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CUPRINS • CONTENT • SOMMAIRE • INHALT

STUDII

STUDIES

Constantin-Livian RĂDOESCU, *Typologies et significations magiques-religieuses des vases anthropomorphes. Considerations sur les representations plastiques neo-eneolithiques de l'Olténie et de la Valachie* ◀▶ *Tipologii și semnificații magico-religioase ale vaselor antropomorfe. Considerații asupra reprezentărilor plastice neo-eneolitice din Oltenia și Valahia* 5

Sever DUMITRAȘCU and **Florin SFRENGEU**, *Dacian Iron Spurs - A collection. In memory of Professor Kurt Horedt* ◀▶ *Pinteni de fier dacici – un repertoriu. Memoriei profesorului Kurt Horedt* 32

Ion Alexandru MIZGAN, *The Knights of the Fourth Crusade and their Treaty with Venice* ◀▶ *Cavalerii cruciadei a patra și tratatul lor cu Veneția* 35

Mihai GEORGIȚĂ, *A Polemical Anticalvinist Text Previous to the „Answer Against the Calvinist Catechism”* ◀▶ *Un text polemic anticalvin redactat anterior „Răspunsului împotriva Catehismul calvin”* 45

Mihaela GOMAN, *Sextil Pușcariu's Dacoromania* ◀▶ *Dacoromania lui Sextil Pușcariu* 52

Radu ROMÎNAȘU **Mihaela CIOCA**, *The Hungarian Societies From Oradea And Bihor County At The End Of The 19th And The Beginning Of The 20th Centuries* ◀▶ *Societățile maghiare din Oradea la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea* 57

Diana IANCU, *Highlights on Ioan Ciordaș's Political Activity* ◀▶ *Repere cu privire la activitatea politică a lui Ioan Ciordaș* 67

Maria ROȘAN (MEZE), *Aspects From The Activity Of The Sighet Division Of Astra In The First Years Following The Great Union* ◀▶ *Aspecte din activitatea despărțământului Sighet al Astrei în primii ani după Marea Unire ..* 74

Monica POP, *Romanian–British Relations During Goga-Cuza Government*
◀▶ *Relațiile româno-engleze în timpul guvernului Goga-Cuza* 88

Cristina PUȘCAȘ, *Prison of Oradea at the Beginnings of the Communist Period (1945-1946)* ◀▶ *Închisoarea din Oradea la începuturile epocii comuniste (1945-1946)* 94

Antonio FAUR, *An Important History Source About The Biography And Activity Of Captain Ștefan Popescu, Leader Of The Anti-Communist Resistance In Bihor County (1946-1950)* ◀▶ *Un important izvor istoric despre biografia și activitatea Căpitanului Ștefan Popescu- liderul grupului de rezistență anticomunistă din Județul Bihor (1946-1950)* 109

Sorin ȘIPOȘ, *History, Censorship and Ideology Under the Communist Regime: Silviu Dragomir and the Investigation of the Revolution of 1848* ◀▶ *Istorie, cenzură și ideologie sub regimul comunist: Silviu Dragomir și investigarea Revoluției de la 1848* 123

Penka PEEVA, *Containing the Enemy: American Strategy in the Balkans (1952-1955)* ◀▶ *Îndiguind inamicul: strategia americană în Balcani (1952-1955)* 147

Gabriel MOISA, *The Alienation of History in Romania During Nicolae Ceausescu's Regime* ◀▶ *Alienarea istoriei în România în timpul regimului Ceaușescu* 169

Florin SFRENGEU, *Archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu's Contribution to The Knowledge of the History and Culture of the Free Dacians of Roman Era in The Northwestern Romania* ◀▶ *Contribuția arheologului Sever Dumitrașcu la cunoașterea istoriei și culturii dacilor liberi de epocă romană din nord-vestul României* 176

The chronic of the history Department Scientific activity in the academic year 2011 ◀▶ *Cronica activității științifice a Departamentului de Istorie pe anul 2012 (Radu Romînașu)* 188

TYOLOGIES ET SIGNIFICATIONS MAGIQUES-RELIGIEUSES DES VASES ANTHROPOMORPHES. CONSIDERATIONS SUR LES REPRÉSENTATIONS PLASTIQUES NÉO-ÉNÉOLITHIQUES DE L'OLTÉNIE ET DE LA VALACHIE.

*Constantin-Livian RĂDOESCU**

Abstract: *Anthropomorphic vessels shaped in the form of the human body reveal the existence of stylistic canons with spiritual connotations, representations of an outstanding feminine archetype, "the great Goddesses" and, irrespective of the typological category they belong to, constitutes an essential element in the magico-religious practices. The representation of the human face, in particular, of the face of Divinity, gives a sacred character to the vessels content, but at the same time ensures protection not only to the officials but also to the participants in the ceremonial.*

Considering their dimensions, they were supposedly used not only in libations, in the cult processions and ritual handling of grain. The possibility of viewing and materialisation of the principal attribute of "Mater Genitrix" (autoprocreation, Divinity assumed as a guarantor of the prehistoric world) in the allegorical form of vessels in the shape of the human body, is a reality of the spiritual life manifested through the life-long tendency of the prehistoric man to experience the sacred.

Keywords: *neo-eneolithic, anthropomorphic vessels, cult functionality, rite, ritual*

Pour ce qui est de la catégorie des représentations plastiques, les vases anthropomorphes occupent une place à part, raison pour laquelle la littérature de spécialité enregistre une série d'articles, d'études et de travaux consacrés à ces créations artistiques¹. La large diffusion des vases anthropomorphes sur le

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¹ A. Nițu, *Reprezentări antropomorfe pe ceramica de tip Gumelnița A*, în *Danubius*, II-III, 1969, p. 21-44; idem, *Vase antropomorfe ale ceramicii Staicani-Aldeni din dudul Moldovei*, în *CI, SN*, II, 1971, p. 77-102; idem, *Un vas antropomorf de tip Stoicani-Aldeni de la Suceveni (Galați)*, în *Carpica*, VI, 1973-1974, p. 7-15; Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta culturii Cucuteni*, 1979; A. Nițu, V. Chirica, *Deux vases cucuteniens aux caractères anthropomorphes récemment découverts dans le dép. de Iași*, în *B.A.I.*, I, 1987, p. 287-288; A. László, *Vase neolitice cu fețe umane descoperite în România. Unele considerații*

territoire de la Roumanie, leurs origines, leur diversité typologique, la charge spirituelle qu'ils émanent reflètent une certaine particularité des croyances religieuses mais aussi de l'organisation sociale. La prémisse dont on part dans cette démarche est celle qu'aborder un tel sujet suppose une vision globale sur le contenu de la vie spirituelle, vision qui doit surprendre non seulement les manifestations religieuses et artistiques, mais aussi la composante sociale dont on connaît malheureusement très peu. Bien qu'on ne dispose pas de données certes concernant l'organisation sociale et politique des communautés néo-énéolithiques, la reconstitution du système religieux est possible grâce aux représentations plastiques dont la signification et la fonctionnalité dévoilent l'essence „de la révolution des symboles”².

L'origine de ce type de représentations plastiques se trouve dans la culture Hassuna³ (le VI^e millénaire av. J.C.), d'où, à travers un processus graduel et en même temps avec la propagation d'un nouveau mode de vie dans les régions de l'Anatolie et des Balkans, les formes d'expression artistique sont aussi mises en oeuvre sur ces territoires, les communautés Starčevo-Criș et Vinča étant celles qui ont pleinement contribué à la généralisation de la céramique anthropomorphe dans l'Europe de sud-est⁴. En fonction de l'étape de ces recherches archéologiques et de certains critères taxonomiques existents à ce temps-là, on a élaboré une série de typologies qui parfois ne permettaient pas la classification des matériaux atypiques qui ne présentaient pas les traits définitoires des canons artistiques spécifiques à une certaine phase culturelle. La diversité des vases anthropomorphes, leur morphologie, leur décoration ou leur fonctionnalité rituelle liée à des certaines cérémonies qui visaient la famille ou toute la communauté représentent seulement une partie des aspects qui doivent être pris en compte pour déterminer l'importance et la fonctionnalité de cette catégorie plastique.

La classification proposée par O. Höckmann – des vases modélés en forme de corps humain (Figurengefässe) et des vases présentant des attributs

privind tema feței umane pe ceramica neolitică a Bazinului Danubian, în Memoria Antiquitatis, II, 1970, p. 39–72; idem, Vases néolithiques à face humaine découverts en Roumanie, în Alba Regia (Annales Musei Stephanes Regis), XII, 1971; I. T. Dragomir, Un vase supporte cucutenien „La ronde de Berești”, în B.A.I., I, 1987, p. 289-300; C.-M. Mantu, Vases anthropomorphes du site Cucuteni A3 de Scînteia (dép. de Iași), în B.A.I., IV, 1990, p. 328-334; eadem, Anthropomorphic representations from the Precucuteni and Cucuteni cultures, în Anatolica, XIX, 1993, p. 129-141; C.-V. Chirica, Les vases anthropomorphes du néolithique-énéolithique de la Roumanie, în Préhstoire Européenne, vol. 7, 1995, p. 203-224; D. Monah, Plastica antropomorvă a culturii Cucuteni-Tripolie, 1997, p. 145-188; R.-R. Andreescu, Plastica antropomorvă gumelnițeană. Analiză primară, 2002, p. 72-85; C.-L. Rădoescu, La plastique anthropomorphe des cultures néo-énéolithiques d'entre les Carpates et la Danube (l'Olténie et la Valachie), București, 2009

² J. Cauvin, *Naissance des divinités. Naissance de l'agriculture*, Paris, 1994.

