d'Etienne III le Grand', in *Ștefan cel Mare și Sfânt. Atlet al Credinței Creștine* [Stephen the Great and Holy: Athlete of the Christian Faith], edited by Maria Magdalena Székely, Șt. S. Gorovei (Putna 2004), p. 337-374

⁷⁹ Laonic Chalcocondil, *Expuneri istorice. Historiarum demonstrationes*, edited by Vasile Grecu (Bucharest 1958), p. 158

spring 1456 for urgent payment of the Moldavian tribute in advance, either for 1456 (more likely, as the money requested in October 1455 should have represented the tribute for that year) or 1457, or for an extraordinary financial aid (which should have led to a Moldavian attempt to bargain, attested or not by the charter of Vaslui). Eventually, sultan Mehmed II received the Moldavian money which explains both his privilege of June 1456 and the tone of that document⁸⁰. This officially and practically meant Moldavia's full Ottoman submission. Yet, the submission did not last⁸¹.

The Walachian and Moldavian Ottoman Tribute and the Question of the *Latin* Census

The Ottoman offer was neither a real shame (otherwise than in terms of refusing resistance against the Turk), nor exaggerated, but quite the contrary. This puts the concerns, the participants at and the blessing of the gathering of Vaslui in a different perspective⁸². It appears that Mehmed's demands were better than the *Latin* suzerain requirements from Moldavia (and Walachia as well).

Moldavia's probably traditional Polish census was most likely summed up by Elias I's act of allegiance of 1432 towards Wladislaw II Jagiello⁸³. One *payede yearly 400 horsse, 200 oxen, 200 clothe and 200 cartes of fyshe*. The Ottoman tribute of 2.000 ducats (and no other obligations in nature) was at best (to say the very least, given the chronological discrepancies which affect our knowledge of the prices of *horsse* and *oxen* in Moldavia namely) a match for Moldavia's Polish obligations⁸⁴.

The *Latin* census was probably more advantageous in case of a Hungarian allegiance of Moldavia (perhaps even prior to the 1470'), but most likely not in that of Buda's suzerainty over Walachia⁸⁵. Between 1456 and

⁸⁰ *Documente turcești*, I, no. 2, p. 2-3

⁸¹ For instance: Al. Simon, 'The Limits of the Moldavian Crusade (1474, 1484)', *Annuario del Istituto Romeno di Cultura e Ricerca Umanistica* (Venice), IX (2007), p. 233-236

⁸² Idem, 'The Captain and the Superba', p. 363-364

⁸³ *Res Polonicae ex Archivo Musei Britannici*, I, *Relation of the Sate of Polonia and the United Provinces of that Crown. Anno 1598 (=Elementa ad Fontes Editionum, XIII)*, edited by Carol H. Talbot (Rome 1965), p. 148; Victor Eszkenazy, 'Omagiul lui Ștefan cel Mare de la Colomeea (1485). Note pe marginea unui ceremonial medieval' [Stephen the Great's Hommage of Colomeea: Notes on a Medieval Ceremonial], *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A.D. Xenopol*, XX (1983), p. 258

⁸⁴ For prices, for instance: *Acte*, I (Bucharest 1897), p. 108-110; Damaschin Mioc, 'Prețurile din Țara Românească în secolele XV-XVI și dinamica lor' [The Prices in Walachia in the 15th-16th Centuries and their Dynamics], *Revista de Istorie* [Historical Review] (Bucharest), 1980, 2, p. 318-321 (in particular).

⁸⁵ *I diarii di Cicco Simonetta*, edited by Alfio Rosario Natale, I (Milan 1962), p. 202; Ș. Papacostea, 'Populație și fiscalitate în Țara Românească în secolul al XV-lea: un nou izvor'

1476, Walachia turned into (one of) 'Christendom's trench(es)', which drastically reduced its 'census', but also its economic potential. The Porte did not fail to exploit the situation.

One must notice again the discrepancy between Walachian and Moldavian Ottoman tributes and those paid by Serbia or Ragusa. In symbolical, as well as financial terms, the Ottoman tributes North of the Lower Danube resembled more the Venetian tribute⁸⁶. Given the Ottoman demands and payments of the mid 1500' and, in particular, in Moldavia's case, until 1484, its harbors, the discrepancy can hardly be explained by the poverty of the sates and likewise does not allow more or less simplistic explanations of their pro-Ottoman stands. New approaches are more than needed.

[Population and Taxes in Walachia in the 15th Century: A New Source], *Revista de Istorie*, 1980, 9, p. 1779-1786

⁸⁶ Momčilo Spremić, 'I tributi veneziani nel Levante nel XV secolo', *Studi Veneziani* (Venice), XIII (1971), p. 221-252

UNWONTED CELESTIAL PHENOMENA AND BAROQUE SENSIBILITY IN THE CARPATHIAN AREA

Mihai GEORGIȚĂ

Abstract: *The oldest societies perceived the celestial anomalies with fright and terror. The comets, the meteorites, the suns - and the world darkness, referred from the oldest time to the fear that appeared after sky got darkened, and they became bad omen foretells records. The baroque was both a cultural movement, as well as a life style with its own collective mentality. The main feature of the baroque epoch is the tragedy. In these circumstances the celestial anomalies appeared to be terrifying. During the Renaissance the occult sciences, the astrology, and various predictions of the end of the world were developed, which was an opportunity for the astrologers to make a connection between the unusual celestial phenomena and the events from the Revelation Book.*

This study presents the way people, Romanians and others alike, had interpreted these phenomena, and the way the fear of comets, meteorites, sun and moon eclipses, etc. were understood in the baroque epoch.

Keywords: *celestial phenomena, baroque, carpathian, terror, astrology*

In the midst of modernity the unusual celestial phenomena could still cause apprehension between the less educated populations. From ancestral times the comet apparitions or the meteorites fall were looked upon with fright and seen as ominous. For a profoundly religious society, such as the medieval one, any natural phenomenon was considered divine will rendered, whereas it was equally the creator of all existent entities, the natural as well as the spiritual. Hence any anomaly of astronomic phenomena, as well as the other climatic natural phenomena, had in the conception of pre-modern society people the same divine source. The celestial anomalies were understood as divine signs, as manifestations of a justifier divinity meant to correct people's injustice and sins. The overwhelming feeling of dread when they appeared was not as much caused by the inexplicable unknown phenomenon¹, but by the superstitious conviction that they attract evil.

The baroque sensibility from the 16th to the 17th centuries has developed a widespread psychosis in observing, perceiving and representing of such

¹ Toader Nicoară, *Sentimentul de insecuritate în societatea românească la începuturile timpurilor moderne (1600-1830)*, Editura Accent & Presa universitară clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, p. 98

celestial phenomena. The experience of these collective psychoses with intensity up until the modern ages can be explained by means of some socio-psychological and historical factors. In a world going through a conscious crisis, when human collectivities were periodically under siege by calamities and disasters, the church nurtured faith in a justifier God, who punishes the evil ones and rewards the good ones, constituted an amounted psychical support. In the case of evil provoked by men (especially war and its chain of disasters and casualties) they could still hold on to hope, but in case of natural calamities and celestial signs, certain signs of disgrace and divine wrath, man kind instantly found themselves alone and helpless, “having against a vindictive God and overwhelming forces which surpassed their strengths”². The alienation feeling of man towards God was stronger acknowledged by baroque age people.

The baroque is considered by some researchers not only a cultural trend, but also a specific way of existence, with its own collective mentality recognizable from the middle of the 16th century up until the beginning of the 18th century.³ For Marcel Raymond the baroque signifies the spiritual drama being consumed after the discovery of the Antiquity and the New World, in the confessional battle realm between the Reform and Counter-Reform.⁴ The conscience level tension is generated, as some interpreters say, by the coexistence of some antagonist tendencies: ascetic-mundane, spirituality-sensuality, civics-misanthropy, domestic tranquility quest- dramatic absconding, etc⁵. Therefore, the baroque existence goes under the tragic sign. Mainly the 17th century marks tragically the existence of all men, and the tragic performance of the human life created a kind of general pessimism⁶, for which the scholars started developing with predilection in their studies as a *leitmotiv*, *fortuna labilis and vanitas vanitum*. The anguish, despair, guiltiness and vainness feelings in a tragic universe are now rendered by the protestant theologians, the loudest voices in these ages of a strong affirmation of the religious Reform.⁷ The worsening of occult sciences and the persecution of

² *Ibidem*, p. 101

³ Edgar Papu, *Barocul ca tip de existență*, Editura Literatura pentru toți, București, 1980; Some scientists discovered common features of the baroque mentality along the history of humanity reflected in the culture and the civilization. Also see: Diana Adamek, *Ochiul de linx. Barocul și revenirile sale*, ediția a II-a, Editura Limes, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, p. 61-64, *passim*

⁴ *Apud*, Ion Pulbere, *Literatura barocului în Italia, Spania și Franța*, Editura Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1975, p. 27

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 34

⁶ Romul Munteanu, *Clasicism și baroc în cultura europeană din secolul al XVII-lea*, ediția a II-a, partea întâi, Editura Allfa, București, 1998, p. 153-155. Pentru detalii, Peter Lahnstein, *Das Leben im Barock*, Stuttgart, 1974

⁷ The French historian, Jean Delumeau has found the richer documentary material for the study of fear and insecurity in Western Europe all the way from the 16th and 17th century. See: Jean Delumeau, *Frica în Occident (sec. XIV-XVIII). O cetate asediată*, vol.I-II, Editura Meridiane, București, 1986, *passim*; *Idem*, *Păcatul și frica. Culpabilitatea în Occident(sec.*

witchcraft attains now the paroxysm.⁸ The fatidic signs and the horrid future of the last times, which foretold the Apocalypse's imminence and the inevitable Final Judgment, were seen everywhere. The superstitious Middle Ages dismays concerning this world's tragic end became an obsession for the Renaissance and Baroque people. Artists, scientists and theologians preoccupied themselves assiduously with illustrating and explaining the apocalyptic catastrophes knocking at the terrestrial's door. To decipher the bad omen signs, came in assistance the ancient occult sciences, rediscovered by the Renaissance intellectuals.

Kabala, astrology, alchemy and magic have become serious preoccupations even for the most renowned men of science⁹, and many of the scholars were calculating the date of the beginning and the end of the world, that had to correspond to the 7000 years that the world subsisted. According to these calculations the end of the world dates varied in the period of time 1639-1700, and the most illuminated people of the time tended to believe in these predictions¹⁰. The universe animist vision was not common only for simple people but also for the elite¹¹. It was formed in the midst of the elite due to the obscurity which encompassed all the great magical-astrological inheritance of the ancient and medieval thinking. In the hermetic conception, the nature and the universe were not only mater but also spiritual energy, the stars were considered divine living animals, and the earth was thought out to be like a human organism and everything was structured as a whole with subtle correspondences, inferred only by the initiated ones. That's how the most refined thinkers and scientists got to be attracted by the hermetic mirage and pursued in their scientific work trying to substantiate some of the hermetic thesis¹². Astronomy as a modern science has detached itself very difficult from

XIII-XVIII), Vol I-II, Editura Polirom, Iași, 1997, passim. The insecurity feeling becomes a common good only in the 18th century. „The 18th century marks this history –therefore for the occident it meant a general regress of insecurity”. Cf. Idem, *Liniștiți și ocrotiți. Sentimentul de securitate în Occidentul de altădată*, vol. II, Editura Polirom, Iași, 2005, p. 177

⁸ Jean Palou, *Vrăjitoria*, Editura Corint, București, 2003, p. 59-98. Wayne Shumaker, *Științele oculte ale Renașterii. Un studiu al patternurilor intelectuale*, Editura Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 83-126; Norman Cohn, *Demonii Europei. Demonizarea creștinilor în Evul Mediu*, Editura Pandora-M, Târgoviște, 2002, p. 215-245; Jean Delumeau, *Frica în Occident...*, vol. II, p. 263-292; Robert Muchembled (coord.), *Magia și vrăjitoria în Europa din Evul Mediu până astăzi*, Editura Humanitas, București, 1997, p. 49-241

⁹ The most important source for occult teaching is *Corpus Hermeticum*, translated from Greek by Marsilio Ficino. According to these texts it was believed that the entire universe is animated by spirits which live on the stars, determining their movements and people's faith. See: Wayne Schumaker, *op. cit.*, p. 73-74

¹⁰ Lucian Boia, *Sfârșitul lumii. O istorie fără sfârșit*, Humanitas, București, 2007, p. 73-86

¹¹ Jean Delumeau, *Frica în Occident...*, vol. I, p. 115, 127-128

¹² For information on the great influence of the magical-astrologist hermetic tradition on the thinking of the most characters of the scientific revolution See: Paolo Rossi, *Nașterea științei*

astrology and the scholars still found the celestial phenomena interpretations extremely interesting¹³. The tremendous manuscripts number concerning astrology is rather eloquent in that matter. The doctrinaire collision between the Reform and Counter-Reform created a general insecurity, and therefore astrology gain ground again, and the stars fright came back stronger than the christian hope. For any important activity the Princes and their councilors would consult the stars with the help of astrologists. The authors of forecasts and almanacs had to reconcile both the church's censure and the public's solicitations. As a result there appeared wording like: God has interbred the stars to serve as signs for people so that they can foresee the society, kingdoms, religion's state and direction. However there was also the common view that the stars through their movement were more likely to forecast miseries¹⁴. These preoccupations inevitably had some contact with millenary sensibilities from the baroque age, which were developed mostly in the protestant world with mosaic affinities, in the background of new ways of Scripture symbols deciphering and in close connection with crucial social and political events of the time¹⁵. Furthermore peculiar natural events, such as comets, meteorites, the birth of monster children, had to be studied to ascertain if they were signs of what was yet to come¹⁶. The christian Zionism of the radical protestant groups from the Occident to Transylvania instigated the millenary expectations. Their antitrinitarism was based on a literary interpretation of the old testament image of the awaited Messiah, and some were adopting jewish practices to prepare the imminent coming of a Jewish political Messiah¹⁷. A kind of milenarism was coming to live in the midst of scientists, especially after 1640. They understood the knowledge progress as a providential sign of history's denouement as a providential sign, and they considered their contribution in the research of nature's secrets as a helping hand in God's work to fulfill the last times¹⁸. Thus, from simple people to scholars, they all felt the burden of that tragic age, which

moderne în Europa, Polirom, Iași, 2004, p. 33-38, 42-44; Idem, *Omul de știință*, în *Omul Baroc*, volum coordonat de Rosario Villari, Polirom, Iași, 2000, p. 287-289

¹³ Ovidiu Drimba, *Istoria culturii și civilizației*, vol. III, Editura Științifică, București, 1990, p. 214; Pierre Chaunu, *Civilizația Europei clasice*, vol. II, Editura Meridiane, București, 1989, p. 99-133

¹⁴ Jean Delumeau, *op. cit.*, p. 116-117, 122-123

¹⁵ Richard Popkin, *Milenarismul secolului al XVII-lea*, în *Teoria Apocalipsei și sfârșiturile lumii*, editor Malcolm Bull, Editura Meridiane, București, 1999, p. 137-147

¹⁶ Luther makes the following remark concerning the death of the election-prince of Saxa.: "the sign of his death was a rainbow I saw together with Phillippe (Melanchthon) that appeared one night last winter over Lochau, also a child that was born here in Wittenberg, with no head and one with the feet turned backwards" See: Jean Delumeau, *op. cit.*, p. 117

¹⁷ Apud, Dan Robert, *Az Erdelyi Sombatasok és Pechi Syimon. The Transilvanian Sabbatarians and Simon Pechi*, Budapest, 1987, *passim*

¹⁸ Richard Popkin, *op. cit.*, p. 148-155

had to have a tragic end, and any sign and unnatural phenomenon in the sky, seemed to forecast it.

Quite often, for example, a comet could cause great panic for common people, insomuch as some people got sick, and even died. Such a monstrous comet came forth in the Occident's sky in 1527; its disastrous effects surpassed the oral tradition towards the written one, accompanied by illustrations¹⁹. The misfortunes foretold by comets were priory thorough described by many prophecies. That's how the horrifications that were about to happen after the comet apparition in 1604 were predicted. The eclipses had the same effect. For example, 12th August 1654 eclipse caused great panic in all of Europe, being generated with anticipation by the astrologer's horrid predictions concerning the end of the world. The frighten people's behavior during the eclipse was nothing less than aberrant²⁰. Even though in the midst of the 17th century some scientists had arisen, and were disproving the comet's divine virtues, deriding people's fears and establishing the true nature of these phenomena, but in the next century they also created the psychosis of a terrestrial disaster, apocalyptic even, due to the collision between a gigantic comet and earth²¹. Ever since then, until nowadays still exists a latent anxiety, immediately transformed in psychosis, at any possibility of an asteroid falling on earth, and the millenary groups continue to exist and think out several apocalyptic sceneries²².

But never as in the baroque period, the fright and terror of unexpected celestial phenomena, were better described and keenly perceived. In the carpathian basin, an area where the sky had offered people plenty unusual and unwonted phenomena, they sometimes, at a comet apparition, lived with the same intensity feelings of fright, or were overwhelmed by the terror of the rumble provoked by meteorites falls. They were sustained by diverse astrological prognoses²³ hawked through almanacs and calendars. Prediction books were preferred since the Middle Eve in all Romanian classes, by being clear reminiscences of old celestial beliefs inside christianity. And although they were condemned by the church such studies kept coming out right under the metropolitan's hand-presses alongside with religious printings. One of these texts was *Gramovnicul* (connected to thunder) or *Fulgerarnicul* (connected to lightning), which offered interpretations about men's faith and about the signs of the zodiac based on the way the lightning strikes, or the moment of the thunder. The devout voivode (ruler) Constantin Brâncoveanu kept at his court an astrologer, who was dealing with "interpreting the almanacs", analyzed from

¹⁹ Lucian Boia, *op. cit.*, p. 78

²⁰ Jean Delumeau, *op. cit.*, p. 118-121

²¹ Lucian Boia, *op. cit.*, p. 104-108

²² *Vezi Teoria Apocalipsei și sfârșiturile lumii*, passim

²³ Pavel Binder, *Date suplimentare la „Cronica observațiilor astronomice”*, în *Revista de istorie*, 1980, nr. 9 tom, 33, p. 1790; Toader Nicoară, *op. cit.*, p. 106

italian sources²⁴. Through its fatidic character, the forecasting literature induced people an anguish state, magnified when unusual astronomic phenomena occurred. Just how much people's knowledge even the ones with a higher education, were dominated by such an analogue thinking, is proved by the answer given to Serban Cantacuzino ruler, by his administrator, Ioan Vizantie, on deciphering a natural anomaly (the birth of a two headed rabbit): God "to show his immense power and wisdom, in a strange way He gave his beings some means divination and prediction, alongside their distinguished nature, for them to have also a mysterious influence to show us from time to time and foretell the present and the things yet to come. So first He gave our human nature the divination and foreseeing, second, to celestial bodies He gave the quality, that in certain times, to transform themselves in signs called comets and others, so that besides their natural state, they will also signify the death of some great men or the destruction of a people, or the change of one kingdom, or some other things like these²⁵. People from the old regime would regulate some habits and a multitude of activities by the movement of the stars, encompassed in the planets calendars, and they believed that those calendars influence their life directly; therefore it was necessary for them to follow their course. This fact is also attested by Gheorghe Sincai, who took a firm stand against these popular beliefs. "It is insanity to believe that in the calendars of planets there is foretold when it will be cold, hot, swelter, dry or humid times; when should people shed blood, live with cures, chop their woods, or when to sow, to plant, to cut their hair, and to wean their children. That all the divinations are made from the fulfillment of the planets, they are all lies"²⁶.

Regarding the unwonted celestial phenomena, of course there is a difference of perception from one believer's community to another. In this majority protestant and orthodox area a more intense perception was in the mentalities of the protestant communities, more sensitive to the end of the world signs²⁷. Untouched by the millenary movements, rather than peripheral²⁸,

²⁴ Nicolae Cartoian, *Istoria literaturii române vechi*, Editura Minerva, București, 1980, p. 129-131; Sextil Pușcariu, *Latinitate și ortodoxie*, ediție îngrijită de Gabriel Vasiliu, Editura Napoca Star, Cluj-Napoca, 2006, p. 59

²⁵ Toader Nicoară, *op. cit.*, p. 105. See the entire interpretation made by the historian in E. Hurmuzaki, *Scrisori și documente grecești privitoare la istoria românilor*, culese și publicate de A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, traduse de G. Murnu și C. Litzica, București, 1914, p. 185-187

²⁶ Gheorghe Șincai, *Învățătură firească spre surparea superstiției norodului*, Editura Științifică, București, 1964, p. 184-185

²⁷ It is assumed from some texts that the protestant and the catholic world were more inclined to describe the horror and the morbid than the eastern orthodox. See for this matter: Dan Horia Mazilu, *Un Dracula pe care Occidentul l-a ratat-din istoria literaturii medievale-*, Editura Floarea Darurilor, București, 2001, p. 157

²⁸ It is about the movement from the North of Transylvania lead by the Romanian peasant, Gheorghe Craciun. See: *Din Istoria Transilvaniei*, vol. I, Editura Academiei RPR, București, 1960, p. 131-132

the eschatological visions of the orthodox were generally optimistic and weren't so preoccupied by the Final judgment's fear, because their church would entrust them that their salvation was assured by the baptism secrecy (mystery) inside the just testifying church. From the iconographic programs off the churches and from religious works up until the end of the 17th century it was observed by the ones who were dealing with this subject that the ones intended for damnation were the pagans and the heretics, therefore the un-baptized ones²⁹. What they didn't noticed though was the fact that the eastern church at this time had another goal, of saving its believers first of all from the worst sin, that of apostasy (that way loosing them forever), easy to fall into, when the ortodox communities were under siege by different beliefs and religions. The individual eschatological fears start imposing themselves in the Romanian orthodox environment especially from the second half of the 18th century³⁰. In other words, doing an evaluation on the astronomical events records the weight falls on the protestant environment, probably owed to the lack of interest of the Romanian orthodox environment. The historian Mihai Cantacuzino emphasizes this situation in the 18th century: "all over the world, when some distinguished event takes place or when an unwonted thing is found, such thing to remember, they are recorded. Perhaps in Wallachia many things have happened and because no one has written about them, they are not mentioned"³¹. Even if the year (deadline) 7000 passed through in about 1500`s and along with it the feverish concern of the believer scholars that the end of the world is going to come³², however the possibility that it can occur at any time did not vanish, being foretold by some certain signs, for Christ said only the Heavenly Father knows the day, and people will know the signs. Thus, some circumstances accompanied by signs could foresee at any time the fatidic moment, and the celestial signs associated with other natural catastrophes and major political events chimed with the Scripture's apocalyptic scenario. One homily from a manuscript written around the 1650`s in the Sibiu whereabouts although it refers to the end of the world at about the 8000 year, hereby addresses its believers: "so if the end of this world will come to be, and for sure it is not far

²⁹ Daniel Barbu, *Scrisoare pe nisip. Timpul și privirea în civilizația românească a secolului al XVIII-lea*, Editura Antet, București, 1996, p. 120-121; Idem, *Bizanț contra Bizanț. Explorări în cultura politică românească*, Editura Nemira, București, 2001, p. 233-234

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 125-13; *Ibidem*, p. 239-249

³¹ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *Cronica observațiilor astronomice românești (istorie și astronomie)*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1977, p. 5

³² Right after 1462 passed, when the sidereal year 7000 came to be, and when the end of the world was expected, some other data appeared that foretold the end of the world for the year 8000, based on the speculation that this final event must happen on Sunday just like how it began, and so 7days+1day=8days. See details in Alexandru Mareș, *Sfârșitul lumii (anii 7000 și 8000) în textele slavo-române și românești din secolele al XV-lea –al XVIII-lea*, în *Studii și materiale de Istorie Medie*, vol. XXII, 2004, p. 193-200

from happening”. From such an example we can infer in what way the believers were forewarned of the imminent end.

A simple dust particles rain in Roman fortress, produced by a meteorite fall, phenomenon known by the people as the “blood rain”, has determined Stefan the Great, on the 11th of August 1458, to stop all activities begun in this town considering the “blood rain” as a bad omen of divine wrath towards the wickedness and infidelity of the Roman’s population³³. Nevertheless the event must be cohered with the belief that the 7000 year was approaching. Another two signs, which chime with the apocalyptic scenario, we are talking about two earthquakes and the apparition of a bright star, could in such climate, alongside the “blood rain” clearly indicate the horrifying epilogue³⁴. The on-coming of the end of the world resuscitated the last emperor myth to whom God has predestined an important role in saving the humanity of the last times, in Moldova ruled at the time by Stefan the Great. There are some data that had some scientists plead that the collective mentality perceived Stefan the Great as the messianic prince at the end of the world³⁵. Such a phenomenon could on the other hand foretell a great tribulation, such as plague. That’s how it was understood by the Transylvanian Saxon historian, Georg Kraus, who left the most records of this kind. He writes that after the plague had haunted all of Transylvania and Hungary, causing a lot of victims, “in July (1646), it had rained with blood and sulfur. This was an important foretelling sign of the plague yet to come”³⁶. Only five years later he was mentioning: “The third of May, it had rained with blood in Sighisoara. On the 8h of May the lightning stroke the hospital tower and the church. All of these were foretokens of miseries”. The blood rains from this area had been mentioned before and after these dates³⁷. In 1692 on the 25th of April, it also rained with “blood”³⁸ in few places in Sibiu. In the Sibiu magistrate’s protocols, it was registered on the 21st of April, but without surprising and worrying anymore³⁹. Such a phenomenon will have convinced Radu Tempea to redress his hope towards divine clemency. On the 17th of April 1731, the historian writes that “in Easter’s Saturday, two hours after daylight, here in Brasov, in Schei and in the city over few villages it

³³ Paul Cernovodeanu; Paul Binder, *Cavalerii Apocalipsului. Calamitățile naturale din trecutul României (pînă la 1800)*, Editura Silex, București, 1993, p. 37-38

³⁴ Maria Magdalena Szekely, *Ștefan cel Mare și sfârșitul lumii*, în *Studii și materiale de Istorie Medie*, vol. XXI, 2003, p. 273-274; Maria Magdalena Szekely, Ștefan Gorovei, „Semne și minuni” pentru Ștefan cel Mare. *Note de mentalitate medievală*, în *Studii și materiale de Istorie Medie*, vol. XVI, 1998, p. 51-62

³⁵ See the interpretation proposed by Liviu Pilat, *Mesianism și escatologie în imaginarul epocii lui Ștefan cel Mare*, în *Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*, vol. XXII, 2004, p. 101-116

³⁶ Georg Kraus, *Cronica Transilvaniei 1608-1665*, Editura Academiei R.S.R., 1965, p. 129

³⁷ Pavel Binder, *op. cit.*, p. 1795

³⁸ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 330-332

³⁹ *Inventarul protocoalelor primăriei Sibiu (1521-1700)*, București, 1950, p. 175

rained with red rain as if it were blood and gathering it in a glass it was red appearing like blood but was not truly blood. We consider this to be the sign of a blood shed in these places, as a result of our sins, from which the merciful God with compassion may he protect and guard us”⁴⁰. “The blood rain” of this date is also confirmed by a German (săsească) origin source⁴¹.

Other phenomena of atmospheric optic illusion or the apparitions of multiple suns were perceived as anticipations of some unexpected events and calamities. Radu Popescu writes in his chronic as something out of the ordinary the following: “In the days of Neagoe Vodă and of Bogdan Vodă from Moldova, it appeared in the sky a great and wondrous sign, of a human face, and it remained for some time. Then it disappeared. In the same way, there was an earthquake in the same month when that sign appeared in the sky and Bogdan Voda from Moldova had died, year 7025, in Husi...”⁴². The phenomena of multiple suns were mostly associated with the death of some notorious personalities. In the case of death of Stefan the Saint, the historian Bonifinius records the apparition of two suns in the sky preceded and followed by fires, earthquakes and famine⁴³. The death of Honterus in 1549 was marked by the apparition of five suns in the sky⁴⁴. The historian, Mihael Moses records for this event the presence of seven suns, “just like the sun in the sky”⁴⁵. Also in the beginning of this year, Paul Eber’s calendars record the apparition of multiple suns formed by three elements⁴⁶. In other times, this kind of phenomena engendered range of feelings, from stupefaction up until terror. On the 19th of September 1604, according to some witnesses, in the Transylvanian sky, it was seen at night “a very large and terrible red sign in the shape of a round war tent and it lasted until morning. The oddly shape of this celestial sign made everyone wonder and worry”. On the 24th of October 1609 in the evening, “they were seen two stars fighting each other banishing themselves with lightning and thunders and produced a great horror to mortals”⁴⁷. These celestial signs were also mentally associated with great calamities. In 1654, presented with many celestial signs in the chronic of Georg Kraus, on the 12th of July, the sun rose “green as the grass, and before it, there were two crosses.

⁴⁰ Radu Tempea, *Istoria sfintei beserici a Șcheilor Brașovului*, Editura pentru literatură, București, 1969, p. 129-130

⁴¹ *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt*, vol. IV, Brașov, 1903, p. 179

⁴² Radu Popescu, *Istoriile domnilor țării rumânești. Cronicari munteni*, 2., Editura Minerva, București, 1984, p.

⁴³ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 275

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 278

⁴⁵ *Doi cronicari ardeleni din secolul al XVII-lea*, Studiu și ediție critică de Costin Feneșan, Editura de Vest, Timișoara, 2001, p. 33

⁴⁶ Costin Feneșan, Konrad G. Gundisch, *Informații privind istoria Transilvaniei (sec. XVI-XVII) în calendarele lui Paul Eber*, în *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie, Cluj-Napoca*, XVII, 1974, p. 95, nota 105

⁴⁷ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 286, 337

In the same day after a tremendous storm, the rivers flooded Transylvania in such a way that many people and kettles perish, and many houses and crops were destroyed”. On the same day, a lightning stroke the church from Alba Iulia as well as a catholic priest and his rector. Concerning this event, the German historian analyses: “This was a certain prediction of the misery Alba Iulia was about to go through”⁴⁸. A peculiar astronomic phenomenon had happened in 1670, being recorded on one of the copies of *Varlaam’s Homily (Cazania lui Varlaam)* found at Nicula monastery: “Oh God how horrible the sky was back then”. The faithful believer set this phenomenon in connection with “the crying” of the “miracle maker” icon of the *Holy Mother and the Child*, the icon being honored with great piety by the orthodox Romanian people⁴⁹. Indeed the fear and superstitions connected to these phenomena are present also in the Romanian environment, as a proof, Gheorghe Sincai was acquainted with them. “The superstitious people believe these events to be miracles and when they see them appear, full of fright and horrified, do not stop purposely asking what three suns or three moons in the sky mean”⁵⁰.

The polar aurora, even though it was a quite frequent apparition that it could be considered as natural, provoked along side different interpretations, stupefaction and concerns⁵¹. Gheorghe Sincai, trying to ward off the fear and misled beliefs about a natural phenomenon such as this by a more likely benign manifestation which shows again the superstitious concepts of Romanian people: “from the beautiful colors by which the midnight is glided, the uneducated and superstitious people foretell battles and bloodsheds, therefore when they see the rays of the aurora shifting from white to red and when they soar and rise like an arrow one towards the other, instantly they frighten themselves and start shaking, their faces turn pale, they clap, and they cry sobbing and saying: almighty God! What is this supposed to mean!. To those I say: do not be sad, nor think the polar midnight aurora means something evil for it is nothing but a natural apparition in the sky and as such you have to see it, and above everything else, feast with its beauty rather than fear it”⁵².

A polar aurora is interpreted by Georg Kraus to be a divine sign which obstructed a massacre meant for the Sibiu’s population weaved by the Transylvanian prince, Gabriel Bathory in 1612. The infantry captain, Baltazar Oerdegh, who was supposed to accomplish the massacre, arrived “blind drunk” to his host in Sibiu, also included in the future victims, and lain down next to the window to cool off. At about midnight he saw by accident “some frightful

⁴⁸ Georg Kraus, *op. cit.*, p. 173

⁴⁹ Florian Dudaș, *Catastrofe naturale în Transilvania în lumina însemnărilor scrise pe cărțile românești vechi, între 1500-1900*, Editura Lumina, Oradea, 1999, p. 98

⁵⁰ Gheorghe Șincai, *op. cit.*, p. 159

⁵¹ Pavel Binder, *op. cit.*, p. 1793-1795

⁵² Gheorghe Șincai, *op. cit.*, p.171

celestial signs”, and of course the view was amplified by his hangover condition. Among others, towards west he saw the way two armies surrounded by fire collide and fight with each other, and towards the east he saw another apparition in the shape of a fire dragon, with its mouth and throat gaped”. The captain got frightened and ran in the middle of the night to the prince, to whom he told everything he had seen and told him those were signs from God himself, who knew they were about to shed innocent blood, and “Bathory, no less frightened, left unfulfilled what he had planned, moreover, he decided to let everyone know, before the dawn, by means of trumpets and drums, his peace and tranquility intentions, these being fulfilled by the same Baltazar Oerdegh”⁵³. The polar auroras, the multiple suns apparitions, and other atmospheric optic illusion phenomena were interpreted by this historian mostly towards a political change. The year 1654 by means of its celestial signs, was foretelling the frequent political changes. On the 20th of January that year, “at 9 in the morning, three side by side suns and two rainbows were seen in Sibiu. These were foretelling signs of the high number of princes and rulers about to come in the future”⁵⁴. We find the same interpretation even three years later. On 2nd of February 1657 “it appeared in the sky, in a black cloud, three fire stars fighting each other. Then next to them a fourth star appeared and it was entirely made of fire and it was much larger than the others. This lasted about two hours and it is a foretelling sign that many princes and reigns will follow”. Then to justify himself, the historian added the following phrase: “after all in Transylvania during five years, six princes had reigned”⁵⁵. A multiple suns apparition on the 17th October the same year brings the historian to repeat his prediction. “four suns at once arose in the sky, such being horrifying to see. This had no other meaning than that many changes will follow in the principedom, and soon, there will be even, three and four princes at the same time, like we will soon show”⁵⁶. One possible polar aurora, recorded on one of the *Romanian Book...of Varlaam* in 1703, was able to produce great panic even in the midst of soldier troops, whom through their quality had to defy such a phenomenon. Hence the Austrian army participating in defending the Sătmăr fortress from the kuruc troop’s siege, at the time of a “great apparition” in the sky, it was scattered so badly, that, “they barely assembled it in three days”⁵⁷. The manifestation of some unusual celestial phenomena engendered to the maximum the fantasy of the ignorant. About the way the simple people’s

⁵³ Georg Kraus, *op. cit.*, p. 20-21; Gabriel-Virgil Rusu, *Cerul și politica. Fenomene naturale și „Supranaturale” la Georg Kraus*, în Anuarul Școlii Doctorale: *Istorie, civilizație, cultură*, Tom II, 2006, p. 222; Margareta-Răchită-Aslan, *Atitudinea civică și imaginea princiară. Superstiții și paralele biblice în cronicile transilvănene (1540-1660)*, în *op. cit.*, p. 215

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 168

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 197

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 243

⁵⁷ Florian Dudaș, *op. cit.*, p. 99

fantasy would freak in such occasions we are told by the germane origin Simon Christophori. He records in his diary on the 25th of January 1714 that on the 10th of January many peasants and town dwellers saw on the sky on top of Moldova a strong light. At first they thought it was a great fire, then others assumed the Tatars robed and set Moldova on fire. On the 7th of February he records they were talking with certainty about a heavenly light strong as the day light, and on the 8th of February that the people horridly noticed the disappearance of the Day Star (planet Venus) from the sky. In the last scenario some half-wits said the Day Star had fallen in Moldova, “and it rests right in Iasi borough”⁵⁸.

As well, the meteorite falls through the contact with the telluric surface, and through their contingent connection to the earthly world and sometimes through the damages caused to the population, they would demonstrate people’s addiction to a fickle sky and an unsatisfied Providence which administrates them, generating shivers most of the times and collective hysteria. The meteoritic phenomena and the meteorite falls were accompanied in the human perception not only by terrible frights but also by plenty fantasies, based on which ventured predictions were formed.

A faithful friend of the emperor Sigismund von Luxemburg, going towards Buda, the imperial city, passing through Solta village⁵⁹ in 1495, he has seen a strong light in the clouds accompanied by an immense thunder. Frightened by the strange phenomenon he threw himself on the ground and looking up at the sky he saw the Virgin Mary with the Child, surrounded by a very bright halo. The meteorite falls were recorded quite often, especially because of the damage and the fire they caused. In 1579 a stone from the sky ignited Alba Iulia town or when in 1639 it also ignited the church gate from Târgu Mures⁶⁰. In 1589 Târgu Iaz was burned to the grounds, except the preachers house⁶¹. A meteorites rain terrified people’s souls in 1593 and 1599, and on the 25th of March 1603 a meteorite fell in full daylight and it produced such a loud noise, “that the people, out of fear, threw themselves on the ground”. On the 17th of April 1605, the forest from Arpăsel town, Bihor county, ignited because of the falling of some meteorites and it burned for two weeks. A servant from Stefan Bathory’s cortege, having been sent to record what happened, had had there a vision. He has met an old man, many believed it was an angel, who told him to go to his master and tell him to abandon his secrecy sin that he is living in, otherwise he will soon meet his death, even though he

⁵⁸ Adolf Armbruster, *Dacoromano-Saxonica. Cronicari români despre sași. Românii în cronică săsească*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1980, p. 406-407

⁵⁹ Localizată în Ungaria: Pavel Binder, *op. cit.*, p. 1796

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 1792-1793

⁶¹ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 235. Pavel Binder localizează orașul în sudul Slovaciei: vezi *op. cit.*, p. 1796

takes mercy in the poor. This is how this phenomenon was associated with different visions and forecasts⁶².

About the reaction of frighten people by the falling of some meteorites we also testimonials from two Turkish sources. These are important also because they mention the “blood rain” phenomenon that comes along with the meteorites falling. Therefore two Turkish historians narrate about the report made by the Buda Karakash Pasha, in which it was shown that on the 14th of July 1619 at the northern border with Hungary, towards Moravia, in the evensong, a large black cloud came from Germany’s direction, from this cloud it was raining blood and then with a very loud thunder a cross shaped meteorite fell, disseminating a lot of smoke. A second, unusually strong, thunder bewildered in such a way the animals and the people that they fell down on their knees, they lifted their eyes to the sky and scared they ran, and some of them were never found. Afterword another three strong thunders were heard from the sky, and therefore people got tremendously frightened, and from above fell stone circles, which pierced the ground as deep as half of an ell. These spheres were unburied and one of them weighed 150 kilograms. A few indications and spicy details are brought for this event by the priest from Nove Mesto in *Calendarium perpetuum aeconomicum*, also adding an illustration meant to portray the peculiar celestial phenomenon and the panic that encompassed the people and the animals. He mentions that at the arrival of the cloud, some thought they see a war in the air, and others that in the cloud there was something written like on a coat, something that might be deciphered. After these apparitions, a circle of blood appeared and three blood crosses came out of it, and they seemed like fighting each other. After all of these were gone, the people in the mountains saw an immense quantity of smoke and very loud noises were heard as if it were a real war. Some of them on account of fear didn’t dare to run, so that the divine wrath, they thought came upon them, will not reach them from behind. The herds which were grazing in the mountains although they dumb creatures, they almost destroyed themselves. The horses and the travelers on the way, all fell down on the ground and almost died because the horrible thunder was followed by the falling of three strange stones as if they were drawn from the Almighty God’s bow. The ones working the fields stopped working and started running. One of the stones fell in the Odranec village and the other two at the side of the village. Then they were searched for, by the villagers, they dug out, and then taken to the court of the Nove Mesto lord, where people now went to see and admire them⁶³. It can be pointed out that the christian community’s inhabitants interpreted the meteorite falls always as firm manifestations of the divine wrath. Also, a shattering spectacle would produce the

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 236-240

⁶³ G Pápp, *A critical review of 16-17th century raports on meteorite falls in and around the Carpathian Basis*, in *Annales historico-naturales Musei Nationalis Hungarici* , Vol. 96, Budapesta, 2004, p. 22-24

meteorites rain on the 11th and the 12th December 1642 between Estergom and Buda⁶⁴.

In Kraus's chronicle such phenomena were interpreted as ominous and were recorded in almost identical forms. On the 27th September 1647 "towards evening strong thunders were heard in the ether, toward west, as if they were shooting the canons". This "was a foretelling sign, and not meaningless, of the future grief and of the terrible harassment of our poor homeland". Three years later, on the 9th of October, "in all of Transylvania there were heard great thunders and crashes in the ether, as if the canons were shooting. The people from Cluj thought the canons are shooting in Oradea, and the ones in there thought they're shooting some place else. The people in Brasov thought the shooting is in The Romanian Country (Wallachia), or in Făgăras, and the ones from there thought the shooting is somewhere else". Kraus saw in all of these, certain signs foretelling the on-coming of end of the world: "They are all foretelling signs the very last day, and of the calamities yet to come"⁶⁵. The meteorite falls represents an event which draws even the attention of the political personalities of those times, being found even in their mail. Hence, the ambassador of Venice in Istanbul, Aloisiu Molin, is announcing the doge, on the 5th of April 1659, that on his way to Transylvania, where the Diet took place, three meteorites fell(he calls them comets or vapors, as they were known in the epoch⁶⁶). One of them stroked powerfully the place where the Diet was held⁶⁷, another fell towards Wallachia, and another towards Poland. This incident caused a great horror (grand terrore) in the midst of that population (de queli populi). The letter is important also because it attests the worshiping practices on the meteoric fragments. The ambassador continues in his narration recording how the rest of these meteorites were collected and sent to the astrologers to make different predictions (e dan material alle drimere degli astrollggi di formare prognostici)⁶⁸. Although the fatidic term for when the end of the world was supposed to happen passed, Georg Kraus still believed "the strong thunders, as the canon shooting" to be misfortune foretelling signs. In this manner he interprets the phenomena from 1661 and 1663⁶⁹.