³ H. M. Karpe, *Handbuch der Vorgeschichte. II (Jungsteinzeit)*, München, 1968.

⁴ A. Nițu, *Reprezentări umane pe ceramica Criș și liniară din Moldova*, în SCIV 19, 1968, 3, p. 389; 392; F. Schachermeyr, *Die ältesten Kulturen Griechenlands*, Stuttgart, 1955, p. 52; 67

anthropomorphes (Figuralgefäße)⁵ -, adoptée et ultérieurement améliorée par A. Nițu (vases anthropomorphes: 1- représentant la forme du corps humain; 2- avec des attributs anthropomorphes; des couvercles prosopomorphes; des vases avec une décoration anthropomorphe)⁶, a été reprise aussi par C.-V. Chrica (des vases anthropomorphes; des vases ayant des attributs anthropomorphes; des couvercles prosomorphes; de la céramique présentant une décoration anthropomorphe)⁷ et par D. Monah (des vases anthropomorphes; des supports anthropomorphisés; de la céramique présentant une décoration anthropomorphe; des objets anthropomorphisés)⁸. Toutes ces catégories plastiques, classifiées selon des types, des sous-types et des variantes, reflètent certaines exigences méthodologiques imposées par la manière de traiter une telle problématique, la terminologie utilisée, les connexions thématiques avec d'autres représentations artistiques, les influences des cultures voisines etc. Étant donné que notre démarche nécessite une approche multidisciplinaire, la typologie que nous allons utiliser va prendre en considération non seulement la morphologie des pièces, mais aussi leur éventuelle destination au cadre d'un thème de culte; par conséquent, le décodage du message iconographique anthropomorphe et la reconstitution de l'univers spirituel spécifique aux communautés néo-énéolithiques doivent être mis en relation avec les données offertes par l'anthropologie culturelle/religieuse, la psychologie analytique, l'imagologie, la sémiotique, l'histoire des religions etc.

I. Des vases en forme de corps humain.

Cette catégorie plastique dont la fonction de récipient est mis en évidence par la présence d'une cavité interne peut être considérée comme „un lien entre les statuettes anthropomorphes et la céramique”⁹. La plupart des vases représentent la moitié inférieure du corps et sont modélisés en tenant compte des normes artistiques appliquées aux statues mais il y a des cas où ceux-ci ont la forme de la jambe humaine ou finissent par une jambe. Dans ce dernier cas, on peut parler de la représentation du tout entier par l'intermédiaire d'un élément représentatif (*pars pro toto*) qui peut appartenir à un thème de culte.

Pour ce qui est du territoire du nord du Danube, de telles représentations artistiques apparaissent pour la première fois dans le milieu starčevien. À Cârcea, dans le point nommé “La Hanuri”, on a identifié deux fragments

⁵ O. Höckmann, *Menschliche Darstellungen in der band-keramischen Kulturen*, in *Jahrb. RGZM*, 12, 1965, p. 9.

⁶ A. Nițu, *Reprezentări antropomorfe...*

⁷ C.-V. Chrica, *op. cit.*

⁸ D. Monah, *Plastica antropomorfă...*

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 147.

céramiques d'un vase anthropomorphe appartenant à la phase Starčevo II. Leur partie inférieure était bombée en marge, tandis que, suivant la ligne médiane, d'une partie et de l'autre, étaient représentées les jambes¹⁰ (Fig. 1/1). Un autre fragment de vase anthropomorphe représentant une jambe massive a été découverte dans le site de Măgura "Buduiasca", dans le département de Teleorman¹¹ (Fig. 1/2). De même, on peut inclure dans cette catégorie les quelques vestiges céramiques, de petites dimensions, qui ont appartenu à un vase anthropomorphe, daté dans la phase Starčevo III-IV (Fig. 1/3). C'est de Ostrovu Golu (dans le département de Mehedinți) qu'un fragment de vase anthropomorphe représentant une jambe bottée d'une botte provient¹².

À cause du haut degré de fragmentation et surtout de la manière de les réaliser, les vases anthropomorphes appartenant à la culture Dudești dressent une série de difficultés en ce qui concerne leur classification. C'est dans cette catégorie plastique qu'on peut inclure aussi la pièce qui représente la moitié inférieure d'un personnage féminin agenouillé¹³ (Fig. 1/4). Les deux petites protubérances placées à l'avant indiquent les genoux et le triangle incisé un peu plus haut, symbole de la fécondité, suggère la sacralité de la région génitale. Les interférences des éléments du type Vinča avec ceux du type Dudești dans la région trouvée entre le Jiu et l'Olt ont généré un aspect culturel de mélange - Dudești-Vinča¹⁴ dont l'originalité est visible aussi au niveau des représentations plastiques, la jambe qui a appartenu à un vase anthropomorphe découvert à Leu (le département de Dolj) étant édifiant dans ce sens¹⁵. Grâce au caractère particulier qu'il présente, le fragment anthropomorphe – des fesses fortement mises en évidence – découvert à Brebeni (le département de Olt) peut être considéré comme appartenant à un vase modélisé en forme de corps humain dont l'aspect extérieur est, malheureusement, précisé avec difficulté¹⁶ (Fig. 1/5).

Le case anthropomorphe de Vădastra, d'une forme rectangulaire, finit dans sa partie supérieure par un prolongement, le cou, qui soutenait probablement une tête humaine¹⁷ (Fig. 1/6). Décorée sur sa partie antérieure de

¹⁰ M. Nica, *Nouvelles données sur le néolithique ancien d'Olténie*, în *Dacia NS*, 1977, p. 28, fig. 12/3.

¹¹ R. R. Andreescu, *Valea Teleormanului. Considerații asupra plasticii antropomorfe*, în *Studii de Preistorie*, 4, 2007, pl. 1/6.

¹² E. Comșa, *Figurinele antropomorfe din epoca neolitică de pe teritoriul României*, București, 1995, p. 25, fig. 5/10.

¹³ *Ibidem*, fig. 7/4.

¹⁴ M. Nica, T. Niță, *Les établissements néolithiques de Leu et de Padea de la zone d'interférence des cultures Dudești et Vinča. Un nouvel aspect du Néolithique moyen de l'Olténie*, în *Dacia NS*, XXVIII, 1979, p. 31-64.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, fig. 22/1.

¹⁶ I. R. Nichita, *Plastica neolitică și eneolitică din Oltenia*, teză de doctorat, ms., 2011, fișa piesă 96.

¹⁷ Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta preistorică în România*, București, 1974, p. 194-195, fig. 202.

méandres en relief dont les bords sont dentelés en zig-zag, cette pièce-récipient présente dans sa partie postérieure un orifice par lequel on versait le liquide sacré. Les vases-récipient en forme de corps humain se retrouvent lors des phases Vădastra III et Vădastra IV et se caractérisent par la modélisation exagérée du buste qui était décoré d'une série de motifs géométriques tels des zig-zags, des losanges, des méandres, plus rarement des spirales¹⁸.

L'une des plus originales civilisations néo-énéolithiques du sud-est de l'Europe, Gumelnița, a été la créatrice de représentations plastiques d'une exceptionnelle valeur artistique, les vases anthropomorphes étant considérés comme l'élément définitoire de cette culture. On peut distinguer dans cette catégorie des exemplaires qui représentent aussi des personnages féminins que des personnages mâles. Ainsi, la renommée Venus de Vidra (la phase Gumelnița B1), ornée de lignes incisées et disposées sous forme de bandes horizontales, rayées de la pâte blanche et rouge, se remarque non seulement par la massivité du corps, mais aussi par la présence de certains détails anatomiques (des seins, le triangle sexuel) qui suggère la préoccupation de l'artiste de représenter le plus fidèlement les attributs de la féminité¹⁹ (Fig. 1/7). Les vases anthropomorphes de Sultana, ayant une figure humaine modélisée sous leur goulot, sont bien individualisés, la plasticité des formes prouvant encore une fois le soin pour le respect des mêmes canons artistiques²⁰. C'est de Măgura Jilavei qu'un autre vase anthropomorphe provient, présentant des attributs mâles cette fois, les trois petites protubérances marquant les organes sexuels. La bouche est figurée à l'aide d'une incision horizontale, les bras sont disposés sur la poitrine, tandis qu'en base du vase on remarque les jambes, bien modélisées, avec les doigts marqués par des incisions²¹. C'est à Seciu (le département de Prahova) qu'une jambe appartenant à un vase anthropomorphe a été trouvée²². On a identifié, dans l'emplacement énéolithique de Coțatcu (le département de Buzău) – l'aspect culturel Stoicani-Aldeni -, un vase anthropomorphe, pendentif, représenté par une jambe, prévu d'une petite perforation d'accrochement dans sa partie supérieure. La pièce est modélisée d'une manière réaliste, présentant des doigts réalisés à l'aide des incisions et la décoration de la plante à l'aide de petites rainures²³ (Fig. 1/8a-d). À mentionner qu'on

¹⁸ M. Nica, *Reprezentările antropomorfe în cultura Vădastra, descoperite în așezările neolitice de la hotărâni și Fărcașele, jud. Olt, în Oltenia. Studii și Comunicări*, 1980, fig. 14/6; 16/1.

¹⁹ D. V. Rosetti, *Steinkupferzeitliche Plastik aus einem Wohnhugel bei Bukarest, Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst*, Berlin, XII, 1938, p. 38, pl. 21/1; 22/1; 23/1; R. R. Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfă...*, Pl. 53; Pl. VI/1.

²⁰ R. R. Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfă...*, pl. 54/1,2.

²¹ *Ibidem*, pl. 54/3.

²² A. Frînculeasa, O. Negru, *Un sit din epoca neo-eneolitică în zona colinară a Munteniei-Seciu, jud. Prahova, în BMJT. Seria Arheologie 2*, 2010, p.49, pl. IX/10.

²³ E. Paveleț, *Ceramica Stoicani-Aldeni din așezările de la Mălăieștii de Jos (jud. Prahova) și Coțatcu (jud. Buzău)*, Ploiești, 2010, p. 69, fig. 114/13.

rencontre de telles représentations anthropomorphes surtout dans le milieu gumelnitien²⁴ et aussi dans la plastique salcutienne – Ostrovul Corbului²⁵.

II. Les vases présentant des attributs anthropomorphes sont des récipients habituels qui ont une série d'attributs humains modélisés, tels: visage, bras, seins, jambes etc. La statuette-vase découvert à Gîrla Țifarului présente un récipient modélisé sur le dos mais, à cause de son état fragmentaire, on ne peut pas établir précisément si son goulot était placé au-dessus de la tête (qui y manque) ou sur le dos de la figurine²⁶ (Fig. 2/1). On remarque une petite protubérance dans la région de la poitrine (les seins, probablement), on peut supposer que les bras, qui sont rompus, étaient tendus du côté, l'organ sexuel était marqué, tout cela prouvant qu'on a à faire avec une représentation plastique anthropomorphe hermaphrodite qui peut s'encadrer dans la typologie des vases présentant des attributs anthropomorphes.

Les vases symbolisant des visages humains trouvent leur origine dans le milieu vinčien et dans les traditions anciennes du type Starčevo-Criș²⁷. Par l'intermédiaire des porteurs des cultures Gumelnița, Stoicani-Aldeni et Precucuteni, la technique de modélisation de ce type de vases va se répandre dans le milieu cucuténien où les créations plastiques atteignent une haute valeur artistique²⁸. Le vase anthropomorphe découvert à Cârcea-Viaduct²⁹ (Fig. 2/2), appartenant à l'aréal de la culture Dudești de l'Olténie, s'inscrit de même dans cette catégorie, plus précisément dans la typologie **des vases ayant une figure humaine modélisées sous le goulot**. Ce vase est orné de bandes angulaires larges et parallèles, orientées vers le haut. Le goulot du vase présente un nez aquilin bien mis en évidence, les yeux sont figurés obliques-exofthalmiques, ce qui lui confère l'aspect d'un hibou. Les seins sont figurés à travers de deux protubérances assez amples. Les bras, bien qu'ils sont fragmentés, dénote un traitement réaliste, étant placés sur un abdomen assez bombé. Une autre protubérance, près de la base du vase, sur la ligne du coude du bras gauche, apparaît aussi du parois du vase et était utile, le plus probablement, à mieux saisir le vase (cette protubérance ayant, certes, un correspondant sur la partie détruite le long du temps). Par la proportion équilibrée, par l'attentive et la réaliste mise en relief des détails anatomiques, nous croyons qu'il s'agit d'un vase ayant une destination spéciale, de culte, le plus

²⁴ M. Șimon, D. Șerbănescu, *Considerații privind reprezentarea simbolică a piciorului uman din arealul culturii Gumelnița*, în *CCDJ III-IV*, 1987, p. 29-34.

²⁵ D. Berciu, *Catalogul Muzeului Arheologic din Turnu Severin*, în *MCA I*, 1952, p. 593, nr. 1-15, fig. 25/8.

²⁶ Vl. Dumitrescu, *Plastica neolitică din așezarea de la Rast (jud. Dolj)*, în *AMN XXIV-XXV*, 1987-1988, pl. 17, fig. 92.

²⁷ A. Nițu, *Reprezentări antropomorfe...*, p. 51.

²⁸ D. Monah, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

²⁹ M. Nica, *Noi descoperiri arheologice la Cârcea*, în *AO SN 3*, 1984, fig. 7/1a-b.

probablement, un vase utilisé lors des libations des différentes manifestations liées au culte de la fertilité et de la fécondité, apportées par les communautés du Néolithique ancien de l'aréal anatolien-balkanique³⁰.

C'est dans l'aréal de la culture Vădastra, dont les représentations plastiques dépassent par l'ornementation, l'expressivité et la proportionnalité les créations artistiques contemporaines, qu'on remarque quelques vases présentant des attributs anthropomorphes³¹. Dans ce sens, on rappelle la pièce modélisée d'une manière réaliste, sous la forme d'une tête humaine, dont le nez est fortement souligné, tandis que la bopuche est marquée par une incision horizontale. Le menton est mis en évidence à l'aide d'une incision³² (Fig. 3/1). Le masque modélisé sur le bord d'un vase de culte appartenant à la phase Vădastra I³³, la coupe de petites dimensions dont le visage humain a été initialement couvert d'une peinture rouge et ultérieurement recouvert d'une pâte blanche³⁴ (Fig. 3/2) représentent la preuve des liens que ces communautés ont eu avec la région du sud du Danube, de telles pièces étant découvertes aussi à Čavdar et à Kazanlık³⁵.

Au cadre de la culture Gumelnița, un vase bitronconique présentant un visage humain avec des yeux bien contourés, avec le nez souligné, les oreilles marquées par deux lobes placés du côté, provient de l'habitat éponyme³⁶ (Fig. 3/3). Le vase de Sultana, qui appartient à la phase Gumelnița A2, se remarque par la modélisation de la figure et le réalisme de l'exécution : les sourcils et les yeux marqués à l'aide des proéminences allongées, la bouche aussi, les oreilles indiquées par deux lobes perforés placés du côté. La statuette présente une ligne médiane de couleur blanche et sur sa partie antérieure, on trouve quatre proéminences représentant des têtes schématisées. Les bras, disposés d'un côté et de l'autre, sont orientés en haut. Le couvercle présente cinq côtes suggérant probablement les cheveux³⁷ (Fig. 3/4).

C'est de l'habitat gumelnitien de Vitănești "Măgurice" (le département de Teleorman) qu'un vase anthropomorphe présentant un visage humain appliqué sous le bord a été mis au jour. Les deux bras modélisés suivant le diamètre maximale du vase sont flexés au coude et dressés en haut³⁸. Par la manière de modéler et de figurer le visage, cet exemplaire s'inscrit dans la

³⁰ C.-L. Rădoescu, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

³¹ Idem, *Quelques considerations sur la plastique anthropomorphe de la culture Vădastra, Annales d' Université "Valahia" Târgoviște*, Tome XII, no. 1, 2010, p. 111-117.

³² I. R. Nichita, *op. cit.*, fișa piesă 21.

³³ M. Nica, *Reprezentările antropomorfe...*, fig. 10/1a-b.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, fig. 1/3a-3b.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 43.

³⁶ B. Ionescu, *Obiecte de cult descoperite la Gumelnița*, în *SCIVA*, 25, 1, 1974, p.115-116, fig. 1/2; R. R. Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfa...* p. 74, Pl. 56/2.

³⁷ R. R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 74, Pl. 56/1; Pl. VII/3.

³⁸ R. R. Andreescu, P. Mirea, K. Moldoveanu, I. Torcică, *Noi descoperiri în așezarea gumelnițeană de la Vitănești "Măgurice"* în *BMJT.Seria Arheologie* 1, 2009, p. 78, pl. XI/1-4.

catégorie des vases ayant des attributs anthropomorphes et représente une variante nouvelle par comparaison aux pièces antérieurement présentées. C'est aussi dans cet habitat qu'on a identifié une autre pièce, fragmentaire, ayant la forme d'un visage humain appliqué sur le cou d'un vase³⁹, qui pourrait être encadrée, avec quelques réserves, dans la même catégorie plastique. Un vase globulaire présentant deux visages humains diamétralement opposés dont les détails anatomiques sont bien mis en évidence⁴⁰ et aussi un fragment de vase peint en rouge et en graphite, sur lequel on remarque quelques figurines humaines entrelacées dans une danse rituelle, hypostase similaire à la célèbre „Danse de Frumușica”⁴¹ provenant de Valea Anilor, du département de Mehedinți (la culture Sălcuța).

Rencontrés dans l'aréal gumelnitien, surtout dans la phase Gumelnița A2, les vases avec des bras tubulaires, par la manière de les modérer, ressemblent aux statuettes en argile présentant un corps bombé. Par comparaison à ceux-ci, les exemplaires appartenant au premier type de représentation ont les bras orientés d'un côté et de l'autre et sont réalisés sous la forme de tubes communicants. L'intérieur vide des vases suggère la possibilité de leur utilisation lors des processions religieuses. Ils sont ornés de bandes d'incisions verticales – Vidra⁴², Căscioarele⁴³ (Fig. 3/5), Siliștea-Videle⁴⁴, Măgura Jilavei⁴⁵ (Fig. 3/6), disposées parfois sur toute la surface du corps. De tels vases modélisés d'un corps bombé ont été identifiés à Măriuța⁴⁶, Drăgănești-Olt⁴⁷ (Fig. 4/1a, b).