Starting with the end of the 17th century, we have data which confirms as well a scientific interest regarding the meteorites. The meteorite fall close to

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 25

⁶⁵ Georg Kraus, *op. cit.*, p. 133, 143

⁶⁶ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 223

⁶⁷ During that year the Diet was in session for two times. The first as held in Bistrita in the beginning of January, and the second, in May in Sebes, Alba. If the letter was written in April, then the meteorite fell somewhere close to Sebeș Alba. See for the date of the Diets: *Magyar Ország Történeti Kronológiája*, vol II, Budapest, 1982, p. 478

⁶⁸ N. Iorga, E. Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, vol . XV, partea a II-a, București, 1913, p. 123

⁶⁹ Georg Kraus, *op. cit.*, p. 421, 570

Oradea fortress in April 1692, was an opportunity for Veterani General to inform the emperor Leopold the 1st and send him a sketch with the orbit and a description of the meteorite fall. It is presumed it was also presented for the scientific interest⁷⁰. It is known that some fragments from a meteorite fallen next to Buzău (magnus meteoriticus Buzoianus) in January 1714, were sent by the ruler Constantin Brâncoveanu from Bucharest to Cluj to S. Koleseri, fragments which this scientist is presenting in his book *Auraria Romano-Dacica*⁷¹. We cannot ascertain if it is the phenomenon recorded and described a few years earlier, by Radu Greceanu in his chronic, although the place where it fell was also Buzău and it is said that fragments were gathered and brought to the ruler's court. But Greceanu's chronic doesn't contain only this aspect, it also records the people or the animals' stupefaction and fright. Given the falling and the unusual character of the phenomenon, the fragments were considered divine signs, foretelling what will follow, but not in a predestination manner as the Lutheran historians. In the eastern tradition, God is the only one who will know in his mercy what will He spare after this event. According to the chronicle, on the 28th January 1709, "at 10 o'clock in the morning, having a nice weather, serene and sunny, in Buzău county, on the other side of the river Buzău, the thunder was heard so loud that the people and the animals fell on the ground and some stones from above fell as well, stones which they brought to the court, and everyone wondered seeing them. Large stones, peaces, and black as the dross which didn't fall everywhere, but in two places, and only a few, not many; what will this sign mean only the heavenly emperor knows, who will guard with his mercy his people. A voice of prayer was given for his everlasting glory"⁷².

The following notes on the meteorites falls are characterized mostly by the pure scientific curiosity, standing proof that the ones with a minimum of culture (education) recanted the occult sciences or the old superstitions⁷³. On the other hand simple people continued in perceiving this kind of events as misfortunes foretelling. This information is revealed by a report of the Prussian consul in The Romanian Country (Wallachia) from the 7th of March 1832, Hiller, notes that in the night of 25th towards 26th February 1832 at the horizon of Bucharest, a meteorite was seen moving on its orbit and because of its unusual glow and red color like the fire, "it made believe that Vacaresti city, located in that direction, was on fire. Later on when the true cause of the event

⁷⁰ Mihai Georgiță, *Note on a meteor fall near the Oradea fortress at the end of the XVII-th century*, în *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai* (SUUB), Geologia, XLIX, I 2004, 107-110

⁷¹ Ioan Al. Maxim, *Meteorii și materiale meteorice din România*, în SUBB, Seria Geologia-Geografia, an 13, nr. 1, p. 3

⁷² Radu Logofătul Greceanu, *Istoria domniei lui Constantin Basarab Brâncoveanu Voievod (1688-1714)*, Editura Academiei RSR, 1970, p. 173

⁷³ Ioan Al. Maxim, *op. cit.*, p. 3-5; Victor Stanciu, Eugen Stoicovici, *Meteorii din România*, în *Revista Muzeului Mineralogic-Geologic*, Universitatea Cluj, 7, nr. 1-2, p. 121-128

was found out, the superstition of the Romanian inhabitants of Bucharest was consistently fed to infer, as usual, from this phenomenon the most sinister consequences⁷⁴. It is possible, like it was accustomed, that this apparition was connected to the great earthquake from the 3rd of March recorded in the same report. According to this report it was felt the strongest by the Râmnicu-Vâlcea's inhabitants, who got so frightened that they ran away and for a long time they did not return to their houses.

Apparently there is also, according to some opinions, a connection between the meteorites falls phenomenon, and the popular belief in the sky opening. But it cannot be ascertained if there is a direct connection or just a simple association of this phenomenon to an ancestral belief. In other words if the belief of opening the sky was born from this phenomenon, or in time was it integrated in the belief by merge. Therefore according to Victor Anestin's opinion, being the one who actually realized this, the Romanian people's belief that in the Epiphany night and in Saint Andrew's night the sky is opening must have at it's origin an astronomical phenomenon, and the only one matching is the phenomenon of meteors and meteorites. He explains that in the beginning of January and in the end of November the Earth, in its orbit, intersects some celestial bodies which it attracts with its gravitational field⁷⁵. The condition for the sky to open was for it to be covered with clouds, and in these particular months the probability was much higher. In the meteorites falls from 1906 and 1912 Victor Anestin has found evidence. The first one fell on the 6th of January, and the second one, right on Saint Andrew's day, in both cases the sky was covered with clouds. But he considered more relevant the testimonials he got from the villagers who had seen the meteorite fall from 1912: "they saw the sky opening and a bright and beautiful light, just as the daylight, and everything around could be seen clearly, discernibly..." or "they both told me this morning, that the sky had opened, according to the country side's belief"⁷⁶. There is another source which could be taken into consideration as an argument for this deduction. We're talking about the chronic of the craftsman Ioan Dobrescu, where it is written that on the 19th of October 1818, Saturday night towards Sunday, at half past three at night, "a bright light appeared that you

⁷⁴ E. Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*, Vol. XXI, București, 1942, p. 435: „, zu den Gedanken führte, es brenne die dtadt gegen Wakareshti in obiger Richtung. Als später der wahre Grund des Ganzen sich zeigte, bekam der Aberglaube der walach. Einwohner Bukarests reichhaltige Stoff aus dieser Erscheinung wie gewöhnlich die düstersten Folgerungen zu ziehen”.

⁷⁵ It is known that the Earth in its orbit encounters meteoric currents in some well determined periods of time like 10-11 August or 13-14 November; See: Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 226

⁷⁶ Victor Anestin, *Comete, eclipse și bolizi ce s-au observat în România între 1386 și 1853 după manuscrise și documente*, în *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile secției științifice*, tom XXXIV, 1911-1912, p. 164-167

could see as on the moon. And it lasted half a quarter. And the sky was seen as if it were open and in the middle of it like a fire dragon⁷⁷. As we had seen so far the meteorites falls didn't appear only in January or November, thus Anestin's hypothesis can be easily rejected. Nevertheless some details of the popular belief in the sky opening come to support his supposition. For example, there are some days during the year considered holy (New Year, Easter-without a constant date in the calendar, Christmas, Epiphany Day, Saint George) at the solstice, and equinox times, when it was believed that the sky opens whether it is day or night. The people who could see the sky opening must have been honest, merciful, and they had to believe in it. It is to them whom these foretelling signs were shown to: "a red stripe" or "a red dot" on the sky, a ray of light, like the sun, falling oblique on Earth⁷⁸. The red stripe, the ray of sun fallen from the sky, might as well mean the meteorite fall itself, and the possibility this phenomenon is produced more than once a year strengthens Anestin's hypotheses.

There is an even more interesting and connection between the popular beliefs and the meteorites. Marcel Olinescu noted a popular belief in the so called falling stars, which were thought to be punished dragons, sentenced by God to travel the universe, away through abandoned places, but in their disobedience, they are trying to get close to Earth to enchant people. There is the persuasion that when they passed by the Earth they disgorged flames from their nares leaving behind bright stripes on the sky. Sometimes they crashed into one another, or brake out of spite when their spell didn't work. Then a crack was heard and if someone were to go there, they would find peaces from their bodies or their blood, in the form of black stones. Certainly, the belief has animist roots, but no doubt it also illustrates through those bright stripes, cracks and black stones, that in fact we are dealing with the meteorites falls phenomenon. The meteoritic fragments were used for apotropaic and thaumaturgic means. Therefore, the black stones were considered to be useful for cures and especially for sorcery; it protects the children from frights and when heated in the fire, they were used to fume the houses in order to avert the evil spirits⁷⁹. The usage of meteoric fragments in sorcery can lead us to a dilemma: either this phenomenon was encountered quite often so that it can accessibly be used as a magical object, or, on the contrary, it was rare and infrequently and by this token, it would become a magical object. The documentary sources, which recorded the meteorites falls, are anyway parsimonious, might make us tend to accept the second option, but we can equally consider the first option as a hypothesis as well.

⁷⁷ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 253

⁷⁸ Romulus Vulcănescu, *Mitologie română*, Editura Academiei, București, 1987, p. 356

⁷⁹ Marcel Olinescu, *Mitologie românească*, Editura Saeculum Vizual, București, 2004, p. 61-62

On the other hand, an isomorphism with the symbolist of the thunder and the rainbow, also celestial phenomena, can be observed, but also symmetries with the sorcery practices born from the material forms issued by the interference of these phenomena's celestial and telluric character. For example it was believed that the lightning and the thunder was the fire arrow used by God or Saint Elijah to strike the devil. Theodor Pamfile found some common features with the religion of ancient Slavic people. The tongue of the thunder is believed to be an iron or stone arrow, which immerses nine fathoms in the ground, from where it starts rising at the surface one fathom every year. Afterwards it was thought that the ones who discover it can use spells to cure arrow wounds and other illness; the pangs would heal if someone washed themselves with the remained water after the triple wash of the arrow, then drink the rust residue water, or use it as a luck amulet⁸⁰. The pierced stone, through which it was thought the rainbow drinks water, was as well high priced, left as legacy from generation to generation, being used to cure the cattle from certain illness⁸¹.

The beliefs and superstitions connected to such celestial phenomena were attempted to be disputed by the illuminist scholars, promoters of the rational thinking. Gheorghe Sincai is the first to leave behind in a manuscript a scientific work on the natural phenomena and on the Romanian's superstitions dispute or the anguish all of these brought. One chapter is entirely on the meteors. But for him the meteor notion was a generic one, which encompassed all the atmospheric phenomena; the rainbow, the multiple suns apparitions, the lightings "with all the other fires from the sky"⁸². Sincai shows that all of these had in the collective mentality different strange explanations, and the simple people's reactions to them were often fatuous. According to the illuminist scholar's scientific explanation these phenomena weren't formed in the sky, but they were the result of some compounds rose in the air, from the ground, and in the atmosphere they created this kind of phenomena. Even the meteorites were the result of different compounds combination in the atmosphere. "Thus it's not surprising- the illuminist scholar emphasizes- that by the intermixture of these, all kinds of fire appear in our atmosphere. Connected to these fires are also the falling stars, dragons and fiery globes, about which the ignorant people had invented too many stories. The falling star is nothing but the ignition of that phlogistic air from certain viscid matter, which in the air falls on the ground and from the exterior sight it appears as big as a star"⁸³. The explanation of the meteorites forming by condensation of metallic vapors in the highest areas of the

⁸⁰ Tudor Pamfile, *Văzduhul după credințele poporului român*, București, 1916, p. 73-75

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 160

⁸² Gheorghe Șincai, *op. cit.*, Editura Științifică, București, 1964, p. 145

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 159

atmosphere could have been taken by old astronomy studies⁸⁴. Even with that level of documentation, the desideratum for suppressing the beliefs and the superstitions was one not half realist. The conception of the naturalist determinism was based in Sincai's studies, like in the work of other illuminists, on the deistic thesis, according to which God has created from the beginning the nature and the universe as a self regulating mechanism without interfering in their existence and evolution. As a follower of this thesis, Sincai⁸⁵ rejects the popular beliefs concerning the divine influence or any other spiritual entities' influence in the deployment of natural phenomena and moreover on these last ones' influence on people.

Compared to the meteorites, which could generate terrible fright by their instantaneity, the comets or "the falling stars" induced numerous anguish and collective psychosis in the old regime war, by their long lasting manifestation and implicit by the people's prolonged perception. By rare exceptions in other human societies⁸⁶, their apparition in the traditional Romanian mentality, regardless of their intensity, they are interpreted as ominous. Whereas the ether in the Romanian religious conceptions was populated by spirits, short tail comets, mildly irradiate and with short apparitions, meant for them the breakthrough of the demons in the ether, with the purpose of flying in the skies to disturb the celestial mythical being's activity. The ones with the long and bright tail that are visible for a longer time, always foretell miseries, cataclysms, wars, epidemics, and the longer their presence was, the more horrid the predictions got⁸⁷. This is found in Gheorghe Sincai's study, but in the same disproving manner. "Many people misjudge the comets to mean miseries, battles, plagues, and other country's punishments, but because there are different types of comets, their appearance means nothing. And because it cannot be said that the apparition of the planets means something evil for the countries and the fortresses, thus this cannot be said about the apparitions of the comets either. And therefore, to be frightened and scared by the apparition of the comets, its insanity, because they are God's work meant to fill our hearts with astonishment and joy"⁸⁸. In the traditional mentality, the idea that in the end of the world will be foretold by a comet became a habit; that is why when it appeared many people believed the end of the world had approached, therefore preparing themselves for their death by fasting and praying, until the comet disappeared entirely from the sky⁸⁹. Let us see now how these phenomena were recorded and what reactions they awakened.

⁸⁴ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 223

⁸⁵ See the study of Serafim Duicu; *Pe urmele lui Gheorghe Șincai*, Editura Sport-Turism, București, 1983, passim

⁸⁶ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p.88

⁸⁷ Romulus Vulcănescu, *op. cit.*, p. 402

⁸⁸ Gheorghe Șincai, *op. cit.*, p. 190

⁸⁹ I. Otescu, *Credințele țaranului român despre cer și stele*, în *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile secțiunii literare*, seria a II-a, tom XXIX, 1906-1907, p. 495

The imagination involved in the interpretation of these astronomical events seems to be the most spectacular. Also the conviction that an unusual celestial phenomenon chimes with an exceptional terrestrial event, most likely with a calamity, finds its best example in the news concerning the comets. Along the history in the years when some political personalities died, it so happened that some bright comets appeared, and they were soon associated in the popular mentality. Therefore some historians connect the death of the king of Hungary, Ludovic I, occurred in 1382, with the apparition of a comet⁹⁰. Also, the death of John Hunyadi was correlated with the apparition of the Halley comet. Its stay on the orbit for almost a month led to great terror. "The death of this prince was foretold also by certain signs- the historian Bonfinius records- ... a comet called the black comet, was seen in June in the 20th grade of Pisces, for almost 30 days, and provoked horror in people's soul"⁹¹. The Romanian historians also associated the apparition of a comet with the death of a political ruler⁹². The records referring to comets increased especially from the second half of the 16th century, when year by year we have more and more records. For example, the comet that appeared in 1556 was observed and described by more than one witness, and every one of them left behind different impressions. According to some, it had seven tails⁹³, and others described its direction on the orbit. It stayed on the sky for almost a month, and the unusual heat from that summer was believed to be caused by it. The same source says that "According the astrologers, it also means the miffs about the laws, the religion controversies and plague illness"⁹⁴. The one from 1558, also recorded by more than one source⁹⁵, according to E. Gyulafı, it foretold the falling of Kendi and Bebek lords⁹⁶. To interpret the significance of a comet apparition, usually the time being astrologers were consulted, and some of them were remarkable scientists. Therefore, the great comet from 1577 which according to some sources, stayed in the sky for many weeks⁹⁷ and it had a horrifying semblance⁹⁸, it was also described by the mathematician from Cluj, Stefan Wolphard. When asked about the significance of this comet, he answered that it foretells the dispersal of Bathyory family which came true later on⁹⁹. It seems like he repeats the same

⁹⁰ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 98-99

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 103-105; Idem, *Raportul fenomen astronomic-eveniment politic sau calamitate naturală în mentalitatea medievală românească, în Civilizație medievală și modernă românească*, Editura Dacia, Cluj, 1985, p. 198; Pavel Binder, *op. cit.*, p. 1791

⁹² Victor Anestin, *op. cit.*, p. 148-149

⁹³ Pavel Binder, *op. cit.*, p 1791

⁹⁴ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 114-115

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 116-117

⁹⁶ Pavel Binder, *op. cit.*, p. 1791

⁹⁷ *Doi cronici ardeleni din veacul al XVII-lea*, p. 36

⁹⁸ Costin Feneșan, Konrad G. Gundisch, *op. cit.*, p. 95, nota 105

⁹⁹ Pavel Binder, *op. cit.*, p. 1791; Vasile Mioc; Damaschin Mioc, *Raportul fenomen astronomic...*, p. 198-199

prediction on the occasion of the comet appearance from November 1580¹⁰⁰, because its members were the most important personalities of their time. The appearance of a bright comet, in the beginning of 1593, alongside with other events considered miraculous, passed as foretelling signs of the armed confrontation yet to come¹⁰¹. The Halley comet reappeared in the autumn of 1607, being recorded by many witnesses¹⁰². Its presence, as always, engendered fright or it was interpreted as the divine wrath proof, foretelling evil. We also have numerous testimonies about the giant comet that appeared in the end of 1618, caused, of course by its prodigious dimension. It was said that God wanted to sweep out the whole world with its tail as big as a broom¹⁰³. The historian Georg Kraus sees in this comet's apparition the foretelling signs of the approach of the end of the world¹⁰⁴, as it was an altogether unwonted apparition. Perhaps it was accompanied by the meteorites rain due to the entrance of the earth in the interference zone with those meteoric currents from November. The first time it is noted, it was on the 20th of November, then "on the 5th of December, of this year, two o'clock in the night, a new star appeared with a long tail and wide as a plank having a great halo entirely bright throwing pieces from itself on top of Sibiu. This lasted until five o'clock in the morning. These are signs of the doomsday. This comet and new star, as the great earthquake from 1620, and like other signs shown before and after, caused countless casualties and miseries..."¹⁰⁵ To this record, he adds as a footnote, a paragraph from Cicero, who had stated that from ancient times, it was believed that the comet apparitions always foretold miseries. If the Hevelius comet from December 1652 was not worrisome for the Saxon historian¹⁰⁶ or other of his compatriot¹⁰⁷, for the Romanian historian Miron Costin, it was foretelling the end of the reign of Vasile Lupu, this event was foretold by the astrologers from Poland Kingdom¹⁰⁸. "There was no mentioning of the sky signs, which happened before all of this evil, from Poland Kingdom, our country and the disappearance of this ruler's dynasty of Vasile Voda; that almost happened in the ruling time of Vasile Voda for the comet, meaning a star with a tail, which happened few years before this hard replacement of this reign...and all the signs, the elders and astrologers from Poland Kingdom interpreted them to be bad omens for these countries"¹⁰⁹. The comet seen in 1660 in Oradea, would

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 1792

¹⁰¹ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 125

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 129-131; Pavel Binder, *op. cit.*, p. 1792

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, p. 132-135

¹⁰⁴ Gabriel-Virgil Rusu, *op. cit.*, p. 220

¹⁰⁵ Georg Kraus, *op. cit.*, p. 44

¹⁰⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 147

¹⁰⁷ Pavel Binder, *op. cit.*, p. 1792

¹⁰⁸ Victor Anestin, *op. cit.*, p. 151-152

¹⁰⁹ Miron Costin, *Opere*, Editura de stat pentru literatură și artă, București, 1958, p. 165

foretell the fortress being conquered by the Turkish¹¹⁰, and the one seen in the same place, on the 15th of December 1660, would have confirmed the event¹¹¹. The strong reappearance of the Hevelius comet in 1664, also in December, was described by many sources¹¹², but some of them recorded also the “fear of et to come calamities”¹¹³. In Georg Kraus’ opinion, “the terrible comet” has caused “no doubt, this year’s war in Hungary, and great battles”¹¹⁴. Just like for some renowned astrologers, in next year’s spring would foretell the civil fights from Hungary and Transylvania¹¹⁵. On the frighten people’s reaction we have testimonials from some notes from an exemplary of Varlaam’s Romanian Book...: “two stars with a tail appeared on the sky...their tails crossed and everyone observed them carefully, and people got frightened”¹¹⁶. The records from other chronicles put the calamities that happened in the summer of 1668 on behalf of the apparition of the Gottingnies comet, which was seen that year. First it caused a great drought and then, during harvest time, abundant rains and floods¹¹⁷. The Kirch comet from 1680 has generated horror and interest alike, and therefore it lead to the writing of numerous pages on that occasion. A historian from Ardeal Province, while describing its immense tails, was recording that they “were so big, that not even the elders can remember anything like it”¹¹⁸. The astronomers were searching for a scientific explanation, and the astrologers were making predictions¹¹⁹. According to a Romanian source, it lasted for seven weeks and four days, and that is the reason why “many astronomers, who gathered different countries, made a prediction about what will happen to the world after the comet; and not long after that comet appeared, trumped up between the armies of all kingdoms and countries, around all that are neighbors great hatred against the Turkish and especially from the German kingdom”¹²⁰. The predictions are therefore about the Turkish campaign against the Hapsburgs and the siege on Vienna. Ion Neculce, likewise, connects the apparition of a comet and other astronomical phenomena to the departure of Gheorghe Ghica ruler and his army towards the siege of the imperial capital¹²¹. Various interpretations were also made on the occasion of the 1744 comet apparition. It was connected with the plague outburst of that

¹¹⁰ Balogh Jolan, *Varadinum. Várad vára*, vol.II, Budapesta, 1982, p. 224

¹¹¹ *Eadem*, p. 207

¹¹² Pavel Binder, *op. cit.*, p. 1792

¹¹³ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 140-141

¹¹⁴ Georg, Kraus, *op. cit.*, p. 570

¹¹⁵ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 144; Pavel Binder, *op. cit.*, p. 1792

¹¹⁶ Florian Dudaș, *op. cit.*, p. 98

¹¹⁷ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *Raportul fenomen astronomic...*, p. 199

¹¹⁸ Pavel Binder, *op. cit.*, p. 1792

¹¹⁹ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 149-152

¹²⁰ Victor Anestin, *op. cit.*, p. 152-154

¹²¹ *Ibidem*, p.155

year¹²² that came after an earthquake¹²³. A detailed description of its trajectory, dimensions and shape, it's found in the Ghica's Chronic, where it is stated that it is a meteor, according to the epoch knowledge. Elements of modernity binned with the traditional conceptions on comets, appear in this chronic. First the frights and the bad omen signs connected to the comet, are rejected, but on the other hand, the devastating consequences caused by the comet are shown. "This meteor has given many, the occasion to say various things, foretelling what will happen in the future, things like famine, war, and the incursion of other peoples, although they knew nothing about meteorology. After the disappearance of this meteor illness stroke the country's cattle, that is oxen too, and caused a great loss, that only one third of oxen were left"¹²⁴. In the orthodox Romanian mentality from Transylvania the simultaneous apparition of this comet and the anti-unionist movement from some Transylvanian lands lead by the monk Visarion Serai will be perceived as a divine sign which confirmed the monk's holiness and the divine nature of his actions¹²⁵. A record from that year comes to support this conviction. "Then a great star with a tail appeared, and lasted for three months, and then it went into hiding, and then a holy man arose and he came to Lipova, and did great wonder, showing them to Christ, and they built a cross and now the believers worship again ailing came to him and got cured"¹²⁶. Another record from 1807 describes the comet appeared that year as "a marvelous sign"¹²⁷. But in another one from 1811, it is shown that after its apparition, "what infamies and deaths, what blood sheds and unspeakable damages and casualties had followed, and especially in Europe"¹²⁸. The napoleons wars that were taking place in these areas had caused diverse interpretations of the comet apparition. The comet from that year has caused a great famine, hard to put up with, in The Romanian Country¹²⁹. The comet apparition from 1812 is also connected, in some records, to Napoleon's campaigns in Russia¹³⁰. On the 22nd of June 1851, on the Transylvanian sky, four comets were observed at the same time, their apparition consequences were thought to be a student storm which took lives, killed animals, destroyed houses, and removed the trees from their root¹³¹. Their presence in the sky continued to frighten the people especially the ones from the villages,

¹²² *Ibidem*, p.156

¹²³ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 160

¹²⁴ *Cronica Ghiculeștilor*, București, 1965, p. 591

¹²⁵ Florian Dudaș, *op. cit.*, p. 99

¹²⁶ Titus Roșu, *Însemnări și inscripții bihorene*, vol. I-II, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 1999, p. 195

¹²⁷ Ilie Corfus *Însemnări de demult*, Editura Junimea, Iași 1975, p. 288

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 289

¹²⁹ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 171

¹³⁰ Ilie Corfus, *op. cit.* p. 288

¹³¹ Florian Dudaș, *op. cit.*, p. 104

uneducated and superstitious. In 1853 the appearance of the Klinkerfues comet, has caused a great panic in the midst of Valcea villagers. An eye-whiteness describes the people's desperate behavior, the way this ominous phenomenon was perceived and the methods used by people in their try to elude the evil. "The first time the star with a tail was seen in the sky, everyone was terrified; they came out of their houses on the streets, they bowed down, kneeling, and made the church bells ring; part of the time's elders said the earth will sink and the world will perish. When the women heard the world will perish they started crying, bowing down and kneeling. Others said that wars will follow or great battles, that the Germans, the Turkish or the Moscow people will come to conquer...I remember that even in Ramnicu-Valcea the people were terrified when they first saw the star with a tail; they made prayers even in the diocese"¹³². A record made six years later also shows the fright that encompassed people when the comet appeared that year¹³³. And even if their apparition didn't frightened anymore, they still kept their divinatory function. Hence the comet from the great famine year (1874) would have foreseen according to the testimony of the teacher Vasile Oancea from the Cernat village (Covasna), the independence war of Romania's Kingdom¹³⁴, and a Romanian peasant, a contemporary with these events, acknowledges that during the war a comet was seen in the sky, at first it looked small but then it became longer and longer and towards the end of the war it completely vanished. In the villages communities there was always someone to blow the coals in the fright of the fellow villagers regarding on when the comet will destroy the earth¹³⁵. Although the superstitions about the connection between the comets and various calamities were contested in the Transylvanian scholar environment starting with the beginning of the baroque epoch¹³⁶, the fear of comets and their fatal consequences persisted until the early contemporary epoch.

The sun and moon eclipses caused a natural fear. In the early Romanian mentality it was believed that the eclipses are bites taken by werewolves, who climbed in the sky¹³⁷. But in the same environment were formed conceptions which were meant to balance the human psychic, attacked by the thought that the sun or the moon could disappear, and along with them the world as well. For example it was believed that the moon always remains intact after the attacks of werewolves, simply because it was stronger and faster than them, otherwise the world would come to its end. In this kind of moments it was accustomed in many areas for people to make terrible noises: ring the church

¹³² Victor Anestin, *op. cit.*, p. 159

¹³³ Ilie Corfus, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

¹³⁴ Florian Dudaș, *op. cit.*, p. 105

¹³⁵ I. Otescu, *op. cit.*, p. 495-496

¹³⁶ Pavel Binder, *op. cit.*, p. 1789-1790

¹³⁷ Romulus Vulcănescu, *op. cit.*, p. 304

bells, strike together iron objects, fire the guns, and the fiddler gypsies played their instruments as loud as they could; and all of this was done to scare away the werewolves, and leave the moon be. Likewise the sun escapes the werewolves because the lion it was riding, fights them. There's another tradition that says some beasts and sky creatures want to kiss these beautiful stars but they end up swallowing them and then pouring them out more beautiful for the joy of men kind¹³⁸. It was believed also that they have a direct influence on the world and generate natural and social disasters. For example a moon eclipse on the 16th of August 1598, which lasted over three hours, caused in Hungary and other provinces a great cattle epidemic, unseen before¹³⁹. But the fright of people when facing these phenomena was sustained by the fashionable prognostics made by some astrologers of the epoch. Thus we can mention the one made in 1600¹⁴⁰, the *Prognosticum pro anno Domini 1600*, which foresees a moon eclipse for the beginning of the year, visible in the Romanian provinces and the surrounding states, which in its turn foretold drought and wars¹⁴¹.

Up until the beginning of the modern world they continued to frighten. A record from the 23rd November 1798, acknowledges the belief that in moments like this the werewolves eat the moon: "Sunday towards Monday a miracle happened, a sign appeared on the moon, like the werewolves ate from it"¹⁴².

The sun eclipses were far more spectacular, and equally generating a horrible fear, completed by the most hallucinated predictions and interpretations. The disappearance of the sun and the light, the primary sources of life, was a much more frightening phenomenon than all the other astronomical phenomena. That is why, perhaps, the records on the sun eclipses were direct proportional with the people's concern, although they were visible especially on restrained geographical areas. Just like in the comet apparition case, in the traditional Romanian mentality, especially during the sun eclipses, the candles from Easter were lighted in people's houses, accompanied by kneeling and praying¹⁴³. Just like the other celestial anomalies, the sun eclipses, were connected to the political events, but the interpretation palette widened according to the duration of the fright. The war between the osman Turks and the Christians from the Balkans from 1386 was announced by sun eclipse, according to the Azarie's chronic¹⁴⁴. This interpretation came on the old belief's background, which thought that if there was a sun eclipse, the defeated would be the Christians, and if there was a moon eclipse, the defeated would be the

¹³⁸ I. Otescu, *op. cit.*, p. 491-493. We also find here details about the origins of werewolves.

¹³⁹ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 71

¹⁴⁰ Pavel Binder, *op. cit.*, p. 1790

¹⁴¹ *Apud, Történelmi Tár*, Budapest, 1911, p. 157-160

¹⁴² Ilie Corfus, *op. cit.*, p. 286

¹⁴³ I. Otescu, *op. cit.*, p. 493

¹⁴⁴ Victor Anestin, *op. cit.*, p. 160

Turks¹⁴⁵, perhaps they believed this because the sign of the Turks was the crescent (half-moon). The source that served Azarie as inspiration for the total sun eclipse of that year, tells us how the witnesses perceived the eclipse and how they interpreted it. In these Christians' vision it happening in an important day of celebration, the 1st of January - Saint Vasile Day, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, with such intensity that "the stars in the sky could be seen, glowing with an unusual light", was obviously a fatal divine sign, as a consequence of their sins, now punished by a terrible barbaric people: "but like a fire and blood vision, foreseeing a pain and illness and a blood shed sign, that happened before and again it will be spilled because of our sins, by the godless Turks, persecutors of God", which was spilled at Kosice and other places where the Turks had won¹⁴⁶.

Another historical event with profound effects on the course of history, was the Turkish conquest of Constantinople. This event was also associated by the astrologers of that time with another sun eclipse. "That day, a sun eclipse came to be to show the world, the imperial city was given in the hands of the barbarians"¹⁴⁷. The faith of some great political rulers was also connected to the sun eclipses phenomenon, by the ones making predictions¹⁴⁸. An impressive sun eclipse, "like we never saw before" (apud nos non visus) was recorded in 1628 in Paul Eber's calendars. Also in this record it's mentioned a moon eclipse, just as much of impressive (apud nos non visus)¹⁴⁹. The eclipses are sometimes associated not only with political events, especially wars, but also with other natural calamities. That's how the historian, Miron Costin, understands and associates a sun eclipse, occurred before the Easter celebration in 1648 with the battles between the Zaporozhian Cossacks and the Polish and with a great locust invasion¹⁵⁰. About the great sun eclipse from 1656 Miron Costin narrates that alongside the panic created amongst people, some were blinded for the rest of their lives by looking at the eclipse¹⁵¹. But the sun eclipse was one of the obvious apocalyptical signs. At least that how they appeared to some scholars. On the day of 12th of August 1658, a total sun eclipse took place, and Georg Kraus says it was "like never before seen". It was pitch dark, it lasted three hours and you could see the stars and the birds couldn't fly anymore, so they sat on the ground. (Not to mention the symbolism of the ceased flight of the birds which only increased people's fright.) The Saxon historian placed this phenomenon at the base of the miseries that came on

¹⁴⁵ I. Otescu, *op. cit.*, p. 494

¹⁴⁶ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *Raportul fenomen astronomic...*, p. 196

¹⁴⁷ *Istoria Țării Românești 1290-1690. Letopisețul Cantacuzinesc*, Editura Academiei R.S.R., București, 1960, p. 201

¹⁴⁸ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 23

¹⁴⁹ Costin Feneșan, Konrad G. Gundisch, *op. cit.*, p. 95, nota 105

¹⁵⁰ M. Costin, *op. cit.*, p. 165-166

¹⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 175

Transylvania in the following years. It couldn't have been otherwise interpreted while some of the Transylvanian scholars were even foretelling the end of the world. Kraus was using as a source for this event the German mathematician, Israel Hubner, (settled down in Sibiu and died in 1668 in Brasov). Although in what concerns the astronomy he was a heliocentric follower, or at least he believed the comets are planets and together with the eclipses, they do not necessary foretell wars plague or other miseries, this scholar after the analysis of the sun eclipse from 1654, had drawn the conclusion that in 1666 the end of the world will come¹⁵². This is a certain way of showing the twining of the scientific activities with the astrological speculations found in the scholars of those times. In his first calendar on the 1646, Hubner already made a study on this eclipse. Based on the astrological calculation and on the deductions from the Scripture, (The Book of Daniel, The Revelation and some passages from The New Testament) he came to the conclusion that the world wouldn't last longer than 1666¹⁵³. How somber could this prediction appear for the ones who knew it, during a total sun eclipse that lasted for three hours? Even if this fatidic year past, in the collective mentality, the anguish state of mind that the sun could once disappear completely, persisted.

Another total sun eclipse, from 1699, when Camenita fortress was taken by the Turks, is described by more than one source¹⁵⁴, but the great panic and collective hysteria that took over people is best described by a Turkish historian. This is what he recorded: "when the ones who left Camenita directly towards the Moldavian border, there was a sun eclipse. This event or phenomenon had such a great impact on the travelers, that it cannot even be explained. The women and children's screams and cry looked like a caravan in the Last Judgment"¹⁵⁵. The sun eclipse is also connected to the dispersion of the plague flagellum. This mentality's voice is the author of one record in a Miscellaneousness from the beginning of the 18th century. Therefore on the 5th of May 1705, "the sun was darkened and for a long time it didn't clear and it caused a terrible plague that lasted all summer and all winter and many people died..."¹⁵⁶. A sun eclipse seen in Bucharest on the 14th of July 1748, was able to cause such a fright to a school boy, that he became ill¹⁵⁷. The eclipse was seen from the territory of all three princedoms being recorded in many chronics and other documents. It lasted for two hours and the disappearance was total, so that the stars were observable in the sky. Indeed through mental contagiousness

¹⁵² Pavel Binder, *op. cit.*, p. 1790

¹⁵³ Georg Kraus, *op. cit.*, p. 171-172

¹⁵⁴ Ilie Corfus, *op. cit.*, p. 280-295

¹⁵⁵ *Cronici turcești privind Țările Române. Extrase. Vol II., (sec. XVII-încep. sec XVIII)*, Editura Academiei R.S.R., București, 1974, p. 505

¹⁵⁶ Ilie Corfus, *op. cit.*, p. 171

¹⁵⁷ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 38

many people got frighten and many even became ill¹⁵⁸. The association of the sun eclipse with the possibility of the end of the world is also attested in a record from 1760, further proof that this superstition was still marking the masses mentality. On the 20th of July 1760, a total sun eclipse took place and there was “a great fear that the entire world will completely disappear”¹⁵⁹. The popular belief that during a sun eclipse, the sun is actually pray for the werewolves, is expressed by an eye witness from Mehadia, convinced that the total sun eclipse from the 18th of August 1793, is a consequence of the fact that “werewolves ate the sun”¹⁶⁰. The terrifying of people when seeing a sun eclipse could also happen later, like what happened during the great sun eclipse from 1816¹⁶¹, undoubtedly associated with the great famine from Transylvania and the earthquake that happened on the same day in Oradea¹⁶², but most of the records stop to describe only the phenomenon itself without paying to much attention to people’s panic¹⁶³, this proves that they started perceiving the event simply like a natural fact. Therefore it shouldn’t be surprising that the sun eclipses phenomenon, penetrated so deep the Romanians consciousness, reflected in some parts of the country as an artistic expression¹⁶⁴.

The old regime people believed in the correspondence between the terrestrial and celestial world and that’s how this saying came about: “what is in the ones above, is also in the ones below”. It was the conviction that they are part of the same universe. That is why, alongside the natural presence of planets, that influence the terrestrial world, came also from time to time various unusual astronomical phenomena to disturb this balance causing people to fright. The consequences could be nothing else but fatal. As a result, the fear that a total disequilibrium will also lead to the disappearance of this universe, could persist. But the modern physics sciences accustomed people to stop believing in the preordained “harmony” of this “universe”.

¹⁵⁸ Florian Dudaș, *op. cit.*, p. 100

¹⁵⁹ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *Raportul fenomen astronomic...*, p. 197

¹⁶⁰ Florian Dudaș, *op. cit.*, p. 100

¹⁶¹ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Victor Anestin, *op. cit.*, p. 164

¹⁶² Florian Dudaș, *op. cit.*, p. 104

¹⁶³ Vasile Mioc, Damaschin Mioc, *op. cit.*, p. 39-59; Victor Anestin, *op. cit.*, p. 161-163

¹⁶⁴ Maria Olenici, *Soarele și eclipsele de soare în ornamentistica arhitecturală din județul Suceava*, în *Făt Frumos*, 2001, nr. 3, p. 77-85

THE BIHOR COUNTY RURAL WORLD AFTER THE THERESIAN URBARIAL SETTLEMENT

BODO Edith

Abstract: *The urbarial settlement of 1767 was the apogee of the Theresian policy of protecting the peasantry. It had a great impact on the serfdom, especially at the psychological level. Although the amount of the liabilities was set in some cases at higher levels than before, by the fact that these obligations were regulated and the state assumed the responsibility of the guarantor of its applications created for the peasant household the premise to overrun its condition until then. The serf has understood that the relationship between him and his master depends no longer on the wishes of the last; from now on the tasks must be kept in the determined amount and, in the case of some irregularities he can be brought in front of the throne through the urbarial process. Thus the peasant becomes surer by himself and gets an increased confidence for state pushing him to be more interested in his own household.*

Keywords: *urbarial , serfdom, domain, master, obligation*

The promoting of a policy of protection of the peasantry has become a constant concern of the Court of Vienna, especially during the reign of Maria Theresa and of Joseph II. The care for this disadvantaged segment of the population had as support both the economic, fiscal interests and the political ones¹, but we believe that they tended to an improvement of the public image of the monarch; and it may also have been in the middle considerations of religious order, the empress stating that: “I do not want to be cursed because of some magnates and nobles”² who put to the torture their lieges.

They had especially in view to enhance the capacity of payment of the taxpayer and, thus the state revenues. But, the main contributor in Bihor County, as in the whole empire was the peasant, who in order to meet the condition of responsible citizen had to reach, according to the Court of Vienna, a certain degree of prosperity. A serious obstacle in the way of this policy was the fact that, at that time, the seigniorial duties were much over the tax, so in this regard

¹ David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* (further on: D. Prodan, *Supplex...*), București, 1967, p. 242

² Eckhart Ferenc, *Magyarország története (Istoria Ungariae)*, Budapesta, 1935, p. 204

the peasant was first of all the liege of the domain master and only secondly the liege of the state, the interest of the last being to attract the taxpayer on its side.

The process of reforming the social situation of the empire has so as objectives concerned by Vienna, the removal of the peasant from the dominant influence of the domain masters and his transformation into a citizen more sensitive to the state initiatives, the last giving as the solution for this problem its intervention in the relationships between master and serf.

The first route of action and at the same time the most important will be the legal one, exemplified by the urbarial settlement in 1767 - the apogee of the protection Theresian policy of the peasantry. This impedes the abuses of the field masters, their obligations being set out actually, no longer at their self-will. The peasant knowing from the new urbarials the obligations he is submitted at, now he better realizes the abuses of his master³. He fixed the size of the bondage plot of land rented from the feudal lord and its subdivisions, and separated the bondage land from the allodial one and what is the most important is that he reported tasks at the bondage plot of land rented from the feudal lord and its subdivisions, reducing them in proportion with their size⁴. As a result, according to the urbarial, the toil obligation of serfs should have decrease considerably. Prior to enter this legal order, the setting of the amount of the toil obligation has been done on the basis of a contract concluded between the domain master and locality, which was renewed each year. In many places it was provided according to the old habit opening routes for the numerous abuses, which probably the serf did not observe or may be he did, but he was convinced that his complaints wouldn't have been heard in a rural society where all were in the hands of the domain master, including the right to judgment. The peasants who were working on the basis of a contract could easily become "usual-ists", i.e., to work according to the old practices. The contracts could be easily removed, because their vast majority was based only on a verbal agreement, they could be rescinded from today for tomorrow; even if there was a written proof, they (the contracts) could be declared invalid after a certain period of time. The degradation of the "contract-ists" at the state of "usual-ists" was applied where it was necessary, because those who worked according to the convention could be used anytime, for any period of time to provide any quantity of toil obligation⁵. For example, on the area of Oradea, until the urbarial settlement, the toil obligation has been set at the self-will of the master, taking not into account of any urbariums or contracts,

³ Ana Ilea, *Lupta țărănimii din Bihor împotriva aspiririi sociale în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea*, in *Crisia*, VII, Oradea, 1977, p. 14

⁴ David Prodan, *Problema iobăgiei în Transilvania (1700-1848)* (further on: D. Prodan, *Problema iobăgiei...*), București, 1989, p. 40

⁵ Berlász Jenő, *A magyar jobbágykérdés és a bécsi udvar az 1790 -es években (Curtea de la Viena și problema iobăgiei maghiare în anii 1790)*, Budapest, 1942, p. 8

its amount reaching in some localities even 50-60 days per year⁶. In the localities Poșoloaca, Brusturi and Ghenetea, the serfs worked also more than 50 days (70-100 days)⁷. However there were also locations where the amount of the toil obligation was lower before the settlement.

Then it is entered a legal order in giving, tithes, seigniorial monopolies⁸. Are forbidden a lot of obligations and practices that have been in use till then, such as the master's right to inherit the deceased serf, the serf's obligation to grind grain at the master's mill, the fees to provide for the guards and sharecroppers, the serf's obligation to give the tenth of the goose feathers.

From the juridical point of view, the settlement gives the serf the right to complain to the higher forums, namely to the committee and even in Vienna. He is given now the possibility to seek his justice in the disputes with his field master in front of the counties' tables' legal proceeding being severely regulated by the Court⁹. No more, the urbarial processes could get in front of the empress, who was taking the decision after the counsel with the Council of State. This phenomenon could be also noted before the settlement, when the delegations of the peasants or their representatives arrived in Vienna (notaries, county lords).

This social policy, that we could call that of "the open gates" will reach its apogee in the time of Joseph II who will always look for the direct contact with the vassal masses, either by receiving them in audience, or by means of the numerous travels or even by his reforms. During his time, the acceptance of the peasants for imperial audiences took the proportions of a mass phenomenon¹⁰ even confessing him in a dated order on 17th March 1784 "keeps the doors open any day at any time, either to listen to the complaints or to elucidate the doubts"¹¹.

The regulation had a special impact on the serfdom especially in the psychological plan. Although the amount of the liabilities was set in some cases at levels higher than before, by the fact that these obligations are regulated and the state assumes the responsibility of the guarantor of its application, creates for the peasant household the premise to overrun its condition until then. The serf has understood that the relationship between him and master did not depend anymore on the last's self-will and, from now on the tasks had to be carried out at the determined amount and in the case of some irregularities could be brought in

⁶ Ileana Șuta, *Utilizarea forței de muncă iobăgești pe pământurile alodiale din domeniul de Oradea în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVIII-lea*, în *Lucrări Științifice, seria B, Istorie, Oradea*, 1979, p. 158

⁷ Papp Klára, *Biharország jobbágynépe a XVIII-dik században (Iobăgimea din Țara Bihorului în secolul al XVIII-lea)*, Debrecen, 1998, p. 118-119

⁸ D. Prodan, *Problema iobăgiei...*, p. 40

⁹ Mathias Bernath, *Habsburgii și începuturile formării națiunii române*, Cluj-Napoca, 1994, p. 205

¹⁰ Toader Nicoară, *Transilvania la începuturile timpurilor moderne (1680-1800)*, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, p. 353

¹¹ David Prodan, *Răscoala lui Horea*, vol. I, București, 1979, p. 65

front of the throne through the urbarial process¹². Thus the peasant becomes surer about him and gets an increased confidence to the state, fact that will push him to handle more of his own household.

But there are cases in which the locals demand to be complied with the contract before the urbarium. Thus, the natives of Cauaceu invoke the fact that the border of the village is small and a part of it is subjected to flooding, they asking from this reason the compliance with the contract before the urbarium. The domain chair decided that “as also the field owner fits in with the new urbarium, so they must take account of it”. The owner is willing to make a deal with them, but in this case will call the geometrician (boundary engineer) to make measurements on the plough lands and the hay-fields from the outside areas to turn them in urbarial lands. The inhabitants from Hodiş declare that they accept the urbarium but require the reducing of the tasks referred to it as they live in an area subjected to flooding and were off the beefs¹³.

Of course, the serfs, at the same time with the awareness of the change, will beset their owners with requests to reduce the toil obligation, but they will pretend to be those who do not speak out of the legal provisions. In contrast, on the areas where the amount determined by the urbarium was lower than had been in the past, the owners would try to raise abusively the duties owed by the serf.

As regards the cases presented above, probably, in spite of the fact that the two localities were subjected to flooding, and they also had advantages, fact that included them in a higher category. It is known that the size of the plots of land rented from the feudal lord, under the regulation, increased proportionately with the class that part was. Because the fact the plough land was less subjected to floods, the serfs of the two localities required the reducing of the tasks. But the owner will give as solution the replenishment with plough lands and hay-fields from the outside areas, according to the urbarial provisions¹⁴.

The concern for the smooth implementation of the regulation was manifested mainly by the regular checking by the County authority of the way the legal provisions were respected. In the first phase they will discover many abuses with regard to the establishment of the size of the plots of land rented from the feudal lord and of the conversion obligations. Thus, on the occasion of the measurements for determining the size of the plots of land rented from the feudal lord, in many places, the peasants were taken the better lands or they registered more land than it was in fact to be able to increase the amount of the obligations. Once, such injustices have been seen, the peasants would require further measurements to determine the correct size of the plots of land rented from the feudal lord. As a result, during the years 1780-1781 were compiled new

¹² Berlász Jenő, *op. cit.*, p. 14

¹³ Arhivele Naționale- Direcția Județeană Bihor, *fond Prefectura județului Bihor, inv. 41*, (further on: A.N.-D.J.Bh., *fond Prefectura...*), dos. 101, f. 3

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 3

urbariums for the villages Colești, Coroi, Cărpinet, Cărăndeni, Comănești, Călăcea, Rieni, Rogoz, Șiad, Șuștiu¹⁵; for Chișlaz in the year 1799¹⁶, and for Cherechiu in 1803¹⁷.

Enlightening in this regard is the complaint of the year 1790 of a native of Buduslău stating that when the geometrician made the measurements at his domain lord's imperative for sharing the plough land and of the mowing area he was assigned behind a house “a surface in a rather unfavorable place, because on one hand, the road of the village was passing over this land, and on the other hand, the road was passing over the footstep, which caused them much damage”. Knowing this impediment, the geometrician has measured for him an area much larger than it would be proper in such a situation, thus also increasing his obligations. In addition, the rasping has taken from this land for the keeper who “is mowing and not plowing it, the domain master having no use of this”¹⁸. The following year will be also registered other complaints of the people from Buduslău, also in this respect. They were discontent because the lands to be mowed distributed by the geometrician behind of their houses couldn't be used, and that's why they were asking the domain master to be given plough lands equivalently, or their obligations to be reduced¹⁹. As the domain owners have rarely reduced the feudal tasks the only viable solution in this last case would have been the changing of the hay-field with plough land. This would have been in accordance with the urbarial provisions that said that “the serfs had the right to benefit freely and not be stopped from the hay-fields received in the change of the plough lands or from the plough lands received in the change of the hay-field or from the arable or hay-field received for completing the inside area”²⁰. All these were depending on the extent to which it was respecting the laws and on the arable and hay-field on which the locality was carrying.

Finally we can say that the Theresian settlement had in view to solve the obvious problems and had no intention to reform from the ground the feudal system itself. The starting point was the fact that the feudal society can not be replaced. Maria Theresa was convinced that there was no country and could not exist any country where the difference between the domain master and peasant not to be found. For these reasons for a long time she hesitated to intervene in the relationship between them, although she had had many occasions. She has decided when she realized that the vast mass of the peasantry is a rich source for the state, both from the fiscal point of view and the army. The Court of Vienna

¹⁵ Ana Ilea, *op. cit.*, p. 142

¹⁶ A.N.-D.J.Bh., *fond Prefectura...*, dos. 205, f. 39-41v

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, dos. 208, f. 52

¹⁸ A.N.-D.J.Bh., *fond Episcopia romano-catolică Oradea. Acte economice, inv. 246*, dos. 4114, f. 3

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 50

²⁰ A.N.-D.J.Bh., *fond Prefectura...*, dos. 275, f. 8v

used very well the complaints gathered against the domain masters. But, the nobility has considered to be illegal this interference of the state. It wasn't afraid only of the lowering of its revenues, but also of the fact that the serf has a different master, considering this to be a shock to its rights.

On the other hand, can we consider the peasant vassals to be fooled or misled during the Austro-Hungarian enlightened absolutism period? The problem should not be regarded as such. The peasantry status should not be reported to a situation alleged to be ideal, but to those changes that have occurred *de facto* in its situation.

The importance of the urbarial settlement was the fact that the relationship between master and serf was placed under state control and stopped the increasing of the domain masters' demands. Meanwhile the numerous urbarial processes started after the entry into force of the urbarium and of the various interpretations have shown that the serf wanted to use his acquired rights. *"The reform – says Acsády - had only moral results, because it emphasized the peasantry's desire to improve its material and legal condition, and the hope that its aspirations would be supported by the state and, at the same time the consciousness that by the work it carried out it would be on the first place among those who sustained the state"* ²¹.

²¹ Acsády Ignác, *A magyar jobbágyság története (Istoria iobăgimii maghiare)*, Budapesta, 1908, p. 388

SYMBOLOLOGY OF WINE

Adrian Dumitru DUME

Abstract: *The communication describes the symbolism of wine in the Mediterranean but made references to the civilizations of the marginal space. Another survey will be aspects of the wine ritual among Civilizations Hellenistic and Roman then walk through the Jewish branch role of wine in Christianity. V-man talk in short passages role socialization wine, its relationship with the woman or joint and several references to the role of wine in the important events in both human life and of society overall.*

Keywords: *wine, symbol, history, Christianity, anthropology*

The symbols have played an important role in the evolution of human race, because man has sought answers to the contemporary social transformations reported to the beliefs, myths, legends or facts in the past that his predecessors have assigned different messages. Thus, the cross, in the Roman Empire has been used as a tool for putting to death the bondmen and criminals. After the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, who was put to execution in the same awful way, the cross became a symbol of all Christians. Many church goers used to wear this symbol in order to manifest and proclaim faith in Jesus Christ. Thus, as the cross, also the wine has a deep significance for the human civilization. The symbols are figures that have a very big signification and very often being above the common people's understanding.

Wine has a long and lengthy history, in every barrel, in every bottle or in every glass is hiding a fascinating and distinct development. Being one of the first creations of humanity, this drink has played an important role in many peoples culture. The history of wine is inseparable from the history of peoples around the Mediterranean due to its mythological implications attributed both by the ancient cultures: Egyptian, Hellenistic and Roman as well as the symbology of the Christian European civilization, which carried and imposed it in almost all of the places where it got in. It can be said, therefore, that wine is one of the most important symbols of the Mediterranean world¹.

Wine has a major significance in the religious symbology, in the history of the humanity, but we can not omit its economic, medical or social importance.

¹ Tim Unwin, Tradus de M. Baiocchi, Storia del vino. Geografie, culture e miti dall'antichità ai giorni nostri, 2002, p. 10-11, <http://www.google.com/books?id=JVV4kri-NHIC&printsec=frontcover&hl=ro#PPA11,M1>

The bacchanal liqueur grows out of the features of a simple drink, acquiring sacred and profane aspects².

The European symbology of wine must be understood both by the Christian values and the cultural heritage under the Hellenistic civilization or the Roman one in whose society the bacchanal liqueur was more than a drink.

In the Ancient Greece wine was not consumed during meals because the Greeks were specifically meeting to “drink together” in a *symposion*³; gradually that institution typical Greek will degenerate. Wine was often during this type of meetings an element that contributed to get the Dionysian ecstasy or the harmonious combination of its tasting attended by the philosophical and literary dissertations⁴. The important role played by wine in the Hellenistic civilization is shown by the numerous references made by the great Greek scholars on wine and its effects. Wine was drunk by the Greeks only mixed with water and sometimes in composition were introduced several types of herbs. Who did not respect this rule was considered to be foolish or belonging to the barbarians, here this liqueur was not for the elite but for all of them⁵. The role played of wine in the day by day life is so important that the cultivation of the grape vines was acclimatized in all Greek colonies⁶. Wine was a principal element in the ancient Greek society, the trade with wine, practiced by the Greek in their colonies, gained beside the economic importance one more to the mythology acquiring in this way the attribute of symbol of the Hellenistic civilization. The estimation of the respective drink led to distinguish the crapulence raised by wine and that caused by other drinks⁷.

In the Roman world the god of wine was Bacchus, deity who took many of the features of the Greek god Dionysus, the bacchanal holidays some of them being of large amplex recognized by the excessive consumption of drink and food, but also by the religious ceremonials, the extension of this cult among women and slaves has even led to its prohibition because of the amplex it had taken⁸. The Romans brought wine with them in their campaigns imposing upon

² Cotea V.D., „*Vinul în existența umană*” – discurs de receptie ca membru al Academiei Române, Ed.

Academica, Bucuresti, 1995, p. 283-299

³ Jean-Fraçois Gautier, *Civilizația vinului*, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, p. 57

⁴ Aurel Popa, *Vinul. Importanță socială și posibilități de apreciere*, București, 1996, p. 18-19

⁵ Barbara Nowak, Beverly Wichman, Danny May, *The Everything Wine Book*, Everything Books, 2005, p. 3-4

http://www.google.com/books?id=Yy1aELcJvG0C&pg=PA1&dq=wine+in+histoty&lr=&ei=AlkrSt_-NizqzAT5vom3Dw&hl=ro#PPA3,M1

⁶ *Ibidem*

⁷ http://www.info-vinos.com/free_vino-en-la-antiguedad.htm

⁸ Stefan K. Estreicher, *Wine: from Neolithic times to the 21st century*, Algora Publishing, 2006, p. 26-36

<http://www.google.com/books?id=hCzUiYsGNwkc&pg=PA1&dq=wine+in+history&lr=&ei=TVkrSqPvLYy2yQTBs4CWCw&hl=ro#PPA37,M1>

the losing nations this drink, fact leading to practice the viticulture towards up to the upper limit of the continent, as was the case of the Belgians where the exit of cruelty (as the consumption of wine is sometimes considered to be) is offered by Julius Caesar⁹, the Roman emperor, one of the lovers and protectors of wine.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, the cultivation of the grape vines suffered a decline in almost all Europe. The viticulture has not disappeared, that also due to the Christianize of the barbarians who have taken at the same time with the faith, also the product of the grape vine¹⁰, but also due to the Benedictine and Cistercian monks who became the keepers of the vines techniques. In the cellars of the monasteries they could find wines of fine quality, used for Liturgy, meals, but also for preparing medicinal wines.

Known since antiquity, by Chinese, Mesopotamians or Phoenicians¹¹, one of the first documentary notes referring to the age of the grape vines cultivation and wine consumption is mentioned in the Old Testament, where we are shown that after the flood “Noah began to be a worker of the earth and planted grape vine” (the Old Testament, Creation, chapter 9, verse 20) as for the next verse to indicate that “ he drank wine and getting drunk, he unwound himself in his tent” evoking thus, also the effects of the excessive consumption.

In the Old Testament, the grape vine was also the symbol of the Promised Land as shown by the bunch brought by Moses from the region of Canaan¹². As a consequence, it will be taken in the New Testament as a symbol of Paradise – the land promised to those who commune with Jesus Christ’s body and blood. The decorative motif of the grape vine there is nowadays, too in the sacred art of the Orthodox Church, preserving its symbolic meaning.

The Hebrew communities perceived wine as a gift from God aimed to exhilarate man’s heart “To drag out bread from earth and wine exhilarates man’s heart” (the Old Testament, Psalm 103, verse 16), an important part of the most simple meal, it symbolizes alongside bread the whole food of the human “God give you from the rosa solis and the plenteousness of land, plenty of bread and wine”. (Old Testament, Creation, chapter 27, verse 28) and is used as libation in the cult¹³. The role of wine in the daily life of the Jews was very important as it is understood as a necessity of life, not a luxury, consumed by all the social classes and a store vital to the fortress “These citadels have been strengthened by him it with walls and put in them headmen and store rooms to keep bread, oil and wine”. (Old Testament, II, Paralipomena, chapter 11, verse 11). Abundance of wine was considered an expression of God blessing “He will love you, He will bless you, He

⁹ Jean-Fracois Gautier, *Civilizația vinului*, Cluj-Napoca, 2001, p. 33-34

¹⁰ Stefan K. Estreicher, *op.cit.*, p. 37

¹¹ Thomas Pellechia, *Garlic, Wine and Olive Oil: Historical Anecdotes and Recipes*, 2000, p. 37-50
http://www.google.com/books?id=ji0tFmBd4d0C&printsec=frontcover&hl=ro&source=gbs_suummary_r&cad=0#PPA51, M1

¹² Tim Unwin, *op. cit.*, p. 81

¹³ Pr. Florin Botezan, <http://www.derwent.ro/s/l/index-D-08.html>

will proliferate you and bless the fruit of your belly, the fruit of your land, your bread, your wine, your oil, ...” (Old Testament, Deuteronomy, chapter 7, verse 13) and the special abundance an expression of the messianic era¹⁴.

In the biblical tradition, the wine is, above all, the symbol of joy and, in general, of all gifts that God makes to people: “Go and eat bread with joy you and drink good wine with your heart, because God is for your gracious deeds”. (The Old Testament, Ecclesiastes chapter 9, verse 7). In the ritual offerings and sacrifices, the wine has its place along with flour, oil and the slaughtered lamb (the Old Testament, the Sully, chapter 29, verses 40-41). Sometimes, however, the drink made by wine symbolizes mind’s wandering that God punishes the rebellious nations or the irreligious “Take from My hand this cup of wrath wine and water with it all the peoples whom I will send you. Those will drink and will stagger and will go mad when seeing the sword that I will send upon them! “(The Old Testament, Jeremiah, chapter 25, verses 15-16). Also, the Old Testament mentions the heady wine that was a provocative factor of the act of incest whereby the daughters of Lot have gone pregnant (The Old Testament, Creation, chapter 19, verses 31-38)¹⁵.

The symbolology of wine acquires then new dimensions by using it by Jesus Christ, so wine becomes the symbol of God’s blood and of the new faith covenant “This is My Blood, of the new Law, which for many flows”. (Mark, chapter 14, verse 24). The gestures and miracles of Jesus Christ have imposed wine as a symbolic element in the new faith taking a part of the features assigned to the Judaism ritual drink. In the Canticle wine is the symbol of love between bride and groom. Transposed in religious symbolism, it shows God’s love for his people. Even the exaggeration in wine drinking, drink, becomes spiritual image. Because of drinking, the blood is flowing and vitality is moving¹⁶.

After inclusion in the Christian faith, wine links its evolution to the spread of this denomination, the grape vine will accompany the Christians on all their ways as well in the practice of the religious cult.

The expansion of Christianity starting from the sunny shores of the Mediterranean made the grape vine to be planted till the end of the Middle Age even in the septentrional England and the southern regions of Scandinavia¹⁷, areas unsuitable to practice the viticulture, as the northern limit for the development of the commercial culture of the grape vine should be from the Loire’s mouth, on the Atlantic coast, to Crimea and beyond it to Georgia and Trascauzia¹⁸. Under the protection of Christianity, whose major component is, the consumption of this drink has expanded at the same time with the number of

¹⁴ Alin Constantin Ionescu, *Mitul vinului cultic*, în *Museum*, nr.VI, Golești, 2007, p. 511

¹⁵ <http://www.crestinul.ro/vinulinvechi.htm>

¹⁶ Gerhart B. Ladner, *Il simbolismo paleocristiano. Dio, cosmo, uomo*, 2008, Vicenza, p.170-173

¹⁷ Jean-Fracois Gautier, *op.cit.*, p. 51

¹⁸ Fernand Braudel, *Structurile cotidianului*, București, 1984, vol. 1, p. 269

Christians and allowed to a great part of the population to know it, to drink it and to give it different meanings. Certainly, a large part of the Christian population consumed it only during certain religious holidays, but Christianity has allowed the spread of cultivation of the grape vine and of the prestige of this drink.

The European viticulture is first of all an ecclesiastic one because the large vineyards were born in a place between an Episcopal home and navigable river¹⁹, the Episcopal domains being between the great producers of wine in the middle and modern age, a place due to the several land properties and the liturgical needs²⁰. Europe summarizes the essential of the problem of wine especially in the Mediterranean dock, but the bacchanal liqueur will accompany the European Christians also during their incursions into the conquest of New World, where is acclimated quickly, in some regions even with remarkable results²¹.

The Western Christian universe will launch a series of discussions on wine and the colour of the liquid used in liturgy. Even if the primary church used the red wine, the Roman Catholic Church began in the 13th century to put the issue of colour of wine for the Holy Liturgy, the white wine supporters managing to impose their point of view, their reasons being of a practical nature: the difficulty to maintain clean the liturgical cloths, the greater ease of falsification of red wine, density of red wine in specific regions, etc.; so the usage of white wine in the Catholic Liturgy is almost generalized²².

The evolution of Judaism and Christianity will be connected to the noble drink or food requirements, which will become a symbolic fundamental component of the Christianity along with bread or lamb²³. The expansion and survival of the grape vine culture in the Middle Age depended largely on the importance played in liturgical cult, among the few areas that could afford the luxury to have and protect the vineyards were ecclesiastical. Each field cultivated its own vineyard, necessary both to the church service and the daily meal or needs, the bishop having to care for an *intra-muros* quality vineyard²⁴. During this period, when Europe was out of the “troubled” times, the monasteries and cathedrals had around them significant areas with grape vines, the monks continued to improve, have selected the best plants, have experienced cutting, studied soil, chose locations far from the freezing to produce ripe good grapes, which allowed them to produce quantities of wine, not only for religious ritual

¹⁹ Jean-Fracois Gautier, *op.cit.*, p. 52

²⁰ Maguelonne Toussaint-Samat, *A history of food*, 1994, p. 277-279,
<http://books.google.com/books?id=i4xuO9TsHf8C&pg=PA277&dq=wine+and+monasteries&e i=k60rSqXrAYKEygSG1vyqBw&hl=ro#PPA279,M1>

²¹ Fernand Braudel, *Structurile cotidianului*, București, 1984, vol. 1, p. 269-270

²² Pr. Florin Botezan, <http://www.derwent.ro/s/l/index-D-08.html>

²³ Petru Dunca, *Repere în antropologia culturală a alimentației*,
<http://d.scribd.com/docs/1zn3fauk9etjh4kn3zo5.pdf>

²⁴ Jean-Fracois Gautier, *op.cit.*, p. 52

but also for sale²⁵. The expanding of the areas with grape vines led directly to the increasing of the quantities of wine produced and, to the flowering of the wine trade and the emergence of trade routes and fleets of wine. The abundance of wine, which implies the existence of large wine-growing areas, it has become since that time a commercial product of close-up.

Towards the southern and eastern Europe the wine and the grape vine meet the obstacle of Islam, which does not eliminate entirely the production and trade of wine, the liquor being appreciated even by some sultan²⁶. The Koran prohibits the Islamic world the consumption the bacchanal drink but not forget to promise to the Moslem that in the Celeste gardens will be “rivers of wine, feast to those who drink it”.²⁷ To understand the symbology of wine in the world of Islam must be stated the context in Koran that includes the above mentioned promise, the rivers of wine are written alongside the rivers of pure water, the rivers of milk always tasting fresh and rivers of purified honey, which points out the importance of the prohibited liquid. We can observe an intrinsic characteristic recognized by the Koran for wine, as if water must be pure, milk should be fresh tasting and honey must be purified, wine will only be delicious, its purity couldn't be questioned. The use of this liquor is intended only for the wise men as the prophet Mohammed says: “I allowed the wine only to the wise people and I prohibited it only to the stupid ones”²⁸.

Communication is an essential factor in shaping the human personality and in evolution of the interpersonal relationships. Since its appearance, the wine predisposed the man to socializing so that it has been proved to be more enjoyable when drinking with someone, in the community; it wins savour and becomes a symbol of friendship. This was the reason for what it was present during all meetings of the Greek *symposion*, at the Roman or contemporary banquet, or even in the notorious tavern. Any such meetings facilitate the conclusion of friendships, treaties of peace, philosophical discussions, recitations, marriage affairs or economic contracts, but do not forget that under the effect of the bacchanal liquor were also dissolved such agreements and have created enemies, rivalries or violence acts sometimes completed by crimes. So, the wine acts as a stimulus of socializing being involved during time in many activities that have enriched the relational spectrum or led by excess to breaking of some interpersonal connections.

Many of the consequences of consumption of wine are given by its relationship with the truth in most of the cases “The wine has the virtue to make to speak freely and openly and to tell the truth” (Plutarh)²⁹, this primarily because

²⁵ Stefan K. Estreicher, *op.cit.*, p. 52

²⁶ Fernand Braudel, *Structurile cotidianului*, București, 1984, vol. 1, p. 270

²⁷ Jean-Fracois Gautier, *op.cit.*, p. 21-22

²⁸ Avram Tudosie (coord), *Via și vinul în literatură*, București, f.a., p. 96

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p.114

alcohol gives courage and bravery is the essential condition of sincerity. The courage caused by consumption of wine is often unconscious, caused by loss of control over the voiced words, which explains the relationship between wine and sincerity by losing the self-control. People talk frankly under wine consumption, and as the liquor is seed of words, especially the human displays his clove hoot. Truths can be annoying and so can be explained in an important share the frequent conflicts occurring around the glass, dissensions sometimes ended over murder, but what could you expect from a drink which is kept in the dark cellars, the evil space where wine is maturated and is transformed into a true treasure that expects for its finders.

In vino veritas (In wine lies the truth), but where the wine gets in, usually shame gets out and the bacchanal drink provokes also debauchery, but this is the consequence of the excessive consumption even during the symposions and dionyses³⁰, otherwise drink is mother of all evils, because good wine has the gift to make the man crazy. In drunkenness are committed many misdoings which entail heavy consequences.

The relationship of wine with drink is a complicated one, because it's hard to appreciate the kick of wine, a sweet wine easily leads to get crazy voluntary. Threshold between sanity and excess is hardly seen particularly in a wine of quality, because in a glass can be included always both, depending on its size and the kick of wine, and the bacchanalian liqueur first cheers up and then leads to thoughtlessly facts. The drunkenness caused by wine have a major defect that drink from grapes was the first drug known by man³¹, but the drug causes dependency, which in our case, leads to alcoholism, and who drinks to inebriation, good name in the world not has. The boundary between the use and abuse of alcohol accepted by society is not and was not clearly defined, so often the dependent on wine suffered for being marginalized by community. This type of marginalization does not take account of the social condition of that in cause, as it is like a punishment addressed to whom violates the unwritten rules of the civilized world. On this occasion occur more marginalization: first there is a marginalization of the family, then of the neighbours and close relatives, as, finally, the entire community to disown. Not often this marginalization turns the whole family, especially if the one in question was the head of the family. The main cause of the marginalization was often the antisocial behaviour caused by the excessive and uncontrolled consumption of wine that took the man out of the area of predictability. The uncontrolled behaviour caused by wine causes fear or distraction, both situations causing the avoidance of the concerned individual company. The alcoholism brought with it also other effects such as the economic decline and loss of property of that that was touched by defect leading him to drink the house, too. Another important effect of

³⁰ Jean-Fracois Gautier, *op.cit.*, p. 24-26

³¹ Aurel Popa, *op.cit.*, p. 36

alcoholism is the decrease of immunity to diseases, because the alcohol in these cases is replacing a normal diet but the rest, too.

Woman and wine can corrupt the wisest, too a French proverb says, the relationship between a woman and wine is a complex picture because both are the life's image, require little training, are required to be treated with respect and handled with delicacy and offer intense feelings, excite the imagination and the emotion of all are spellbound, both learn or simple men, rich or poor; evolve and perfect in time, drunk and seduce, sometimes for the entire life. The similarities often cause antithesis, but the two compulsions of men were not always excluded, some were drawn or have been completed, but the most times were opposed because of the man that they had to share. Blameful and discredited by drinking, the woman was often posted against this defect predominantly male and tried to get out her husband of the influence of drinking, fact that did not stop her to lead the ceremonies dedicated to Dionysus or to be that who pours it into the foreigner's glass entering the inn. Sometimes the attraction was done by filling the qualities of the twos and for that reason many have happened when drinking and regretted them after, because a quote so present lately says that wine is better for women when men drink it.

The pub flusters affection, pleasure, disgust, excitement, horror, the image upon it being given by the mood of spirit of that who describes it, but the attraction is determined both by drink and socialization. Many of these pubs were a mixture of drink and floozies; a fact that made them more attractive because of the pub was as the virgin being kissed by everyone. Alignment between tavern and woman is not up for that a pub was almost always the place where the wine was much more appreciated than that drinking at home, because "Nowhere as in taverns, the bad wine is not so good" (Tudor Musatescu)³² and the consumption of drink is completed by the company of another woman than that of home. As a consequence, the relationship between family and the tavern was mostly a cordial; there are often cases where the constant presence of one of the spouses in the tavern will lead to the disintegration of families. The rupture occurs mainly due to exhaustion of material resources of the family on drink, but also because the family losing its prestige in the community. The pub is a traditional meeting place, the way to it being often crossed on Sundays and holidays in the Romanian space, more often than the way to the God's home³³ and here once came in he knew that did not come to pray, but to cheer, to tell, to listen to and to drink making pleasure to the publican, whom the drinker is dear but would not marry his girl to him. Wine is the drink of man at joy and sorrow, it helps him to celebrate successes and to forget the trouble because it "removes pain, plays oblivion and banishes dark thoughts that prey on us almost every day" (Herodotus)³⁴. It often causes the

³² Avram Tudosie, *op.cit.*, p. 104

³³ Klaus Heitmann, *Imaginea românilor în spațiul lingvistic german*, București, 1995, p. 170

³⁴ Avram Tudosie, *op.cit.*, p. 88

creative inspiration who consumes it by the brain stimulus that it makes, how many were written under its influence and many works were put into light is hard to say, but people like Aeschylus, Demosthenes, Goethe, Kant or Mozart were certainly admirers of various forms of the drink derived from grapes³⁵.

Nectar of gods³⁶ possess indisputable curative qualities, from Hippocrates till today, scientists or experts have revealed the properties of the medical healthier drink as Luis Pasteur³⁷ and the symbol of a magic liquor considered to cure various diseases can not be neglected either today .

The therapeutic qualities of wine have been recognized since 450 BC the father of medicine, Hippocrates, who is among the first to say that the disease is not a punishment of the gods but it has natural causes³⁸. He recommends wine both in pure and associated to other liquids or other substances as a treatment to reduce fever, as external disinfectant, as diuretic, as nutritional supplements and to treat many other diseases³⁹.

Wine was used as a remedy against intoxication with mushrooms, hemlock, opium, or quicksilver or remedy against the shafts of the spider bites and snakes. Recommendation is at most ancient authors, from Hippocrates to Galenus, it insists on using it both on lesion and in consumption of wine to stop cooling the blood in these cases.

Wine is not only used as a medicine, but also it was used in medicine as a solvent to enhance the virtues of other drugs or substances used in the primary medicine⁴⁰. Wine was not intended as a medicine only for adults, children also consumed wine being considered a good remedy against the occurrence of worms⁴¹.

Epilepsy, one of the most traumatizing diseases, that has also impressed during so many centuries, whose cure has not been found any today, couldn't not to be associated with the precious liquid. Epilepsy treatment, according to the popular practice, required wine as a solvent for the cat droppings⁴², it was good also to cure and treat the fever, especially if the wine was white.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 10

³⁶ Cuvinte atribuite lui Alexandru Macedon în Avram Tudosie, *op.cit.*, p. 90

³⁷ Aurel Popa, *op.cit.*, p. 32

³⁸ Stefan K. Estreicher, *op.cit.*, p. 6

³⁹ Hippocrates, William Henry Samuel Jones, Wesley D. Smith, Edward Theodore Withington, Paul Potter, *Hippocrates*, Harvard, 1994

http://books.google.com/books?id=ce_9YJ0r_6kC&pg=PP1&dq=hippocrates&lr=&ei=oXYrSsWpOY-UzASn5b2cBw&hl=ro#PPA79,M1

⁴⁰ William Buchan, *Domestic medicine: or, A treatise on the prevention and cure of diseases by regimen and simple medicines: With an appendix, containing a dispensatory for the use of private practitioners*, Edinburgh., 1790, p. 705-707

<http://books.google.com/books?id=g18MAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA326&dq=wine+and+medicine&lr=&ei=75YrSsePIYeyyQTtp-STBw&hl=ro#PPA326,M1>

⁴¹ Harry W. Paul, *Bacchic medicine : wine and alcohol therapies from Napoleon to the French Paradox*, 2001, p. 7-8

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 10

As in contact with grapes wine, even in diluted state, the vibrioses of cholera die for several minutes; the pathogen agent of typhus may explain why in the 19th century the wine consumers have escaped from the depredations caused by cholera⁴³.

In the Middle Age, sometimes wine was not a luxury for humans but a necessity, especially in those days when drinking water was often impure, dangerous, in this context, the wine is mixed with water to become drinking water, which was giving wine, also the role of antiseptic in the rudimentary medicine of the age practiced especially by the monks⁴⁴.

Thus, by the end of the 17th century as long as therapy had been recognized by adjusting the body temperatures, the attributes of cold, hot, wet, dry were the fundamental properties of wine, able to induce the correlated effects in the body.

The preparation, storage and transport of wine made the emergence of some tools and utensils (stone or wood presses, clay pots for fermentation, amphorae for storage and transportation and much later, the barrel)⁴⁵, the man being stimulated to create some more advanced devices because the wine was a product of commerce to be transported with as few as possible losses both on sea and on land.

Wine is considered to be also a symbol of prosperity; at least this is the perception of Christianity on it, as we must be fair in our hearts for that blessed country give us by God. Even the subjects that at first sight appear to be only decorative, often have a hidden meaning, such as the grapes vine seen very often in the art of the first centuries. The message sent by such representative representations are a clear transposition of Christ's words: "As burgeon can not bring fruit by itself unless it remains in vine, so neither you, if you do not remain in Me. I'm the vine, you are burgeons. Who remains in Me and I in Him, that brings much fruit, because without Me you can do nothing"(John chapter 15 verses 4-5). These words and the respective image have both sacramental and ecclesiologic sense. When the vine and vine burgeons are represented it's about Christ and His Church: "I'm the vine, you are burgeons". But most often, the image is filled with that of the harvest or with that of the birds that feed on grapes. In this case, the vine reminds the Christians especially the central mystery of the Church, Eucharistic. "The vine gives us wine as the Word has given Its blood", says Clement the Alexandrian. People who pick up and birds that feed represent the Christians who share with Christ's body and blood⁴⁶.

⁴³ Barbara Nowak, Beverly Wichman, Danny May, *op.cit.*, p. 255

⁴⁴ Tim Unwin, P. T. H. Unwin, *Wine and the vine: an historical geography of viticulture and the wine trade*, 1991, p.179

http://www.google.com/books?id=frn1trhKWSEC&printsec=frontcover&hl=ro&source=gbs_summary_r&cad=0

⁴⁵ Valeriu D. Cotea, *Cultura și vinul*, Museum, no.6, Golești, 2007, p. 284

⁴⁶ Gerhart B. Ladner, *op.cit.*, p. 170-173

The cultural dimension of the wine can not be separated from the sacred one. Associated with blood, due to the essential character of the plant, the wine is the symbol of the vegetal immortality, of the eternal life, but also the symbol of knowledge and self-initiation due to the exalting/terrible effects that cause upon the spirit.

Wine is also seen in many faiths as a symbol of plenty, so it is used in ritual acts, at weddings where its role is to influence the future of marriage, to bring joy and provide durability in time or by gathering the gift on a slice of bread sprinkled with wine there is the hope of magic multiplication of money⁴⁷. The custom is preserved for baptisms, but the wine has its essential role also for the funeral ceremonies where the dead body, the gone cake and the grave are sprinkled with wine, the participants to the godsend meal eat firstly bread sprinkled with wine and do not forget that before drink they have to throw up a drop of wine⁴⁸ for the soul of the dead.

So the wine comes up throughout life in the most important moments, you use it the moments of joy or sadness, and even if you did not agreed it your whole life and did not use it, now it is thrown up on your inert body by the priest with a awkwardly hand without having any right of appeal.

They can not reduce the importance of wine only to a ritual element, , but during the time it has demonstrated many qualities as a source of creation in many works both philosophical and literary, scientific or art, the qualities of wine being evoked by great personalities of all historical times. Starting with Herodotus, and then Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Pliny the Elder, Plutarch, Tales, Hippocrates, Seneca, Mohammed, Shakespeare, Voltaire, Galileo Galilee, Goethe, Mozart, or Victor Hugo or Petofi Sandor, even Mihai Eminescu were among the admirers of the qualities of wine. They will however also alert on the consequences of excess of wine. The symbolic importance of the liquor does not belong only to the society elites. It should be also run at the bottom level, where it has a role not only symbolic in communication and saying the truth. Drunk in the most important banquets or symposiums whose symbolist it determines, wine affirmed its prestige even in the most notorious tavern. A major review should be granted also to the relationship between wine and woman where are shown all the consequences of working together and also the fighting between the two vices of men. Reason of marriage or divorce, the wine through its effects, proves to be a central element of the life of the simplest individual. Symbol of prosperity and plenty, the wine imposes itself in the ceremony of the most important events in the human's life (baptism, marriage, death) but it is still bringer of the moral decay and poverty.

⁴⁷ Ofelia Văduva, *Pași spre sacru. Din etnologia alimentației românești*, București, 1997, p. 46-47

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 47

The noblesse of wine was a major point in time. Wine was worthy conferred over time with a number of qualities that they have imposed on the top of the hierarchy of alcoholic beverages. Any other drinks were not given much attention to the treatment accorded them in the primary to servitude at meals. The attention enjoyed by wine determined that its use to benefit of a real protocol. To determine its properties they have formed a number of specialists coming from the ampelography and oenology domain. These sciences were formed just to be able to determine its most sensitive differences. The value of its qualities have imposed wine as the most important alcoholic beverage of mankind, exceeding as perception even in areas where its consumers are in inferior number, the other alcoholic drinks becoming the ideal of the civilization as a drink. However, we do not want to forget that in the terms of its importance in history, wine has been overrun by water.

Wine is a concept that develops a variety of connotations. It can drive both a whole and the greater diversity. To this whole we can include both a positive half and a malefic one. Consisting of a variety of real or symbolic components, the wine can not be summarized by a simple attribute. The dual concept has been discussed both from the sacred and the profane point of view. Having both qualities and faults, not a few were those who tried to define its essence, but few have succeeded. Component of the ideal Mediterranean nutritive trinity, along with bread and oil, wine is the important symbol of it; to the nutritive symbology of wine they have also added, a spiritual one. Of the work of twos, somewhere in the middle, between food and spiritual is resulting in fusion also a medical symbology.

Symbology of wine, as we could see, is a complex one. Starting from its chemical characteristics, wine is the second important drink after water. Differences against this are given by the role that wine has played in addition to the human nutrition or in primary medicine, its spiritual and nutritional senses being recognized by the most traditional societies. Its characteristics have been appreciated even by those who prohibited its daily usage, such as the followers of Islam. Discredited by the effects of excess wine played a main role in the daily life of the common man, but we can not omit any of its spiritual assignments. Used in the Christian or Jewish cult, in castle or tavern, wine comes into the European civilization space as a symbol drink of it that is intended both to the aristocracy and crowd.

THE PRIEST AND THE MEDICINE-WOMAN¹ BY THE SUFFERINGS' BED

Emilia Adina GALE

Abstract: *In every rural community from 18th and 19th centuries exists a wise-woman (we will call her “medicine-woman”) who has the ability to cure people with her incantations like prayers, spells, actions or medicinal herbs. She and the priest are first people called to stay beside the person which is in sickness. The presence of the priest by the bed of the ill persons is necessary and obligatory because everybody must confess all his sins and must get the absolution so that his soul be forgiven and accede to Heaven. Each of them has his own methods to cure the body and the soul of the one who is sick. This crucial moment – the sickness – is a very good example for the way how magic and religion interknit, without that the folks have the conscience that they are doing something wrong. Magic and religion have in this situation a therapeutic role.*

Keyword: *medicine, woman, priest, magic, religion*

In the early modern times Crisana, the magic and religion go together in the peasant's life, from birth to death, in the every moments of a day and especially in the crucial ones. In this paper we will discuss about one critical moment from the peasant's life – the illness – that exemplify the way how magic and religion interknit, without that the folks have the conscience that they are doing something wrong. Magic and religion have in this situation a therapeutic role². At the ill persons' bed, the priest and the medicine-woman

¹ We will use the term “medicine-woman” to indicate a wise-woman that exists in every rural community. She is not necessary a witch but she has special skills in curing people with incantations-like prayers, her experience, medicinal herbs or other objects. She is an expert in magic and divination and uses “white magic” and does no harm to anybody. It is true that it could exist a “medicine-man”, but the women with these special abilities are many more than men.

² This phenomenon can be traced in all European space, from Middle Ages to our days. It could be read these essays: Gabor Klaniczay, *Shamanistic Elements in Central European Witchcraft*, in idem, *The Uses of Supernatural Power. The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe*, Princeton University Press, Preston, New Jersey, 1990, p. 129-150; Till Raczek, *Magic and Popular Medicine in Spanish Aljamiado-Texts*, in Alexander Fodor (edit.), *Proceedings of the Colloquium on Logos, Ethos, Mythos in the Middle East & North Africa (L E M)*, Part Two, Csoma de Koros Soc., Budapest, 1996, p. 55-62; Torun Selberg, *Ideas about the Past and Tradition in the Discourse about Neo-Shamanism in a Norwegian Context*, in Gabor Barna (edit.), *Politics and Folk Religion*, Akademiai Kiado, Budapest, 2001,

come in the first place each one with his arsenal of cures. Even in this time, the doctor presence is sporadic and if they exist in one community, they are very expensive. So, peasants go to the doctor only in extremely bad situations.

In the case of sickness the medicine-woman is called first and only when she cannot cure, people go to the doctor. We can exemplify with the case of Susana Bar born in Remetea village (Bihor County) who in 1856 asked the divorce of her husband, Laza Gheorghe from Meziad (Bihor County). She motivates that her husband and his family have tried to poison her. She tells her story: "I have been lying in the bed for a half year, I could not sleep and it was hard for me even stay in the bed. My mother appealed to the help of medicine-women, but even they could not cure me. The widow of Lukacs Mihaly, midwife in Remetea, succeeded in finding remedy for me, curing me in the end". Her husband takes her back home, where the woman gets ill again, even worse than the first time. Now, her family takes Susana Bar in Beius (Bihor County) at "mister Doctor of the county, who has declared that I was so badly ill that I could die. Mister Doctor prescribed me medicines which I procured from the pharmacy. Together with the midwife who was the widow of Lukacs Mihaly, they tried to get me rid of the illness"³. From this case we could observe the importance that medicine-woman, represented here through a midwife, has, like an archetype of woman who knows⁴ a woman very respected by the community for her inborn or acquired qualities.

Unfortunately the activity of the medicine-woman can be very hard reconstructed because she is almost absent from the documents.

The presence of the priest by the bed of the ill persons is necessary and obligatory because everybody must confess all his sins and must get the absolution so that his soul be forgiven and accede to Heaven. Therefore as far the compulsoriness of the annual confession was very bad received⁵, as the

p. 65-74; Monika Kropiej, *Magic as Reflected in Slovenian Folk Tradition and Popular Healing Today*, in Gabor Klaniczay, Eva Pocs (edit.), *Demons, Spirits, Witches. Vol. II. Christian Demonology and Popular Mythology*, Central European University Press, Budapest, 2006, p. 194-201. See furthermore: Keith Thomas, *Religion and the decline of magic > studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth and seventeenth century England*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997, Carlo Ginzburg, *Istorie nocturna. O interpretare a Sabatului*, Editura Polirom, Iasi, 1996.

³ Therefore Susana Bar does not want under any circumstance to go back at her husband preferring suicide, especially that the illness made her "disabled for marriage and for cohabitation with a man" (Blaga Mihoc, *Justiție și moralitate*, Editura Logos '94, Oradea, 2000, 188-189).

⁴ Antoaneta Olteanu, *Ipostaze ale maleficului în medicina magică*, Editura Paideia, București, 1997, p. 66

⁵ François Lebrun and John Bossy propose some explanations for unperforming the general confession and the Holy Communion, a fact traced in all rural Europe. So, people do not accomplish these sacraments because some of them deny the precept of auto accusation that is considered to represent the moral and psychological virtue of confession (François Lebrun, *Reformele: devoțiunile comunitare și pietatea personală în Ariès*, Philipe, Duby, Georges,

presence of the priest near the dying men was considered to be a necessity and his absence – a grievous disaster, because the redemption of that believer is at stake⁶.