Par comparaison avec ces vases, les exemplaires qui appartiennent au premier type de représentation présentent des bras orientés d'un côté et de l'autre ou obliquement et sont réalisés sous une forme de tubes communicants. L'intérieur vide des vases suggère la possibilité d'utiliser ces vases lors des processions religieuses. Dans certains cas, la tête présente des perforations disposées d'un côté et de l'autre - Siliștea-Videle, Măgura Jilavei -, mais il y a

³⁹ R. R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, Pl. 61/3; R. R. Andreescu, P. Mirea, K. Moldoveanu, I. Torcică, *op. cit.*, p. 78, pl. VI/1

⁴⁰ I. Stângă, *Reprezentări plastice aparținând neoliticului târziu din județul Mehedinți*, în *R. M. 6*, 1988, p. 38, fig. 9; C. Pătroi, *Reprezentări antropomorfe de lut din Oltenia, descoperite în arealul culturii eneolitice Sălcuța*, în *Drobeta XVIII*, 2008, p. 11.

⁴¹ I. Stângă, *op. cit.*, p. 38, fig. 8.

⁴² D. V. Rosetti, *op. cit.*, p. 37, pl. 20/2a, 2b; R. R. Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfă...*, p. 75, pl. 57/3; VIII/1b

⁴³ R. R. Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfă...*, p. 75, pl. 57/4.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 75, pl. 57/1.

⁴⁵ D. V. Rosetti, *op. cit.*, p. 41, pl. 29/8; R. R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*..., p. 75, pl. 57/2; VIII/1a

⁴⁶ A. Parnic, C. Lazăr, *Considerații preliminare asupra plasticii antropomorfe de lut din nivelul Gumelnița B! De la Măriuța-La Movilă*, în *CCDJ XXII*, 2005, p. 363, fig. 26.

⁴⁷ M. Nica, Z. Floroiu, Tr. Zorzoliu, M. Vasilescu, *Tell-ul neo-eneolitic de la Drăgănești-Olt în SCIVA*, 45, 1, 1994, p. 58, fig. 9/9a, 9b.

aussi des exemplaires qui ont un corps presque aplati, tel le cas du vase découvert à travers le dernier habitat.

Un type à part de vases présentant des attributs anthropomorphes a été identifié dans la plastique de l'aspect culturel Stoicani-Aldeni. Ainsi, un fragment d'un vase du type *pithos* qui garde une anse décorée de quatre côtes provient de l'habitat de Mălăieștii de Jos (le département de Prahova). Au-dessus des deux alvéoles comprimées, placées à la limite supérieure des côtes, on observe une incision délimitant le goulot du vase⁴⁸. La manière de modéliser les anses en forme de bras avec des doigts, procédé rencontré aussi dans la céramique danubienne⁴⁹, prouve les liens que cette région a eu avec l'espace anatolien, les découvertes de Hacilar VI étant éclairants à cet égard⁵⁰.

Les couvercles à manche anthropomorphe ont été identifiés dans le milieu vinçien; c'est de Rast que deux telles pièces proviennent. Le premier fragment présentait une tête humaine schématisée, en forme de triangle, les yeux marqués par deux incisions, placée au-dessus du goulot du vase⁵¹ (Fig. 4/3). Dans le deuxième cas, le couvercle était prévu d'une manche en forme de tête humaine avec un cou. Sur sa partie droite, dans la région inférieure, le fragment présentait un prolongement – un bras, éventuellement ? – jusqu'au niveau du goulot⁵² (Fig. 4/4). C'est à Hotărani- "La Turn" (le département de Olt) qu'on a découvert une pièce inédite appartenant à la phase moyenne de la culture Vădastra⁵³. Le petit couvercle de forme conique présentait, dans la partie supérieure, une manche sous une forme de tête humaine? ou une représentation schématisée d'une maison en miniature? Mais le manque de ce détail artistique nous empêche, au moins pour le présent, d'établir avec précision la typologie à laquelle il appartient. Toute la surface de la pièce est traversée de lignes incisées, certaines ondulées, d'autres en zig-zag, pouvant distinguer des figures géométriques telles des quadrilatères mais aussi deux silhouettes humaines extrêmement schématisées (Fig. 5/1-5).

Parmi les pièces appartenant à la plastique Boian, on mentionne la protome anthropomorphe décorée du motif „des dents de loup” d'où on garde

⁴⁸ A. Frânculeasa, *Fragmente ceramice decorate antropomorf descoperite în așezarea eneolitică de la Mălăieștii de Jos-Județul Prahova*, în *Argesis* 15, 2006, p. 31-40, pl. 1/1, 2; idem, *Aspectul cultural Stoicani-Aldeni, repere de cronologie relativă*, în *Peuce* SN, 5, 2007, p. 18; E. Paveleț, *Ceramica Stoicani-Aldeni din așezările de la Mălăieștii de Jos (jud. Prahova) și Coțatcu (jud. Buzău)*, Ploiești, 2010, p. 44, fig. 33/11.

⁴⁹ H. Müller-Karpe, *op. cit.*, pl.199/D; A. Nițu, *Vase antropomorfe...*, p. 81, fig. 2/3; idem, *Un vas antropomorf...*, p. 12; I. T. Dragomir, *Considerații privind ritul funerar și credințele magico-religioase la comunitățile aspectului cultural Stoivani-Aldeni*, în *SCIVA* 28, 4, 1977, p.477-508.

⁵⁰ J. Mellart, *Excavations at Hacilar*, 1-2, Edinburgh, 1970, fig. 56/4, pl. LIV/1.

⁵¹ Vl. Dumitrescu, *Plastica neolitică...*, pl. 20, nr. 101.

⁵² *Ibidem*, pl. 20, nr. 102.

⁵³ S. Popovici, *O piesă inedită descoperită la Hotărani- La turn, jud. Olt*, în *Studii de Preistorie*, 7, 2010, p. 65-70.

seulement la tête et les bras⁵⁴ (Fig. 6/1a, b) ainsi que le couvercle à manche qui finit par une tête anthropomorphe, identifiée le long de la vallée de Teleorman, à Măgura⁵⁵. Pour ce qui est de l'art gumelnitien, ce type de représentations plastiques connaît deux variantes: **a) des couvercles à manche anthropomorphe présentant un seul visage** – Bordușani⁵⁶ (Fig. 6/2), Măgura Jilava⁵⁷, Vidra⁵⁸, Căscioarele⁵⁹ (Fig. 6/3), Seciu⁶⁰ (Fig); **b) des couvercles à manche modélisés présentant un double visage** – Căscioarele (Fig. 6/4), Vidra, Teiu⁶¹. Si dans le premier cas les pièces sont modélisées d'une manière rudimentaire, par le pincement de la pâte à peine préparée, sans bien préciser les détails du visage, les exemplaires de la deuxième catégorie, façonnés selon la même technique, sont mieux réalisés.

III. Des couvercles prosopomorphes.

Découverts au nord du Danube, au cadre de la culture Vinča⁶² (Fig. 6/5), les vases-couvercle ornés de représentations anthropomorphes (des couvercles prosomorphes) connaissent une grande diversité typologique dans le milieu gumelnitien, certains exemplaires étant considérés de véritables chefs-d'œuvre. Puisque les uns des vases modélisés en forme de corps humain avaient des détails placés à la proximité du goulot, il est possible que les autres détails soient été modélisés justement sur ces couvercles, bien qu'on n'a pas encore trouvé de tels spécimens ensemble.

Certains vases présentent **un seul visage humain** modélisé, tel le couvercle fragmentaire de Comana, dont les oreilles sont représentées par deux lobes latéraux, chacun marqué par cinq perforations. Les yeux se présentent comme des incisions, le nez est bien mis en relief, tandis que la bouche est incisée et marquée par cinq petits trous⁶³ (Fig. 7/1). Le couvercle de Orbeasca⁶⁴ présente deux lobes latéraux marquant les oreilles, avec quatre perforations chacun, le nez est mis en relief, tandis que les yeux sont marqués par deux

⁵⁴ I. R. Nichita, *op. cit.*, fișa piesă 41.

⁵⁵ R. R. Andreescu, *Valea Teleormanului...*, p. 57, pl. 6/10.

⁵⁶ Idem, *Plastica antropomorfa...*, pl. 58/7.

⁵⁷ M. I. Neagoe, *Reprezentări antropo-zoomorfe aparținând culturii Gumelnița în colecția Muzeului Regiunii Porților de Fier, Drobeta Turnu-Severin, în Apulum XLVI*, 2009, p. 253, fig. 7-9.

⁵⁸ D. V. Rosetti, *op. cit.*, p. 36, pl. 17/1.

⁵⁹ R. R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pl. 58/2; VIII/5; 58/5.

⁶⁰ A. Frânculeasa, O. Negrea, *op. cit.*, p. 49, pl. IX/9.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 76, pl. 59.