The protopope Gavril from Buteni (Arad County) shows in March 1785 to the orthodox bishop of Arad, Petru Petrovici, that in Buteni “some people being of 80, 90 years are not confessed, they do never come to the church, not even at Easter. I went to the vice-mayor – said the protopope – to help me and he said that he had other things to do and he could not resolve this”. The inhabitants of Buteni “had been habituated by pope Lazar and other priests in this way: if they die the priest absolves them only; so even they are or not confessed, pope Lazar absolves them. Now they got into their habit”⁷.

Not even in the middle of the 19th century the situation regarding this matter does not seem to get much better. The Greco-catholic priests often express their discontent regarding the fact that their parishes do not confess and do not participate at the Holy Communion in harmony with the precepts of the church. The priest of Bedeu (Hungary) says that “even after fervent parental lectures, some of youngsters are indifferent concerning the saint things and only when they get married they shrive themselves from sins”⁸. Ioan Moga, the Greco-catholic priest from Siria (Arad County) writes in his report to the bishopric from Oradea in 1859 that “the religious and moral state of the people from Vilagos Parish” is “partly bad and dolorous”, because they “very rarely meditate on spiritual things”. “Oldest ones are like youngster who with the Saint Sacraments of the penitence had never got”, although they know that the Communion is the greatest duty of the Christians⁹. Not all the Greco-catholic believers from Ciutelec (Bihar County) participate at Confession and Holy Communion at Easter from 1860, because they have the old habit to confess only when they are bad ill and especially the oldest ones¹⁰. Only few of the parishes from Dindesti (Satu-Mare County) go to the church to communicate them because most of them use to accomplish Holy Sacraments only when they are on the dying bed and some of them neither in that moment¹¹. In 1861 in Simand (Arad County), 45 souls go to confession, because the rest of the

Istoria vieții private, vol. V, București, Editura Meridiane, 1995, p. 101, John Bossy, *Creștinismul în Occident. 1400-1700*, Editura Humanitas, București, 1998, p. 69-70)

⁶ François Lebrun, *op. cit.*, p. 108

⁷ The protopope asks the advice at his bishop, how to resolve this situation. Actually, the protopope Gavril proves to be tedious for his parishes because “if I told them the biddings people have said that they would cast me out from the burg, that it was other protopopes and they did not give so many biddings” (Ed. I. Găvănescu, *Mărturii românești din Eparhia Aradului în veacul al XVIII-lea*, Editura diecezană, Arad, 1940., p. 49).

⁸ Arhivele Naționale – Direcția Județeană Bihor (hereafter: AN-DJBh), *Fond Episcopia Greco-Catolică de Oradea*, inv. 881 (hereafter: *Fond Episcopia Greco-Catolică...*), dos. 1369, f. 99

⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 119

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 113

¹¹ *Ibidem*, f. 141

believers call the priest to confess them only when they become badly ill and can not move out of the bed. The young Greco-catholic people can not be persuaded even with the greatest efforts to go to the church for the annual Confession¹².

It is enough and very compulsory, for most of the common Christian believers to confess only when they are dying. They do this duty not only from disclosing their sins but especially for getting the Holy Eucharist.

For priests it must be a priority to stay near the dying person in last moments of his life. In 1780 Greco-catholic Consistory of the Bishopric from Oradea recommends to the priests to stop in the middle of a funeral ceremony, especially if there are many priests to officiate and hurry to go to the sick person that is in need to confess and to receive Eucharist¹³. Two years later, the Greco-catholic priest from Leta Mare (Satu Mare County) was admonished for his duty to confess and give Eucharist priority having ill persons: "Attention to the vicar that every man must be confessed especially when he is in sickness because if it will happen that somebody will die un confessed and un communicated by the reason of the priest, he will render account of this in front of God for that man's soul"¹⁴.

The liturgical books expect the priest to minister an ill person on the deathbed or the service of soul's parting from the body. Though the Confession made on the dying bed the man's soul becomes detached of daily sorrows and concerns and of every other human connection with this world. The priest has a priority in taking the last confession in situation of "deathly perils" to absolve the sins of the ones who are in need – is saying in an act given by the Gherasim Adamovici in 1794¹⁵.

The dying man who remains alone with the priest is strengthened with prayers and blessings to succeed in confronting numberless and tremendous dangers and trials which will come upon on his long way to Heaven. The Confession of the sins with the mind at the closing death is done more spontaneously. It is crucial to be asked and to be given forgiveness for the committed sins¹⁶.

Rural society is affected by the fear of the instantaneous death and not by the fear of death itself¹⁷. The quick death is terrifying because do not give the men the possibility to finish all their problems and calculations with this

¹² *Ibidem*, dos. 1370, f. 65

¹³ Ioan Horga, *Contribuții la cunoașterea Jozefinismului provincial. Debutul Episcopiei Greco-Catolice de Oradea (1777-1784)*, Editura Universității din Oradea, 2000, p. 112

¹⁴ Ioan Horga, *Contribuții la cunoașterea...*, p. 131

¹⁵ Ilarion Pușcariu, *Documente pentru limbă și istorie*, vol. I, Tipariul Tipografiei Archiepiscopale, Sibiu, 1889, p. 166-167

¹⁶ François Lebrun, *op. cit.*, p. 104; John Bossy, *op. cit.*, p. 68

¹⁷ Barbu Ștefănescu, *Lumea rurală din vestul României între medieval și modern*, ediția a II-a Editura Universității din Oradea, 2006, p. 100

life: "1825, February 18, the creature of the God, having 13 years, son of Patcaş Georgie from V. Velenta terrible died un confessed"¹⁸.

Another action that men of the Church could do for an ill believer is the anointing service. The seriously ill are anointed with Holy Oil blessed for that purpose in a service which ideally requires the presence of seven priests. The service begins with a canon that stresses the healing and reconciling uses of oil. After a prayer to sanctify the oil, there is a series of seven Epistles, Gospels and prayers for healing, the Gospels and prayers being read by each priest in turn. After his prayer, each priest anoints the sick person. After the seventh prayer, all the priests hold the Gospel book opened over the patient's head for a final prayer for forgiveness. In emergencies the service may be abbreviated, and is considered to have been fulfilled as long as the priest carried out at least one anointing¹⁹.

The tradition is to do anointing service with seven priests, according with the liturgical books like *Molitvelnic* which has a widely circulation in Crisana in the 18th and 19th centuries²⁰. The orthodox priest Vasile Crainic accuses an older priest from Sititelec (Bihor County) Nicolae Popovici that when he must do an anointing service, he does not call him (because they are in a conflict of interests) and he appeals to the priest from the neighbour village: "if there were happening that a Christian believer needed to celebrate an anointing service he [Nicolae Popovici] like an oldest priest that he was he neither invited me nor calls me like his associate in the holy things, but he had rather called other priests if he had services to made our village"²¹. The deacon Ioan Popovici from Buhani (Bihor County) was denounced that he had celebrated many religious services doing "al things like a priest" (even he did not have that authority). The participated at an anointing service together with

¹⁸ Cristian Apati, Ioan Ciorba, *Însemnări de pe registrele de stare civilă ale parohiilor ortodoxe din Bihor (sfârşitul secolului al XVIII-lea – 1848)* în „Cele trei Crişuri”, seria a III-a, 2006, nr. 7-8, p. 12

¹⁹ Ion Bria, *Dicţionar de teologie ortodoxă. A-Z*, Editura Institutului Biblic şi de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, Bucureşti, 1994., p. 248-249; Graham Woolfenden, *Eastern Orthodox Liturgical Traditions*, in Ken Parry (edit.), *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity*, Blackwell Publishing, 2007, p. 334

²⁰ Priests have the possibility to consult ritual liturgical books so that they celebrate correctly the anointing service. In 1674 the pope Petru from Tinaud (Bihor County) wrote a manuscript that circulated in many villages and contained "Anointing services"; at the end of the manuscript he made this annotation "with the will God I wrote this anointing service to the pope Marcu from Sacadat [Bihor County]" (Vasile Mangra, *Două manuscripte din secolul XVII şi XVIII în „Biserica şi şcoala”*, 1905, nr. 35, p. 291; *Ibidem*, nr. 31, p. 267). Also at Brasov it was printed *The Tradition of Holy Anointing Service (Rânduiala Sfântului Maslu)* in 1810 (Ion Bianu, Nerva Hodoş, Dan Simionescu, *Bibliografia românească veche. 1503 – 1830*, tom III 1809-1830, Atelierele Grafice SOCEC & Co., Soc. Anonimă, Bucureşti, 1912-1936, p. 29). We could add the numberless editions of the *Molitvelnic* books.

²¹ Ed. I. Găvănescu, *op. cit.*, p. 10

other two priests: “He was at an anointing service at Augeu Oana from Buhani with the pope Vaselie and pope Mihail from Dezna [Arad County] and he served with Holy Stole on him and he blessed like a priest”²².

The anointing service can be done at home at the sick person’s bed or in church. In the second situation “impuissant and ill people” are taken in church and prayers and the Gospel are read over them. This custom is practised by Orthodox and Greco-catholic believers, too. In July 1787, Josef II forbids through some ritual regulations the bringing of the diseased in the church for the healing prayers²³. This regulation was rapidly spread in the orthodox world, too. The Orthodox bishop from Arad Pavel Avacumovici gives an act through which interdicts the anointing service in the church under the consideration that the disease could be spread in the case that it could be contagious. So, along with the administration of the Holy Sacrament, this ritual will be taken in every ill person’s home²⁴. In the end of the act he menaces with great punishments the violation of this regulation²⁵.

The schoolmaster Georgiu Popa from Soimus Petresa (Bihor County) assists in a morning of February 1855 to a ritual service taken upon an ill woman. He writes in a religious book: “Saturday after I came from Craciun Ioan when they have taken Liturgy upon the sick woman, the sister of Ioan Craciun”²⁶. Anointing service is done for any ill person by the reason of curing him, in any case of suffering and at any age. In Orthodox tradition it is not a preparation for death, it is not the extreme unction (*extrema unctio*) without the hope of healing and it could be done many times in a believer’s life²⁷. The

²² *Ibidem.*, p. 95

²³ Aurel Răduțiu, Ladislau Gyemant, *Repertoriul actelor oficiale privind Transilvania tipărite în limba română 1701-1847*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1981, p. 166-167; Daniel Dumitran, *Discurs ecleziastic și renovare instituțională între Reforma catolică și iosefinism, cazul bisericii române unite (sfârșitul secolului XVIII)*, în „Apulum”, XXXVI, 1999 (hereinafter: Daniel Dumitran, *Discurs ecleziastic...*), p. 346; Idem, *Un timp al reformelor. Biserica greco-catolică din Transilvania sub conducerea episcopului Ioan Bob (1782-1830)*, Editura Scriptorum, București, 2005 (hereinafter: Daniel Dumitran, *Un timp al reformelor...*), p. 79

²⁴ “[...] iară nici pe uni bolnavi mai multu în beserică a aduce să nu sloboadă și îngăduiască, mai ales pentru năcazu, și boală, cu carii de o parte ei înșiși, deoparte alți a să umple potu” (AN-DJBh, *Parohia ortodoxă Buteni*, dos. 1, f. 53-54); through a similar regulation, probably from the year 1784, it was forbidden to go to the cemetery with the uncovered coffin of the people who died by the reason of a contagious illness (Daniel Dumitran, *Un timp al reformelor...*, p. 79).

²⁵ “Șfintulu Maslu asupra bolnavilor sau beteagilor în beserică a face sau ceti să îndrăznească numai aceale rugăciuni și Evangeliumuri adică maslu în casele celor betegi a săvârși să aibă. Întraltu chip în gre pedeapsă și urgie voru cădea” (AN-DJBh, *Parohia ortodoxă Buteni*, dos. nr. 1, f. 53-54)

²⁶ Titus L. Roșu, *Însemnării și inscripții bihorene*, vol. I-II, Editura Universității din Oradea, 1999, p. 49

²⁷ Ion Bria, *op. cit.*, p. 249

anointing service wants to cure through the priest's prayers, who ask to God the healing without to proclaim this healing²⁸.

In an act emitted by the Orthodox bishop Gherasim Adamovici in 1794 it is specified that "anointing service must be done only at the ill people and at healthy ones nobody dear to do it and [the priest] must accomplish every churchly customs and traditions, to tie and absolve the sins of the ones who would confess being in need"²⁹.

The presence of the priest at the suffering people's bed could have an ambiguous signification, because it materializes the superstition fears accordingly to which people believes the priest announces the imminence of the death. But, in the same time the priest's missing is felt like a terrifying thing³⁰.

The church seems to have cures for different kinds of the illness³¹. In the Romanian religious books there are prayers that priests read for a person ill for a very long time who suffers badly and can not die, being under the "devilish hallucinations" and under the curses of the "Evil One"³².

The priest, who is an intermediary between his believers and the divinity, has the power, given by God, to annihilate the effect of witchcraft or to untie the charms. The manuscript of Ioan Popovici from Hodis (Bihar County), written in 1757, contains through other specific churchly orthodox customs, a prayer for healing some illnesses caused by the witches' spells: "The beginning of the cures many illnesses done by the wizard"³³. Every witch-doctor or magical specialist must have the skills to action through a "counter-spell"³⁴. Em. Le Roy Ladurie says that a priest can make easier than a laics charms and magic incantations (without being compulsory in his function). Even he unties bad spells and charms he is not mistaken with the "indispensable medicine-woman" from every village and he does not take over the functions of that wise woman³⁵. Frequently the priest exceeds his authority of a church's man and he

²⁸ Paul Evdokimov, *Ortodoxia*, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, București, 1996, p. 324-325

²⁹ Ilarion Pușcariu, p. 166-167

³⁰ Roger Chartier, *Lecturi și cititori în Franța vechiului regim*, Editura Meridiane, București, 1997, p. 172

³¹ The reasons of the illnesses are not our interest in this study but we have to mention them: evil spirits, fairies (*iele, zana*), bad witches, the living deaths (*strigoi*) punishments for sins (send by God or other saints) etc. Every of these causes must be in the attention of the priest or the medicine-woman.

³² Artur Gorovei, *Descântecel românilor. Studiu de folklor*, Regia M.O. Imprimeria Națională, București, 1931, p. 48

³³ Vasile Mangra, *op. cit.*, nr. 31, 1905, p. 265-266

³⁴ Gheorghe Pavelescu, *Cercetări asupra magiei magiei la românii din Munții Apuseni*, în Gheorghe Pavelescu, *Magia la români*, Editura Minerva, București, 1998, p. 49

³⁵ Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, sat occitan, de la 1294 până la 1324*, vol. I-II, Editura Meridiane, București, 1992, p. 194

puts himself in the parishes' service, even he must appeal at some "unorthodox" ways to cure them.

The relationship between the priestly practice and that of the village specialist, the healer is close and reciprocal. When one's methods do not succeed in the other is called or, for a better confidence both of them are called. The duality of the church and lay practice is officially acknowledged and regulated by church itself.

Maria Iovescu, born in a small village near Lipova (Arad County) from who the folklorist Atanasie M. Marienescu got many incantations in the middle of 19th century, asked by the folklorist affirms "strongly" that she cured many people with her magic incantations³⁶. She says: "where the pope can not help, the people call me". In the same time, some priests tell to Marienescu the fact that in many situations when they were called for an anointing service or the last Confession always there was a medicine-woman who was doing her part. At. M. Marienescu concludes: "the Christianity is still in a big connection with pagan traditions and the folks strongly believe in the wise women that in the priests", especially if the spells and the incantations could cure exactly like a prayer³⁷.

Church benedictions have influenced the folk incantations in a great measure. The illness caused by possessing agents³⁸ of the human body known from European peasant incantation texts and practices (which were also used by the clergy and monks during the Middle Ages and even in the modern era) can be regarded as deriving from church benedictions or from ecclesiastic rites of exorcism and healing, even they retain certain pre-Christian elements³⁹. Eva Pocs considers that "the rites practiced by village healers and wizards were to a great extent the folk imitations of church rites or their lay versions also permitted by official rites"⁴⁰.

The prayer told by the priest to the ill ones is not very different than the incantation of the magic specialist. To threaten and chase an illness it is called in help God and all saints⁴¹. In the case of some incantations we are dealing

³⁶ These incantations meant to chase out illness demons from the seek body are known from all over modern Europe (Eva Pocs, *op.cit.* Eva Pocs, *Possession Phenomena, Possession-systems. Some East-Central European Examples*, in Gabor Klaniczay, Eva Pocs (edit.), *Demons, Spirits, Witches. Vol. I. Communicating with the Spirits*, Central University Press, Budapest, 2005, p. 105)

³⁷ At. M. Marienescu, *Datinile poporului romanu XV. Deslegatulu*, în „Familia”, 1867, nr. 22, p. 265

³⁸ Possession by illness demons is only one distinctive possession phenomenon, which has been integrated into the Christian system of possession by the devil (Eva Pocs, *op.cit.*, p. 107).

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 104-105

⁴⁰ Eva Pocs, *op.cit.*, p. 122

⁴¹ In the deceased's register from Ciumegiu it was written in 1822 the next prayer: "*Legute dă bole cu numele a Sfintei Troiță și a înfricoșatului scaun acela ce pe dânsul să hodinesc sfinți și lăcuște împăratul mării Hs., legute de bole cu îngeri și cu voivozi îngerilor, cu heruvini și cu serafini și cu Ioan Botezătoriu și înalte mergătoriu, legute dă boli și te blăstăm cu numele a 12 apostoli și sfinți învățători și prooroci și părinți ispoveduitori și făcători de minuni mucenici, ca*

with exorcism par excellence, especially if priests are healers, too. Beside the text, the gestures of the ritual contain elements of exorcism: the abjuration of the (illness) demon, the sign of the cross, touching, blowing on the sick parts of the body of the patient and so on.

Diseases are healed in different ways. They are often cured by beseeching, adjuring, conjuring and praying, saying invocations against spells, sprains, bite of snake. Invocations are accompanied by other acts. During the process of healing, numerous other healings practices and expedients are used: water and herbs were of a special importance.

In the newspaper "Amvonul" ("The Pulpit")⁴² an article it was published about some suggestions for the priests when they go to the sufferings' bed. Accordingly to this article the priest has a very big responsibility because he has to answer "in front of the heavenly tribunal for hundreds and thousands of souls". Also, he has a big happiness and satisfaction when he sees that his believers respect his parental advice. An important answerableness is to stay near a person on the deathbed "in front of the eternity gate, between the heaven and hell", so that the priest escapes him from the Devil's traps and confides him to God. When a badly ill believer calls the priest he has a Holy duty to go in his house in the day or night, on sunny or rainy whether, even he has a long road to walk, even it is a contagious sickness or not⁴³.

Rural world adapts and has its own "cures" and specialized agents of healing if medicaments and doctors are missing. The priest takes actions upon the soul and the body of the believer with prayers, exorcisms and rituals which lighten the souls from the heaviness of the sins and also cure sins. The medicine-woman has a presence more discreet but we can presume that she is a customary presence with her cures and methods kept at the shadow of the Christianity.

să n-aibă putere asupra robului tău cutare în numele Tatălui și Fiului și Sfântului Duh, acum și pururi și în veaci vecilor Amin" (Cristian Apati, Ioan Ciorba, *op. cit.*, p. 8)

⁴² "The Pulpit" is an ecclesiastical newspaper for the preaches "in the sphere of sacred eloquence", that appeared at Oradea in 1868

⁴³ Justinu Popfiu, *Din vietia pastorale. Preotulu la patul celor morboși*, în „Amvonul”, 1868, nr. 22, p. 671-675

THE CULTURAL CONCERNS OF THE STUDYING YOUTH FROM THE ACADEMY OF LAW OF ORADEA HELD IN THE SOCIETY OF READING

Vasile TODORICI

Abstract: *Taking up a rich and varied edited and unedited documentary information the author reconstructs - in the present study - the cultural concerns of the studying youth from the Academy of Law of Oradea, held in the Society of Reading, since its creation until 1875, when the activity of the society was prohibited by the Hungarian authorities, who saw in its activity a potential danger for the policy of forced Hungarianizing of the Romanians - promoted from Budapest.*

Keywords: *Oradea, society, education, national, culture*

The Academy of Law of Oradea was a convergence point for graduates of the Romania and the Hungarian state religious schools in for a long period of time of the modern history of Crișana, Banat and Maramureș. This was due to the political-economic and cultural importance of the city permanently influenced by the Western civilization and located in an important geo-strategic position. The mentioned features were recognized by the Hungarian authorities and used by the Roman Catholic Episcopate, to act in an area of influence, expansion and administrative and legal coordination of the Catholicism on population and settlements belonging to it¹.

The cultural and social development of the city and implicative of the local education institutes has been periodically marked by the attacks on the Fortress of Oradea (completed with the massacre of the population that didn't succeed to shelter and with its destruction), triggered by the hordes of Tartars, Turks, or due to the fights between the principles of Transylvania with the Austrian imperial armies. In the vortex of those tumultuous times, Ștefan Báthory resumed the school tradition of Oradea in 1575 due to the cultural opportunity determined by the standing of the Fortress of Oradea, of the grade of temporary capital of the Hungarian Kingdom².

¹ *Documente privind Istoria României*, Seria C, Transilvania, XI, XII and XIII centuries, in *Registrul de la Oradea 1208-1235*, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române, București, 1951, p. 37-147

² Bozóky Alajos, *Nagyváradi Királyi Akadémia* (The Royal Academy in Oradea), Budapest, 1889, p. 1

The cultural status of the city has increased greatly after 1575, at the same time with the temporary establishment in Oradea of many people of culture of the time, among them Nicolaus Olahus was to be noted³.

Simultaneously with the increasing of the Austrian influence on the Principality of Transylvania and the adoption of some new legislation documents by the Viennese imperial court was founded a religious school apart from the Jesuit order. The new school institution was undergone to a process of specialization, after the year 1702, the principal artisan of this approach being the palatinate Pál Eszterházi.

The Transylvanian vaivode Christopher Báthory, the earls Pál Forgách and Nicolae Csaky, the bishops Augustin Benkovich and Ioan Okolicsányi as well the canons Farkas and Polentáry have undertaken a series of official steps behind of that the unit of education being raised at the level of secondary school⁴. The educational institution of Oradea developed gradually being transformed, in the year 1759, into the Faculty of Philosophy, by the labours of the Bishop Adam Patatich. The absolutism enlightened and cultivated by the Austrian Chancellor W. A. von Kaunitz was oriented towards a policy of reforms that has generated positive effects in education range, too. As a consequence of this, on 16th August 1773, the Jesuit order was abolished, and the school institutions, being in his management, were to be transferred to the state what also happened in Oradea on 18th October 1773.

The university education in Oradea was founded in 1780, when The Royal Academy of Law in Oradea was established in accordance with the existing European university educational standards, at the same time with the high education institutions in Bratislava, Kosice and Zagreb.

A vital contribution to Oradea's entrance to the university circuit was held by the earl Antal Károly, a School General Inspector for the area over Tisza, in the period of the years 1780-1782, as he made repeated efforts, together with the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, as for Oradea to be mentioned besides the three main centres of the empire (the above mentioned) as a future location of a royal academy. The application was supported by the need for training some specialists to work within the structures of the Austrian administration of the committees under its jurisdiction.

In the above mentioned context, *Ratio Educationis* (the act of organizing the education of that period), was demarcating Hungary into eight high schools inspectorates, coordinated by a general inspector and the high educational institutions established under this law were obliged to conduct its activity through two faculties, of philosophy and law.

³ Aurel Tripon, *Monografia-almanah a Crișanei*, Tipografia Diecezană, Oradea, 1936, p. 9

⁴ Biharmegye, *Nagyvárad kulturtörténete és öregdiákjainak emlékönyve*, Oradea, 1933-1937, p. 120

Initially, the Academy of Law has been hosted in the old building of the Roman Catholic Episcopate (on the place of the actual City Hall building). Only in 1874 it will move to the new building, which construction was started on 3rd June 1872, together with the Premonstratens High School. The funds necessary to found the building were covered through the redemption offered by the mayor, the school fees and donations.

In Oradea, the first that has started classes was the Faculty of Philosophy, which functioned during all the period of the years 1780-1788. At the end of that last year has also begun to work the Faculty of Law. The inauguration was held on 1st September during a ceremony held at St. Ladislau's Church (vis-à-vis to the old building of the Academy), with playing the religious hymn "Veni Sancte" after which, the Dean of the faculty, Tokody György, delivered two speeches in Latin.

As reported by the Hungarian daily paper *Budán Hirlap*, the beginning of the courses had a splendid character, as its participation. As officials Oradea has had as guests on the Earl Haller József, a member of the House and royal adviser, Kallatoy Ferencz, the Roman Catholic bishop, accompanied by the entire Episcopal and capitulating synod, the Bihar County magistrate staff, the municipal councillors and of those of the committees as well a large number of nobles. The act of formation was presented after the ceremony.

The evolution of the Academy of Law can be divided in five distinct stages, four under the auspices of the Austrian and Austro-Hungarian governance and one under that of the Romanian, each of them having engraved the political fingerprint of the historic moment that had been crossed. The age *Ratio Educationis* (1780-1848) was characterized by aligning the educational process to the guidelines set out by Maria Theresa and the Lieutenants' Council of Hungary. The atmosphere of the Academy is dominated, by that time, by a prolonged state of suspicion, maintained by the "sinful" policy initiated by Chancellor Metternich, when information was put to great honour⁵.

On 23rd March 1848, the professorial of the Faculty of Law has requested the Parliament to introduce of a package of reforms, although at that time, the school was not attended by any students, but at the age "Bach" (1850-1861), defined by historians as one of oppression, the courses of the Faculty of Philosophy⁶ have been suspended and the policy disciplines have been removed from the school programme. As compensation were introduced new objects, such as those regarding the Austrian law and the history of Austria⁷;

The age of the "Hungarian temporality" (1861-1867) is seen as a stage of rest, when the above suspended objects are returned, the entrance system will be reformed, and the Austrian teachers will leave the institution⁸;

⁵ Arhivele Naționale-Direcția Județeană Bihar (further on AN-DJBh), *fond Academia de Drept Oradea*, dos. 24/1847-1848, f. 5

⁶ *Ibidem*, dos. 30/1849-1850, f. 1

⁷ *Ibidem*, dos. 36/1850-1851, f. 23

⁸ *Ibidem*, dos. 101/1861-1862, f. 1-28

The “constitutional” age (1867-1918), started under the patronage of the Minister of Cults, the Baron Eötvös József, is characterized as a period of liberalization of education, which will register important progress.

At the Faculty of Law, the training process for students was conducted initially during two years of study, until 1858, when the biennial system has been abandoned and also introduced the third year of training. In 1874, schooling was not supplemented by the fourth year of study, and still now, they will introduce the compulsoriness of the doctorate, “doctor juris utriusque”. Until then, the graduate would have received an “absolvitorium” a diploma written in Latin, which certified the quality of lawyer of the owner, on which were entered the student’s marks obtained for all the objects he had studied, after which, beginning with 1850, separate certificates for each of the disciplines were issued.

The school year began on 1st October, and the courses were conducted on two semesters, the first ending to the end of February of the following calendar year, while the second began on 8th March and ended at the end of July. An exception was the year 1848, when, because of the revolution, the school year ended in May, as the location of the Academy was transformed into a munitions depot, and the year 1866, when the courses were suspended because of the violent cholera epidemic that hit the city.

The courses were conducted daily, had duration of four hours, except Sundays, religious holidays and the days of Thursday, when students were dismissed. The examinations were yearly and half yearly, depending on each course, they could be taken in writing or orally (public). The period of the exams was established within the last two weeks (8-14 days) of each semester.

The structure of the taught disciplines was inspired by the “Justinian Institutions”, namely: diplomatic, numismatics, “cultura silvarum et ferarum”, plus the ecclesiastical legal institutions⁹. They were divided into three categories: *legal sciences*: Roman law, internal and international civil law, canon law, cambial and commercial law, philosophy of law, criminology; *political sciences*: politics and policy of state; accounting and financial policy, internal and international policy law, statistics, geography, descriptive and monographic cartography, financial law and financial law, Hungarian and universal history, of civilization, administrative law, history of law, political economy; *diverse sciences*: study of doctrines, of law collections sciences, philosophy, literature and periodicals study.

The paragraph 193 of the Regulation of Academy was stipulating the obligation of building a library in order to support the training program. On base, the institution in Oradea had a book fund overtaken from the former Jesuit school, which they used together with the students of the Premonstratens High

⁹ *Ibidem*, dos. 1/1790-1795, f. 1-16

School¹⁰. After the year 1858, the high education institution was required to share its book treasury, and found a proprietary fund. By 1888, it amounted to a total of 8555 volumes, filled with a background of old books, a book fund of speciality and a collection of maps¹¹.

The Regulation also contained a set of rules concerning the order and discipline that had to be kept within the unit (paragraphs 222-254). Thus, the students were forbidden to attend theatres, balls, taverns and cafés. Also, they were forbidden to pawn objects of value for payment of some debts and even the lending of money to each other or with other people outside the Academy¹².

The Emperor Joseph II allowed by his reforming policy, the admission of the Romanian Youth to the Academy of Law of Oradea, opening new perspectives to the educational activities, through emission of the issuance of Patent of 13th October 1781, which granted religious freedom for the non Catholics. Thus, the Romanian and Hebrew families of Oradea and Bihor County (and elsewhere) have had at the time, the possibility to send their children to study at the Academy of Law of Oradea.

The academy of Oradea attracted as a magnet the young people eager for the upper education in the legal domain of all areas of the empire, the highlighting of their origin being made in record sheets, which indicate the graduates' nationality or confession. The identification of the students is difficult because the archive sources are limited in data identification and, beginning with the year 1820 no longer provides information on the nationality of students. Moreover, after the year 1848, the students are registered in the documents of the Academy by the region of origin being done registrations, such as "hungarus, transsylvanus, Galiczia, Silesia, Moravia, Vojvodina, Croația". With time, with intensification of the Hungarianization actions in the range of the high education towards the end of the 19th century, and the students in Oradea are recorded in register books as Hungarians, even though this fact was not in accordance to the reality, taking down situations at least "unpublished" - Romanian students considered to be of Roman Catholic religion and Hungarian Orthodox.

Although these practices imposed by the imperial government, a part of the graduates of the education gymnasiums (particularly that of Beiuș), of the seminars and Romanian preparing schools were registered at the Academy of Law, and from them were raised the later Romanian intellectuals which, having a national conscience of exception, have militated for obtaining the natural rights, and for the liberation of the Romanian nation, taking part to the act of performing the Great Romania. It is a fact that each year an increasing number

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, dos. 44/1851-1852, f. 16

¹¹ *Ibidem*, dos. 79/1856-1857, f. 1-2

¹² *Ibidem*, dos. 1/1790-1795, f. 1-6

of Romanians have walked across the threshold of the Academy of Oradea, their presence being increasingly felt, about the end of the 19th century, to an extent increasing.

The highlighting of the number and names of the Romanian students and the social categories the parents of those who have graduated the Academy of Law in Oradea belonged to, as well their later evolution, was a laborious scientific approach, taken by the historian Viorel Faur, who, in collaboration by Ioan Fleisz, performed a work that covered the period of the years 1850-1918. Thus, the mentioned statistics work appeals to the existing data in the article entitled *The Academy of Law*, (published in number 11 of 1889 in the journal *Familia*). This integrated also the documentary information existent in the registry books of the high educational institutions completed, mostly in Hungarian language¹³.

In the reference period, were registered in first year of study of the Law Academy of Oradea 698 Romanian students, with an average of about 10 students per academic year. Following the investigations it resulted that during the years 1867/1868 and 1896/1897 were registered 25 students (the largest number / year), 1868/1869 and 1904/1905 - 23 each; 1899/1900 and 1906/1907 - each 21, 1872/1873 and 190/1908 - 19 each; 1897/1898 - 18 1861/1862, 1862/1863, 1874/1875 and 1900/1901- sometimes 17, 1901/1902, 1902/1903, 1905/1906 and 1909/1910 - 16 each; 1895/1896 and 1903/1904 - 15 each; 1898/1899 and 1917/1918 14, 1891/1892, 1893/1894 and 1914/1915 - 12, 1892/1893 and 1910/1911 - 10, 1889/1890 and 1908/1909 - sometimes 9, 1894/1895, 1912/1913, 1913/1914 and 1916/1917 - 8, 1882/1883 and 1911/1912 - 7 each; 1779/1880 - 6 ; 1877/1878 and 1890/1891 - 5, 1881/1882, 1887/1888, 1888/1889 - every 4, 1880/1881, 1884/1885 and 1886/1887 - by 3; 1883/1884 - 2, 1878/1879 and 1915/1916 - 1 each¹⁴.

Most of the students registered at the high education institution in Oradea came from the Bihor (233), Arad (107), Satu-Mare (91) committees, but also from Caraș (52), Timiș (24), Maramureș (15), Chioar (11), Sălaj and Solnocul de Mijloc (10), Crasna and Hunedoara (by 7), Sibiu and Torontal (by 5), Alba Inferioară, Cenad, Cluj and Făgăraș (by 4), Arieș-Turda and Solnoc-Dobâca (by 3) and Brașov and Mureș-Turda (by 2), Bistrița-Năsăud, the Border County, Târnava-Mare, Târnava-Mică, Zărand and Bucharest (1 each). This demonstrates the interest of the young people in the areas inhabited by Romanians to move towards a specialization of future that will be used later in the fire of confrontation for national freedom¹⁵.

¹³ Viorel Faur, Ioan Fleisz, *Studentii români la Academia de Drept din Oradea*, in *Crisia*, 1987, p. 130

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 131

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 181

It is important to reveal also the subsequent professional work of some graduates of the Academy, Fășie Grigore of Borlești, the Satu Mare Committee became post master; Popdan Grigore of Bihor - dean, Vanc Iosif in Șiria, Arad County - common notary in Rien; Brânduș Dumitru of Lipău, Satu Mare County - lawyer in Tinca, Dehelean Gheorghe Arad - pretor in committee; Borha Gheorghe of Telechiu, Bihor Committee – prime praetor in Beiuș; Bota Samuil of Oradea – district incumbent in Bihor, Varga Florian - deputy; Secula Gheorghe of Hălmațiu, Zărand Committee - lawyer in Deva, Luca Ioan of Groși, Arad Committee - Judge in Recas; Popoviciu Iosif of Comlăuș, Arad Committee - Advocate in Arad, Fășie Teodor of Oradea - lawyer in Beiuș; Bodea Ștefan of Vășad, Bihor Committee – vice notary; Cret Ambrozie of Pișcolt, Bihor Committee - lawyer at the Greek-Catholic Episcopate from Oradea; Vlad Ioan from Leta-Mare, Hungary - lawyer in Lugoj, Abrudan Ștefan of Drăgănești, Bihor Committee – sub Jude at Buzias; Domșa Gheorghe of Beiuș – praetor at Vascau; Erdeli Iosif in Hungary - lawyer in Oradea; Ferentiu Ilie of Beiuș – notary at Remetea; Fășie Paul - judge at the Court of Solnoc; Benchișiu Vasile of Ghighișeni, Bihor Committee - comitatens juror; Tuducescu Atanasie - professor at Preparandia Orthodox Church in Arad; Farcaș Traian of Hodoș, Satu Mare Committee - professor at the Gymnasium of Beiuș, Butean Iosif of Carei – vice notary at the District Court in Timisoara, Darabant Ioan of Odoreu, Satu Mare Committee - prosecutor at the City Council of Vinga; Tomiciu Virgil in Lugoj, Caras Committee - lawyer in Lugoj; Plopu Gheorghe of Semlac, Arad Committee - advocate in Arad (Doctor of Law); Popescu Iacob of Ramna, Caraș Committee – prime praetor in Bocșa in Montană¹⁶.

Beginning with the year 1883, the students who came from poor families received during their studies in the Academy, stipends, mainly from the foundations “Gojdu” - between 100 and 500 florins respectively 600 crowns; “Faur”- between 120 and 400 florins, or 240 crowns; “Ghiba-Birta” - 200 florins, or 400 crowns, and the Foundation of Năsăud School - 300 florins; “Daniel-Danner” - 300 florins; “Teodor Pop” - between 250 and 400 florins, and 600 crowns; “Vancea” - 300 florins; “Suluțiu” – 200; “Cupsa” - 150 florins; “Popovici” - 200 crowns, but also from the Greek Catholic Church - in Lugoj – twice by 200 crowns. In the academic year 1914/1915, the student Andrei Popovici from Roit, Bihor Committee, received a stipend of 1000 crowns from the Foundation “Trandafir” and has became later, member of the Orthodox Archbishop Consistorial of Sibiu¹⁷.

During 1919-1934, the Academy of Law in Oradea passed through a period of methodological and organizational changes, being replaced the old system of law of German origin, with the Romanian one, of French inspiration. The transition

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 148

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 177

between the two systems evolved during some different stages, in the terms of the specific social- administrative, existing in the dualist former empire.

This passage to the Romanian law system was carried out with essential contribution of some teachers who came from Romania, but also with the support of some Transylvanians: Victor Cădere – dean, the teachers: Bogdan Ionescu, Iacob Lazar, Eugen Speranția, Strat George, Tiberiu Moșoiu, Sofronie George, Ionașcu Aurelian, Angelescu Alexandru, Lazăr Livius and Georgiu Plopu¹⁸.

In the new format, the classes are held during three years, based on an exam for admission in the first year and fees for schooling¹⁹. The school year was beginning on 1st October and ending on 1st July. Similar to the French educational system, the notes were from 0 to 20 points²⁰; the passing mark couldn't be less than 12. The exams were held over three sessions in which students were required to participate without any exception, and for those who were not present at any of the examinations should be deemed to have waived legal studies.

The License Exam was organized on the content of the three obligatory courses after the graduates passed a preliminary examination for admission to the license. The final exam was claimed in: civil law, at choice with the commercial law; criminal law, at choice with the constitutional and administrative law, at choice with the civil procedure²¹.

In this way, the old Royal Academy of Law of Oradea expanded permanently passing through all the hardships upon the city, throughout its tumultuous history, but it has fulfilled its mission of training the conscience of the future Romanian militants for freedom and national unity, and these, on their turn, have defended the Romanians' rights in the dualist Austro-Hungarian Empire when the national identity was in a great danger because of the Hungarianizing laws.

The Romanians in the so-called „Părți ungurene” (Hungarian Parts) - or “Partium” - have been permanently under the suspicious questions of the Austro-Hungarian authorities, directed from Budapest, trying to get them “uniform” both by the obligatory learning of the Hungarian language in schools of all grades and by the administrative and legal pressures, to cause to forget their motherly tongue, the traditions, historical origins, and not least, the culture, aiming finally the edification of the Hungarian national unity of all the Hungarian people of the empire.

The oppressions' intentions hit against the belief of the Bihor County's inhabitants in the occurrence day of freedom in a united Romania, which make

¹⁸ Aurel Tripon, *op. cit.*, p. 85

¹⁹ *Regulamentul Academiei de Drept din Oradea*, Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeriile Statului, București, 1930, p. 5-6

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 17

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 18

them part alongside the Banat, Maramures, Bucovina and Bassarabia parts' inhabitants, components of "Dacia-Romania", which feared so much the Hungarian authorities. The feeling that the so much desired unity could be achieved only with the help of some Romanian young people who should have a special training in the top ranges of the imperial public and legal government which could then fight from equal to equal in political range, with the Hungarian political elite, has led the Romanians from Bihor County to send their children to study in high educational centres of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Oradea, Budapest, Vienna, Graz and Cernăuți).

From a practical point of view, that of the distance against the settlements in Bihor County, the most often visited was the Academy of Law in Oradea, where, at a time, one third of the total number of the students were Romanian and felt the need to express themselves freely, unbundled, in the Romanian language and to develop their literary skills in an organized framework. Their desire was materialized, after great efforts; in 1852 in the student association generically entitled *The Society for Reading of Oradea* and became "an important cultural institution, which opened a new stage of modern style in the spiritual life of the Romanians in Crișana region"²².

The Romanian students' fight for founding the Crișana region's *Society of Reading of Oradea* was held under the harsh oppression conditions of the nationalities of the Habsburg Empire, supported by a repressive apparatus, designed to help during the absolutist regime of government, the centralization of the multinational conglomerate, under the unique command of Vienna through an administrative policy extremely rigorous centralized being done together with the imposition of the German and Hungarian languages, which became increasingly effective means for the denationalization of the Romanians.

Thus, beginning with 1843 the studios youth of Oradea tried to accomplish a literary society, where they could meet and discuss events and news they had found from the pages of newspapers of Romanian language over the Carpathians and inside the Austrian Monarchy.

The attempted of foundation a cultural society within the Academy of Law in Oradea was confirmed by Alexandru Roman, a former student between 1843-1844, of the above mentioned institution who related that the Romanian students had requested the authorities the agreement of founding a "literary accompany", which would have been aimed to improve and refine the knowledge of the members of the society about the Romanian language, but their request has been rejected as the officials feared that such cultural events might revive "the Age of Horea"²³.

²² Viorel Faur, *Societatea de lectură din Oradea, 1852-1875, monographic study* (further on: *Societatea de lectură...*), Muzeul „Țării Crișurilor”, Oradea, 1978, p. 6

²³ Idem, *Cultura românilor din Bihor (1849-1918)* (further on: *Cultura românilor...*), Fundația Culturală „Cele trei Crișuri”, Oradea, 1992, p. 16

The initiative of the students of Oradea was also known by the Romanian students studying at the University of Pest, who followed their example, the cultural societies being formed in the coming years, also by the Romanian students in Vienna and Cluj²⁴.

The Romanian revolution in Transylvania, carried out during the years 1848-1849, created triggering conditions to begin a claiming movement about the end of 1849, when they requested the foundation of a Romanian university in Transylvania, the foundation of departments of Romanian language and literature at the secondary schools frequented by more Romanian pupils and publish of new Romanian periodicals.

The progressive spirit of the Romanian pupils and students in Oradea occurred on 9th May 1848, on the occasion of a counsel when they drafted a manifesto expressing their desire of freedom and contribution to improve the Romanian cultural and school institutional system by ensuring the language and nationality²⁵.

In this favourable context, the students of Oradea have insisted again on the local administrative officers to approve the foundation of an own cultural association. The first operating statute of the future company in Oradea entitled "Legile societății junimii românești" were written on 26th November 1849 and signed by Iosif Roman (Chairman), Vasile Sorban (Vice President), George Dehelianu (prime notary) and Ioan Gal (vice notary). The fact that the statutes were signed by the future cultural society highlights points out that the company has been organized several months before drafting them and that, in reality, it was working without the authorities' agreement, led by a group of leaders chosen from its members. The status of the future reading society was made by the students of the Academy of Law and the Romanian pupils from the "Premonstrantes" High School in Oradea, and the applications for approval of the statutes have been unalterably edited for three years until, on 21st March 1852 *The Society of Reading of Oradea* has begun to work legally, with an important support in this respect from the intellectuals Iosif Roman, I. P. Sălăgianu, D. Ionescu and Alexandru Roman.