⁶² D. Bălănescu, Gh. Lazarovici, *Considerații privind tipologia și evoluția vaselor-capac din cultura Vinča (Descoperiri din Clisura Dunării)*, în *Banatica V*, 1979, p. 17-25; Gh. Lazarovici, *Neoliticul Banatului*, Cluj Napoca, 1979; Vl. Dumitrescu, *Plastica neolitică...*, pl. 20, nr. 100.

⁶³ D. Berciu, *Cercetări și descoperiri în regiunea București*, în *Materiale II*, 1956, p. 496, fig. 5.

⁶⁴ R. R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pl. 55/3; VII/6B.

proéminences allongées, incisées au milieu. Un tel couvercle a été découvert aussi à Sultana; il est façonné dans la même manière, les oreilles, le nez, la bouche et la partie supérieure de la tête gardant des traces de peinture blanche⁶⁵. D'autres telles pièces proviennent de Ciolănești din Deal, de la phase Gumelnița A2⁶⁶, Cunești⁶⁷, Vidra⁶⁸(Fig. 7/3a-c). Une représentation humaine en relief, les bras tendus et les jambes éloignées, a été identifiée sur le couvercle découvert dans l'habitat de Valea Anilor (la culture Sălcuța)⁶⁹.

À Ciolănești din Deal, on a découvert un couvercle portant la représentation d'un double visage humain, appartenant à la phase Gumelnița A2. Les yeux de cette représentation sont lenticulaires, les sourcils sont figurés à l'aide d'incisions profondes, incrustées de pâte blanche, les oreilles sont communes, tandis que les nez et les bouches sont indiqués par une incision⁷⁰ (Fig. 7/4a-c).

IV. Les vases ayant une décoration anthropomorphe, considérés comme une catégorie à part de la plastique anthropomorphe, beaucoup d'eux étant de véritables chefs-d'oeuvre, peuvent être partagés dans deux variantes: **a)- vases qui présentent des silhouettes humaines, incisées ou appliquées sur leur surface; b)- des vases qui présentent seulement des têtes humaines, transposées d'une manière schématisée.** Un fragment céramique (appartenant à la culture Dudești) provient de l'habitat de Drăgănești Olt; une figure humaine est appliquée sur sa surface, les bras pliés en bas au niveau du coude⁷¹ (Fig. 8/1). La même attitude du personnage appliqué sur la surface d'un vase anthropomorphe a été identifiée aussi au cas de la découverte de Măgura- Buduiasca, avec la mention, cette fois, que le bras est orienté en haut⁷². C'est dans la même catégorie plastique que s'encadre aussi le vase fragmentaire découvert à Slatina (le département de Olt) sur lequel figure une silhouette féminine en relief⁷³(Fig. 8/2), le visage en forme de triangle de Greaca⁷⁴ et la silhouette humaine peinte de Chitila⁷⁵, les deux dernières s'encadrant dans la culture Boian.

Les représentations anthropomorphes appliquées sur le parois d'un vase découvert à Hotărani – phase Vădastra II – indiquent deux personnages assis, une

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, pl. 55 / 4; VII/6C.

⁶⁶ A. Nițu, *Reprezentări antropomorfe...*, fig. 6; R. R. Andreescu, *op.cit.*, fig. 55/2; VII / 6A.

⁶⁷ M. Neagu, *Figurine gumelnițene descoperite în Bărăgan*, în *Pontica* 13, 1980, p. 297, pl. I/7.

⁶⁸ D. V. Rosetti, *op. cit.*, pl. 22/2a-b.

⁶⁹ I. Stângă, *op. cit.*, p. 38, fig. 7; C. Pătroi, *op. cit...*, p. 10.

⁷⁰ A. Nițu, *op. cit.*, fig. 7.

⁷¹ I. R. Nichita, *op. cit.*, fișa piesă 20.

⁷² R. R. Andreescu, *Valea Teleormanului...*, p. 62, pl. 3/3.

⁷³ I. R. Nichita, *op. cit.*, fișa piesă 50.

⁷⁴ E. Comșa, *Istoria comunităților culturii Boian*, București, 1974, p. 194, fig. 74/4.

⁷⁵ V. Boroneanț, *Mărturisiri de artă în locuirea neolitică de la Chitila-Fermă*, în *CAB*, IV, 1992, p.16, pl. IV.

femme près de son acolyte mâle, modélisés d'une manière extrêmement réaliste, en précisant certains détails anatomiques⁷⁶. L'homme a les jambes pliées dans la région des genoux, sa main gauche reposant sur l'abdomen; les jambes de la femme sont allongées et collées l'une de l'autre, décorées par le motif de la spirale. Le fragment céramique ayant appliqué un visage humain incrusté de pâte rouge appartenant à un vase anthropomorphe (peut-être un couvercle?) découvert à Măgura est placé dans la phase du début de la culture Vădastra⁷⁷.

Pour ce qui est de l'aréal gumelnitien, des vases ayant des applications symbolisant des silhouettes humaines ont été découverts dans l'habitat éponyme⁷⁸ (Fig. 8/3), à Vitănești⁷⁹, Blejești⁸⁰ et appartiennent à la phase Gumelnița B1. La pièce fragmentaire découverte à Vitănești qui représente un visage humain appliqué sur le goulot d'un vase et qui appartient à la phase Gumelnița B1⁸¹, les têtes humaines identifiées à Vidra⁸², Ciolăneștii din Deal⁸³ ne représentent que quelques-uns des exemplaires qui pourraient être encadrés dans les coordonnées artistiques spécifiques à la variante **b**. La figurine anthropomorphe incisée sur le fragment céramique découvert à Mălăieștii de Jos (l'aspect culturel Stoicani-Aldeni) est représenté dans la position de l'orante⁸⁴, attitude identifiée non seulement dans le milieu gumelnitien – Ciolăneștii din Deal, mais aussi à travers la plastique du type Precucuteni- Târpești⁸⁵ et Cucuteni- Ghelăiești⁸⁶.

C'est dans la même catégorie qu'on place aussi le fragment céramique appartenant à la culture Sălcuța, découvert à Valea Anilor- Corlățel (le département de Mehedinți), qui présente une application en forme de visage humain en relief⁸⁷.

V. Des vases anthropozoomorphes.

La culture Gumelnița-KaranovoVI-Kojadermen se remarque surtout par la complexité de la vie spirituelle, une preuve dans ce sens étant la diversité des

⁷⁶ M. Nica, *Reprezentările antropomorfe...*, fig. 6/1.

⁷⁷ R. R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 56, pl. 5/4.

⁷⁸ B. Ionescu, *op. cit.*, p. 116-117, fig. 1/1, 2/1; R. R. Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfă...*, p. 77, pl. 60/6; VIII/7.

⁷⁹ R. R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 77, pl. 60/5.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 77, pl. 60/4.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, p. 78, pl. 61/3; R. R. Andreescu, P. Mirea, K. Moldoveanu, I. Torcică, *op. cit.*, p. 78, pl. VI/1.

⁸² D. V. Rosetti, *op. cit.*, p. 32, pl. 12/5; R. R. Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfă...*, p. 78, pl. 61/5; VIII/4.

⁸³ A. Nițu, *Reprezentări antropomorfe...*, p. 25-26, fig. 4/1.

⁸⁴ A. Frânculeasa, *Fragmente ceramice...*

⁸⁵ S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, *Cultura Precucuteni pe teritoriul României*, 1974, fig. 84/2.

⁸⁶ A. Nițu, *Vase antropomorfe..*

⁸⁷ I. Stângă, *op. cit.*, p. 38, fig. 6; C. Pătroi, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

représentations anthropozoomorphes, d'un caractère extrêmement complexe et d'une haute valeur artistique⁸⁸.

Une telle pièce provient de la station éponyme et a un corps ovale, traversé par une ligne médiane sur son dos, soutenu sur quatre jambes rompus probablement à cause de l'ancienneté. La tête a une forme triangulaire et les yeux, en forme d'arc de cercle, sont un peu arqués. Le sommet de la tête communique avec l'intérieur du vase. La décoration du corps est composée de lignes en graphite⁸⁹ (Fig. 8/4). Un autre fragment de vase, provenant de Sultana, présente les yeux et les sourcils marqués de pâte blanche, le nez étant mis en relief; le corps, relativement bombé vers sa partie inférieure, s'appuie sur deux jambes courtes⁹⁰.

La pièce de Hârșova représente un anneau soutenu sur quatre jambes élargies vers la base et présente un long cou attaché qui finit par une tête en forme de disque⁹¹ (Fig. 8/5). Il faut mentionner le fait que cette figurine est unique au cadre de la civilisation Gumelnița, mais les pièces découvertes à Bordușani contournent un thème de culte qui combine d'une manière assez originale les éléments anthropomorphes avec les éléments zoomorphes⁹².

De telles représentations plastiques, qui combine les deux types d'éléments ont été découvertes aussi au sud du Danube, à Razgrad et à Ruse⁹³. Elles figurent un corps d'animal, dans certains cas, un boeuf, mais les têtes présentent, en général, outre des éléments zoomorphes tels les cornes, des détails humains. Le vase de Kodjadermen a le corps d'un quadrupède et la tête prévue d'éléments anthropomorphes, mais aussi une bouche ouverte, en forme de bec d'oiseau⁹⁴. Provenant de Sălcuța, un autre fragment de vase peint présente un piédestal formé de jambes humaines, tandis que la manche est représentée comme une tête de bélier⁹⁵.