Beginning with 25th February 1851, Alexandru Roman was appointed professor of Romanian language and literature at the 3rd and 8th Grades of the "Premonstratens" High School in Oradea, becoming also in 1852, the first manager of the reading company "Iețură" establishing the law as the referred department's teachers to lead the works of the society which worked in the period 1852-1875. These two victories of the intellectuals of Oradea in their efforts to assert the Romanians in the cultural field, to strengthen the national consciousness, which endorsed the propagation of the ideas which have

²⁴ *Ibidem*

²⁵ *Idem, Societatea de Iețură...*, p. 26

contributed to the preparation of our political unity were important cultural achievements of Bihor County at the early absolutist government²⁶.

During the progress of the specific activities of *The Society of Reading of Oradea* these were led by the teachers Alexandru Roman, Dionisie Pășcuțiu (30th October 1853-1858), Dumitru Sfura, Ignat Sabin (1858-1859), Dr. Vasile Iuțiu, Consistorial notary in Oradea (1859-1860), Vasile Pop Silaghi, professor of Romanian language and literature (1860-1861), Ioan Pop (1861-1862), Iustin Popfii (16th October 1864-1872), Iuliu Papfalvi (1872-1873), Fr. V. Olteanu, former editor of the newspaper *Patria* (1874-1875)²⁷.

According to the statutes approved by the authorities, the company was under the tutelage of the bishop and vice rector of the Romanian seminar and the public manifestations of the society were held initially in the seminar hall, after which, due to a growing audience and to give importance to, they were organized in the hotel room “Arborele Verde”, but when the space became insufficient again, the public sessions of the society were moved to the big hall of the hotel “Vulturul Negru”.

The Society of Reading of Oradea has worked consistently with the financial support of the Romanian local community in the extraordinary ordinary and public meetings, promoting both the recitation of poems with a patriotic character, playing of national songs in a festive frame (room being draped with the Romanian tricolour) and reading of some literary works or own theses, which were debated and criticized by the members of the society, the most valuable being published in the press of time (*Familia, Gazeta Transilvaniei, Albina, Aurora Română, Concordia, Federațiunea, Gura satului, Trompeta Carpaților, Românul, Columna lui Traian, Convorbiri literare*), or in the volumes *Versuinții Români, Diorile Bihorului* and *Fenice*²⁸. Through these artistic, orator and polemic activities, they aimed to get the formation of strong characters of national warriors animated by a fighting spirit for fulfilling the ideals of national freedom.

Taking into account that the textbooks used at the Academy of Law of Oradea were printed between 1844-1848 in Hungarian language, between 1850-1860 in German language, and after the year 1860 again in Hungarian language²⁹, the members of the *Society of Reading* felt the need to form their literary skills for reading in Romanian language to express their patriotic feelings in lyrical or poetic creations, which were to be included in the literary annual almanac of the society. The literary model of the young students has not been anyone else than Iosif Roman, who was an active collaborator of the

²⁶ Idem, *Cultura românilor...*, p. 19

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 21-25

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 41

²⁹ Bozóky Alajos, *Nagyváradi királyi akadèmia százados multja, 1788-1888, (Trecutul secular al Academiei Regale din Oradea)*, Budapesta, 1889, p. 175

Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură since 1851, where he published poems of social style (*Geniul*), erotic (*Amantei*), elegiac (*Vântul*), the ballad *Tribunul* – conjuring the battles of the Romanians from the region of the Apuseni Mountains, under the leadership of Avram Iancu, during the Revolution of 1848-1849, lyrical, satirical poems, alongside *Odă*, the poem presenting the patriotic satisfaction generated by the foundation of the Department of the Romanian language and literature at the “Premonstrantens” High School of Oradea³⁰.

The students of the Academy of Law of Oradea have expressed their enthusiasm over the approval of the society’s statutes and the bishop Vasile Erdeli (who provided them an invaluable support to make this possible), through the publication of some collections of poems dedicated to him: *Vioarele* in 1852, *Sentimente filiale* in 1853, and *Sentimente de bucurie* in 1854, proving in this way that, among them, there were young people who were concerned about publishing their own literary creations³¹.

Not all the attempts of the members of the *Society of Reading* have been published, however, they have gradually advanced the idea of publishing annually literary almanacs to comply strictly with the “law of the press for Austria”, which contained restrictive provisions in this range as a result of the relatively recent, at the time, from 1848 revolutions triggered by the nationalities of the empire. This initiative has not been materialized in the year 1852 because of low number of literary creations of the members of the society, insufficient for accomplishing an almanac, although there were availabilities to support their publication in the printing of *Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură* in Braşov.

The following year, the meeting on 22nd January will adopt a new initiative, and editing of anthologies of verses of the Romanian poetry covering the period 1838-1854 and to contribute to its conservation, development of the literature and Romanian language, as well to mediating the poems in order to develop the cultural level of the Romanian population in the region of Crişana³². To achieve such a project, the company turned to *Gazeta Transilvaniei* to help to gather the necessary funds to print the anthology, by individual subscriptions of those who wanted to subscribe to the forthcoming book, among them included intellectuals and fighters for the national cause of Oradea, Cluj, Blaj, Timișoara, Lugoj, Arad, Maramureş, and Pest (the jurist Iacob Brendușian) and Vienna (the jurist Georgiu Dehelianu)³³.

³⁰ *Foaia pentru minte inimă și literatură*, 1851, no.18, p. 143-144; no. 20, p. 160; no. 26, p. 207-208; no. 42, p. 327-328; no. 43, p. 335-336

³¹ Eugeniu Potoran, *Poezii Bihorului*, Oradea, 1934, p. 12

³² Viorel Faur, *Societatea de lectură...*, p. 116

³³ *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, 1854, no. 14, p. 53

The anthology *Versuinții români*, printed in Oradea, at the Aloisiu Tichy's printing shop in 1854, in a number of 500 copies and distributed almost entirely, was the fruit of the efforts of Professor Alexandru Roman and of the members of the Society of Reading of Oradea, who understood the usefulness of literature to educate the Romanian students in gymnasiums, but also the need for existence of some comparative models of the national literature for the poets of becoming among the Romanians of the empire³⁴.

The members and collaborators of the *Society of Reading of Oradea* have grouped the literary creations in an original volume, entitled *Diorile Bihorului. Almanac Naciunal, de la Societatea de Leptură a junimei române studinte la școlile orădane*, occurred on 30th September 1854 in Oradea, at the Aloisiu Tichy's printing shop, forthcoming editorial, which, by its title was suggesting the revival of the creative energies, the beginning of a literary work of the studying youth of Bihar, who wanted to contribute to the cultivation of the Romanian language among the Transylvanian Romanians³⁵.

Diorile Bihorului, elaborated in special graphic conditions, considered by the authors to be the first of a series of more almanacs with regular occurrence, meets between its pages original poetic creations: *Diorile* (Dawns)) *și noaptea* and (the night) by V. Iuțiu that reflects the spiritual fulfilment for the literary range opened by the appearance of the volume and the faith in the Roman origin of the Bihor County's inhabitants; *O mamă română* by Atanasie Marienescu, *Trandafir și Elena* by Iosif Roman who appeals to the popular metric and draws attention to the necessity of giving up the Cyrillic writing in the favour of the Latin one. D. Sfura addresses both issues related to the hard conditions the Romanian students of the monarchy were forced to live, conditions that have weakened their health and have brought premature end, as, ultimately, was his case and Carol Grama's. D. Sfura takes from the popular lyrical some favourite themes, which are dressed in the image and morals of the society they lived to highlight in the poem entitled *Luca Peștereanul* the wisdom and the moral of the Bihor County's peasants.

The villages world on the three Crișuri rivers, with their inhabitants, who have preserved their popular traditions, moral and Christian faith under all the waves that autocrat had and were always lamenting over their next events of the year 1848, kept fresh in the memory of authors, are presented in the novellas built on heroic theme, *Camerdiana* (Cămârzana) and *Cursoriul lui Horia și Cloșca* by I. Brendușian. This uses metaphorical expressions of a rare tenderness and beauty and relates the realities lived by people during some significant historic events, held in their memory with the accuracy of the data on the exact places where the confrontations of the Romanians with the Hungarian nobility had taken place (Horea, Cloșca and Crișan's Rebellion the

³⁴ Viorel Faur, *Societatea de lectură...*, p. 118-119

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 128

1784 and the Romanian Revolution in the years 1848-1849), the involved characters and the consequences of their revolts. The two short stories mediated by the *Diorile Bihorului* had intended to keep alive in the readers' memory the traditions of struggle of the Romanians for defending their national being³⁶.

In *Diorile Bihorului*, the young members of the *Society of Reading of Oradea* attempted to exercise their literary options (through poetic and epic compositions), but without reaching real literary works, fact later confirmed by their detachment against the Transylvanian literary life.

Formalities for editing the next issue of the almanac have been made by the leaders of the society in the year 1855 and the year 1858 (Dumitru Sfura), but these were not successful, until after the reactivation of the society in 1864, when it was resumed the idea of collaboration of its members, editing a new number, for which no during the following year was successful the gathering of belletrist material in a sufficient quantity³⁷.

The occurrence of the new calendar, symbolically called *Fenice*, with direct reference to the myth of the Phoenix bird, and the rebirth of the *Society of Reading of Oradea*, was publicly announced by the magazine *Familia* (of 25th December 1866) and *Gazeta Transilvaniei* (in its number of 15th January 1867), where the author of an article considers of as notable the appearance of a Romanian publication in a region where the danger of Romanians' denationalization was permanent³⁸.

Fenice. Almanacu beletristicu de la Societatea de lectură a junimei române studioase la Academia de drepturi și arhigimnasiul din Oradea-Marei let the readers to know poems and three original short stories, reviewed in *Familia* by I.G. Drăgescu, in fact literary attempts, with folk influences of some young Romanians, anxious to take part, according to their creative-literary capabilities, to a necessary act of Romanian culture, to demonstrate their wish of affirmation of the national feeling of the students of Crișana region.

The three editorial appearances performed by the students of Oradea and above mentioned have a historic and cultural significance special pointing out the efforts and the fearlessness of the authors, the difficulties encountered by the members of the *Society of Reading of Oradea* in editing of some literary collections in Romanian language, the first of this kind occurred in Transylvania, even though some of their creations were not at the critical high-level requirements of the area, particularly of those of Titu Maiorescu.

The concern to revive the literary creations of the members of the company was permanent, even during the periods in which they could not be published in own almanacs, but only in the magazine *Familia*, or in other

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 130-138

³⁷ *Familia*, 1865, no. 4, p. 2

³⁸ *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, 1867, no. I, p. 4

periodicals of Romanian language in the empire. This happened due to the new method taken later by the *Society of Reading* "Samuil Vulcan" in Beiuș by which the leaders of the society reasoned its members who had literary skills and wanted to be objectively and also critically appreciated, the creations by a "censorship committee", made up every time - in ordinary sessions - of other students concerned by literature and who did not know the identity of the author of the criticized work, just to be objective.

Thus, after discussing the writings of meetings in ordinary session, the most valuable were kept in the library and archive of the *Society of Reading of Oradea* reaching that between 1872-1873 to be examined a number of 94 epic and poetic creations, but only 49 of them were selected to be stored in the archive for the purpose of their subsequent publication³⁹.

Such original literary works formed the basis of the composition of the almanacs above mentioned, and while they were not able to edit them the students have worked in particular to the journals *Foaie pentru minte, inimă și literatură* and *Familia*. At first of them affirmed himself Iosif Roman, by publishing the patriotic poems *Străbunii și strănepoții, Junelor din Bihor*, of the elegy *Inimei mele* and of the love poem *Paulinet*⁴⁰, G. Delianu with the poem *Sunet*⁴¹ and Carol Grama, the author of some lyrics with funeral resonance, sprinkled with some motifs of patriotic style⁴².

Another member of the *Society of Reading of Oradea*, Dumitru Sfura, prematurely died, at only 25 years, sent in the year 1855, to the editor Iacob Mureșianu in Brașov, the historical ballad *Menumorut*, the poems *Despre Români de acum, Rămas bun unui gonit* and articles regarding the activities of the pupils from the Gymnasium "Samuil Vulcan" in Beiuș, from the Archi Gymnasium of Oradea and about the concerns of the Romanian students from the Academy of Law of Oradea, held inside the *Society of Reading*. He expressed his hope that his works will be published in one the periodicals in Brașov to inspire the creative efforts of the young people in Crișana region⁴³.

The magazine *Familia* was the primary publication that has facilitated the publication of the literary creations of the members of the society, Iosif Vulcan being that who has reconstituted and published the biography of Dumitru Sfura as well his poems *Grâiele vara, Către lună, Amarul și Mai turnași-mi*⁴⁴. In the pages of this magazine the poems *Adio către Ardeal, Păcurarul* by Ioniță Bădescu, *Din străinătate* by Elia Trăilă, *Doine* by V. R.

³⁹ *Albina*, 1873, no. 56, p. 2

⁴⁰ *Foaia pentru minte, inimă și literatură*, 1854, no. 14, p. 64; 1859, no. 6, p. 48; 1854, no. 21, p. 108; 1854, no. 14, p. 64

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, 1853, no. 42, p. 318

⁴² *Ibidem*, 1854, no. 6, p. 22; no. 21, p. 104

⁴³ Viorel Faur, *Societatea de lectură...*, p. 165-166

⁴⁴ *Familia*, 1869, nr. 43, p. 50

Buticescu have been published, and also of other former members of the society (Iosif Vulcan, Iustin Popfiu, Iosif Roman, Paul Draga)⁴⁵.

The Society of Reading of Oradea had a beneficial influence on the cultural life during its operation period (1852-1875), as was a true institution of awareness for training the future fighters for freedom, rights and national unity of the Romanians Crișana region. The leaders of the society, who were both teachers of Romanian language and literature at Archi gymnasium Premonstratens of Oradea, have militated for learning and retaining the Romanian literary language by the members of the society, being aware that only through the motherly language any man can express best his knowledge and feelings.

They showed a particular interest for the cultivation of the Romanian language in the frame of the society through oral arguments, speeches, stimulating the original literary creations, how the rhetorical poems were declaimed, uttered the dissertations, insisting on the use of the expressive literary language, trying in this way to counter such dualist attacks directed permanently against the nationality and the Romanian language⁴⁶.

The first who imposed the correct learning and the use of the literary language in all the activities of the *Society of Reading of Oradea* was the teacher of Romanian language and literature, Alexandru Roman, former professor at the Gymnasium of Beiuș, where in the school year 1848-1849 he introduced as object of studying the Romanian language, which later contributed to his removal from the school that had been mentioned. His boundless love for the Romanian language was said even since the course of Romanian language and literature had been opened at the Archi gymnasium Premonstrantes of Oradea, where he was appointed in 1851, but he managed to put it in value to a high level by the way of leading the literary activities of the Romanian students at the Academy of Law of Oradea.

Alexandru Roman published a *Manual of the Romanian Grammar* for the four classes of lower secondary school and wanted it to be used as a model for all people schools to exist uniform spelling rules in writing the Romanian language⁴⁷.

The members of the *Society of Reading* have expressed their willingness to emphasize the beauty, flexibility and depth of the Romanian language, through the theatrical performances, requiring on 27th November 1853, by Dionisie Pășcuțiu, the leader of the society, the agreement of the Romanian Greek Catholic bishop of Oradea, Vasile Erdeli.

The motivation of initiating such a national-cultural activity is shown in the address pointed to the bishop: "But, now came the time to pick the fruit of

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, nr. 6, p. 69

⁴⁶ Viorel Faur, *Societatea de lectură...*, p. 167

⁴⁷ Ana Ceciuc, *Din corespondența inedită a „lepturiștilor” orădeni*, in *Limbă și literatură*, 1968, Tom. 19, p. 201

the efforts lasted for more than three years; and they decided to produce themselves with a piece of drama in the Domestic Seminar, which would lead them to advertising, showing, both to the greats of its nation, that they are worthy of the Romanian nation; and those who would not be the friends of our national culture, to show them that the Romanian language, our ancestral language, as for maintaining it, so much Romanian blood was spilled, it's a glib, soft, delicate, slightly sweet of speech and rattle language like its other sisters; and till now through the efforts of the Romanian sons who brought it at that grade of perfection, as it was able to propose through itself every science"⁴⁸.

By submitting a play in the Romanian language, the members of the society wanted to make felt their presence in the cultural life of the city, to prove that they are representatives of the Romanian nation, no more, to demonstrate that the language belongs to the Romanic language family. The cultivation of language was a permanent priority for the members of the society, who wanted to show that their native language had a complex literary form, which could be illustrated through a play, a much appreciated method by the public because of the declamatory and scenic effect means, which were to be used. This approach of the Romanian language problem proves unequivocally that the studying young people in the *Society of Reading* reached an enough high level of the national consciousness.

Thus, they had an active attitude in the cultivation of the Romanian language, both directly, through the contact with the public, and indirectly, by presenting their concept, as in the case of *Prevorbit* at the *Versuinții Români*, where the Romanian language is described by its characteristics, which allow its easy use in the daily life, but also the achievement of some lyrics of a high melodic line as are those of the popular literary creations⁴⁹.

Also, in the *Prevorbit* at *Diorile Bihorului*, the students of Oradea appreciate the need to know the religious language by the whole population as a condition for developing the nation, exemplifying the attitude of the Romanian peasants who send their children to distant schools to learn and be able to pass away to their grandchildren the built up knowledge. The conclusion resulted from their conception of the necessity of cultivating the language is very suggestive: "The nationality without language is like the soul without mind; although it supports the human life it cannot lead it in the way towards its destiny"⁵⁰.

With all their good intentions into nurturing the motherly tongue, the *Society of Reading of Oradea* failed in using an appropriate spelling and a writing to ensure to the publications edited by them a dissemination among the

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 202

⁴⁹ *Versuinții români*, p. 8

⁵⁰ *Prevorbit*, in *Diorile Bihorului*, p. 4

inhabitants of the villages because they were influenced by the writing according to the Latin current, promoted by the Transylvanian School, which led to expressions sometimes unintelligible, sanctioned by objective critics by the editors of the Romanian periodicals of Transylvania. The promoting of the Latin current in their writings was a way of fighting to defend their Romanian language, often used in the period when the society has worked, adopted for the same purpose also by the Romanian fighters for freedom and national unity in all their propaganda actions promoted by the Romanian language periodicals and the manifestations of cultural-national character in the empire.

The Society of Reading of Oradea was the first cultural association of the Romanians in the Habsburg Empire, as a result of the Romanian claiming movement developed after the Revolution of 1848-1849 in Transylvania, which took the initiative of collecting the Romanian oral folk creations to publish them along with their own literary creations⁵¹.

The interest shown by the members of the society for the popular creation was justified by the fact that most of them came from rural areas, being sons of peasants or intellectuals of the villages, their contact with the folklore and folk customs being made since an early age in the rural family environment, where they have accumulated the first knowledge about the society in which they were living. The above mentioned initiative resulted from the knowledge of the members of the society of the collection *Poezii populare* by Vasile Alecsandri in 1852, which gave an impetus to the concerns for collecting folklore in the Romanian Principalities, in Transylvania, and in Crișana and Banat areas, too. This intercession of the studying young people of Oradea continued the program of “Dacia Literară” and of the enlightenment movement, as a priority project which aimed to achieve their own collection of “poesii populare”, with the help of the priests and teachers in the villages, who were closer to the people and could make them know songs, ballads, fables and folk carols, to be published in the forthcoming book⁵².

Although the students at the Academy of Law of Oradea have appealed to some publishers to be supported in their efforts, and have collected popular creations and ethno-folk data of the villages of origin although they were not sufficiently initialled, they do not were able to gather enough material to edit the proposed folklore collection.

Despite of this, in the almanac *Diorile Bihorului* have been included original creations of the members of the society, using themes of folk creations (*Cămîrzana* by Tănase Filip), rendered popular lyrics dedicated to the leader of the Rebellion in 1784 (in the short story *Cursoriul lui Horea și Cloșca* by Dumitru Sfura) and shows *Jocul călușarilor*, *Târgul de dat* on the Găina Mountain, the popular clothes of the Romanians from the Apuseni Mountains

⁵¹ Viorel Faur, *Societatea de lectură...*, p. 177-178

⁵² *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, 1853, no. 20, p. 77

and a corvee in Ciucea Village (in *Poema Munților Beiușului* by Dimitri Meciuc)⁵³. V. R. Buticescu published poems of popular inspiration in the volume *Fenice*, where Elia Trăilă, too, brings to the attention of the readers through the short story *Un sătean* the description of a village that can be located at the foot of some mountains in Crișana and Banat areas, the clothes of a shepherd and his wife as well the inside of a peasant house, thus contributing by the documentary value of the issues presented, to the completion of the ethnographic researches of the mentioned areas, but to that of respecting the principles of the programme of the society.

The concerns for folklore and ethnography of the *Society of Reading of Oradea* made some of its members to devote their activity to research the Romanian folk, in this sense is standing out Atanasie M. Marienescu with his collection *Poesia populară. Colinde culese și corese..*, published in 1859 in Pest and Miron (Moise) Pompiliu, the author of the custom of wedding collection *Nevestescă* published in the journal *Familia* and the volume *Balade populare Române* printed in Iași in 1870, under the aegis of the Society "Junimea" (whose member he was), a work of a special national meaning for the knowledge of the Romanian folk spirituality in Crișana and Transylvania. Neither Iosif Vulcan, former member of the society, has ignored the need to know and promote the national folklore publishing - in the pages of the journal *Familia* - interesting articles on the Romanian popular culture on the Crișurilor's valleys⁵⁴.

Another concern of the *Society of Reading of Oradea* was the creation and endowment of an own library that was to be used by the Romanian students from the Academy of Law. Moreover, it was decided that this library to have a public utility, being allowed the home loan books by the willing. This easement approved by the founders of the library was designed to facilitate the possibility of reading a large number of Romanian books and publications by the people who were interested in as the library weekly working time was limited. In this way, the readers were able to cover the entire background of the book held by the library, which was permanently renewed by private donations, being purchased entire collections of Romanian periodicals, donated by their editors, the members and supporters of the society: Ion Alexi, Petru Pășcuțiu, Alexandru Roman and Iosif Vulcan and others.

By the attributes that defined it, the library of the *Society of Reading of Oradea* became on the date of its establishment (4th August 1852) the first Romanian public library of Oradea and one of the oldest in the Habsburg Empire, becoming an effective mean of enlightenment, of knowledge the national history, supported by the joint effort of the Romanian population

⁵³ Viorel Faur, *Din istoricul preocupărilor etnografice și folcloristice referitoare la așezările din Depresiunea Beiușului (1816-1918)*, in *Biharea*, 1974, p. 108-109

⁵⁴ Idem, *Societatea de lectură...*, p. 187-191

interested in learning the literary language and its development in the culture range⁵⁵.

The library has developed, beginning with two subscriptions from *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, reaching the purchase of a collection that included 17 publications in the Romanian language in different areas with Romanian population and approximately 1,000 books, manuscripts and periodicals, in the year 1875, at the moment of its abolition. To save them from destruction, some members of the society have gathered them in a closet that they had built in a recess of the seminar at a night, with the hope of coming better days for the Romanians in the empire. The library of the Society was discovered only in 1917, on the occasion of some repairs, but although the institution leadership offered the books, in a big secret, to some libraries and private persons of trust, a small part of them had been kept in the own library, for fear of the repressions that would have attracted on them the news of existing a Romanian library inside the Academy of Law of Oradea⁵⁶.

The Romanian language teachers, which led the activities of the *Society of Reading of Oradea*, have anticipated that among the members of the society will raise policies warriors due to the national cause and should have considered to be necessary to arm them with strong knowledge of language and national history, to cultivate them the oratorical skills to enable to assert their beliefs, both orally, in front of a numerous public, and by writing, to draw up petitions to the officials of the time, to support the respect the Romanians' rights. For this reason, during the ordinary and the public sessions of the society they put a special emphasis on the formation of some oratorical skills by delivering of speeches, the support of some works and reciting some poems, means of verbal expression, who have practically made them ready for the confrontations of the political life, which were taken part later, after completion of the studies.

Speeches and dissertations have been supported by the leaders, the members of the society and even by some participants present to their meetings being addressed various issues of social or political actuality. Thus, Paul Vela delivered a speech, "in the name of youth" on the occasion of a meeting for founding the society (on 25th June 1852)⁵⁷, Iacob Brendușianu delivered a speech about the importance of a consistent and persevering study, that to be carried out by Romanian students of the Academy (on 2nd February 1853)⁵⁸ and Ștefan Antonescu pointed out the necessity to learn correctly the Romanian language, on the occasion of the public meeting on 22nd May 1853⁵⁹.

⁵⁵ Idem, *Istoricul Societății de lectură din Oradea*, in *Crisia*, 1975, p. 145-152

⁵⁶ Idem, *Societatea de lectură ...*, p. 195

⁵⁷ *Fenice*, p. 249

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 252

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 253

Among the theses are also to be found those relating to the literary and scientific meetings (Iacob Brendușianu), to the Romanian lyrics (Iustin Popfîu) to the national schools (Avram Berlogia), the culture and influence of the literary associations on the *Society of Reading* (Ioan Pojar) and others, published the almanac *Fenice*. A new aspect is also that to support speeches and dissertations on the occasion of meetings for founding the society in the autumn of each year by the head of the society, by a representative of the students who was leaving the society as a result of the completion of the studies, respect., by a student of the 1st year, who was received in the *Society of Reading of Oradea*.

An interesting feature became the support, within each public meeting, of various themes of dissertations by three different members of the society; the most famous speakers became Nicolae Zigre, Nicolae Oncu, Avram Berlogia, Ioan Pop, Iustin Popfîu, Atanasiu Alexi, Damian Dragonescu, Iosif Botto, Iosif Roman.

Asentiu Gaiță presented at public hearing on 2nd June 1868, a dissertation anchored directly to the city's social problems, lack of entitled significantly *Lipsa unui institut pentru educațiunea fetelor în Oradea-Mare*, which was taken over by the *Familia* magazine constituting the trigger signal of the approaches of the Romanian intellectuals to set up a Romanian secondary schools for girls in Oradea⁶⁰.

The jurist of Oradea, Ioan Pop took advantage of the public meeting of the *Society of Reading* on 15th June 1870, to resume before the local intellectuals an older desiderative of the policies promoters for the Romanians' national cause in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, supporting his beliefs through the dissertation entitled *Necesitatea unei academii juridice române*. At the same event, the young people A. Catoca, D. Suci, I. Trifu, A. Boni and S. Maga have experienced a new form of the *cultural* activity, with the subject about the *Românul în muzica, horele și poveștile sale* (*The Romanian his in music, round dances and stories*), which combined the lectures with real examples from the folk heritage of the area of Bihor County⁶¹.

In order to familiarize the members of the society with the interpretive arts they established a habit, as within each meeting, to read their own poems and poems with a patriotic content, belonging to well-known poets. Of these, we mention the poems read at the public meeting on 22nd May 1853: *Ștefan cel Mare și mama sa* (by Dimitri Bolintineanu) recited by Samuil Pele, *Un june român murind în stăinătate* - Carol Grama's own creation, *Apel către slove* (by Iosif Roman), interpreted by Mihai Rațiu⁶²; *Către patria mea*, Dimitrie Sfura's own poem, recited at the public meeting of 31st July 1853⁶³; *Ștefan pe moarte* (by G. Sion) and *Fetița bănățeană și ciucurelul* (by Elia Trăilă) declaimed by

⁶⁰ *Familia*, 1868, no. 18, p. 214-215

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, 1870, no. 21, p. 250-151

⁶² *Fenice*, p. 255

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 256

authors in the meeting in December 1865⁶⁴; *Către o fiică română* (by Elia Trăilă recited by the author), *Versul unui român* (by Aurel Mureșianu), *Limba română* (by G. Sion) and others interpreted in the meeting of 28th May 1866⁶⁵.

The leaders of the society have attached to the recitations a particular importance because of practicing this method they developed the skills of the literary expression in the motherly language, as necessary to the free practice, if we keep in mind that all courses heard in the Academy of Law, or the Archigymnasium Premonstrantes of Oradea (with the exception of that of the Romanian language and literature), took place in German, firstly and then in Hungarian language. Due to this reason, the members of the society were required to prepare, at least one week before the meetings, to recite their own poems or of other authors over the mountains, the number of the read poems increasing from an average of 3 poems in a meeting in 1853 up to 8 declamations in the public meeting of 17th June 1867⁶⁶.

Among the cultural concerns of the *Society of Reading* were also included the choral and instrumental interpretations, supported by the seminarians of the Greek Catholic Seminary in Oradea, who attended the public meetings, interpretations, which were been actively participated by the students with musical skills, raising in this way the quality and attractiveness of the demonstrations by a variety of literary-artistic expression. The immediate effect of such events was not only enlighten and educational, but also mobilizing in the fight for national self-assertion.

By the public meetings organized by the society, the young people who were taking part to the choir of the seminar were offered, for the first time the opportunity to appear in front of the audience of Oradea and the neighbouring villages, by that time they being forced to speak only in programs with strictly religious character, organized inside the seminar.

By accepting the participation of the choir at the cultural events organized by the society through an open and effective collaboration between the members of the two entities was warranted the development of a viable Romanian choir in Crișana region, where, later, the only way of cultural expression of the Romanians, permitted by the Austro-Hungarian authorities the will be the choral interpretation of a play approved in advance.

In this context, in order not to attract attention of the authorities on the songs of patriotic style and evocative and mobilizing accents interpreted both by the seminar's choir and the orchestra (which in 1868 reached the number of 60 instrumentalists), which had on its component members of the society (entirely or partly), in the programme of the public meeting was referred to the

⁶⁴ *Familia*, 1865, no. 18, p. 224-225

⁶⁵ *Concordia*, 1866, no. 38, p. 171-172

⁶⁶ *Familia*, 1867, no. 23, p. 279

interpretation of a „Cântec salutător” (Welcome Song) (at the opening of the events), of some “national songs” and “popular hymns”⁶⁷.

Thus, under the title of “national songs”, plays with national impact were interpreted, but at the same time causing the fright of the authorities: *Deșteaptă-te române*⁶⁸, *Suvenirea Romei și Rosa din Craiova*⁶⁹, *Zorile frumoase și Cântul lui Horea*⁷⁰, *Mama lui Ștefan cel Mare*⁷¹, *Trei floricele și Marșul lui Mihai*⁷², *Fată de român sunt, Arcașul*⁷³, *Romana, Marșul munților (Marșul lui Avram Iancu)*⁷⁴.

The above mentioned songs – interpreted on the occasion of the public meetings - the choir and orchestra of the seminar, which were often joined by the members of the society, outlined the reference points of the history of the Romanian people (the Daco-Roman origin of the Romanian people, the first union in 1601, under the sceptre of Mihai Viteazul (Mike the Brave), the struggles for the social freedom – Horea, Cloșca and Crișan’s Rebellion, and national – the Romanian Revolution of 1848-1849, led by Avram Iancu).

The orchestral interpretation of the melodies touched the soul of the listeners of all the social categories of the Romanians, because it had a strong mobilizing effect due to their knowledge in the life of the Bihor area’s village through the popular rhapsodists and retrieved in a festive event, organized by the studying youth of Oradea, among which the future leaders of the Romanians in their struggle for the national unity will raise.

Between 1868-1870, within the public meetings of the *Society of Reading of Oradea*, its members have made a cultural program titled “Academia limbistică” which consisted in reciting poems in French, Italian, German, Hungarian and Romanian (*Fraților să ne unim* and *Nu disperați* by Iosif Vulcan, *Limba Română* by G. Sion, *Umbra lui Mihai* by Grandea and *Românul* by G. Tăutu), being selected those poetical works which contributed to strengthen the national consciousness of the Romanians under domination of the governors in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Another concern of the members of the *Society of Reading of Oradea* was to establish a Romanian cultural institution in Oradea, which was to be “the Romanian intelligence centre in Bihor County”⁷⁵, but this initiative has been not continued, for the reason of which Iosif Vulcan criticized the lack of concern of the intellectuals of Oradea to make real the mentioned project⁷⁶.

⁶⁷ Viorel Faur, *op. cit.*, p. 211

⁶⁸ *Familia*, 1867, no. 23, p. 279

⁶⁹ Viorel Faur, *Pagini din viața muzicală a Bihorului între anii 1849-1918*, in *Reuniunea de cântări „Hilaria” din Oradea, 1875-1975*, Oradea, 1975, p. 65-88

⁷⁰ *Familia*, 1868, no. 18, p. 214-215

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, 1869, no. 20, p. 237

⁷² *Ibidem*, 1871, no. 47, p. 561

⁷³ *Ibidem*, 1875, no. 4, p. 46-47

⁷⁴ *Concordia*, 1865, no. 103, p. 421

⁷⁵ *Familia*, no. 48, p. 574

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, 1868, no.13, p. 153

Because of the discontent generated by the issue of setting up a cultural institution, Justin Popfii the leader of the Society, reviewed – on the occasion of the meeting on 28th November 1869 - the reasons for have stopped the cultural initiative, which could have contributed to the activation of the cultural life of the Romanians in Oradea and proposed the establishment of a reading room, located in the centre of the town, which had to be “the bottom that will increase with time Rom (ANIAN) Cultural Institution in Bihor County⁷⁷”.

Although not this proposal has been materialized due to the lack of the material resources of the Romanian population was commendable the concern of the members of the society to diversify the offer of the means for enlightenment the people for their national emancipation. In the same framework of cultural activism entered the collaborations with the members of the society with articles, notes and correspondences about the own activity and to obtain subscriptions for the library of the society, sent to the editors of the following newspapers and magazines: *Albina*, *Federațiunea*, *Familia*, *Gura Satului*, *Trompeta Carpaților*, *Românul*, *Columna lui Traian*, *Viitorul*, *Ghimpele*, *Clopotele*, *Convorbiri literare și Gazeta Transilvaniei*⁷⁸.

The opening of the *Society of Reading of Oradea* to other cultural associations of the Romanians in the empire was highlighted by the fact that it had collaboration relationships with the company corresponding with the Society of Reading of Beiuș, the Society “Petru Maior” in Budapest, the Teachers’ Reunion in Salaj County and the Society of Reading of the young people in Beregseu, trying to conclude documents of twinning with the students’ societies in Cernăuți, Cluj, Budapest, Munich, Berlin, Brussels and Paris⁷⁹. The twinning arrangements have been kept by the students of Oradea until 1875, when the activity of the society was banned by the local authorities, who saw in its work a source of “Daco-Romanianism”, that was an unthinkable fact for the policy of forced Hungarianization imposed by Budapest.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, 1869, no. 48, p. 574

⁷⁸ *Albina*, 1873, no. 56, p. 2

⁷⁹ *Familia*, 1876, nr. 7, p. 83

CONSIDERATIONS ON THE ROMANIAN – SLOVAK BANKING RELATIONS UNTIL 1918

Mihai D. DRECIN

Abstract: *Based on information from the “Economic Review” published in Sibiu, the first Romanian journal of the dualist epoch’s Transylvania specialized on financial - banking issues, they emphasize a few moments of the cooperation of the Romanian and Slovak banks during the period of the years 1908 to 1910.*

It results that between the Romanian - Slovak banking activity and the political one there have been close connections. The Romanian and Slovak “Neo activism” at the early 20th century was based on financing the banks with national capital, the Slovak and Romanian political leaders being directly involved in the banking activity as shareholders, officers or directors of banks.

Keywords: *banks, Romanians, Slovaks, economics, politics*

The Romanian - Slovak political and cultural relations being consolidated over the centuries have been and are relatively better studied and known by researchers, public opinion in our countries than the economic connections. This should not surprise because the research, writing and propagation of the economic history in the media - mass requires a Benedictine patience and insistence. The more as at first sight, the complex of phenomena that belongs to the economic history does not spontaneously generate the spectacular that any political or cultural event contains it in germ.

The profound study and nuanced presentation of the phenomena and economic relations evidence the close relationships of mutual inter conditioning between economic, social, political and cultural. So, the data and economic phenomena do not seem us anymore so dry, arid, sometimes difficult to be understood, a mere collection of numbers and percentages. From that moment they become alive, start to talk to us and to reveal the meanings and to show the real reliance on work, sacrifices and man’s hope for better.

A “slice” of the economic life of the modern age is represented by the financial – banking range. The banks are a true barometer of the evolution of the economic in the capitalist society, registering promptly both the times of rising, and those of its crisis. In the “back” of the affirmation of any modern nation, social classes, socio – professional categories, party or political

personality we find – if we look carefully - a century ago or nowadays, a credit bank or a national banking system being well consolidated¹.

Indisputable, the Nationalities' Congress in Budapest in August 1895, the decisions taken here strengthened the links between Slovaks, Romanians from Transylvanian and Serbs from Hungary, exploited nations, subdued to an oppressive process of Hungarianize. Here we must look for the roots of the neo activist political current launched by the grouping of the young people in the Slovak National Party around newspaper "Hlas" or by the grouping of the "steered young people" led by Octavian Goga. In 1902 the Serbian national movement also passes to the parliamentary activity².

The information provided by the "Economic Review" from Sibiu, for the years 1908 - 1910, referring to the Slovak banks, their links with the Romanian banks in Transylvania, makes us say that the increase of the number and their capital force are part of the causes of activating the Slovak and Romanian national movement.

If, between the years 1868 - 1904, the Slovaks succeed in setting up only 11 banks, their total capital amounting to 2,536,000 k, at the end of 1908 there were 53 banks with a capital of 8,380,036 k, and in 1910 -- 75 banks and other types of credit institutes³. The most numerous were to be found in the committees of Pojon, Turocz, Liptov, and Trencsin Nyitrai⁴.

In 1909, the Slovak financial circles, headed by Skycak, Hodza and Bella, supported by a bank in Prague, establish "Ustredna bank ucastinny spolok" based in Budapest⁵. Indisputably the new bank must "look for" the pulse of business even in the capital city to support Slovak national movement. Then, is significant the fact that to the Bank Management is also chosen Dr. Aurel Vlad⁶ the Romanian political man who breaks the passivism even in 1903, when he is elected deputy in the electoral district Dobra in the committee of Hunedoara. The Slovak "activists" were well working with the Romanian "activists".

The "Tatra" Bank in Martin, founded in 1886, was the strongest Slovak bank; approximately what the "Albina" Bank was in Sibiu (1871) for Romanians⁷. The activity of the bank in Martin (Turoczszentmarton) was included in the attributes of a truly national institution. Although the circulation

¹ *Istorie financiar – bancară. Studii asupra băncilor românești din Transilvania (1867 – 1918)*, vol.I, Ed. Dacia, Cluj – Napoca, 1996, p. 9 and passim

² Ștefan Pascu, *Marea Adunare Națională de la Alba Iulia*, Cluj, 1968, p. 199 – 202

³ *Revista Economică*, Sibiu, 1910, no. 46, p. 424, apud „Budapesti Hirlap”

⁴ Idem, Sibiu, 1908, no. 49, p. 454

⁵ Idem, Sibiu, 1910, no. 1, p. 7

⁶ *Ibidem*. See latest: Valentin Orga, *Aurel Vlad. Istorie și destin*, Ed.Argonaut, Cluj – Napoca, 2001

⁷ Mihai D. Drecin, *Banca „Albina” din Sibiu – instituție națională a românilor transilvăneni (1871 – 1918)*, Ed. Dacia, Cluj – Napoca, 1982

of its pecuniary funds was appreciable, the bank management has established a small dividend for shareholders (3 - 5%). Under these conditions most of the profit was used in national interest, especially to support in schools the young Slovaks⁸. Thereby it was supporting the formation of intellectual elite, essential to the affirmation of the Slovak nation. On the other hand, the bank was crediting the peasantry in the process of purchasing some land areas of the Hungarian nobility. We mention that the same services were carried out also by the Romanian banks from Transylvania for their own nation⁹.

In the summer of 1910, the “Tatra” Bank has established a subsidiary in the city Eperjes, the committee of Saros. Very active from the beginning, the managers of the subsidiary select young Slovaks aged 10 - 14 years, sending them to schools in Bohemia. This leads the newspaper “Budapesti Hirlap” to initiate a vehement campaign against the bank, asking the Hungarian government to intervene and neutralize the “antinational” passions, evidently as against the Hungarian state. We have in mind the dictum that the journalist from the “Economic Review” from Sibiu concludes his announcement: “What you are afraid of, you do not escape”¹⁰.

Certainly the researches in the archives of the Slovak banks could evidence new data about the Romanian - Slovakian banking links until 1918, a working area less known by the Romanian and Slovak historiographies¹¹.

⁸ Mihai D. Drecin, *Banca „Albina” din Sibiu – instituție națională a românilor transilvăneni (1871 – 1918)*, Ed. Dacia, Cluj – Napoca, 1982 *Revista Economică*, Sibiu, 1910, no. 37, p. 354

⁹ Mihai D. Drecin, *op cit.*, p. 144 – 182; Vasile Dobrescu, *Elita românească în lumea satului transilvan 1867 – 1918*, Ed. Universității „Petru Maior” Tg. Mureș, 1996; Idem, *Sistemul de credit românesc din Transilvania (1872 – 1918)*, Ed. Universității „Petru Maior” Tg. Mureș, 1999; Lucian Dronca, *Din politica financiară a românilor ardeleni. Banca „Economul” din Cluj (1886 – 1918)*, Ed. Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj – Napoca, 1999; Idem, *Băncile românești din Transilvania în perioada dualismului austro – ungar (1867 – 1918)*, Vasile Dobrescu, Adrian Onofrei, *Din istoria băncii „Bistrițeană” 1887 – 1922. Contribuții documentare*, Ed. Napoca Star, 2009

¹⁰ *Revista Economică*, Sibiu, 1910, nr. 1, p. 7

¹¹ See latest: Roman Holec, *Băncile slovace până la 1918 – între spirit întreprinzător și naționalitate*; Milin Krajcovic, *Întărirea solidarității popoarelor nemaghiare ale Ungariei prin programul economic și prin activități bancare până în anul 1914. Cooperarea româno – slovacă, 1890 – 1914, în Istorie financiar - bancară. Studii asupra băncilor din Austro - Ungaria (1867 – 1919)*, vol. II, Ed. Dacia, Cluj – Napoca, 2001, p. 91 – 122

PUBLICATIONS AND ROMANIAN PUBLICISTS IN BIHOR COUNTY FROM THE EARLY (1854) UNTIL 1918

Ion ZAINEA

***Abstract:** The Romanians' publicistic activity in the former Bihor Committee, under foreign dominion, affiliates itself in the efforts of the Romanian population of Transylvania to manifest its spiritual availabilities, in spite of some unfavourable circumstances. Especially worth noting is what the Romanians from the province at the western extremity of the earth inhabited by Romanians, more exposed here to the denationalization tendencies, have done, under this report. Taking as example the literary societies from Blaj and Cluj, the Romanians from Oradea, then Beiuș, acted to edit some manuscript "sheets", the first of these, that of Oradea, having the title up significantly *Deșteaptă-te Române*, and that of Beiuș, *Muza română*, which have become important means of cultural and political affirmation. Beginning with the manuscript "sheets" they've got to edit some reviews with various profiles, including as notable the magazine *Familia* of Oradea, which have partially substituted the absence of some newspapers and become real tribunes of battle to defend the language, the historical traditions and the rights of the Romanian people. This publicistic practice had been experienced by the members of the Reading Society as part of the Law Academy from Oradea, and by those of the "Samuil Vucan" Society from the gymnasium with the same name in Beiuș. Among the initiators, there are notable Iustin Popfiu, professor of Romanian language, a known poet and journalist, Alexandru Roman, Partenie Cosma and, especially, Iosif Vulcan, through what he has made of the *Familia* magazine in the Oradea city's landscape and in that of the Romania's, in general. The first Romanian newspaper, *Tribuna Bihorului*, George Tulbure being its editor, appeared at the end of 1918, in the context created by the Romanian popular actions, which culminated with the Great National Assembly in Alba Iulia, on 1st of December 1918.*

Keywords: *publications, publicists, literary, manuscripts, Bihor*

The first attempts to edit a Romanian periodical publication in Bihor County belonged to the members of the Reading Society from Oradea. In February 1854, the leaders of the Society expressed their intention to publish an "op belletristic" to represent the evidence of the progress made by its members in winning "the completeness of the language". Due to the diligence and

support received from several collaborators, in the same year the first Romanian literary publication, *Diorile (Zorile) Bihorului. Almanac Naciunal dela Societatea de Leptură a Junimei Române studinte la școalele orăđane* printed by Aloisiu Tichi, appeared. To edit the almanac, Ion Brendușianu (short story), Carol Grama, Vasile Iuțu, Atanasiu Marianescu, Demetrius Meciu, Ioan Popdan, Iosif Roman, Paul Vela Ventrariu (all poetry) and Dimitri Sfura (poetry and narrative) have collaborated with their original creations¹. Their compositions are modest attempts, which from a literary point of view, are not important. The merit of the almanac is “to trace a path of statement” to their contemporaries and followers, that of a possible penetration into the national culture. The almanac editors intended to signify by its title the dawns (diorile), and the reveille, the beginning of an activity designed to take out from the lack of progress the Romanian youth and intellectuals from Oradea city and Bihor County.

Over time, the members of the Reading Society from Oradea looked for more appropriate ways of showing their literary and journalistic skills. Therefore, like the literary societies of Blaj and Cluj², they have driven out to edit some magazines and manuscripts. From the memories notes of Iosif Vulcan results that, while he was a member of the Reading Society, drafted together with other members, a “sheet” manuscript entitled *Deșteaptă-te române* (Wake Up, Romanian). The exact date of appearance is not specified, but to establish it, we can appeal to the fact that Iosif Vulcan has completed his secondary studies in 1859 and, therefore, he contributed to editing the magazine between the years 1857-1859, when in fact he appears among the “officials” of the society³. According to his own confession, the following responsible-editor of the *Familia* (Family) magazine he has made his literary apprenticeship in the pages of this internal publication of the society. Although it had an ephemeral existence, by its title, the magazine had been an argument of the Oradea’s society members wish to make known the ideas and beliefs, the literary attempts and the attitude to fundamental problems of the time, like defending the language and strengthening the national culture.

New preoccupations of publishing type are unrolling out as the same time with coming to the leadership of the Society of the scholar Iustin Popfiu. At the meeting on 18th of November 1866, they proposed the establishing of an “encyclopaedic pavilion” to run exclusively among the members of the society. The initiative was received with enthusiasm, being elected as editors-in-charge

¹ Aurel Tripon, *Monografia almanah a Crișanei*, Oradea: Tipăritura Diecezană (Diocese Printing), 1936, p. 177

² The first manuscript review *Aurora*, appeared in 1838 at Blaj, and in 1845 the Romanian Youth’s Reading Society in Cluj printed the magazine *Diorile pentru minte și inimă*, edited almost entirely by Alexandru Papiu Ilarian

³ Iosif Vulcan, „După douăzeci de ani”, in *Familia*, 1880, no. 32, p. 204

of the “sheet” Elia Trăilă and Nicolau Oncu⁴. The magazine, which is not entitling recorded, appeared twice a month and not for a long time, since over three years the question of developing a “sheet written from the best works of the members” was discussed again. To be also read by other intellectuals of the city, it has been made the proposal to be put in the “reading office”, that was to be organized to provide the public a “testimony about the activity and submission of the members of society”⁵. Also, as a result of the tireless work and zeal of the Romanian language and literature teacher Iustin Popfiu, in 1867 appears at Oradea the publication *Fenice. Almanahu Beletristicu dela Societatea de Leptură a Junimei Române studioase la Academia de drepturi și Archigimnaziul din Oradea Mare*. Vasile Iuțu, Vasile Ranta Buticescu, Elia Trăilă, Miron Pompiliu, and Ioan Scipio Bădescu have collaborated to elaborate the almanac⁶.

Following the example of the reading societies of Oradea, Blaj, Arad or Sibiu, to edit manuscript “sheets”, the members of the Society “Samuil Vulcan” in Beiuș, students in the higher grades of gymnasium have also experienced this publishing practice. At the meeting on 15th of May 1867, Professor Gavril Lazăr, the president of the Beiuș’s Society advanced the idea of establishing “a sheet of the society”, to bear the name of *Muza Română* (Romanian Muse), and to appear every Sunday on “at least ... a sheet”. Editor of the magazine was I. Deciu, A. Rubenescu, I. Olteanu, I. Lepa, M. Toma and A. Tuducescu, being close collaborators of him. The notary of correspondences, Coriolan Brediceanu, announced in the press the first number, of which the editorial was strongly contented⁷. Lack of information does not allow us to know the profile and the cultural use of *Muzei Române* (Romanian Muse). We only know that in November 1870, the editor of the “sheet” was Ioan Groza, one of the most active members of the Society of Beiuș, during the years 1872-1873 and 1876, the editorial duties being taken over by Georgiu Popa, I. Duma and Paul Onița. The name of the “sheet” was changed in 1883 when it became *Aurora*, taking George Mihalca as its editor⁸.

Although the achievements are not spectacular, the consistent with whom the members of the reading societies from Oradea and Beiuș were concerned about the editing of some manuscript magazines, through which could be exploited those works of certain literary value or cultural propagandistic remains meritorious. Although sensitive to the idea of editing periodical journals, the

⁴ *Familia*, 1866, no. 39, p. 467

⁵ Viorel Faur, *Cultura românilor din Bihor, 1849-1918*, Oradea: Fundația Culturală „Cele Trei Crișuri” (Cultural Foundation), 1992, p. 148

⁶ Aurel Tripon, *op. cit.*, p. 177

⁷ *Familia*, 1868, no. 17, p. 202

⁸ Viorel Faur, *op. cit.*, p. 148

Romanian intellectuals of Bihor County were willing nor the necessary sums, nor a Romanian printer. It happened that the first magazine appeared in Oradea, *Amvonul* (The Pulpit), to be firstly published in Budapest (numbers 1-5), although Iustin Popfiu, the responsible-editor, and the owner of the magazine have been living in the city on the Crișul Repede River side.

The new initiative of the publicist Iustin Popfiu to elaborate, beginning with 1868, a “periodical sheet” entitled *Amvonul* is announced in the magazine *Familia* (Family) on 31st of October 1867. Making sure of the number of contributors who will guarantee him the appearance of the magazine, some of them even being from the old Kingdom, the editor published on 15th of January 1868, the first copy of this publication in an elegant dress printing. As we learn from a subsequent editorial note, although the first two numbers were edited in 1,000 copies, Popfiu had to print them again, due to the high demands. As shown in the editorial programme of the magazine, the most pages of the *Amvonul* magazine were to be devoted to the publication of some ecclesiastical materials opening the information columns, especially about the different aspects of the national cultural life⁹. For instance, writing about the Educational Institute in Bucharest, opened in 1868, Popfiu made a conclusive confession about the permanent interest of the Transylvanian Romanians towards the achieving of the Romanian state: “We have carefully passed through the reforms that had been made on Romanian land, especially a decade now, and applauded along with tears of joy forever glorious victories won in a so short period of time”. Answering to a letter of a man from Bucharest, the responsible-editor underlined the idea that it was natural that the Romanians on both sides of the Carpathians to support each other, despite the temporary existence of some “political borders”, which - he stated – “cannot stop us of being united in spirit and in love, in aspirations and hopes”¹⁰.

In the “News” and “Literariu” columns that were to present moments of the contemporary life, and in other columns of the magazine, we learn about the considerations referring to the new edition of Alexanderu Donici’s fables, about a speech of P. S. Aurelian, that points out the contribution of the peasantry for defending the national creature. Also, noteworthy the editorial appearances reports, as well as the notes about the cultural biographies of some Transylvanian scholars. It is dwelling on Samuil Vulcan’s enlightenment efforts, some exemplary facts of George Barițiu are recalled, whom they asked to collect and publish his articles written in recent decades that could become for the Romanian political leaders not only an “instructive lecture”, but even “the most necessary weapons” in the national struggles¹¹.

⁹ Nerva Hodos, Al Sadi-Ionescu, *Publicațiunile periodice românești*, Tom I, Catalog alfabetic (Alphabetical Catalogue) 1820-1906, București: Editura Academiei Române, 1913, p. 35

¹⁰ *Amvonul*, 1868, no. 3, p. 98; *Ibidem*, 1868, no. 22, p. 676

¹¹ *Familia*, 1868, no. 11, p. 131

After only one year of appearance, Justin Popfiiu decides to postpone the publishing of the “sheet” until he will have enough time to carry out his editorial duties promptly, being busy with the printing of some own “literary works”. Resumption in 1870, of the appearance of *Amvonul* had expected outcome. In the months January-February 1871, however, were published four numbers. The editor made sick, a situation that determined him to cease the publishing of the journal until the beginning of 1881. No such attempt was viable, because the printing of *Amvonul* ceased with the number 5 (from 1st / 15th of April). The publication pages have been used this year, almost exclusively, on ecclesiastical purposes.

The spring of 1880 marked the moment of the appearance in Bihor County of an important Romanian periodical journal. It ‘s Iosif Vulcan’s initiative to transfer the editorial office of the *Familia* magazine from Budapest, where it had been published since 1865, to Oradea, city of which he was tied by the memories of the years of study. Starting with the number 32, of 9th of May 1880, the *Familia* magazine begins to appear in the city on Crișul Repede River side, inaugurating a new and important chapter in the history of the Romanian press in Crișana area. With the installation of the editorial office in Oradea, is increasingly felt the fighting ability of Iosif Vulcan, his presence being more decided in the field of the daily anxiety, to avoid the “benumbing of the national spirit”¹².

During 1880-1906, as appears in Oradea, under the leadership of Iosif Vulcan, the summary of journal is maintained in its previous patterns, with some changes and renewals. Being an encyclopaedic publication, its profile is varied so that the materials contained in the pages have been structured in several sections (from 10 to 12), with the declared intention to offer a reading for all the readers, in urban and rural areas. As noted N. Iorga, this magazine “which is well-called *Familia*, takes into account the need of reading of the people without pretensions and without fuss, who understand so many times better and feel more deeply than the others”¹³.

The heading “Portraits and Biographies”, often inserted on the first page of the journal, kept from the very beginning, was intended to popularize some important personalities both of our nation and of the universal civilization, being preferred those who by means of their deeds could be positive examples. The author of these articles, almost always Iosif Vulcan, was informing himself from the Romanian and foreign publications received to the editorial office. It

¹² Being for some decades one of the most read Romanian publications, the editor of the review from Oradea changed it into a valuable fighting and propaganda tribune of the national ideology, at a moment when, through the Trefort law, in 1880, the Hungarian danger for the Romanians from the so-called “Hungarian parts” had been emphasized.

¹³ N. Iorga, *Reviste pentru familie*, in *Familia*, 1904, no. 21-22, p. 250

was a meritorious opening of the magazine towards the large interest issues, overcoming the local isolation.

Maintaining the contact with the literature from the free country, the *Familia* magazine stimulated the Transylvanian poetical creation, through the generosity that hosted on its pages the literary products of some beginners, one of the principles that led the editor-in-charge, being that to turn it into a genuine national publication. The *Familia* magazine had a considerable role in providing models for the Transylvanian poets. In the magazine there are columns, like a true pantheon of the Romanian literature, names of some prestigious writers of Romania and Transylvania, from the classics of the Romanian literature, as M. Eminescu, V. Alecsandri, Al. Vlahuță, to the Transylvanians George Coșbuc, O. Goga, Emil Isac, with the collaboration to the journal of an impressive number of authors throughout the Romanian space¹⁴, a constant concern of Iosif Vulcan being the publishing of the female poetry.

Being destined to the enlightenment and affirmation of the local spiritual values, the magazine from Oradea had a relatively constant group of readers; some of them have helped Vulcan to overcome the inevitable financial deadlocks, since he was the only owner and editor of the journal throughout its appearance, 1865 -1906. In over 25 years of books appearance in Oradea, the magazine devoted its space to the publication of articles and scientific studies, belletristic creations, notes about the social life and political events, aesthetical comments, cultural documentaries about the events of the time, of an exceptional historiography value.

In 1904, for the anniversary of 40 years after onset, it was published a Jubilee number, where were inserted the greetings and items sent to the editorial on the occasion of this event, by consistent personalities and readers. Greetings came from the Romanian Academy, signed by I. Kalinderu, as chairman and D. Sturdza, as general secretary, expressed most significantly the role of the magazine and of its editor: “A flag of the Romanian national language and culture was flown 40 years ago on the western edge of the Romanism and you’ve kept it up with a brave hand and indefatigable perseverance for a so long time as it’s rarely given to a mortal. By the original works published in *Familia* and the reproduction of the best literary productions of all the Romanian countries you’ve made enter the scholars’ mass reading taste, the priests’, the teachers’ over the Carpathians. You’ve earned in this way significant merits for the Romanian language and literature, and the celebration what they do for you on the occasion of this fourfold decade is a beautiful crowning of Your Reign’s work and perseverance”¹⁵.

¹⁴ Alexandru Crișan, *Familia (1865-1906). Contribuții monografice*, Timișoara, Editura Facla, 1973, p. 120-127

¹⁵ *Familia*, 1904, no. 21-22, p. 242

In 1906, a year before he died, I. Vulcan stopped the appearance of the *Familia* magazine, accompanied by the explanation that age is the only hindrance to maintain the publication.

With the beginning of 1st of May 1880, they print in Oradea the magazine for villages *Siedietorea* (Șezătoarea / Literary Soiree), whose responsible-editor, editor and owner was the same I. Vulcan. Initially, the magazine sub entitled “sheet of the Romanian people”, appeared in Budapest, from 1st of January 1875. As the same time as moving the editorial office to Oradea, the magazine changes its format and increases its number of contributors. *Șezătoarea* wasn't a supplement for the people of the *Familia* magazine, or a variant of this, but an independent review. Its destination was to penetrate the rural world, in order to form the taste for reading of the inhabitants of villages, teachers, priests and peasants, to familiarize them with the literature and to explain them the scientific phenomena. Due to the large number of subscribers, over 1800, after the confession of the responsible-editor, impressive figure for that time, they could improve the graphics quality of the magazine.

One of the main editorial concerns was to cultivate the patriotic feeling, objective achieved by the publication of some articles on significant moments in the history of the Romanians, or portraits of the notable men of the nation. Most of the texts of the Oradea's period of the magazine are collections and folklore remaking, gathered from various settlements in Romania. There are maintained the columns “Cimilituri” (“Riddles”), “Enigmas” and “Romanian Sayings”, along others containing news or humorous material (“Hodorosc and Trosc”). Multiple other notes and advice were aimed to enlighten the Romanian peasant on the best methods of land cultivation, breeding, care of trees and forests in order to determine him to integrate himself in the process of modernization of the existing economic structures. The expression was available to the rural residents and the issues determined in such a way as to have an effective adhesion to the readers.

On 27th of December 1882, Vulcan announced the cessation of printing the magazine on the grounds that other “literary things” did not let him enough time to continue to edit it, although he did not give up to believe in the full use of it.

In the year 1892 makes its appearance in Oradea the satirical magazine *Vulturul* (The Eagle), its responsible-editor being Justin Ardelean, a student at the Academy of Law in the city. From 13th of January 1892, when the first issue appears, the magazine maintains itself in Oradea until 1st of September 1905, what is meritorious having in view the “attention” that was granted by the authorities. Between 20th of December 1899 and 15th of March 1902, responsible-editor was Ioan Iosif Sceopul. Among the primary contributors of the magazine we should mention the names of Antoniu Popp, Dr. E. Pădan and Adrian P. Deseanu¹⁶. In Bihor County, the *Vulturul* magazine was the pioneer

¹⁶ Nerva Hodos, Al Sadi Ionescu, *op. cit.*, p. 802

moment in the humorous activity workhouse, put in the service of the national cause and social justice, its editor and contributors proposing themselves “to whip the general weaknesses, to hit mercilessly into the sinners, to discredit them, calling them ridiculous, but praising the good ones”. Thinking to the sanitation of the morals and manners, the magazine editor wrote in 1895 that he’ll deal more with “satirize and irony the bent politics” of the dualistic monarchy¹⁷. By means of the humorous literature, of the caricature design, of the poems with patriotic message, they were participating to the political actions that had revealed the hostile character of the governing dualistic system. There were reasons why the editorial staff of the magazine had endured many shortcomings, suffering because of the rigors of a chauvinist politic, otherwise most of the Romanian publications, the editor and his collaborators being brought for numerous times in the front of the court¹⁸.

Vulturul was a magazine appreciated by the readers from Transylvania and the free country for the manner how it was satirizing the obsolete and absurd aspects of the political life of monarchy as well as the various social shortcomings. Through its columns, permanently improved, *Vulturul* inoculated the readers with trust and hope. It was, close to the *Gura satului* or the *Calicul* journals, a powerful mean of the political struggle at the end of the 19th century, when it’s recorded an increase of the fighting ability and efficiency of the satirical press in the offensive against the dualistic Austro-Hungarian regime¹⁹.

The publishing landscape of Oradea was supplemented at the end of the 19th century by the appearance on 18th of April 1897, of the magazine *Foaie literară* (Literary Journal Sheet), having as responsible-editor the Bihor County’s poetess Lucreția Suciș, editor and owner being her husband Dr. W. Rudow. The intention of the twos was to edit a cheap magazine, which could enter “neutral medium until then”²⁰, the inhabitants of villages, the young and the Romanian women, respectively.

Referring to the structure of her review, Lucretia Suciș showed that she divided the eight pages in such a way that she could publish on them a varied material that should retain the interest of all readers. She reckoned on the support of some valuable men of letters, including of the old Kingdom, receiving cooperation from George Coșbuc, G. Bogdan-Duică and Septimiu S. Secula.

The sample of the magazine was sent to 1800 addresses, taken from lists of subscribers of the newspaper *Tribuna*, from the calendars of the dioceses from Arad and Caransebeș and from friends. In the next two months were sent

¹⁷ *Vulturul*, 1895, no. 24, p.7

¹⁸ Between 1894 and 1894, six press processes for the articles regarding the memorandum movement and the trial from Cluj had been taken against the responsible-editor Justin Ardelean.

¹⁹ Livia Grămadă, *Presa satirică românească din Transilvania, 1860-1918*, Cluj: Editura Dacia, 1974, p. 111

²⁰ *Foaia literară*, 1897, no. 1, p. 6

every 600 copies, since then the editorial staff should set 500 copies, 50 of them free of duty and the rest to certain addresses²¹.

In the 30 numbers, as many have appeared, of the periodical journal, there have been published literary products in poetry and prose, folk creations and other materials about local cultural life. Although the magazine profile has been a pronounced literary attempt, they tried a diversification of its purpose with firmer anchoring in everyday life, through the introduction of materials of history and literary criticism, information about the work of the Romanian cultural societies (ASTRA, for example), notes about the published books. Notable was also the intention to perform a dialogue with the readers, through personal correspondences, or by means of the heading “Editorial’s Post”.

After less of year of issuing, on 7th of November 1897, Lucreția Suciu announced the cessation of magazine publication, because of the lack of materials, but, also, because of her state of health, so that the *Foaia literară* magazine disappeared from the Transylvanian publishing landscape, but contributing with a particular note to its diversification. It should be noted the stimulating role the magazine had had grouping together young writers who would subsequently become employees of the Romanian press, some even responsible-editors of newspapers.

The events of the autumn of 1918 have created the circumstances of the appearance of the first Romanian newspaper in Oradea, *Tribuna Bihorului*. Constitution on 3rd of November 1918, of the Romanian National Council of Oradea and Bihor County, as a representative political institution of the Romanian population, raised the issue of publishing an organ of publicity. A committee formed by R. Ciorogariu, Gh. Tulbure and Dr. V. Kirvai, handled the technical side of setting up the newspaper. Its management was entrusted to the Vicar R. Ciorogariu, and Gh. Tulbure became its responsible-editor.

The first issue of the newspaper *Tribuna Bihorului* appeared on 25th of December 1918, the purpose of the editorial staff and its collaborators was to make this paper an effective propaganda tool, a “cultural fortress at the western border of Great Romania”²². The major objective of those who edited the newspaper was to “lighten” the rural population on the meanings of the historical act in Alba Iulia, on 1st of December 1918. Being a “people body”, *Tribuna Bihorului* benefited of a large social receptivity, with an undeniable mobilizing role. Because of its attitude of revolt against the foreign oppression and the states of affairs in Bihor County, still remained, after 1st of December 1918, under foreign administration, the newspaper couldn’t be printed in Oradea anymore, the number 11 being edited in Arad in a diocese printing²³. After the city of Oradea was set free by the Romanian army, the editorial came

²¹ Ioan Chira, *Foaia literară*, in *Contribuții culturale bihorene*, Oradea, 1974, p. 292

²² *Tribuna Bihorului*, 1918, no. 1, p. 1

²³ V. Faur, *Tribuna Bihorului*, *primul ziar românesc în Crișana*, in *Familia*, 1978, no. 1, p. 10

back to Oradea. From 27th of April 1919, the newspaper changed its title in *Tribuna*, becoming an organ of P.N.R., Bihor subsidiary.

Although it has appeared in extremely difficult circumstances, the newspaper of Oradea contributed to the work of building a Romanian unitary national state, holding out with other periodical magazines of the union²⁴.

²⁴ *Unirea poporului* from Blaj, *Glasul libertății* from Cluj, *Renașterea* from Baia Mare, *Sfatul* from Sighet

THE UNIFICATION OF BESSARABIA AND TRANSYLVANIA WITH ROMANIA REFLECTED IN THE PAGES OF THE MAGAZINE „CELE TREI CRIȘURI” (1920-1943)

Radu ROMÎNAȘU

Abstract: *The magazine Cele Trei Crișuri together with other Romanian similar publications in Bihor County had firmly acted to promote the national unitary state and the idea of Romanian culture in an area where the minority culture – of Hungarian and Jewish expression - remained in the frames of the united Romania, well developed and represented. The articles relating the unification of Bessarabia and Transylvania with the homeland - mom, published with lot of perseverance by the editorial staff of the magazine until the years of 1935, were placed on a national background, a natural fact and also necessary, if we consider that after the moment of 1918 Romania had to “burn the stages” of its historical evolution, for a fast connection from a political, social, economic and cultural point of view to the European realities of the event. This could happen only from the national perspective, by promoting the national ideas which could predict the compliance with the time requirements.*

Keywords: *unification, national, interwar, magazine, articles*

Founded at the end of 1919, in a rising period of the Romanian political life, the Great Cultural Reunion „Cele Trei Crișuri” from Oradea fixed from the outset its intend to disseminate, implement and strengthen the *Union Resolution* approved by the Transylvanian Romanian nation in the frame of the impressive National Assembly in Alba Iulia on 1st of December 1918. Also, another major objective for which the mentioned reunion militated has been linked to promoting a process of enlightenment in the Romanian society from the western boundary of the Great Romania, which had been downtrodden by discriminatory laws, by the former bicephalous monarchy characterized - perhaps in the best way - by Alexandru Roman, who saw in the Austro-Hungarian dualism a “*unio duorum nationum contra plures*”¹.

¹ Radu Romînașu, *Asociații culturale românești din Oradea și județul Bihor în perioada interbelică*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2008, p. 103

Indisputably, the reunion was best expressed in the Bihor County's interwar editorial landscape by means of the review *Cele Trei Crișuri*, which – together with its appearance (15th of April 1920) - became its cultural propaganda organ. Bacaloglu George, its director, declared his intention to set the magazine in the tradition of *Familia* published by Iosif Vulcan².

Since its very beginning, the publication has presented to the readers its national and cultural belief: “In a time so heavy compared to multiplying the daily needs and issues, the *Cele Trei Crișuri* magazine will continue its Romanian and Latin work, to impose increasing awareness of a far better fulfilled, an achievement which, by the day, it feels a more urgent need”³.

The persistence with which it was led by George Bacaloglu made of the *Cele Trei Crișuri* an elite magazine well appreciated at the national and international level. In its columns topics of the most varied have been treated. There were published several historical and literary articles, there were not neglected the political, social and cultural events consumed in the country and abroad, the publishing of various cultural magazines in the completed Romania, the books printed by some Romanian and international publishing houses, all the information being analyzed and commented in a balanced and professional spirit⁴.

The complex process of forming the Romanian national unitary state, by returning to the country's body of Bessarabia, Bucovina and Transylvania, did not have to stay on a second plan in the concerns of the reunion and the *Cele Trei Crișuri* magazine. Thus, in an article published in 1927, they reminded to the readers the importance of the major political event on 1st of December 1918, which should represent the future political, economic and cultural developments of the country in the new European context: “Our country can only strengthen on relentless national base. From this unique foundation all sorts of consolidations have to go... Let us look to the past, to seek a moment of silence and take out of the furrow held with such toil, the fruit of this struggle”⁵.

The articles dedicated by the magazine to the Romanians' union in a single state are more frequent in the years close to the event, a natural, human question, given the general enthusiasm of the Romanian society under the mental impact of the fulfilment of a long historical process becoming lower as number along with passing of the years. A new impetus impulse to write about the events in the years 1918-1919, is during the 1933-1934 period, in the context of emphasising the Hungarian revisionism, which was attempting on the provisions stipulated in the treaties of peace concluded at Versailles⁶.

² *Ibidem*, p. 55

³ *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 1936, no. 3-4, p. 55

⁴ *Ibidem*, no. 9-10, p. 155

⁵ George Bacaloglu, *Intrăm în al 8-lea an*, in *Ibidem*, 1927, no. 1, p. 1

⁶ Barbu Ștefănescu, *Presa interbelică din Oradea despre Unirea din 1918*, in *Crisia*, 1978, p. 233

The largest share of the articles devoted to the union of the two Romanian historical provinces homeland parent is found in the special issues dedicated by the magazine to the celebration of ten years after the events of 1918.

Aspects of the political process leading to accomplishing the union of Bessarabia with Romania on 27th of March 1918 were widely reported in the magazine columns, being evoked in particular the tragic past of this historical Romanian province: "... Life of Besarabia - George Bacaloglu appreciated - over the centuries, it is a great historical drama", the author argued that by citing the tsar Gen. Mihail Kutuzov, who was decided, after the territory report in 1812, to wipe out any national aspirations of the Romanians between Prut and Nistru rivers: "We will not let to the Moldavians but eyes to cry ..." ⁷. Further, the article related about the major changes occurring in Bessarabia ten years after unification, with a special emphasis on the detaching from Russia and the entering of the province on a Romanian coordinate. It was noted that the territory between the Prut and Nistru rivers had effectively integrated in the completed Romania, although it suffered the encroachments of the Tsarist Russia. Breaking from Russia - that article reminded - led to development of the primary schools and their Romanization: "By 1918, the local teachers and schoolmasters were Russian officials who were teaching the Russian language, creating Russian citizens, making Russians. And here, suddenly, in 1918, these men - mostly - become Romanian citizens, Romanian officials, teach the Romanian language, form Romanian citizens" ⁸. Also, the agrarian reform "carried out under the conditions deliberated by the mass" determined major restructurings in the social and economic plans, and the agricultural, commercial and industrial sectors, have benefited of an obvious development. The renewal process was also extended on the state, administration and judiciary, fact that contributed to the development of the political life in Bessarabia. At the end of the article its author concluded that "during these ten years they have laid the fundamental foundations for the future national life of this part of the country". Many of these cultural and artistic events dedicated to the event have also included the uncovering of the statue of Prince Stephen the Great, in Chişinău ⁹.

There were not omitted the words of Ion Inculet, the president of the People's (Country's) Council, who appreciated that "Bessarabia completed by the struggle of so many generations have to be and will be eternal Romanian" ¹⁰.

The pages dedicated to Bessarabia included also the publication of some poetic creations (the poem *Prutul*, by I.M. Soricu), the painting of some suggestive portraits (that of the General Prezan and Î.P.S. Gurie, first

⁷ *Basarabia 1918-1928*, in *Cele Trei Crişuri*, 1928, no. 5-6, p. 97

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 99

⁹ *Ibidem*

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 97

Metropolitan of Bukovina), as well as the evocation of the life of some personalities of the Romanian culture born in Bessarabia (Bogdan Petriceicu-Hașdeu, Alexandru Donici and Alecu Russo)¹¹.

On the occasion of celebrating the 15 years from returning to the body of Bessarabia country, the *Cele Trei Crișuri* magazine evoked again the historical importance of the day of 27th of March 1918 that “cemented our historical rights over the province between the Prut and Nistru rivers”¹². George Bacaloglu reported at the same event, he's manifested himself in a desire crossed a gushing enthusiasm (which unfortunately in the summer of 1940 was nothing territorial raptor Romania imposed by the Soviet Union) and the province between the Prut and Nistru rivers to remain an integral part of the unitary state: “... be as the sanguine furrow of Bassarabia which is hiding in its bosom so many graves of martyrs, to stay forever united with the homeland mom”¹³.

And the union of Transylvania with Romania occupies a central place in the pages of the magazine. On the occasion of celebrating of ten years of this crucial event of the existence of the Romanian nation, are outlined in generous articles all the military confrontations, all the political tensions for which Transylvania “has bled for centuries for freedom and national independence, for respecting the natural rights...”¹⁴.

Thus, at anniversary time, the editorial team of the *Cele Trei Crișuri*, the hate of Transylvania “inseparable and eternal life of the Homeland-Mom, and she has led an uninterrupted battle to collect in a single bundle all the provinces of the same feeling and Romanian language”¹⁵.

Similar feelings were transmitted through the magazine, and by Queen Mary, who appreciated that “the day of celebrating the Unification of Transylvania with the homeland mom must be a day of joy and at the same time a day of silence for every Romanian. The spirit of the fighters’ generations in the past has to guide that of the nowadays leaders so that through a fraternal understanding to complete the ascension of the homeland”¹⁶.

Marked by the temperature of the evoked events, an author was asking himself in the magazine columns, “which may be a pointer futurity seas? ... First of all – the same author was appreciating – the Romanian and Romanism ... the Romanian material and cultural conquests ...the mutual support for those conquests to be possible”¹⁷.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 100-101

¹² *Ibidem*, 1932, no. 3-4, p. 29

¹³ George Bacaloglu, *Basarabia 1918-1933*, in *Ibidem*, p. 27

¹⁴ *Zece ani de la Unirea Ardealului*, in *Ibidem*, 1928, no. 11-12, p. 161

¹⁵ *Ibidem*

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 162

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 166

Further, they insist upon the significance of historical event in Alba Iulia, separating from this perspective the article written by the historian Ioan Lupaș, who evokes the entry of Romania in the “great war”, the purpose and attitude of the Romanians on the military operations theatres.

In the end, the historian recalls the atmosphere of the Romanian Transylvanian society, citing the words of some Romanian peasants from the place Aciliu¹⁸, near Sibiu city, who were preparing themselves to set out to Alba Iulia: “... we all go to Belgrade to hear what they say and decide what the gentlemen of ours were going to say any differently, as we want, they shoot back. But whom could it pass through another plan in mind - Ioan Lupaș concluded – and through heart another feeling than that which millions of Romanians spirited?”¹⁹.

Very interesting - from the perspective of political thinking analysis of the Great Union’s generation - were raised by some assessments expressed by Vasile Goldiș and Iuliu Maniu, on the union of all Romanians into a single state: “... the union of all Romanians into a single kingdom and in a single state is not only a holy ideal resulted from our past ... it is also an indisputable right of our, on the basis of our on national unitary being We regard the performance of the national unity as a triumph of the human freedom. We want to establish on these fields the liberty of all the nations and all citizens”²⁰. The publication of these in the pages of the magazine was to mobilize the Romanian readers in the meaning of strengthening of the national consciousness in the prejudice of the anti Romanian propaganda promoted by the Hungarian reactionary circles.

In his article entitled *1 December 1918* Andrei Crișanul had the opinion that the major events survive to time under three forms: in the memory of eye witnesses and contemporaries, in the pages of history and as symbols in the soul of crowd. The author, as eyewitness to the event, managed to describe the atmosphere of the Great National Assembly in Alba Iulia, with the following suggestive words: “... It was against the spirit of Transylvania, as impetuous water that breaks the banks to pour into the sea, to decide its union with the soul of the Romanians from everywhere”²¹.

In the special issue dedicated to the day of 1st December 1918, the writer Ion Agârbiceanu also published an article entitled *Marele Anonim*. He reminds the reader the role played in this historic process by the simple peasant, often ignored and marginalized, who composed the popular force able to fulfil, along with the political elite, the old national goal. “We still only - Agârbiceanu appreciated - to hero worship the great unknown, the true founder of all the facts really great, all the people in it. To the nation”²².

¹⁸ In this locality, was born in 1855 Nicolae Ivan, the first Orthodox bishop of the Diocese Vadului, Feleacului and Cluj.

¹⁹ I. Lupaș, *Adunarea Națională dela Alba Iulia*, in *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 1928, no. 11-12, p. 163

²⁰ *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 1928, no. 11-12, p. 164

²¹ Andrei Crișanul, *1 Decembrie 1918*, in *Ibidem*, p. 172

²² I. Agârbiceanu, *Marele anonim*, in *Ibidem*, p. 173

An interesting vision has developed into an article the literary critic Mihail Dragomirescu, too, who emphasizing the essential historical events of the Romanian national movement in Transylvania, concluded that “happy peoples do not have history. They are devoid of true glory. Only through suffering, defeat and misfortune – he appreciated – a people gets to glory, can serve the humanity and is entitled to history”²³.

In an issue dedicated by the magazine to the Franco-Romanian relations, George Bacaloglu remembered the aid received during the First World War by the French soldiers for accomplishing the national unity: “... After the sufferings in that the brotherly approaching of the French soldiers was the only consolation after straining a patriotism sorrow but never weak, after the final win paid so dearly, the Romanians have seen again their country reunified”²⁴. The same idea was also promoted in the magazine columns by Constantin Kirițescu who included the creators of the historical event from 1st December 1918, they being “the political leaders together with the Romanian soldier and the allied one”²⁵.

On the anniversary of sixteen years from the union of Transylvania with Romania, the *Cele Trei Crișuri* magazine published some scraps of King Carol II, gathered under the heading *The Stages of Unification*. The King has identified at least two steps that Romanians have come to achieve the national ideal. First, he had *faith* (our underline - RR) in the righteousness of their cause, convinced that having performed an act of high historical equity. The consequence has been an acquisition of a significant force, which they have oriented towards a complete process of tracing on the historical contemporary European map of the unitary state called Romania. The second crucial element - from the king’s perspective – was the *patience* (our underline – n.n. R.R), a virtue that engaged the Romanian nation in the achievement of some historical processes really major. This shows unequivocally in the nearly 60 years elapsed between “the small Union”, carried out under Alexandru Ioan Cuza, and the Great Union²⁶.

The revisionist danger promoted intensively by Hungary especially in the years 1932-1933 had repercussion on the attitude of the culture magazine *Cele Trei Crișuri*, which in this time had started off an action to strengthen the national consciousness and defence the achievements of 1st December 1918, mainly through articles-manifest²⁷ in a perturbing period from a political and economical point of view.

²³ Mihail Dragomirescu, *Unirea Ardealului cu Patria- Mamă*, in *Ibidem*, p. 177

²⁴ George Bacaloglu, *După zece ani*, in *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 1928, no. 7-8, p. 116

²⁵ Constantin Kirițescu, *Ocuparea Budapestei*, in *Ibidem*, nr. 11-12, p. 171

²⁶ *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 1934, no. 1-2, p. 13

²⁷ These articles referred to national history, presented again the major historical events of the union of the three Romanian provinces with Romania (eg. *Unirea Ardealului*, in *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 1934, no. 11-12, p. 147; *Trei români ardeleni dispăruți: Teodor Mihali, Vasile Goldiș, Ștefan Cicio-Pop*, în *Ibidem*, no. 1-1, p. 17) or made a scabrous indictment of the Hungarian revisionist claims through authorized names in the field (eg. G. Sofronie, *Revizionismul maghiar și pacea internațională*, in *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 1933, no. 5-6, p. 66; Sabin Manuilă,

During the events of 1932, related to Hungarian revisionist claims, the editorial staff adopted a firm stand against the facts, criticizing the undue political disturbs of Hungary.

The major anti revisionist events in Bucharest and from the western border of the country were widely presented in the columns of the magazine. It did not resign from the idea of working with the minority on the basis of a common cultural platform, but it revised the Treaty of Trianon and couldn't be taken in question²⁸. The attitude of the publication remained firm in this respect: "... peace must be respected and it will not live composition than respecting treaties ... which have fulfilled the holy law of nationalities"²⁹.

For the same reasons, the magazine has published the speech claimed by I. Gr. Periețeanu, former minister in the anti revisionist Great Assembly in Bucharest on 6th November 1932. From this speech, reproduce a significant passage: "... Hungary was watching and is watching us. Urged by an incomparable zeal of a race in Europe, a discordant note in the middle of civilization, Hungary requires the revision of the Treaty of Trianon"³⁰.

Interesting - in the terms of addressing the same problem - it seems also to be the article signed by Octavian Goga, who shown himself to be optimistic, ten years after the union, on the future of the united Romania, taking into ridicule the subversive actions of the Hungarian policy next to the act of the Great Union: "The small merchants of the local prattles who think they can raise their doctrine of a region, are not only than passing appearances, to relapse in nothingness. Our union is sealed for good and no one can dissoluble it. The future will smile with indulgence or contempt upon all those who haven't understood this truth yet and have not complied with it"³¹.

In the tense years of 1932-1933, the great man of culture Simion Mehedinți published in the magazine from Oradea city the article *Cum să ne ridicăm și să ne întărim?*, the author being of the opinion that on the foundation of the national unitary state the national, moral and educational element must be put. The national strengthening - in his vision - can be manifested by a significant increase in population: "if we'll be many, so many, as the leaf and grass, even Scaraoschi can do nothing. The first power of a nation is its number"³². From a moral point of view the change of optics to work and sense of life is required, and

Minoritățile etnice, in *Ibidem*, p. 54; Tr. Birăescu, *Frontiera noastră etnică de vest*, in *Ibidem*, p. 56; *Mica Înțelegere și entuziastele adunări populare de solidaritate. Rolul și chemarea Micii Înțelegeri*, in *Ibidem*, p. 59; *Marea Adunare Națională de la Arenele Romane*, in *Ibidem*, p. 60-61; Alexandru Olteanu, *Județul Bihor în planul revizionist*, in *Ibidem*, p. 66; *Ardealul în planurile revizioniste*, in *Ibidem*, 1934, no. 11-12, p. 140

²⁸ Radu Romînașu, *op. cit.*, p. 59

²⁹ *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 1932, no. 11-12, p. 110

³⁰ *Pretențiile ungare*, in *Ibidem*, no. 9-10, p. 40

³¹ Octavian Goga, *Ardealul*, in *Ibidem*, 1928, no. 11-12, p. 168

³² Simion Mehedinți, *Cum să ne ridicăm și să ne întărim?*, in *Ibidem*, 1932, no. 3-4, p. 27

education was intended to correct the shortcomings of the school, university, church, government and public life in general.

In the following years (1935-1943) the articles dedicated to the event of unification of Bessarabia and Transylvania with Romania lose from their intensity, are more reduced as extension and are published under titles which reminded the reader how many years have passed since the national great events³³. This fact is explicable if we take into account the constant deterioration of the international relations within the time specified, and the more visible opening of the horizon which contained the spectrum of a new world war. Moreover, in the summer of 1940, Romania had been subject to some territorial breaks that pulled out of the body of Bessarabia country and the north-western of Transylvania. Add the passing through the most difficult stage (from a financial point of view, too), for the magazine, it being forced to occur sporadically in Bucharest, in the period of January 1941 - April 1944³⁴.

In conclusion, we appreciate that the magazine *Cele Trei Crișuri* together with other Romanian similar publications in Bihor County had firmly acted to promote the national unitary state and the idea of Romanian culture in an area where the minority culture – of Hungarian and Jewish expression - remained in the frames of the united Romania, well developed and represented. The articles relating the unification of Bessarabia and Transylvania with the homeland - mom, published with lot of perseverance by the editorial staff of the magazine until the years of 1935, were placed on a national background, a natural fact and also necessary, if we consider that after 1918 when Romania had to enter a new stage of its history, requiring a fast connection from a political, social, economic and cultural point of view to the European realities of the event. This could happen only from the national perspective, by promoting the national ideas which could predict the compliance with the time requirements.

We consider that this dealing with the major events of our history, as the Reunion *Cele Trei Crișuri* has also proceeded during the interwar period, is – in the contemporary epoch, too - a gesture of historical maturity and understanding of the future perspectives.