Les vases anthropomorphes modélisés en forme de corps humain dévoilent l'existence de certains canons stylistiques ayant des connotations spirituelles, des représentations de l'archétype féminin, de „la Grande Déesse” et, indépendamment de la catégorie typologique à laquelle ils appartiennent, ces vases constituent un élément essentiel dans le déroulement des pratiques

⁸⁸ R. R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pl. 62.

⁸⁹ S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, *Două vase zoomorfe din cultura Gumelnița*, în *SCIV*, XII, 2, 1961, p. 345-358, fig. 1/1,2.

⁹⁰ R. R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, pl. 62/6.

⁹¹ D. Galbenu, *Așezarea neolitică de la Hârșova*, în *SCIV* XIII, 1962, p. 294, fig 8/3.

⁹² S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, *Archaeological research at Bordușani-Popină (Ialomița county). Preliminary report. CercArh. X*, 1997, p.70-71

⁹³ R. R. Andreescu, *Plastica antropomorfă...*, pl. 62/2, 7.

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, pl. 62/3.

⁹⁵ D. Berciu, *Arheologia preistorică a Olteniei*, în *AO*, XVIII, nr. 101-103, 1939, p. 51, fig. 55/2.

magiques-religieuses⁹⁶. Variés comme forme, les vases ayant des attributs humains ont un rôle bien défini lors des pratiques de culte et connaissent une large utilisation grâce à leur fonction de récipient, même au cas des exemplaires d'exception. La représentation du visage humain, surtout du visage de la Divinité, confère un caractère sacré au contenu des vases, mais elle assure, en même temps, la protection aussi pour les officiants que pour les participants au cérémonial. Compte tenu de leur taille, on peut supposer que ces vases étaient utilisés non seulement pendant les libations, au cadre des processions de culte, mais aussi pendant la manipulation rituelle des grains⁹⁷. La possibilité de visualiser et de matérialiser le principal attribut de "Mater Genitrix" (le symbole de l'autoprocréation, que la Divinité s'est assumée en tant de garant du monde préhistorique) sous la forme allégorique des vases suivant la silhouette humaine représente une réalité de la vie spirituelle manifestée par la permanente tendance de l'homme préhistorique d'expérimenter le sacré⁹⁸.

Les vases anthropomorphes ou ceux ayant certains traits anthropomorphisés, présents lors des cérémonies à caractère de culte, liées aux travaux agricoles, représentent l'image-symbole de „la femme-grande divinité-terre”, génératrice de la vie et protectrice de la nature entière. La manière de figurer l'exécution de certains gestes (individuels/collectifs), la posture des actants pendant le déroulement d'un cérémonial magique-religieux, la manière „d'utiliser” le corps, compte tenu du rôle que celui-ci joue dans la manipulation rituelle des symboles mettent en évidence la permanente tentative d'établir un lien avec la Divinité que *homo religiosus* réalise en s'assumant un mode spécifique d'existence dans le monde⁹⁹. Liées au mystère de la fécondité et de la fertilité, les danses rituelles exécutées à l'occasion de déposer des offrandes sont immortalisées par l'iconographie néo-énéolithique¹⁰⁰ sous la forme des supports anthropomorphisants du type danse en rond, tel le cas de l'exemplaire découvert à Frumușica¹⁰¹ ou des silhouettes humaines représentées sur le fragment de vase peint en rouge et en graphite de Valea Anilor, du département de Mehedinți¹⁰². Au cadre de ces processions, les danseuses entrelancées dans la danse en rond, „aspirent à supprimer toute dualité du monde temporel pour

⁹⁶ C.-L. Rădoescu, *Hypostases et gestes religieux de la Grande Déesse identifiées dans l'art anthropomorphe néo-énéolithique du nord du Danube*, în *Annales d'Université Valahia Targoviste, Section d'Archeologie et d'Histoire*, Tome XIII, Numéro 2, 2011, p. 83-97.

⁹⁷ A. László, *Vase neolitice...*, p. 60-61; D. Monah, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

⁹⁸ C.-L. Rădoescu, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁹⁹ M. Eliade, *Sacrul și profanul*, București, 1995.

¹⁰⁰ S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, *Dansul ritual în reprezentările plastice neo-eneolitice din Moldova*, în *SCIIVA* 25, 2, 1974, p. 171-173.

¹⁰¹ Șt. Cucuș, *Ceramica neolitică din Muzeul Arheologic Piatra Neamț*, în *BMA* I, 1973, p. 34, fig. 22; Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta culturii...*, p. 106, fig. 170.

¹⁰² I. Stângă, *op. cit.*

redécouvrir l'unité originare"¹⁰³, tandis que la communauté, animée par cette frénésie, participe pleinement à la révitalisation de la vie agricole. En l'absence de données archéologiques certes, toute tentative de reconstituer ces cérémonies paraît presque impossible, raison pour laquelle les futures recherches doivent aborder cette problématique d'une manière interdisciplinaire, en donnant des interprétations plus objectives.

D'origine anatolienne, on paraît que les vases anthropomorphes à doubles visages, signalés au cadre des cultures Vinča, Gumelnița¹⁰⁴, étaient utilisés pour l'initiation, étant donné la similitude avec Janus Bifrons, le dieu de l'initiation dans les mystères romans, „Le Seigneur des temps”, celui qui ferme et ouvre le cycle¹⁰⁵. Son symbolisme lié aux fêtes de solstice d'été et d'hiver justifie pleinement le rôle que celui-ci s'assume, de „Seigneur des deux voies” d'accès (vers la droite et vers la gauche) vers le monde transcendant et celui de l'enfer¹⁰⁶. Marquant l'évolution du passé vers l'avenir, le passage d'un état à l'autre, les processions religieuses consacrées au gardien des portes solsticiales déterminent certains types comportementaux qui peuvent être saisis au niveau de toute la communauté, la manipulation rituelle des symboles (les vases à deux visages) pendant certains moments-clé représentant l'une des formes „d'aborder” le Sacre, au niveau individuel et/ou collectif.

Les représentations anthropomorphes appliquées sur la surface des vases, rencontrées pour la première fois au cadre du complexe culturel Sesklo-Starčevo-Criș sont largement répandues dans la céramique Vinča, Gumelnița, Precucuteni, Cucuteni¹⁰⁷, la thématique variant des silhouettes humaines en relief ou incisées jusqu'aux simples têtes schématisées. Le groupe statuaire de Hotărani¹⁰⁸ dénote un réalisme à part dans la modélisation de la pièce et un considérable pouvoir de suggestion dans la transposition d'un thème de culte par laquelle le sacre se manifeste au niveau de toute la communauté. *L'androgynie* divine met en évidence la capacité d'autoreproduction de *la Grande Mère*, la communion entre le principe mâle et le principe féminin (*coincidentia oppositorum*) et la tendance de l'homme primitif d'imiter l'archétype révélé par les mythes¹⁰⁹. L'association de *la Grande Divinité* à son acolyte mâle, ainsi qu'elle paraît être présentée par le vase-petit panier

¹⁰³ J. Chevalier, A. Gheerbrant, *Dicționar de simboluri*, vol. I, 1994, p. 427.

¹⁰⁴ S. Marinescu-Bîlcu, B. Ionescu, *Catalogul sculpturilor eneolitice din Muzeul raional Oltenița*, Sibiu, 1967, p. 35, pl. XI/1a-b; XX/3.

¹⁰⁵ Vl. Dumitrescu, *Semnificația și originea unui tip de figurină feminină descoperită la Rast (r. Băilești, reg. Craiova)*, în *SCIV* VII, 1956, 1-2, p. 107.

¹⁰⁶ R. Guénon, *Simboluri ale științei sacre*, București, 1997, p. 129-136.

¹⁰⁷ A. Nițu, *Noi descoperiri de reprezentări antropomorfe în relief pe ceramica Cucuteni A*, în *Carpica*, IV, 1971, p. 81-82.

¹⁰⁸ M. Nica, *Reprezentările antropomorfe...fig. 6/1*.

¹⁰⁹ M. Eliade, *Tratat de istorie a religiilor*, București, 1995, p. 327-328.

découvert à Crușovu¹¹⁰, met en évidence une autre hyposthase de *la Déesse Mère*, celle de *Potnia* des animaux domestiques, déterminée par les mutations passées dans la structure du système magique-religieux par le remplacement des anciens rituels de chasse avec une série de cultes et de croyances agraires, centrées sur la fécondité et la fertilité de *la femme-terre*.

Le vase en miniature découvert à Ciolăneștii de Deal¹¹¹ (la phase Gumelnița A2) présente une silhouette humaine fortement schématisée, les bras orientés en haut et les jambes pliées, la ligne médiane figurant le sexe mâle hypertrophié, ce qui nous détermine d'admettre qu'il s'agit d'une représentation ithyplallique (Fig. 8/6). De telles réalisations plastiques anthropomorphes rencontrées aussi au cadre de l'art cucutéenienne de Dumești, Trușești, Scânteia¹¹² prouve la perpétuation du même type d'image à „axe verticale”¹¹³ qui, dans certaines situations, pourraient représenter des scènes d'accouplement (*hieroi gamoi*) ou la position accroupie, d'accouchement de „la Déesse Mère”¹¹⁴. La tendance (d'origine orientale) de présenter les images humaines d'une manière extrêmement stylisée¹¹⁵ est visible aussi au cas de la céramique à décoration anthropomorphe appartenant à des groupes culturels central et est-européens¹¹⁶, les détails iconographiques contribuant, dans une certaine mesure, à la reconstitution de l'univers spirituel néo-énéolithique. Les vases décorés de visages humains étaient utilisés lors des actes rituels à caractère apothropaïque, de protection et de prévention contre le mal qui menace toute la communauté, en sacralisant, en même temps, les récipients et leur contenu germinatif¹¹⁷.

Dans l'iconographie néo-énéolithique, pour ce qui est de la catégorie des représentations anthropomorphes, *l'orante* occupe une place à part, symbolisant un personnage féminin, les bras orientés en haut, soit appliqué ou peint sur la surface d'un vase de culte, soit modélisé sous la forme des récipients avec des bras-tubes. Ce thème religieux, lié à la place de la divinité dans un éventuel panthéon de la spiritualité préhistorique, trouve son origine dans les créations du Paléolithique supérieur¹¹⁸ dont les traits se retrouvent, sous une forme bien plus élaborée, dans l'art néo-énéolithique, en commençant par les cultures Starčevo-Criș, Vinča et continuant avec Gumelnița et Cucuteni. Faisant

¹¹⁰ Vl. Dumitrescu, *Arta preistorică...*, p. 195, fig. 203.

¹¹¹ A. Nițu, *Reprezentări antropomorfe...*, p. 36, fig. 13/1; R. R. Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 78, pl. 60/7.

¹¹² D. Monah, *Plastica antropomorfă...*, p. 177, 178, 179, fig. 242/3; 238/5; 243/3.

¹¹³ A. Nițu, *Reprezentări umane...*, p. 552.

¹¹⁴ Idem, *Reprezentări antropomorfe în decorul plastic al ceramicii de stil Cucuteni A*, în *SCIV*, 18, 1967, 4, p. 552, fig. 1/1.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, fig. 4/5.

¹¹⁶ N. Kalicz, *Clay Gods. The Neolithic Period and Copper Age in Hungary*, Budapest, 1970.

¹¹⁷ N. Kalicz, J. Makkay, *Gefässe mit GesichtsDarstellungen in der Linienbandkeramik aus Ungarn*, în *Prähistorische Idolkunst*, München, 1973, p. 9-15.

¹¹⁸ H. Delporte, *L'image de la femme dans l'Art Préhistorique*, Paris, 1991, fig. 231/1-3.

référence aux cérémonies de culte des communautés d'agriculteurs et d'éleveurs, *l'orante* a été considérée l'expression d'une forme spéciale de manifestation du sacré, le geste de dresser les bras, présent non seulement dans les religions orientales mais aussi dans l'iconographie chrétienne est le résultat de la perpétuation, le long du temps, d'un grand thème ayant des valences religieuses. En tant de modalités de représenter la divinité féminine, les vases anthropomorphes ou ceux présentant des traits anthropomorphisants illustrant de tels gestes de culte mettent l'accent sur la signification des orantes, en excluant la possibilité de les utiliser lors des activités avec de connotations domestiques¹¹⁹.

En ce qui concerne la signification et la fonctionnalité rituelle des vases anthropo-zoomorphes, l'étape actuelle des recherches ne nous offre pas de données suffisantes pour illustrer la motivation de combiner les deux éléments dans un tout unitaire. Le déroulement des cérémonies rituelles supposant l'utilisation de tels récipients peut être théoriquement soutenue, mais la reconstitution de leur caractère et de leur contenu reste pour le moment sans une réponse satisfaisante, toute tentative d'interpréter le phénomène religieux nous obligeant à formuler de nouvelles hypothèses de travail, applicables, suivant les limites de certains arguments pertinents, aux réalités archéologiques soumises à notre recherche.

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¹¹⁹ V.Voinea, *Adoratio et invocatio. Gesturi religioase ancestrale reprezentate pe vasele de cult gumelnițene*, în *CCDA*, XIX, 2002, p. 112-121.

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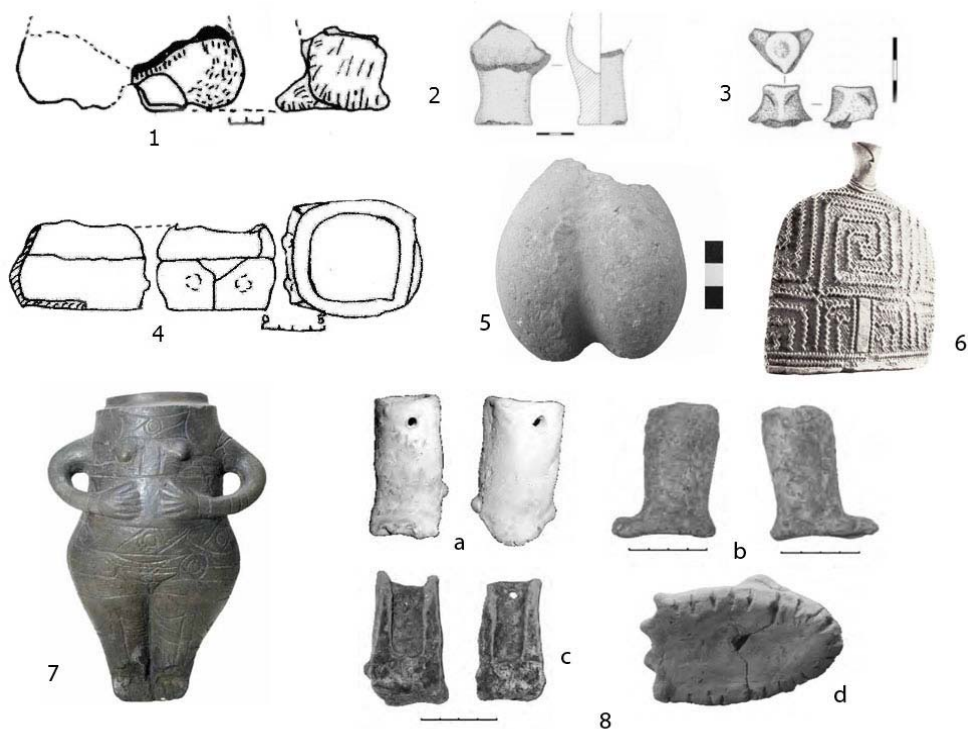


Fig. 1- Des vases en forme de corps humain: La culture Starčevo-Criș. La phase Starčevo II: 1. Cârcea „La Hanuri” (d’après M. Nica, 1977, p. 28, fig. 12/3); 2, 3. Măgura-Buduiasca (d’après R. R. Andreescu, 2007, pl. 1/6, 8); La culture Dudești: 4- Dudești (d’après E. Comșa, 1995, fig. 7/4); La culture Dudești-Vinča: 5- Brebeni (d’après I. R. Nichita, 2011, fișa piesă nr. 96); La culture Vădastra: 6- Vădastra (d’après Vl. Dumitrescu, 1974, fig. 202); La culture Gumelnița: La phase A2: 7- Vidra (d’après Vl. Dumitrescu, 1974, fig. 256); L’aspect culturel Stoicani-Aldeni: 8a-d: Coțatcu (d’après E. Paveleț, 2010, p. 69, fig. 114/13)