³³ For example, *Șeptesprezece ani de la Unirea Basarabiei*, in *Cele Trei Crișuri*, 1935, no. 1-2, p. 55; *1 Decembrie 1936*, in *Ibidem*, 1936, no. 11-12, p. 163; *19 ani de la alipirea Basarabiei (1918-1937)*, in *Ibidem*, 1937, no. 3-4, p. 65; *La a 25- a aniversare a actului Unirii de la Alba Iulia*, în *Ibidem*, 1943, no. 11-12; Augustin Caliani, *Mesajul Armatei Române adresat românilor din Transilvania, în preajma zilei de 1 Decembrie 1918*, in *Ibidem*

³⁴ Radu Romînașu, *op.cit.*, p. 56

DIPLOMAT RAFFAELE GUARIGLIA'S MEMOIR REGARDING THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE RATIFICATION BY ITALY OF THE TREATY ON BESSARABIA (OF 28th OCTOBER 1920)

Lilian ZAMFIROIU

Abstract. *The author examines the contents of a Memoir elaborated by the Italian diplomat Raffaele Guariglia, to serve the Mussolini's cabinet in order to ratify the treaty on Bessarabia (20th October 1920). It is a review, from the Italian perspective, of the fact that it was necessary to perform the ratification - by Italy, too (after Great Britain and France) - of this Treaty. There's to be noted the rigor and prudence with which this issue is presented, emphasising the attitude of Italy (during 1920-1926), its concerns not to affect the Italian-Soviet trade relations and the obligation to give effect to a commitment (under signature) that was taken to Paris in 1920. This time, too is made evident the fact that the decisional act of the Italian government was based on an interest of its, regarding the cultivation of the image of a favourable Italy among the Romanian public opinion and in the direction to decrease the impact on some countries like the Soviet Union, Turkey, Great Britain, France and Yugoslavia. It is necessary to mention the intentions of the Italian part to get some economic benefits in its relations with Romania and to counterbalance the effects of the same nature, in case of the Soviet Union, which had made pressure on Italy not to ratify the treaty of Bessarabia. The memoir in question (which enters now the historiographic circuit) is an exception documentary testimony about the concerns of the Italian diplomacy to achieve a benefit as large as possible (in the relations with Romania) by ratifying the Treaty on Bessarabia and losses as low as possible in the diplomatic external range, but also in the economic one (especially in the relations with the Soviet Union). For the Romanian historiography this memoir provides clarifications (necessary) on the position of Italy.*

Keywords: *Bessarabia, Italy, diplomacy, memoir, interwar*

One of the most important components of the diplomatic Romanian-Italian relations in the interwar period has been undoubtedly the ratification by Italy of the Treaty on Bessarabia¹ (of 28th October 1920). This intercession was

¹ In these matters, see the works: *Unirea Basarabiei cu România. 1918-1927. Documente*, Edition by Adina Berciu-Drăghicescu and Lidia Brăncăanu, București, 1994 ; C.I. Stan,

achieved after the signing - by Benito Mussolini and Gen. Alexandru Averescu on 16th September 1926, the Treaty of the Romanian-Italian Friendship, which marked an ascendancy moment of the relations between the two countries. Although in the Treaty there was no indication on the Treaty on Bessarabia, for prudential reasons of the Italian diplomats, however, this important issue had the attention of the Prime Ministers of Romania and Italy. In a Mussolini's letter to Averescu, the Italian prime minister offered an explanation for Italy's attitude vis-à-vis the Treaty on Bessarabia, in the sense that it would not be ratified by the Italian government but only "when they could do it without any prejudices to the general interests of Italy"². In his response, the Romanian Prime Minister Alexandru Averescu shows to be understanding and optimistic indicating the fact that for him the favourable resolution of this major diplomatic problem is a "matter of time and opportunity"³. Indeed, he was already convinced that a real progress regarding the Romanian-Italian relations had been achieved, after which - at the moment that the Italian diplomats would consider it to be appropriate - the ratification of the Treaty of Bessarabia would come, too.

In early 1927, Benito Mussolini asked the diplomat Raffaele Guariglia to prepare a memoir as ample as possible about the remaining issues being resolved, with special reference to Bessarabia, and especially with the consequences for an Italy closest to ratification. In our research we have discovered in Rome this valuable document⁴, which is entirely reproduced in Romanian (as an annex to these comments). It is inedited and reveals the Italian points of views about the opportunity of the validation of the Treaty on Bessarabia.

Entitled *Promemoria* the document contains several distinct parts, which prove the interest of the Italian diplomats for a more thorough knowledge and examination of this diplomatic issue of great importance for Romania. In the first part has been reconstituted the history of the province of Bessarabia since 1919 until 1924. Even in the initial phrase of the *memoir* it is stated that

Recunoașterea internațională a unirii Basarabiei cu România (1920-1927), in *Sargetia*, 1995-1996 ; C. Sima Iordan, *Din istoria unei ratificări : Italia și tratatul privind Unirea Basarabiei cu România*, in *Colocviul național de istorie (20-22 iunie 1996)*, vol. V, București, 1997 ; Ion Bulei, *O ofensivă diplomatică întârziată și dificilă*, in *Magazin istoric*, 1998, no. 3, p. 13-17 ; V.Fl. Dobrinescu, Ion Pătroi, Gheorghe Nicloescu, *Relații politico-diplomatice și militare româno-italiene (1944-1947)*, Editura Intact, 1999, p. 123-134

² Arhivele Ministerului Afacerilor Externe al României, *fond 71 – Italia*, dos. 22/1923-1926, f. 227 ; Arhivele Militare Române, *fond 5417*, dos. 1270/1926, f. 5 (Apud Valeriu Fl. Dobrinescu și colab., *op. cit.*, p. 125).

³ *Ibidem*

⁴ Archivio Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Archivio Storico Diplomatico, Serie Affari Politici, 1919-1930, *fondo Romania*, busta 1514/1927, fascicola 6761 (*Convezioni e accordi vari*) (Antico posizione : 18-1)

Bessarabia “was occupied” by the Romanian troops in early of 1918 from at least three reasons: 1. this thing has been asked by the “local government”; 2. for strategic reasons 3. the protection of the people against the Bolshevik revolution. It is missing from the argument just the most relevant historic fact, namely the application of the principle of national self determination, on 27th March 1918, “the decision of union with Romania”. However, it is to be noted that the mentioned impulses are covered in reality. Although Romania has asked at the treaties of peace to recognize the history act of 27th March, however, in the documents of the Conference of Paris (1919-1920) was not made “any mention to that territory” between the Prut and Nistru Rivers. However, an important step was achieved on 28th October 1920, when five countries have “subscribed” “a treaty that was recognizing the sovereignty on Bessarabia”, in Paris, on the condition (“special request”) that Romania to apply the disposals of the “treaty for minorities” (on 19th December 1919).

The ambassador of the U.S.A said that his government did not approve “the policy of dismantling Russia”, while the last “protested” immediately (on 29th November 1920), pointing out that “it did not recognize any agreements [international] without its competition”⁵.

According to the article 9 of the treaty, it could not “come into force” until it would be ratified by the signatory parties: the United Kingdom followed by France, Italy and Japan. As a matter of fact the first power that has ratified it was Great Britain, and then France (in March 1924). Both of them took this decision “before recognizing the government of the Soviets”. There were more Italy and Japan each of them proceeding in function of its own interests. Obviously, Italy, as a European and Latin country, was closer to Romania than the remote Japan, which has cultivated its relations with the Soviet Union and, consequently, it has never ratified the treaty on Bessarabia.

Further on, the “direct Russian-Romanian relations” in the period 1920-1924 are referred to, with the Romania's repeated attempts to reach negotiations with Russia, which unfortunately have failed due to its position, which proved to be inflexible.

The second part of the document is referring, in a systematic and precise manner, to the way how Italy has operated offering explanations worthy of interest, especially to understand what the motives of its lack of initiative in this direction were. Here, for example, a first edifying statement: “Italy has delayed ... to ratify the treaty for Bessarabia, both in a first moment (i.e., the start of the interwar period - our note), because of a cooling of the relations with Romania (economic issues, treasury bills, un-accomplishment of the royal couple's visit, etc.), but, especially, not to contradict its own policy directive which sought the re-coming to the government of the Soviets and re-establish of the trade

⁵ *Ibidem*

relations with Russia”⁶. On the occasion of the “negotiations” for an Italian-Russian trade agreement “the Russia’s ambassador in Rome was given verbal commitment in the sense that the Italian government did not intend, for that moment, to ratify the treaty of Bessarabia”, offering in this way to the Soviet government the possibility to “make use” of this situation, although it was not about “a precise commitment of the Italian government”.

On the other hand, the royal Italian government has expressed a certain attitude towards Romania, which still had some “economic issues” unresolved. A moment of certain significance of the bilateral relations occurred on 16th September 1926 by signing - by Mussolini and General Averescu - the Romanian-Italian Pact of Friendship, in which was included no reference to the ratification by Italy of the Treaty on Bessarabia. The author of the memoir makes interesting considerations about the insistence with which the Romanian government has requested the Italian government to ratify this treaty, and then about the fact that such an attitude of Italy has “negative consequences” on “the public opinion in Romania”, what was a reality. To save the appearances, he proposes to give instructions to the Minister of Italy in Bucharest that he should present to the Romanian government the “serious political repercussions in which Italy would expose itself by ratifying the treaty for Bessarabia”. What are these? First of all, the “disagreement” of Russia, which could lead to “break the diplomatic relations” (to pursue serious economic), the approach of Yugoslavia to Russia and the insufficient “counter party” with Romania, “which would have consisted in performing - under the aegis of Italy - of an Italian-Hungarian-Romanian-Bulgarian agreement”. There have been delivered discussions on this subject, but they did not foresee the possibility of an advantageous re-approach between Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary, because it was not approved by the Romanian government, that had its “fundamental policy doctrine”, to remain loyal to the Small Agreement and political-military alliance with Poland.

After emphasizing these issues, Raffaele Guariglia shows to be concerned about the consequences (in the political and economic domains) for Italy of a possible ratification of the Treaty on Bessarabia. Also, how to be explained to the “internal and international public opinion” the new attitude of Italy and what “precautions” implies a situation of this kind. It could not be ignored the impact of the normal “crisis” of the Italian diplomacy, its result being an excessive caution of it, but also the scrupulosity used in their thinking, the remarkable sense of anticipation, all the consequences for Italy. Russia was the centre of attention, being also mentioned the data regarding its trade and the importance of the acquisition, under advantageous conditions, of oil in this country. From the Romania side there have been mentioned some “guarantees

⁶ *Ibidem*

and compensations with economic character”, as well as the neutralization of the hostile elements to Italy from the politics of the Small Agreement, in which the Romanian diplomats were playing an important role. Moreover, Italy has been always troubled by the Small Agreement that tried to undermine and even to paralysis its work, as it was coming in “conflict” with its imperial ambitions in the southern-eastern Europe.

The document that we publish processes the real attitude of Italy towards the issues of the Treaty on Bessarabia explained by one of the most competent diplomats in the Mussolini's cabinet.

ASPECTS OF CONSTANTIN DAICOVICIU'S ACTIVITY AS A SECRETARY OF THE HISTORICAL MONUMENTS COMMISSION – THE SECTION FOR TRANSYLVANIA AND MARGINED LANDS (C.M.I.T.)

Mihaela GOMAN

Abstract: *Personality of mark of the Transylvanian Romanian archaeology Constantin Daicoviciu imposed early in the scientific life through functions which have honoured and enshrined him in equal measure. One of them was that of secretary of the Historical Monuments Commission – the Section for Transylvania and margined lands (H.M.C.T), where for nearly two decades (1921-1940) helped to save numerous historical and art monuments, some of them the result of own archaeological researches.*

Keywords: *commission, yearbook, secretary, history, monument*

In the year 1921 on 1st March, the day when he was 23 years old (b. 1898) the student at letters Constantin Daicoviciu was taken in the freshly established Institute of Classical Studies by his teachers D.M. Teodorescu and Emil Panaitescu and also in the same year he was appointed as a secretary of the Historical Monuments Commission – the Section for Transylvania and margined lands (H.M.C.T)¹.

Although he still had a year until leaving the faculty, Constantin Daicoviciu would dedicate himself with body and soul both for study and for the two of his functions, being as soon the launch ramp in the scientific life, and for those who propelled him the pledge of a fair election.

In what follows we refer to some aspects of Constantin Daicoviciu's activity as a secretary of the H.M.C.T.

Subsidiary of the Central Historical Monuments Commission based in Bucharest, H.M.C.T. was headed by the historian Alexandru Lapedatu as Chairman, Professor of the History of the Romanians at the University King Ferdinand I, in Cluj, member of the Romanian Academy. The repeated ministerial mandate that the president of the Transylvanian regional department enjoyed, as well as some political obligations of liberal persuasion have motivated him in limiting the time given to it. But, he remained a model and a

¹ *Constantin Daicoviciu la 70 de ani*, in *Tribuna*, 9 (579), 29th February 1968, p. 1

protector of the young secretary², who really now began to knock shyly, but surely, at the doors of affirmation. Taken in his tow, especially in the pages of the publications that prestigious interwar Transylvanian institution has edited, Constantin Daicoviciu would start as a historian and archaeologist. And when we say that we have in mind the four volumes of the *Yearbook* of the Commission appeared during 1926-1938.

But the Secretary's care did not limit only to the publishing activity. One of the main issues was naturally linked to the participation to the meetings of the Commission, making out the process-verbaux, memorials and the annual reports published either separately or in the *Yearbook* of the Commission. This illustrates the laborious activity worked by the Commission by means of its members (including the correspondents), and testimonies in this regard are the files from the archive of the Commission.

If, about the memorials and the annual reports we have already discussed on other occasions, in what follows we refer to the process-verbaux. And we stopped, as it can be seen from the annexes to those of 1925, more specifically in the process-verbal no. 3 of the meeting on 10th April 1925 and the process-verbal no. 9 of the meeting on 12th December 1925.

As it can be also seen in the annexes, the process-verbaux have been preserved in most cases in duplicate: one draft type, written by hand (in the person of Secretary) and one typescript. On a closer analysis we can see that if the draft of the process-verbal of 10th April has been written by the Secretary Constantin Daicoviciu not the same thing can be said about the draft of the process-verbal of 12th December. In the autumn of 1925, at the recommendations of his teachers, Constantin Daicoviciu has gone for two years with a scholarship³ to the Romanian School from Roma - Accademia di Romania, founded by Vasile Pârvan.

The main issues discussed were the agenda of these meetings and took account mainly the provisions of the law on preservation and protection the historical monuments of all kinds and on the whole of Transylvania, on the basis of which and depending on necessities there have been given funds of money for conservation and restoration .

All the historical and secular or profane art monuments already existing or those that were to come to light by archaeological diggings were on a list of priorities of the Commission, in as the deplorable state of many of them.

The annual budget of the Commission was allocated to the office minimal expenses, publications and historical and art monuments for that matter.

² Ioan Opriș, *Constantin Daicoviciu-omul datoriei*, în *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 41-44, Historica, II, 2004-2007, Cluj-Napoca, p. 202

³ Vasile Pârvan, *Corespondență și acte*, București, 1973, p. 272

From the pages of the process-verbaux we can make an overview on the main historical monuments that have come into the attention of the Commission's members; many of them have been visited by them (including the secretary) who not once have prepared reports on their situation, as saving many of them from ruin. There were, and no few cases when the Commission itself was entirely agree with the demolition of some of them, especially of old wooden churches.

Substantial funds have been received during the years by the Corvine Castle from Hunedoara reaching at a time, in the administration of the architect of the Commission, Rudolf Wagner.

Certainly the work of the Secretary of the Commission was not easy at all for the young Constantin Daicoviciu, whereas during this time from 1921 until 1940 he rose the stairs of the university teaching career (from assistant to rector) making a speciality of the ancient history and archaeology⁴.

He approached himself to history although his scientific learning was of a philologist and loved it on his findings so far. Maybe and certainly the two years spent in Italy, in Rome (1925-1927), the former capital of the Roman Empire awakened him the interest and passion for the ancient history, while one of the most beautiful pages of it was written in case of our history, too with Latin ink.

But the passion for history was doubled and always maintained by a serious scientific and systematic work in which he prevailed each time the care for the historical truth. The personality of Constantin Daicoviciu was gradually shaped on the two major coordinates, one of a historian and the other of an archaeologist. He was indeed the man of his time. He built his historical work like a cathedral: an invisible part, tumultuous, even volcanic as his temper and the seen part that remained to the posterity and devoted him in the gallery of the immortals.

Constantin Daicoviciu - the man, the teacher, and the archaeologist wrote and taught history at the department and on site. He served the Romanian archaeology like a priest for more than five decades, and the historical and archaeological school in Cluj whose mentor he was, had and has the mission to keep alive his memory by his disciples.

⁴ M. Macrea, *Constantin Daicoviciu*, în *Omagiu lui Constantin Daicoviciu*, București, 1960, p. IX-X

THE FOUNDATION OF THE ANGLO-ROMANIAN SOCIETY IN LONDON AND ITS ACTIVITY TO SUPPORT THE PROMOTION OF ROMANIA'S IMAGE AND INTERESTS

Monica POP

Abstract: *Founded at the end of 1917, the Anglo-Romanian Society in London had as main objective to inform the British public opinion about the legitimate claims of national unity of Romania and Romanians in the subjugated provinces. The society was part of illustrious personalities from the ecclesiastical, political, economic and literary British world. By means of some diplomats (A. W. A. Leeper, W. G. Tyrell, G.W. Prothero, A. Toynbee), Great Britain has known the national claims of Romania against which, with few changes, would maintain the same attitude to the treaties of peace that took place in Paris after the end of the First World War.*

The British Delegation in Paris, led by the Prime Minister David Lloyd George, supported the most national claims of Romania, especially in regard to the territorial issues, but in some moments, it conditioned the recognition of the Unification Decisions during the year 1918, the satisfaction of some economic, political and social interests.

The British-Romanian bilateral relations have been affected during the interwar years by the changes recorded on the international political plan.

In general, the Romanian-British interwar relations have been good and have been maintained at this level throughout the whole period between the two World Wars. However, there were also moments of diplomatic indifference between the two countries, that have occurred mainly due to the conciliatoriste policy embraced by Great Britain and France as against the Nazi and Fascist aggression in Europe and beyond.

Keywords: *interwar, diplomacy, Romania, Great Britain, politicians*

Founded at the end of 1917, the Anglo-Romanian Society in London had as main objective to inform the British public opinion about the British legitimate claims of national unity of Romania and Romanians in the subjugated provinces. The society was part of illustrious personalities from the ecclesiastical, political, economic and literary British world, as Archbishop of Canterbury, Mayor of England, Viscount Bryce, the famous historian and man of state, Lord Hugh Cecil, president of the company, Lord Dunedin, former

Chief Minister and Lord of justice in Scotland, the bishops of London, Oxford and Winchester, Chancellery of the University of London and Oxford, Lord Gladstone, Lord Baisborough Mr. Steed, Scotus Viator, Leeper (the first secretary of the Society), Dr. Madge, Loch, Professor Gilbert Murray, etc. These personalities have done all they could to popularize Romania's political demands in the English public opinion.

At about the beginning of 1918, the Society held a large meeting in London where several members spoke passionately defending the Romanians' national claims. One of the speakers, the venerable Lord Dunedin, former minister, the first judge of Scotland and one of the greatest jurists of England, who knew well Romania, concluded his speech with a welcome statement, full of sympathy for the Romanian nation and its sufferings, then kneeled by the Germans, with the following words: "Water goes, stones remain"¹. Lord Dunedin was perhaps the only one of the great English aristocracy who knew the language, literature and national history of the Romanians by reading Romanian books in the original. He travelled for several times in the Old Kingdom and Transylvania, and coming into contact with the population in the country, was pleased by its qualities, intelligence and diligence, learning the Romanian language with an enviable constancy. At Stenton Castle², near Edinburgh, one could admire the Romanian section of its library full of all sorts of new and old books of literature and history, many old and modern Romanian grammars and dictionaries. There were the works of A.D. Xenopol, Papiu Ilarian, chronicles published by M. Kogalniceanu, part of the works of M. Eminescu, I. Creangă, Al. Vlahuță, dictionaries of the Romanian language of Laurian and Maxim, etc. With their help, Lord Dunedin has succeeded in teaching by himself Romanian language, without other help than that of the books he purchased them with great difficulty. To show his knowledge of Romanian language he has translated the work "Memories of My Boyhood" written by I. Creangă, interpreting a writer difficult to be understood by a foreigner. To reach such a result it was needed of the energy and patience solicitation of a Scottish man just like him. "That is the Englishman in all, stubborn, energetic and tenacious, and when he once gave you his friendship - either from individual to individual - or from people to people, you know you can rely on full faith on him"³, is the characterization made by Dr. G. Moroianu to Lord Dunedin.

After the war, the Englishmen have tried to give greater attention to the Romanians and Romania not only regarding its economic and commercial life, but also in terms of developing its cultural, scientific and literary life. Thus

¹ George Moroianu, *Legăturile noastre cu Anglia*, Cluj, 1923, p. 89

² Castle of Weymouth, a seaside resort in southern England, was the aristocratic British Edward Stenton who used to organize parties for charity here.

³ George Moroianu, *op. cit.*, p. 91

should be understood the English government decision to establish besides the University of London a lecturer's chair for the Romanian language and literature, chair which was entrusted to a distinguished writer and researcher of Romanians past in the English archives, Marcu Beza. For the many years he has lived in London, he has done researches with interesting results in the archives of the Foreign Office regarding the reports of various British travellers and diplomats in the Romanian Countries and Romanian provinces of Austria. Marcu Beza has discovered and published many stories and scraps of those diplomats and travellers concerning the Romanian people.

As we have talked about the Romanian propaganda in England, we have to mention a new start of its official reorganization in the capital of England. When Dimitrie A. Sturdza became for the fourth and the last time President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs he reorganized the General Consulate of Romania in London appointing as General Consul, the Englishman William Thomas Stead⁴ (not to be confused with Steed) who had made himself some reputation as a writer and journalist.

The new general consul received guidance from Dimitrie A. Sturdza as the fulfilment of his mission to keep the official conference on Romania, also to publish from time to time in the British newspapers and magazines information about our country, its economic, cultural development as well about the work to modernize its laws, thing he had done. What led Dimitrie A. Sturdza to start in the direction we are talking about was based on a plan that the Romanian state experimental man followed in this direction. The mission of this service was not only to inform about Romania, to counteract the spread of false news about the country, but also about all the Romanians in general. Dimitrie A. Sturdza was the one who passed George Moroianu from the Ministry of Interior to the Foreign Office naming him Consul and sending him to London, attached with its duty to the same General Consulate. However, soon this duty was abolished.

Turning to the situation of Romania before the armistice with the Central Powers and the initiation of peace negotiations at Buftea-Bucharest we have to mention that there were no few politicians from the allied countries who claimed that Romania, after the unhappy peace from Bucharest, wouldn't be able to sit on the same footing together with the other Allies at the peace

⁴ William Thomas Stead, English journalist passionate about spiritualism, is one of the victims on board the "Titanic". Several survivors have said that they have seen in helping women and children on the board of the lifeboat. More strange is the fate of the journalist W.T. Stead. In an article published in the magazine in London *Review of Reviews*, criticizing the errors of marine safety, he described the fate of a giant imaginary boat that hit an iceberg in the North Atlantic was sunk and most of those on board died. However, after 20 years, Stead is on "Titanic" and died there, although he had been warned of palmistry Cheiro that "April 1912 will be critical and dangerous, especially to its middle. So do not then travel on water, if possible". Do Stead wanted to die or wanted to show up what he considered to be a superstition? A question left unanswered.

conference. To remove this danger they have worked a lot behind the scenes⁵, as each Londoner, in those crucial moments, to give his best to ensure to Romania its place due to the green table, with no harm to its rights. In such circumstances, relationships and friendships with those who had a decisive word in adoption decisions have been particularly valuable.

By the end of August 1918, G. Moroianu received a letter from Allan Leeper, one of the secretaries of the Prime Minister Lloyd George, who was asking him to submit to the English government a written Memoir about “Romania's efforts in the war and about how we, the Romanians, think we'll have to deal with the minorities in case our national unity will be achieved”. He started immediately to work. He had a report of Col. Găvănescu about the tragic withdrawal of our armies to Moldavia – where they have been restored and about the “whole sorrow and great distress that was caused all over the world by this event with all the misfortune suite, that have followed: typhus, lack of food, extremely rigorous winter of that year, etc. etc.”⁶. He had notes and marks about the events going on in the country when he was in Iași and Odessa, data from the Romanian newspapers and from some Romanian officers and allies who were telling about the deeds of heroism of the Romanian soldiers in the battles with the enemy. To complete the information for this purpose, he also addressed to Col. Radu Rosetti who was in Paris in the Major State of Gen. Berthelot and has often travelled to London. Valuable information regarding the restoration of the Romanian army and the brilliant benefits of Romanian soldiers in the fierce fighting in Moldova, offered most generously by R. Rosetti, were used by G. Moroianu to complete the data in his memo, thanking for the colonel that helped him to make a good thing in the interest of the country. The memoir entitled *Sforțările României în războiul mondial* was handed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Foreign Office*) on 20th of September 1918.

After completing the First World War, the Romanian delegation travelled to Paris to present to international recognition and acknowledgment in the judgments of the Great Powers union of 1st of December 1918. The recognition on several occasions by diplomats of Antanta powers, of the principle of determination of peoples and legitimate right of Romania in its national unity⁷, the affirmation of some new international norms of conduct that would substantiate the interstates post-war relationships, were likely to increase

⁵ One who has made many efforts in the world war for the British public opinion to hug the cause of the Romanians' national claims was Dr. N. Lupu. After about a year and a half stay in London, he knew to make valuable friends in all circles and enjoyed a long passage in turn. Dr. Lupu has argued with all the warmth of his famous temper, the national cause. From London went to America where he did the same thing.

⁶ George Moroianu, *op. cit.*, p. 94

⁷ Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, Microfilme, Xerografii, *Records of the Department of State Relating to World War I and its Termination (1914-1929)*, Micro copy, Roll 62, vol. 59

Romania's confidence, and other small and medium-sized countries in the work that was to be accomplished by the Peace Conference.

In early 1919, the Great Powers recognized to our country the quality of ally "on the same footing with Serbia, Belgium and Greece"⁸. The British Ambassador to Paris, Lord Derby, informed on 10th of January 1919 the head of the Foreign Office, Curzon, on I. I. C. Brătianu's complaints about Romania's treatment at the Peace Conference, as compared with Belgium and Serbia⁹. Harold Nicholson, British expert on the Balkans, confessed himself to I. I. C. Brătianu that it would be a mistake as the Romanian representatives to insist upon the validity of the alliance in 1916, since it was cancelled by a separate peace in Bucharest.

In Paris, England, by its first minister David Lloyd George has expressed an attitude that took into account the needs of the traditional "balance"¹⁰ of the British foreign policy. England, seeking a peace "with repairs"¹¹, although it was the political ally of France, wanted to protect its economic interests with Germany. After of I. I. C. Brătianu's withdrawal, the English Premier proposed that Romania's claims to be analyzed by the territorial committee, to examine the historical, ethnographic, geographic, economic, strategic facts, and not the political ones. Of that committee also took part the British E. Crowe and A.W.A. Leeper¹². In this context, the Romanian Prime Minister understood that the attitude of England towards Romania continues to be "reserved" and "less nice"¹³. In a report sent by courier to Mihai Pherekyde¹⁴, I. I. C. Brătianu appreciated that what characterized the British policy was "the ignorance of the continental issues graft on the fact that for it the great results of war have been already obtained by annexation of the colonies and destruction of the German fleet"¹⁵. For these reasons he considered as "very disagreeable" an intervention of the Romanians with David Lloyd George, but supposed that you could count on Churchill, Curzon¹⁶ and Bonar Law¹⁷, talks with them being "with effect"¹⁸. The attitude

⁸ Valeriu Fl. Dobrinescu, *Relații Româno-Engleze (1914-1933)*, Ed. Universității „Al. I. Cuza”, Iași, 1986, p. 40

⁹ Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, *Fond Microfilme Anglia*, Roll 446, c. 178-179

¹⁰ Valeriu Fl. Dobrinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 42

¹¹ *Ibidem*

¹² At the request of A.W.A. Leeper, head of the Romanian Department of Foreign Office, Rosetta has developed a series of memoirs on some parts of the Treaty of Versailles.

¹³ Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, *Fond Microfilme*, Roll 446, vol. 21, f. 28 (1st of February 1919, V. Antonescu to I. I. C. Brătianu)

¹⁴ Politician and Romanian Foreign Minister (born 14th of November 1842, Bucharest - d. 24th of January 1926, Bucharest)

¹⁵ Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, *Fond Microfilme*, vol.22, f. 118 (25th of March 1919, from Paris, I. I. C. Brătianu to Pherekyde)

¹⁶ British politician (d. 1925)

¹⁷ Politician and prime minister of United Kingdom.

of the Foreign Office towards Romania was dictated, to some extent, by the implications of the Soviet problem that obsessed on David Lloyd George¹⁹. A certain disregard to the international politics was only apparent.

During a short visit made by I. I. C. Brătianu in the capital of England, where Queen Mary was also, attended, at Buckingham Palace, a lunch offered by the English sovereign. “King pointed out very bland”, I. I. C. Brătianu communicated to M. Pherekyde on 21st of March. “He understood very well our position, and both as a constitutional role will allow, we can count on him”. A friendly attitude was shown by W. Churchill, Lord Curzon, Bonar Law and the Archbishop of Canterbury²⁰.

After I. I. C. Brătianu's resignation on 12th of September 1919, Romania has continued to maintain a line of intransigency as against the decisions of the Conference. The decisions of the Superior Council on 12th of October, 3rd and 7th of November and George Clark's mission²¹ in Bucharest had intended to cause Romania's change of attitude towards the peace forum in Paris. Romanian Government felt painful impression that not taking into account the “equal rights of all nations large and small”. Romania was drawing attention that “its rights are scorned, and the enormous sacrifices put under silence”²².

According to English sources, as a result of meetings he has had with the Queen Mary, the British businessman in Bucharest has highlighted the “dangers that Romania will attract over refusing to sign the treaty with Austria”²³. Romania declares that it is willing to sign the treaty if the Supreme Council will take note that “our country does not intend to join provides to attain the state sovereignty and its independence”²⁴. As a result of some pressures of the allies, Romania took the decision to sign on 9th of December 1919, the Treaty of St. Germaine. As a result, on 22nd of December 1919, the Supreme Council authorized the resumption of economic relations with Romania.

The evolution of Romanian-British relations between 1919 and 1920 involving an issue considered then, but later, as crucial to preserve an atmosphere of detente in the Eastern Europe. During sessions of 1st and 2nd of July 1919 they have discussed the Romania's layout borders. Romanian delegation included I. I. C. Brătianu, N. Mișu, C. Diamandi and I. Pelivan and

¹⁸ Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, *Fond Microfilme*, vol. 23, f. 32

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, vol. 181, f. 124 (telegrams no. 233 from Paris, 21st of March 1919, signed I. I. C. Brătianu)

²⁰ E. Campus, *Din politica externă a României, 1919-1939*, București, 1971, p. 198

²¹ Gh. Buzatu, *Un capitol de istorie politică – constituirea, guvernarea și dispariția „Blocului Parlamentar” (1919-1920)*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie*, București, XII, 1976, p. 135

²² Valeriu Fl. Dobrinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 48

²³ Gh. Buzatu, *op. cit.*, p. 136

²⁴ Valeriu Fl. Dobrinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 50

the British one, being led by David Lloyd George, and also A.J. Balfour²⁵, Harold Nicholson²⁶, Harold Temperley²⁷ and A.W.A. Leeper²⁸, the last standing out in the Territorial Committee for its support in defending the national rights of the Romanian people, collaborating with representatives of our country.

From London, in September 1920, Boerescu was informing the central of the Foreign Office that he had discussions with British officials, Great Britain proving being more flexible in the second half of 1920 regarding the relations with our country, but also with the Soviet Russia. The Romanian Delegation called for politico-diplomatic relations with Russia, but made from the beginning as a *sine qua non* condition of the discussions, the recognition of the Union of 1918.

At the end of January 1920, Al. Vaida-Voevod went to London, the city considered by Nicolae Titulescu “a first-order post of observation”²⁹ for understanding the international relations. Around the visit to the capital of England of the Head of the Romanian government, English press was preoccupied with the problems of Romanians. As resulting from the Press Office in London on 20th of February 1920, unlike the newspapers with low circulation which were “against us”, the large newspapers showed “interest and understanding of the Romanian cause”³⁰. For example, the conservative newspaper *The Times* of 14th of February 1920 attacked, in an article, “Hungarian false propaganda” and showed that Balfour “took position towards the Hungarian propaganda”.

The Times and *The Daily Telegraph* have published numerous articles on the Romanian-Hungarian relationships. The first newspaper protested against the Hungarian propaganda what was done in England and which sought to compromise “the straight cause of Romania, Serbia and Czechoslovakia, the British allies, who have contributed enormously to the happy upshot of the Great War”. The second newspaper, in an article entitled *Politics of Romania. Religious Minorities. Jewish Issue*³¹ has highlighted the manner how our country was treating the minorities in Transylvania who were enjoying of absolute freedom, as Jews. The Hungarians were asking for the plebiscite for all Romanian territories, and subsidiary, if the province would adhere to, the former “economic” unit of the old Hungary. The Hungarian propaganda in England hasn’t limited itself only to the parliamentary circles and press. Several

²⁵ British Foreign Secretary

²⁶ British Representative at the Nations Society.

²⁷ British historian foreign correspondent member of the Romanian Academy.

²⁸ Romanian Section’s Head of the Foreign Office and English delegate in Intelligence Political of the *Foreign Office*.

²⁹ Apud V. Fl. Dobrinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 61

³⁰ Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, *Fond Microfilme Anglia*, Roll 446, c. 535-538

³¹ *Ibidem*

Hungarian emissaries undertook a tour at the universities of Oxford, Cambridge and Birmingham.

In connection with the Romanian problems, at the interpellations of two deputies, the Prime Minister of England considered as unfounded the allegations concerning the Romania's policy. Another deputy, Donald Duarte Maclean³², asked to review the borders of Hungary, an issue at that Balfour retorted: "The borders are the best possible and they have been established taking into account the economic, ethnic and military³³ reasons, being bounded by the Experts' Committee, after a thorough research. During the visit of the head of Bucharest diplomacy, Take Ionescu, in London, on 20th of October 1920, was specified the peace policy promoted by Romania in international relations. Lord Curzon congratulated and thanked on the services made by Romania to the Great Powers as what the enthroning of a lasting peace in the Middle Europe is concerned. In his turn, the king of England, on the occasion of welcoming the Romanian sovereign in London in 1924, was recording in his speech "thanks for the eloquent and ingenious contribution the Romanian delegation brought to Great Britain at Lausanne"³⁴.

Since the end of 1918, England showed to be interested by the fate of Romanian oil. Thus, in a letter addressed to I. I. C. Brătianu, on 22nd of December 1918, Sir George Barclay³⁵ protested on behalf of British Legation in Bucharest as against sequester the *Astra Română* society, stating that "two or three English companies are very interested in its fate and that, in fact, *Schell Co.* holds a large quantity of shares"³⁶.

The Peace of Conference was important for the evolution of Anglo-Romanian relations, because during the years 1919-1920 between the officials of the two countries took place the most contacts of major importance throughout the whole interwar period. Despite of the recognition of the Unification of Bassarabia with Romania, the Anglo-Romanian relations have

³² During both the Foreign Office worked, Duarte Donald Maclean had the opportunity to transmit Soviets very valuable information on the Allied atomic bomb production, and relations between Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt. Maclean had revealed U.S. intentions Soviets from Europe in the Marshall Plan. In general, Poale says information provided by Maclean had a decisive role in setting strategy USSR during the Cold War began. Counter-espionage when English began to take after, Maclean was alerted by Kim Philby, diplomat at the Embassy in Washington, so was able to flee to the USSR, together with another diplomat, Guy Burgess, who enabled the agent to embassy. View: Alexandru Popescu, diplomats and intelligence (VIII) in the newspaper Financial / Newspaper Sunday 3 August 2007.

³³ Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, *Fond 71, Anglia, Relații cu România*, vol. 39, 1920-1937, f. 49

³⁴ Apud Valeriu Florin Dobrinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 70

³⁵ One of England ministers who understood perfectly the Romanian language.

³⁶ Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, *Fond 71, Conferința Păcii*, 1919, vol. 58, f. 67 (telegram no. 22, December 1918, from England's Legation, signed by George Barclay)

lacked of “a major political and military support”³⁷, and the official reports in the immediate period had as main objective its economic and financial problems.

A particular role in the amplification of the Anglo-Romanian relations in the 20's years played Take Ionescu. I. I. C. Brătianu's position in Paris, which hasn't agreed in particular to David Lloyd George, and the attitude of the Bucharest diplomacy from 1922 till 1928 as against the international economic issues were reflected on the political-diplomatic relations Anglo-Romanian. Despite of these difficulties, the activation of the diplomatic-political economic and of other interests' relations with England was pursued with consistency and great attention by two of the best known diplomats of the Modern Romanian, Take Ionescu and Nicolae Titulescu, who enjoyed the esteem and influence in the political and financial circles in London. N. Titulescu particularly, “the most European among the Romanian diplomats”³⁸ has created many connections with the English officials from the *Foreign Office* and *City*, recording a close Romanian-British cooperation. Between the years 1921 and 1932 the efforts of the Romanian diplomats on the issue of organizing and strengthening peace in the Southern East Europe have not enjoyed, unfortunately, the total cooperation of the *Foreign Office*.

Romania's international activity had in view three directions during this period: strengthening of the ties with the major allied powers in wartime, to maintain good relationships with the neighbours and developing the relations with all countries, both neutral and former enemy³⁹. The foreign policy promoted by Romania was the central objective “to maintain the peace through the integral preservation of the peace treaties”⁴⁰. During the journey undertaken in London, Take Ionescu, a remarkable state man according to some English views⁴¹, held talks with the Prime Minister David Lloyd George, and with the head of the *Foreign Office*, Lord Curzon. The British diplomacy was informed of the plan to create the *Small Antanta* during the reception at *Downing Street* of the Affaires Minister Take Ionescu, who pointed out that his new interim diplomatic alliance will contribute to keep the peace. To the discussions, in addition to David Lloyd George and Take Ionescu, Maurice Hankey and M. Boerescu have participated. Take Ionescu's travels to Rome, Paris and London have aimed to convince the Great Powers upon the utility of the *Small Agreement*. The head of the Romanian diplomacy was decided to continue his efforts to achieve the *Small Agreement*, whose policy was to oppose “with all

³⁷ Valeriu Florin Dobrinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 82

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 83

³⁹ I. Gh. Duca, *Memorii*, vol. II, Timișoara, 1993

⁴⁰ R. Șeișanu, *Take Ionescu. Viața și opera sa*, București, 1930, p. 341

⁴¹ Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, *Fond 876*, file 4, 1920-1921, Buletin Informativ, no. 8, 2-27th of October 1920, f. 125

strength to all those who would seek you change some of the work of peace talks in Paris”⁴².

A particular role in the amplification the English-Romanian relations in the 20's years played Nicolae Titulescu, whose credentials as a minister in the capital of England has been followed carefully by the British official circles⁴³. This was especially necessary, as the treatment which had been subjected to the head of the Romanian delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris, I. I. C. Brătianu by David Lloyd George and other British representatives, have created some tension in the relations between London and Bucharest. Frank Rattigan himself acknowledged that, on 1st of December 1920, wrote to the *Foreign Office* that Brătianu and Mișu “were given the cold shoulder”, especially by David Lloyd George and the British delegates, both returning to Bucharest completely “disillusioned”. Rattigan was convinced that “a certain truth in it there was”, but there were no reasons as that attitude not to be changed a time of use as”it worth”⁴⁴.

The English Minister in Bucharest, Herbert Dering, called in July 1921 at the *Foreign Office*, communicated to Sir E. Crowe the possibility that N. Titulescu to receive soon, the quality diplomatic representative of Romania in London. The same will be repeated on 20th of September 1921, in a telegram addressed to *Foreign Office* where he signals that, prior to submitting his resignation, the chief diplomats of Bucharest, Take Ionescu, will try “to appoint N. Titulescu in the post of minister in London”⁴⁵.

Great Britain's representative in Bucharest was announced on 22nd of November 1921, that N. Titulescu will leave the Ministry of Finance and will be appointed as Minister in London. The next day, he announced the *Foreign Office* that the future holder of the Romania's Legation “is very intelligent”⁴⁶.

The accreditation of Titulescu in London has been done rapidly, the *Foreign Office* responding immediately to the proposal of the government in Bucharest. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania requested Dering, on 12th of December 1921 to make confidential approaches to London to find out if “there is, in principle, any objection to the proposal of Bucharest”⁴⁷. The answer on 15th of December was positive and, on 23rd of December 1921, the British Cabinet informed Romania that Titulescu's appointment as minister in the capital of England was agreed⁴⁸. The document of Titulescu's appointment in

⁴² *Ibidem*, file 1938, Position 264, 1920, f. 131

⁴³ V. Netea, *N. Titulescu*, București, 1969, p. 76

⁴⁴ Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, *Fond 5417*, file 6, f. 4 (telegram no. 314, from Bucharest to *F.O.*)

⁴⁵ Idem, *Fond 6215*, f. 128 (telegram no. 532, 20th of September 1921, from Bucharest, Dering to *F.O.*)

⁴⁶ *Ibidem* (telegram no. 365, 23rd of November 1921, from Bucharest, Dering to *F.O.*)

⁴⁷ *Ibidem* (telegram no. 253, from Bucharest, 12th of December 1920, Dering to *F.O.*)

⁴⁸ *Ibidem* (telegram no. 191, 23rd of December 1021, *F.O.* to Dering)

London was signed by the King Ferdinand and Take Ionescu⁴⁹. The decree, initialled and signed by the Romanian sovereign, was delivered on 27th of September. N. Titulescu requested on 18th of March 1922, audience at the sovereign and on 28th of March presented to King George V the letters of accreditation, as extraordinary representative and plenipotentiary minister, in special mission, of Romania in London. His accreditation as a minister in the capital of England was the result of the work carried out by him before. With the support of Take Ionescu, who brought, among the first, the importance that England played in the evolution of the international relations, he, himself, thought that "London is an observation post of first-order"⁵⁰, his appointment falling into the diplomacy efforts of Romania to strengthen the peace and conserve the treaties in the years 1919-1920. In Bucharest's point of view, the design in reference missions of some personalities had considered the strengthening of the Great Union, and the whole activity of Titulescu in London "would justify that hope"⁵¹.

The English press commented favourable how Romania had solved the problem of minorities. In early 1922, in a major British newspaper appeared a study about the situation of Transylvania, which neither assess the political, religious nor suffer comparison between what they are today with what they were in the past. "The Romanians - is underlined in the English newspaper - are tolerating and very respectful, giving rights to all minorities"⁵².

In addition to a conference in Genoa, started on 10th of April 1922, which had in the middle of the discussions the international economic cooperation issue, another international point to which the Romanian foreign policy came out clearly, was linked to the conclusion of the Treaty of Rapallo. Romania protested together with other countries of the *Small Antanta* as against the Conference and asked that the respect of the peace treaties to be a duty of all European countries. In this respect, it agreed to intervene at the *Foreign Office* for London "will agree to intervene vigorously on the issue of the military control and of Kronprinz" and to decide, if necessary "even sanctions against Germany"⁵³. To this end, it had in view the unity of action with the major allies, although in England it could be seen "a clear hostility towards our country"⁵⁴.

⁴⁹ V. Netea, *op. cit.*, p. 76

⁵⁰ Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, *Fond Al. St. Georges* (letter in 10th of January 1920, from Paris, Titulescu to Take Ionescu)

⁵¹ 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

⁵² Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, *Fond Casa Regală-Ferdinand*, file 15, 1922, f. 1

⁵³ Idem, *Fond Al. St. Georges* (telegram no. 264, 22nd of November 1922, Duca to V. Antonescu)

⁵⁴ *Ibidem* (telegram no. 265, 9th of November 1922, V. Antonescu to Duca)

N. Titulescu was convinced that the best propaganda we could have on bilateral relations Romanian-English and considered it was necessary the presence of some Romanian specialists about the Romanian civilization at the universities of London, Oxford and Cambridge⁵⁵. To this end, he asked that R. W. Seton Watson to be appointed to Oxford, and Evens, University of London⁵⁶. For a better knowledge of Romania in England, he proposed in 1923 that for conferences to be brought the great historian Nicolae Iorga. Following the efforts of the diplomat, on 1st of October 1924, the Romanian department was created at *King's College* in London, the lectures being held by W. Steed. N. Titulescu's efforts aimed the teaching of a course on the Romanian economy by Professor Evens⁵⁷. As far as it concerns R. W. Seton Watson, the Minister of Romania very much wanted him at Oxford to teach the history of Romanians. The Romanian diplomat had serious efforts to translate and publish in England *The Romanians' History*, written by N. Iorga, "a work of high cultural and national interest"⁵⁸. He considered efficiently the lecturing by the great historian of some conferences in Great Britain, especially at *King's College*. During this time, by W. Steed's request, the colonel Ion Antonescu, military attaché in London, presented at the University of British capital more conferences which were known to the English public opinion the peaceful intentions of Romania. It sought to remove the false information that appeared in some London publications on the character of Romania's participation in the first world conflagration⁵⁹.

The Romanian-British political and diplomatic relations experienced during the year 1924 moments of approaching, the part of the Romanian Minister Nicolae Titulescu being essential. He acknowledged the England's representative in Bucharest that the safest way to reach an understanding with Great Britain was "through friendship". In the international relations "you must be always sure of your facts, not to make any promises which could not be kept, to show respect for the opposite point of view and, finally, to be honest in the desire for conciliation"⁶⁰. To the British and French officials, who were appealing to the lack of spirit of internationalism of Romania, the illustrious diplomat responded: "I accept the internationalism on the condition that to be bilateral [...]. When Romania needs loans, or cars, I do not ever hear someone

⁵⁵ *Titulescu și strategia păcii*, Iași, 1982, p. 375-376 (letter from London, 10th of May 1923, Titulescu to Duca); Gh. Buzatu, *N. Iorga and the History of Anglo-Romanian Relations*, in vol. *Anglo-Romanian Relations after 1821*, p. 215-236

⁵⁶ *Titulescu și strategia...*, p. 376 (letter on 31st of August 1923, Titulescu to Duca)

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 387

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 387-388 (letter on 11th of October 1924, from Geneva, Titulescu to Duca)

⁵⁹ Valeriu Florin Dobrinescu, *Relații Româno-Engleze (1914-1933)*, Iași, Ed. Universității „Al. I. Cuza”, 1986, p. 93

⁶⁰ Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, *Fond 5417*, position 777, 1926, f. 74-75 (telegram no. 204, 24th of April 1924, Dering to F.O.)

speaking about internationalism. When the foreign states need Romania's riches, the internationalism appears immediately. Let us put together the risks and needs and then to look for how the internationalism can reconcile with the national sovereignty"⁶¹.

A special moment in the history of the bilateral relations was the visit in May 1924 of the Romanian sovereigns in London. Prepared by N. Titulescu, the presence of King Ferdinand accompanied by the Foreign Affairs Minister, I.G. Duca, occasioned contacts between the two diplomacies and ended with a "special success", an opinion shared, unanimously by the English press⁶².

During the discussions, the British officials have reaffirmed their support for the territorial integrity of Romania and have bent over the commercial and financial relations between the two countries then in the centre of London and Bucharest's concerns. At the end of the same month during the discussions with the Minister N. Titulescu, the English Premier gave new assurances on the line of defence Romania's territorial integrity. The differences between the great powers put their imprint on international relations of the period and caused the Romanian diplomacy anxiety. Titulescu wrote to the Foreign Affairs Ministry that the Western powers made him "the impression of some night walkers who unwittingly put fire to their own houses"⁶³, and brought to I. G. Duca's knowledge that he would make efforts, at the *Foreign Office* and *Quai d'Orsay*, to support Romania's peace efforts. Again, in August 1924, Titulescu insisted at the British officials for new insurance in order to defend "the territorial integrity of Romania"⁶⁴.

Romania's role in the international life as a country willing to have ties with all states, aiming to "strengthen the national unity in and out", by maintaining the existing treaties, has been reaffirmed and in the expose on the government's foreign policy, on 20th of March 1924, where they stressed that "the relations with Great Britain have developed during the last year"⁶⁵.

At *Foreign Office*, in a conversation with Lampson⁶⁶, Titulescu reminded him that regarding the security problem the Bucharest's the point of view was that the "distinctions between borders do not correspond to the real requirements of peace". To Lampson's reply, in whose opinion the English foreign policy was contained in Chamberlain's speech, Titulescu replied that

⁶¹ *Titulescu și strategia...*, p. 386 (telegram from Geneva, 30th of September 1924)

⁶² *Ibidem* (telegram from London, 14th of May 1924)

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 382 (telegram from London, 7th of August 1924, Titulescu to M.A.S.)

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 384 (telegram from London, 17th of August 1924, Titulescu to M.A.S.)

⁶⁵ Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, *Fond St. Georges*, file 1/CIII, 1922, f.3

⁶⁶ Oliver Locker-Lampson was correspondent of the British Times newspaper in Berlin, Vienna and other capitals in Central Europe between 1924 and 1938, what to put in direct connection with all political and military events in Europe these years and allowed to set down contacts to obtain reliable information. In 1938 he has quit in protest because his reports were becoming more censored, distorted and falsified.

“the speech must be complemented by a statement in Parliament”, according to that England has “the interest in maintaining the order in the central Europe” and that “trying to change it by violent means, can not leave it indifferent”⁶⁷. In May 1925, Nicolae Titulescu is present again at the *Foreign Office* to declare that he was not embracing the winding policy of Great Britain which, “as regards Romania, did not provide its boundaries”⁶⁸. Although English public opinion was mystified what concerning the matters in the central and Eastern Europe, Titulescu intuited the role that the *Foreign Office* had in solving the international problems of the continent. Proponent of the open diplomacy, of the frank discussions, Titulescu turned these wishes in postulates that will define his entire political activity⁶⁹. His special shares at the League of Nations, how he defended the interests of Romania in various conferences and meetings, his contribution to the development of Romania’s relations with the Great Powers, particularly with Great Britain, brought him the appreciation of the leading circles in the country. In September 1926, the British Minister in Bucharest, R. Greg, did not exclude the possibility that the Romanian diplomat to be recalled from London to be named the president of the Council of Ministers, which would be, he added, “an advantage”⁷⁰ in the terms of Great Britain. Titulescu has not been appointed prime minister. However, on 6th of July 1927, he was called by I. I. C. Brătianu in country where he was assigned the portfolio of the Foreign, as he had the opportunity to implement his large knowledge and experience acquired in London.

The British diplomatic circles have expressed their satisfaction for Titulescu’s appointment as Minister of Foreign Affairs of Romania. Sir W. Tyrell has sent him a congratulatory telegram, and the English press has commented favourably this investiture. The death of the Prime Minister I. I. C. Brătianu occasioned to the English representative in Bucharest, R. Greg, and a very favourable comment regarding the personality of Titulescu: “the most outstanding man in the government Vintilă Brătianu, to that whom the new chairman of the Council shall require almost pathetically the advice and help. On the same occasion, he emphasized “the very good knowledge” of Titulescu about England and “his reputation at League”⁷¹, which provided him a special value for the bilateral relationships.

On 1st of August 1928, Titulescu returned to London as extraordinary delegate and plenipotentiary minister, the period corresponding with the

⁶⁷ Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, *Fond 71*, Anglia, vol. I, 1925-1932, f. 7 – 8, (telegram no. 888/21st of April 1925, from London, signed Titulescu)

⁶⁸ *Titulescu și strategia ...*, p. 403 (telegram from London, 19th of May 1925, Titulescu to Duca)

⁶⁹ Valeriu Florin Dobrinescu, *op. cit.*, p. 96 - 97

⁷⁰ Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, *Fond 421*, (telegram on 28th of September 1926, R. Greg to *F.O.*)

⁷¹ *Idem*, *Fond 221*, (radiogram no. 298, from Bucharest, 19th of December 1927, Greg to *F.O.*)

beginning of a stage of worsening of an international situation due specially, to the contradictions between the Great Powers. This situation, assess Titulescu was “favourable to Germany which worked to see how profit can hold”⁷². The British foreign policy avoided the engagement in the differences between the great continental powers. About the protagonists of the European policy, Titulescu said: “I found ...in England myopia”⁷³.

One of the diplomatic moments that held up the attention of England and Romania had been that regarding the signing of the Briand-Kellogg Pact. Initially, the *Foreign Office* expressed its reservations as against this deal, considering that some of its provisions were not compatible with the interests of English Empire⁷⁴. In a telegram of 12th of May 1928, they showed the manner how they were treated by the greats the most important external issues and expressed the concern for the future, because with the formula “war against war” “such serious issues cannot be solved”. London did not see favourable what in that document it was called “combination-based on talk”⁷⁵. The Briand-Kellogg Pact was adopted in the Romanian Parliament, Romania supporting any initiatives to strengthen peace.

The return of Carol II on the throne in June 1930 was considered by the London economic and financial circles that are likely to strengthen the situation in Romania⁷⁶.

Ruling for peaceful relations with all states, Romania has not neglected its military potential increase in order to defence the national borders. In discussions held in London in June 1930 with the Admiral Henderson about building a modern port in the Black Sea (Taşaul), designed to be naval base, it emerged that in this way the harassing what were doing to us at Sulina would be removed. The discussions on building a naval base at Taşaul had an important role in the evolution of the English-Romanian relations in the interwar period. Favourably viewed by the *Foreign Office* and Foreign Trade Minister in London, the proposal was a big project to ensure the convergence of economic and naval interests of the two countries at the Black Sea.

The visit made in the Constanţa port by a cruiser and two English war ships has been linked to the plans of the naval base and the expectation of aid from Great Britain. It did not pass unnoticed in neighbouring states with Romania. *Pravda*, of 28th of August 1930, assess the visit as “a demonstration against Russia, which should not be underestimated”, England being accused that it takes the lead of the Southern sector of the anti-Soviet front. In a

⁷² *Ibidem*

⁷³ Idem, *Fond 71*, Anglia, 1920-1937, vol. 39, f. 147 (telegram from London, 16th of November 1930)

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 96 (telegram no. 1244, on 17th of May 1928)

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, dosar 41, 1928, f. 73

⁷⁶ Idem, *Fond Casa Regală-Carol II*, file 102, f. 1-2

discussion of the English Ambassador W. Strang with the Soviet diplomat they did not mention the visit of the British ships in the Romanian waters which shows that the problem did not upset so much the Soviet Union.

Disarmament was one of the international issues much pursued by the diplomacy of Bucharest, especially before the opening of the London Conference. The English journalist William Bacon in his notes of *Secret Papers on the Failure of the Romanian-Soviet Negotiations 1930-1931* surprises the most important moments of the Romanian-Soviet negotiations and notices that Poland has approved the most proposals of the diplomacy of Bucharest⁷⁷. "It is an irony - W. Bacon writes at the end of his excellent study - that Titulescu who reached the top of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania for the second time, to be against the approaching of the Soviet-Romanian relations"⁷⁸.

The issue of oil, as mentioned in previous pages, played a key role in the evolution of English-Romanian relations, it determining, not in few times, the conduct of the British political and economic circles to Romania.

In connection with the new Law of Mines, several newspapers in Great Britain have expressed their anti Romanian points of view, the campaign being carried by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Morning Post*, and *Daily Mail*, gazettes that attacked the financial and economic politics of Bucharest⁷⁹. The articles from the British newspapers were considered by Djuvara as "fantastic and distorted"⁸⁰. There were, however favourable views about Romania. Thus, in a speech, Sir Ed Mandwille, the chairman of the oil company *Phoenix* has praised Romania, commenting the tendentious news appeared in the British media⁸¹. Titulescu wrote on 10th of May 1923, that this campaign was yet "without any great effects" and appreciated that it starts "from certain individuals dissatisfied with their business in Romania". The Romanian Minister had the opinion "not to exaggerate the point of the foreign media campaign" and proposed "measures of defence" because safeguarding our economic independence "yet we have no links, but only persuasion and tenacity"⁸². As measures to counter the anti Romanian campaign, he suggested "a serious propaganda", not only through articles and pamphlets, but also by inviting the Romanian part to English universities⁸³. Our minister spoke to Lord Rothermere, the owner of the *Daily Mail* newspaper and Lord Astor, regretting the appearance in the English press,

⁷⁷ W. Bacon, *Secret Papers*, p. 32-34 (Documents 3 și 4, letter of Arion to the War Ministry, in 18th of June 1931, and Memoir of Szembek, Minister of Poland at Bucharest, to Ghika, in 31st of July 1931)

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 22

⁷⁹ Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, *Fond 224* (telegram no. 857, from London, 22nd of March 1923, Titulescu to Foreign Office)

⁸⁰ Idem, *Fond 37* (telegram no. 1261, 28th of April 1923, Djuvara to Foreign Office)

⁸¹ Idem, *Fond 38* (telegram no. 1302, 2nd of May 1923, Djuvara to Foreign Office)

⁸² *Titulescu și strategia...*, p. 377 (letter of Titulescu to Duca, from London, 10th of May 1923)

⁸³ *Ibidem*, p. 376

of some false news broadcast to Romania. He was convinced that this campaign is, “for sure, started by businessmen”⁸⁴.

On 10th of June 1923 it was held a conference in London which was attended by V. Brătianu and N. Titulescu, as well as representatives of the British creditors. During the discussions - E. Millington Drake appreciated - Romanian Minister of Finance should recognize as founded “the British claims”. The private debt issue would be raised in the House of Lords, too, where the interpellator asked the government not to facilitate the lending of Romania, until the English creditors will not be satisfied. Responding, the representative of the Cabinet declared that he was expecting to make over a short time, all this “fine”. Titulescu intervened at the *Foreign Office* as to give accurate information on the spoke; the answer was considered by the Romanian minister “very fair”⁸⁵.

The change of letters between worn I.G. Duca, V. Brătianu and N. Titulescu is edifying as regards the position of the British officials to Romania. The Romanian diplomat accredited to London was convinced that the financial problems “were also the hardest to be resolved”⁸⁶. The British Foreign Ministry was concerned to show the status of negotiations on the pre-arrears. “The applications of creditors at least - Titulescu said - are unacceptable and, until they won’t come to the feeling of reality, I do not leave me excited by any official or private action”⁸⁷. The British legation in Bucharest showed, by a letter, its dissatisfaction about not performing the payments, but in the end Titulescu’s efforts have proved to be productive. In late May, he announced with pleasure that “after difficult negotiations he obtained from the creditors before the war almost everything he wished”⁸⁸.

In January 1925, Titulescu participated together with V. Brătianu at the Conference from Paris that took in the centre of the discussions the issue of repairs. In a telegram sent from the capital of France, on 13th of January 1925, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Romanian diplomat stressed that “not only the British delegation, but also the London press (The *Times* of January 12th) supports the position of Bucharest in Paris; of all successor states the situation of Romania had to be considered as the most difficulty. Necessary, The *Times* concluded, “We look with sympathy to its present attitude”⁸⁹. Returned to London on 23rd of January 1925, Titulescu accompanied by V. Brătianu was

⁸⁴ Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, *Fond 71, Dosarele speciale*, vol. 58, f. 283 (telegram no. 222, 2nd of July 1923, from Paris, V. Antonescu to Duca)

⁸⁵ Idem, *Fond 312*, (telegrama nr. 2003, 3 august 1923, de la Londra, Titulescu către Externe)

⁸⁶ *Titulescu și strategia...*, p. 377 (scrisoarea lui Titulescu către V. Brătianu, de la Londra, 3 noiembrie 1923)

⁸⁷ Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, *Fond 71, Dosare speciale*, vol. 59, f. 79

⁸⁸ *Titulescu și strategia...*, p. 380 (Titulescu către Duca. Londra, 16 iulie 1924)

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 399-400

admitted in audience by A. Chamberlain⁹⁰, with whom they discussed the Anglo-Romanian trade and economic relations.

Synthesizing, we can say that between of 1921-1932 the Romania's relations with England - political-diplomatic, economic, military and cultural - have advanced in the treaties concluded at the end of the first large world war and work of both countries' activities at the League of Nations.

On the political-diplomatic plan, the Romanian sovereign's visit in London in 1924 accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, I.G. Duca, was until 1930 the most important aspect of the bilateral relations. The British shares on Romania in this period were part of the English policy towards the Balkans. This policy was announced by a statement of the State's Secretary of the *Foreign Office*, Chamberlain, made at the Imperial Conference of 20th of October 1926. The politics of the British cabinets after 1922 (Ramsay Mac Donald and Baldwin, in particular) was very radically apart from that of David Lloyd George's who expressed his "lack" to the issues regarding the centre and East of Europe.

The most significant economic interest in Great Britain in Romania has been linked to oil, and the Law of Mines created a certain tension between the two states which was attenuated in 1929 when it was amended. The Romanian-English commercial treaty ended in August 1930 illustrated the desire of England and Romania to organize their economic relations on better grounds and it appears to have contributed to the creation of a friendly atmosphere of London, which lasted until the eve of the World War II.

⁹⁰ Arthur Neville Chamberlain (b. 18 March 1869 - d. 9 November 1940) was Prime Minister of the United Kingdom during 1937 to 1940. He led a policy of conciliation towards Hitler's Germany, trying to avoid triggering a war in Europe. The Munich Agreement, signed on 23 September 1938, along with prime ministers of France and Italy, Édouard Daladier, respectively, Benito Mussolini, which was transferred to Germany the western part of Czechoslovakia, not stopped by Hitler Adolf to make new territorial claims, after filling Czechoslovakian capital, this time from Poland. Attack on Poland on 1 September 1939, meant triggering the Second World War.

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS REFERRING TO CROSSING THE BORDER FROM HUNGARY TO ROMANIA BY THE JEWS OF HUNGARY DURING THE MONTHS OF APRIL AND MAY 1944

Antonio FAUR

Abstract. *Follow-up some researches, the author publishes a number of 30 unedited documents about the way how tens of Jews have been passed over the Horthy's Hungarian border into Romania by the local guides, specifically inhabitants from the southern part of Bihor County. The result of such risky initiatives was to rescue these Jews from certain death. It is to be noted that in the documents we refer to, (found at present in the funds of the Bihor County's Department of the National Archives) the names of the Jews who reached Romania by crossing clandestinely the Hungarian-Romanian border as well some of their biographic data are recorded. Also, on their basis they can establish the "ways" through they have been guided to arrive in Romania, some names of those involved in this activity, the manner in which the border guards and the gendarmes acted. It is noted the tendency of most people succeeding in crossing the border turning to Arad, Timisoara, important centres where constitutions of Jews have functioned (as, for example, the rabbi of Arad), who tried the best to help those being in an extremely difficult situation. In general, these documents contain information about the tragic condition of the Jews in Hungary (on whom they applied, with hardness difficult to be understood, the "final solution"), in April-May 1944, the sequence of time which these documentary sources of great value refer to.*

Keywords: *Romania, Hungary, Jews, border, guide*

For several years we have focused, among others, also on a theme of research on the tragic fate of the Jews of Oradea (and, in general sense, in Bihor County) in 1944, when they were hit by the greatest calamity throughout their history. To know more thoroughly what happened, we got through the texts of some works in which some aspects of the events of that poisonous year have been reconstituted. We concluded that, for a more rigorous recompose of the dramatic experiences in which the Jews had been subjected in the areas of Bihor - divided in the summer of 1940 (after the application of the Vienna Dictate) into two parts: the Northern Bihor (component part, for four years, of the Horthy's Hungarian state) and Southern Bihor (which remained in Romania, as

independent county taking into account the idea that this situation will be of short time) – it is necessary to research the documents in the state’s archives. The Jews in the northern part of Bihor county, but not only these, have become victims of the Nazi policy of extermination, being concentrated in the camp near from Oradea, the second (as extension) on the territory of the Horthy’s Hungary, then - shortly – they were transported by trains to the death camps in Poland and Germany.

For the history of these places the disappearance of a large number of people as a result of some measures equivalent to a mass murder (having as determinant factor the racial hate), is the most terrible human loss over more than seven millennia, since the human existence has been attested in Bihor area.

Following-up the extensive investigations in some of the archive’s funds of Oradea, we discovered the existence of few documents (still unpublished) which relate the illegal crossing of the border by some Jews from Hungary to Romania in the spring of the year 1944, due to the application of the “final solution” by the Nazis who were supported by the authorities of the Horthy’s state. In connection with this phenomenon there were some controversies in the sense that some authors tried to diminish the importance in the context of the actions of rescue from death of some Jews in Hungary and other European countries (such as, for example, very popular – by means of the films - the Jews’ passing from France and Germany to Spain). For researchers and historians with a sense of responsibility and scientific probity the mere assertions have no argumentative value, some of them being of obvious subjective trends. In this case, when thousands of people have been saved from death, we can talk only about one aspect of the history worthy to be recall, while the facts of those who placed them in a historical situation without output can only be condemned as inhumane and even monstrous. Both criminals and liberators need to be revealed by the historians, the last having the gratitude of those whom they have saved.

In the reference literature we also met assertions that not have a leg to stand on solid documentary bases. Therefore, we concluded that the development of a systematic study, consistent and valid on this problem could be achieved only after researches applied in all archive’s funds existing in Romania (but in other countries, too), where there are documentary evidences of a real documentary value that certify in a concluding form *the ways of rescue the Jews* by crossing them over the temporary border from Hungary to Romania.

We publish of them a number of 30, following that in the future issues of the magazine to make known also other such documents, without of which any other serious reconstitution attempt becomes illusory or, at best, literature and not scientific research. We need to note that we referred to some data and information regarding the “fate” of Jews in Hungary in 1944 and “humanness chains” (through which some of them have been saved from certain death by

their fraudulent crossing the border from Hungary to Romania) in three works, two of them have been already published¹ and the third is to occur this year².

The first document dates on 28th April 1944, being an informative note of the master sergeant P. Bejenaru, the head of the Gendarmes' Post of Ginta. From its content results that four Jews have been caught on the area of the post, "all fraudulently come over the border from Hungary to Romania". They are still, the first reported in the local documents³. It is enough to examine this document and the second one⁴ (of 30th April 1944) to decipher few realities of a certain historiographic interest, especially if we think that some authors have claimed (rightly) data of this structure, pretending the fact that they wouldn't exist, which proves to be wrong.

First of all we find the name, age, education and place of origin of the four Jews:

1. Kat Joseph, 20 years, graduated four high school degrees, native of Supurul de Jos (the former county Sălaj), came to Oradea (where from he clandestinely passed in Romania);

2. Kaina Paukher Isaac (18 years, graduated 2 high school degrees), native of the locality Borșa (Maramureș);

3. Krakovschi Jan (34 years, graduated 4 high school degrees), former "Polish liege", arrived in Czechoslovakia, then in Hungary, in Budapest, where from he went to the border with Romania;

4. Kahan Martha (18 years), born at Berecsaz (settlement in the territory of Czechoslovakia), Krakovschi Jan's concubine, with false documents, her real name being Bulwa Jadwiga.

So, two Jews were from the Northern Transylvania and the other two from Poland (they arrived in Hungary, due to some known historical circumstances). They said they "have run from Hungary because of the German persecution against them"⁵ (our underln.-A.F.). The Nazis "occupied" this state on 19th March 1944⁶. For the "ghettoization" of the Jewish people they took a

¹ In these matters, see Antonio Faur, *Original documentary Contributions on the Bihor Illegal „Pathways” for Crossing Jews over the Border from Hungary to Romania*, in *Studia Iudaica*, 2008, p. 221-230; Idem, *Contributions of the Mayor Teodor Popoviciu (from Vârciorog, Bihor county) to the Salvation of Hundreds of Jews from „Certain Death” (1944)*, in *Studia Europaea*, 2008, n. 3, , p. 101-108

² Idem, *Noi date despre evreii care s-au salvat de la moarte, trecând granița din Ungaria în România (iunie 1944)*, the work in mss. (It is to be published in *Studia Iudaica*, in the year 2009).

³ Arhivele Naționale – Direcția Județeană Bihor (further on A.N.-D.J. Bh.), *fond Legiunea de Jandarmi Bihor*, dos. 45/1944, f. 291

⁴ *Ibidem*, f. 281. It is about an informative note, signed by the same gendarme master sergeant, but that contains further information.

⁵ *Ibidem*

⁶ Zoltan Tibori Szabó, *Frontiera dintre viață și moarte. Refugiul și salvarea evreilor la granița româno-maghiară (1940-1944)*, Editura Compania, [București], 2005, p. 58

"final"⁷ decision on 26th April 1944, so that the recording - in the documents of some gendarmerie institutions of Bihor – of the presence of the four Jews who tried to save themselves (by their escape to Romania) can be considered one of *the first documentary evidences* on this tragic issue.

We also learn how the four Jews managed to pass “fraudulently” the border into Romania, as well the names of those who have guided them during this risky adventure. On the day of 28th April 1944, at 5 o'clock, they have been caught by the master sergeants P. Bejenaru and Vasile Rinder (from the gendarmes' post from Ginta, like “foreigners”, “full of mud” and interested in “the way to be followed to Moldavia”). They have been crossed over the border by the Romanian citizens (Teodor Ticrat and Mihai a Petrii Dărabului) from Tășad village (Bihor county), who “led” them to Ginta. Important to be noticed is that they have displaced to Oradea, where they had a stable connection with a “Jew” (whose name the gendarmes couldn't find it), who “*began to deal extensively with the clandestine crossing of the Jews from Hungary to Romania*”⁸ (our underln.-A.F.). The four Jews have been brought from Oradea to Romania through a way (that is mentioned in informative sources), that is: Sântelec-Felcher⁹.

So, data of a certain importance and coverage are recorded in the two documents, specifically the following facts are certified:

1. The name and number of the Jews who had escaped from the Horthy's Hungary;
2. The exact date when this happened;
3. The Romanian peasants who guided them
4. The place where they were crossed the border;
5. Where they were caught by the gendarmes;
6. The documents' authors conclude that “these individuals” (the two peasants and one Jew in Oradea) are “intensively engaged in crossing the Jews over the border from Hungary into Romania”;
7. Romanian people who were engaged in crossing the Jews over the border, on the crook, were receiving “large sums of money” (not be known).

The two documents provide us the entire data of the problem, having – through the practical information that they contain - a special significance. In the other 28 documents (that we edit on this occasion), the concerned reader will discover other facts and answers to some questions about the actions of rescue some Jews from certain death. They seem to us to be of special significance because, in spite of all the attendant risks, they have gone against the Nazi policy of destruction the Jewish population of the states occupied by Hitler's Germany.

⁷ *Ibidem*

⁸ *Ibidem*

⁹ Today the name of these localities is Sititelec – Felcheriu.

WESTERN HISTORIANS AND TRANSYLVANIA 1965-1989

Gabriel MOISA

Abstract: *The considerations related to the themes and the epochs approached by the western historiographies are very interesting. Each has its own aspects and accents related to Transylvania. The reasons depend on the affinities and the researcher training, but also on the special interest of some states related through history to Transylvanian state, like Hungarian and German historiographies. Excepting Hungarian historiography that, in fact, does not belong to western research but must be mention because of objective reasons, the majority of studies regarding the Romanians are in English space.*

This fact can be explained by the special material resources from there and by some spirits who knew how to come near Transylvanian and Romanians history and to devote themselves to Romanian problems. If we take into account only the last part of the XX century, we will have to mention, for their approaching and encouragement of Romanians, historians like Hugh Seton-Watson, Henry L. Roberts, Sherman D. Spector, Nicholas M. Nagy-Talavera, William O. Oldson, Barbara Jelavich, Charles Jelavich, Eric D. Tapee or Stephen Fischer-Galati. They created a real institutional system, institutions, and magazines, which ensure even today the continuity of the Romanian history's research.

Keywords: *Transylvania, historiography, western historians, politics, ideology*

An important fact during the period 1965-1989 is the fluctuation of the dialogue between the politics and the ideology. After a time of discreet ideological influence in the historic research, between 1965-1971, as time had passed, the insinuation of the ideology was more brutal. In these two periods, 1965-1971 and 1971-1989, strange phenomenon had been happening from historiographer point of view, that contradicted the general content of the epoch.

These paradox make us believe that, despite the general appreciation according to, between 1965-1989, the Romanian historiography had known a liberal period, it was always a punctual control of the history's writing, being liberal as long as the politic-ideological censorship wanted.

It is also true that those years were favorable for the entire Romanian historiography. This fact was not due to the discovery of some sudden affection

towards history, but to the general context in the Romanian society. The differences were made by the nature itself and the evolution of the politic system from Bucharest. In the first stage of its existence, this needed for the atmosphere, image and dissociation from the Dej system, a class of historians to write the history, as the system wanted.

When the system was strong enough and its image was no longer so important, it followed a descending slope in the history writing, as well as in the entire Romanian society.

In our opinion, this is the explanation for these contradictions. In fact, the history was a very useful tool for the politic regime from Bucharest, the appeal to the history being made, in fact, in all times and by all regimes of this type; the regime from Bucharest had applied successfully a recipe invented and used beginning with the antiquity.

In order to accomplish this goal, the regime from Bucharest had created its own institutions for writing the history¹, almost all of them working in Bucharest. After that, it tried to subordinate the professional institutions to those mentioned before, in the conditions in which the majority refused to apply to this historiographer context. Here we think about the Academy of Politic and Social Sciences of R.S.R. to which was subordinated the entire historic research activity from Romania. So, if the historians hadn't written the history according to the order because they wanted to, they had to do it because they had forced to, being dependent, including financial, of the research contracts with the Academy of Social and Politic Sciences, by the new institution. However, even so, the most part of the historians has maintained reserved positions towards the ordered history. They wrote about neutral subjects or they made minimum concessions generated either by the human being or by the natural need of survival in a hostile world.

Many historians from Romanian Diaspora or even strangers were preoccupied by the Transilvanian historic research; some of these preoccupations became later special works or impartial nonpolitical observers. Names like Katherine Verdeny, K. Hitchins, F. Kellog, W.P. van Meurs or Manfred Stoy are already well known to the Romanian reader.

The considerations related to the themes and the epochs approached by the western historiographies are very interesting. Each has its own aspects and accents related to Transilvania. The reasons depend on the affinities and the researcher training, but also on the special interest of some states related through history to Transilvanian state, like Hungarian and German historiographies. Excepting Hungarian historiography that, in fact, does not belong to western research but must be mention because of objective reasons, the majority of studies regarding the Romanians are in English space.

¹ Ne referim aici mai ales la Academia de Științe Social-Politice a Republicii Socialiste România.

This fact can be explained by the special material resources from there and by some spirits who knew how to come near Transilvanian and Romanians history and to devote themselves to Romanian problems. If we take into account only the last part of the XX century, we will have to mention, for their approaching and encouragement of Romanians, historians like Hugh Seton-Watson, Henry L. Roberts, Sherman D. Spector, Nicholas M. Nagy-Talavera, William O. Oldson, Barbara Jelavich, Charles Jelavich, Eric D. Tapee or Stephen Fischer-Galati. They created a real institutional system, institutions, and magazines, which ensure even today the continuity of the Romanian history's research.

Having these as example, a lot of other conscientious young men came along, forming a new contemporary history section, that began in 1960-1970 of the past century, offering new dimensions to Romanian research. Between these, we mention Dennis Deletant, Frederick Kellog, Keith Hitchins, Katherine Verdery, Trond Gilbert, Frederick Barth or Paul Michelson, all of them having incontestable merits for the continuity, thoroughgoing and understanding of Romanian history.

If the historiographies from the English space, especially the American and English ones, are interested in the modern and contemporary periods, those belonging to the central Europe, German and Hungarian, approach the aspects related to medieval and modern periods, when Transylvania was a component of these worlds. While the Germans and Hungarians have a direct interest in Transylvania's research, English and American historiographies respond to some research directions initiated by institutes and universities, London, Maryland, Illinois, interested in the evolution of post-war Romania, more and more paradoxically after 1965. They have searched the explanations for this situation in inter-war years and the XX century, considered by American historiography the century where could be found many contemporary evolutions causes. In order to support this, we can mention a series of doctor's degree thesis written in Romania by American and English researchers Keith Hitchins, Paul Michelson, Katherine Verdery, Frederick Kellog or Dennis Deletant, whose research tried to clear a lot of unknowns of the Transylvania's history and the Romania's one as a whole.

Italian historiography is a special case regarding Transylvania's research, responding to some common realities Romanian – Italian, appeared out of a common origin and linguistic fund. Italian research, led by Mario Ruffini², Carlo Tagliavini³, Giuliano Bonfante⁴ or Cesare Alzati⁵, emphasizes the similar connections between the two worlds.

² M. Ruffini, *Storia dei romeni di Transilvania*, Torino, 1941; *Idem La scuola latinista Romana (1780-1871)*, Roma, 1941

³ C. Tagliavini, *Formarea limbilor neolatine*, București, 1979

Cezare Alzati proved himself a very good expert of the Transilvania's realities, discovering new affinities between Transilvania and Italy, based on a common Christian fund. Italian researchers, especially Mario Ruffini, have approached many classical problems of politic history, being in the same time the most constant presence in the clerical history investigations from all western historiographies. Luigi Prosdocimi and Cezare Alzati have showed a special attention for medieval and modern periods. The main research directions, validated by a lot of articles, studies and books of Italian historiography, regarding the Transilvanian space between 1965-1989 were related to institutional history of the church and to the church's history as a whole, especially to the aspects regarding the common Christian fund and the evolution of Catholic Church from Ardeal. We notice a translation of the research from politics to confessional between 1960-1980, extremely reach in this kind of approaches.

American historiography extended its preoccupation between the last part of the '60 and the years '80. If in the first years of Ceausescu regime, Transilvania's history investigation was simplified, as the Italian one, having as a goal especially politic history approaches, the last 10-15 years of communism have known new themes regarding anthropology, historiography or culture history, due especially to some historians like Gail Kligman⁶, Katherine Verdery⁷ or Frederic H. Barth⁸. American historiography continued, through Keith Hitchins⁹, to investigate the XX century in Transilvania, based on Romanian people's history and its evolution from the beginning of modern period until Romanian national state completion.

⁴ G. Bonfante, *Locul limbii române între limile romanice*, în *Studii române*, București, 2001, p. 70-76 (prima publicare în *Revue des Etudes Roumaines*, Paris, 7-8, 1961, p. 251-256); Idem, *Studii romeni*, Societa Accademica Romena, Collana di studii e sagii, VI, Roma, 1973; etc.

⁵ C. Alzati, *Terra romena tra Oriente e Occidente, Chiesa ed etnie nel tardo '500*, Milan, 1982; Idem, *Cristianita occidentale e Oriente cristiano*, în *Chiesa dirito e ordinamento de la "societas Christiana" nei secoli XI e XII. Ati della nova Settimana internazionale di studio*, Mendola, Milano, 1986 etc.

⁶ G. Kligman, *Căluș. Symbolic transformation in Romania* Ritual.Chicago, 1981; Idem, *The Wedding of the Dead: Ritual, Poetics and Popular Culture in Transilvania*, Los Angeles, 1988; etc.

⁷ K. Verdery, *On the nationality problem in Transilvania until world war I, on overview*, în *East European Quarterly*, vol. XIX, nr. 1, 1985; Idem, *Compromis și rezistentă. Cultura română sub Ceaușescu*, București, 1994

⁸ F.H. Barth, *Marriage Traditions and Customs among Transylvanian Saxons*, în *East European Quarterly*, vol. XII, nr. 1, 1978, p. 93-10

⁹ K. Hitchins, *Laic și ecleziastic în mișcarea națională românească din Transilvania*, Cluj, 1972; Idem, *Religion and Rumanian Consciousness in Eighteen Century Transylvania*, în *Slavonic and East Europeean Review*, vol. 5, nr. 2, 1979, p. 214-239; Idem, *The Ideea of Nation. The Rumanians of Transylvania 1691-1849*, București, 1985, Idem, *Conștiință națională și acțiune politică la români ardeleni 1700-1868*, vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, 1987; Idem, *Conștiință națională și acțiune politică la români ardeleni 1868-1918*, vol. II, Cluj-Napoca, 1992; Idem *Mit și realitate în istoriografia românească*, București, 1997; etc.

English historiography followed a straight trajectory compared to other cases between seven and nine decades regarding Transylvania's history investigation, emphasizing especially the communist years. Politic, social, economic or many others aspects of the system from Bucharest were studied especially by School of Slavonic from University of London and by Dennis Deletant, the main promoter of Romania's research in England since 1965¹⁰, along with Eric D. Tapee, in a first stage. These were dedicated almost entirely until 1989 to the above themes, English historiography having fewer research directions than the others were. Englishmen were the most consistent in promoting official connections with Romanian historiography. The meeting between Romania and England on historic themes took place once at three years since 1974, regardless the aspects of the system from Bucharest. Dennis Deletant had a special merit; he continued the way started by his mentor, Eric D. Tapee in 1974.

German historiography was, except for Hungarian one, the most complex regarding Transylvania. We can find here different problems studied, since the approaches related to Middle Ages until contemporary history investigations.

Since 1960 until 1990, Mathias Bernath was the leader of *Südost Forschungen* magazines, this being an important gain for the investigation of this province. Politic history research of Transylvania through Karl Nehring¹¹, Gerhard Seewan¹² or Manfred Stoy¹³, completed with Romanian people from Ardeal studying through Mathias Bernath¹⁴ and Emanuel Turczinski¹⁵ and its evolutions until the beginning of the modern epoch are the main directions showed by German investigation on Transylvania. German historiography has great contributions to the elucidation of the genesis of Romanian national conscience, Mathias Bernath being one of known specialists from this field, a model of analysis and explanation, able to elucidate this problem. German research knew an upward evolution from the theme richness' point of view since 1960 until the end of 1980, when Transylvania's history was increasingly understood through increasingly

¹⁰ D. Deletant, *The past in contemporary Romania: some reflections on curent Romanian historiography*, în *Slovo*, nr. 1, 1988, p. 77-91; Idem, *Slavonic letters in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania from the tenth to the Seventeenth Centuries*, în *Studies in Romanian History*, București, 1991, p. 92-115 (prima publicare în *The Slavonic and East Europeean Review*, vol. 64, nr. 2, 1980); Idem, *Crimes against the spirit*, în *Index and censorships*, nr. 8, 1989; etc.

¹¹ K. Nehring, *Die Bocskai Krone als Oject des patrimoine intelectuel*, în *Südost Forschungen*, Band XLIII, Munchen, 1984, p. 123-133

¹² G. Seewan, *Bewerkungen zu einem neuen Standard werk der siebenbürgischen Landgeschichte*, în *Südost Forschungen*, Band XLVII, 1988, p. 241-247

¹³ M. Stoy, *Politik und geshichtswissenschaft in Rumäiein*, în *Südost Forschungen*, Band XLI, 1981, p. 219-259

¹⁴ M. Bernath, *Habsburg und die Aufage der Rumänischen Nationsbildung*, Munchen, 1969; Idem, *Aufange der Nationsbildung an den unteren Donau*, în *Südosteuropa Jahrbch*, 5, 1961, p. 45-55; etc.

¹⁵ E. Turczinsky, *Konffesion und Nation. Zur Frühgeschichte des Serbischen und Rumänischen Nationsbildung*, Berlin , 1976

rigorous contributions. The last two decades of Ceausescu regime knew the most valuable historic analysis, due to the research diversity and studies centers multiplication. The Osteuropa Institut from Berlin or the University of Bochum also excellently investigated Transilvanian space, here existing a powerful section for central European history, coordinated by Emanuel Turczinski. German historiography had great contributions at the Romanian national conscience development in a propitious frame created by Vienna through its integration politic.

Hungarian historiography had and still has a special interest on Transilvania. We do not think that it is necessary to discuss about the reasons for this reality because these are very well known, Romanian and Hungarian historiographies having disputes since the “Scoală Ardeleană” time.

We can come to an obvious conclusion, valid for the Romanian historiography as well. There are two major categories of investigations and researchers. The first one includes those who write at a politic order and the second one is represented by those who tried to eliminate the politic command and subjectivity insinuated in the scientifically conclusion.

In this chapter, we tried to present the positions of the most important historiographies outside Romania, western and Hungarian, regarding a very complex subject due to numerous concrete sensibilities that appeared when we talk about Transilvania. Certainly, the subject is not closed. We can conclude that it is necessary to approach an impartial attitude in historic investigation when it comes to this space or another one.

Communist period historiography is not enough examined yet. Today, at more than a decade from the events from 1989 December, there are three important works regarding this period’s historiography. The most complete of them remains, despite some defects, Vlad Georgescu’s *paper “Politică și istorie. Căzul comunistilor români, 1944-1977”*. We can also mention the important study of Serban Papacostea, “*Captive Clio. Romanian Historiography under Communist Rule*”, published in 1996 in the London magazine “European History Quarterly”, in which the historian from Bucharest analyzed some punctual aspects of communist historiography accomplishments and the contribution of the historian from Iași, Alexandru Zub, “*Orizont închis. Istoriografia română sub dictatură*”, an excellent radiography of Romanian historiography in the past system epoch. Ketherine Verdery, in “*Compromis și rezistență. Cultura română sub Ceaușescu*”, also made an important analysis of Romanian historiography disputes in the communist regime years, emphasizing Transilvania’s history research.

Without trying to compare with the above works, our study was meant to be a monographic presentation of Transilvania’s historiography between 1965-1989, presentation made in order to present the main historiographer stages, directions and personalities from Transilvania.