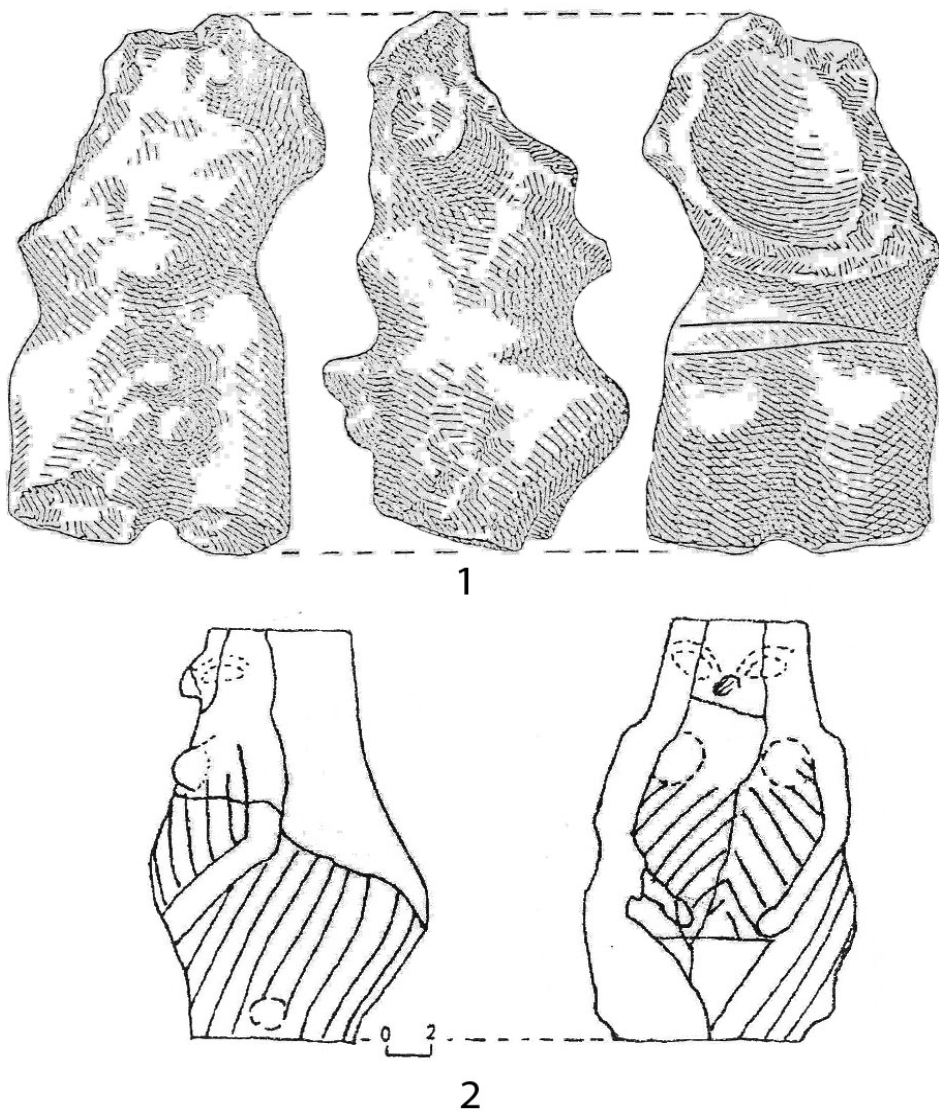


Fig. 2- Des vases présentant des attributs anthropomorphes: La culture Vinča: 1- Rast (d'après Vl. Dumitrescu, 1987-1988, Pl. 17, fig. 92; La culture Dudeşti: 2- Cârcea „Viaduct” (d'après M. Nica, 1984, fig. 7/1a-b)



Fig. 3- Des vases présentant des attributs anthropomorphes: La culture Vădastra: 1- Brebeni (d'après I. R. Nichita, 2011, fișa piesă nr. 21); 3- Hotărani (La collection du Musée Romanațiului Caracal); La culture Gumelnița: 3- Gumelnița (<http://cimec.ro/Arheologie/gumelnita>); 4- Sultana (<http://cimec.ro/Arheologie/gumelnita>); 5- Căscioarele (<http://clasate.cimec.ro/Poza.asp?k=4C70CBEFAA9547D58051970BF12F456E>); 6- Măgura Jilavei (<http://cimec.ro/Arheologie/gumelnita/cd/default.htm>)

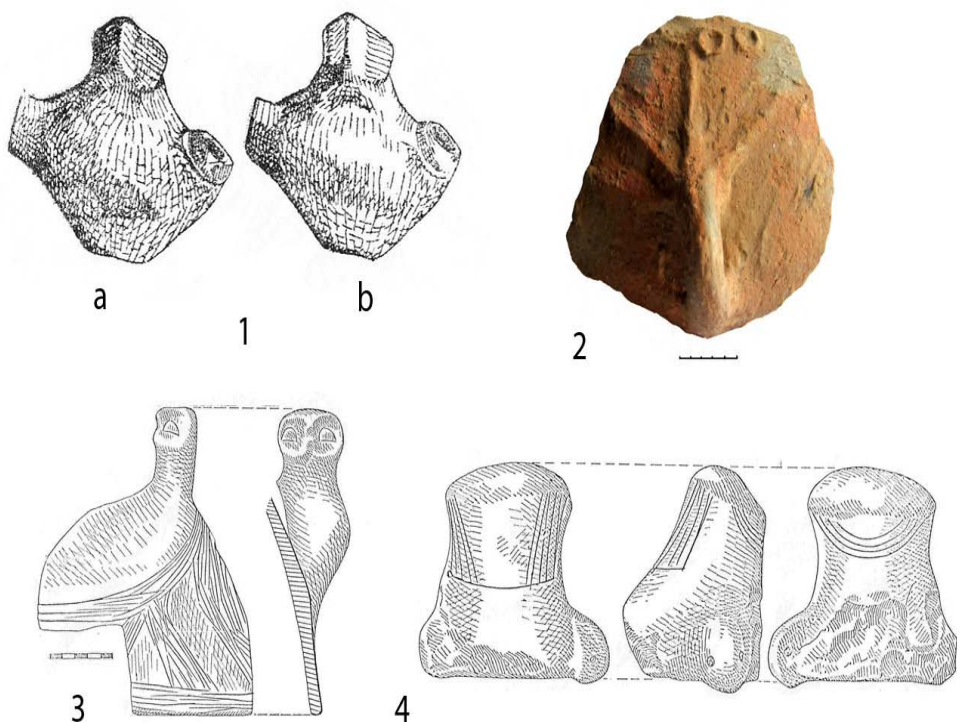


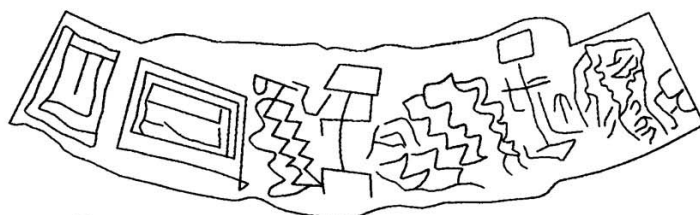
Fig. 4- Des vases présentant des attributs anthropomorphes: La culture Gumelnița: 1a, b- Drăgănești-Olt „Corboiaca” (d’après M. Nica, Z. Floroiu, Tr. Zorzoliu, M. Vasilescu, 1994, fig. 9/9a, 9b); L’aspect culturel Stoicani-Aldeni: 2- Mălăieștii de Jos (d’après E. Paveleț, 2010, fig. 33/11). Des couvercles à manche anthropomorphe: La culture Vinča: 3, 4- Rast (d’après Vl. Dumitrescu, 1987-1988, pl. 20, fig. 101, 102)



1



2



3

0 5 cm



4



5

Fig. 5- De couvercle à manche anthropomorphe: La culture Vădastra: 1-5- Hotărani „La Turn”(d'après S. Popovici, 2010, fig. pl. 3)

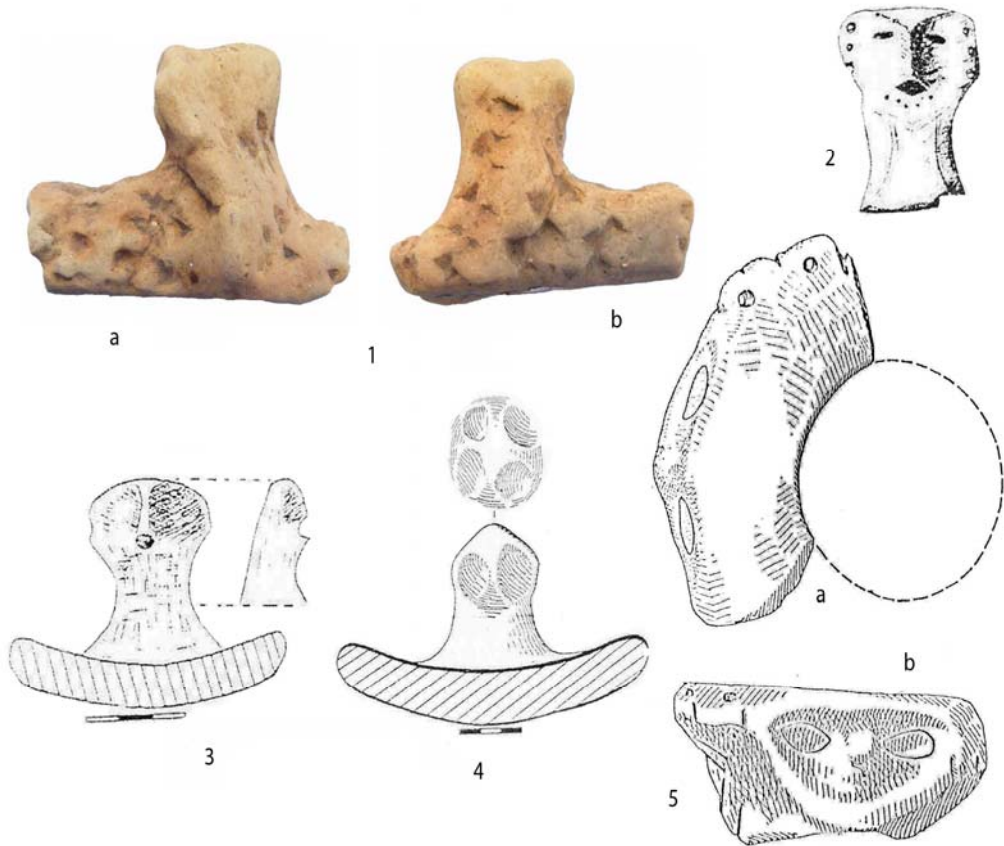


Fig. 6- Des couvercles à manche anthropomorphe: La culture Boian. La phase Giulești: 1a, b- La collection du Musée Départemental d'Histoire et d'Art Olt (d'après I. R. Nichita, 2011, fișa piesă nr. 41); La culture Gumelnița: 2- Bordușani (d'après R. R. Andreescu, 2002, pl. 58/7), 3, 4- Căscioarele (d'après R. R. Andreescu, 2002, pl. 58/5; 59/1). De couvercle prosopomorphe: La culture Vinča: 5a, b- Rast (d'après Vl. Dumitrescu, 1987-1988, pl. 20, fig. 100)

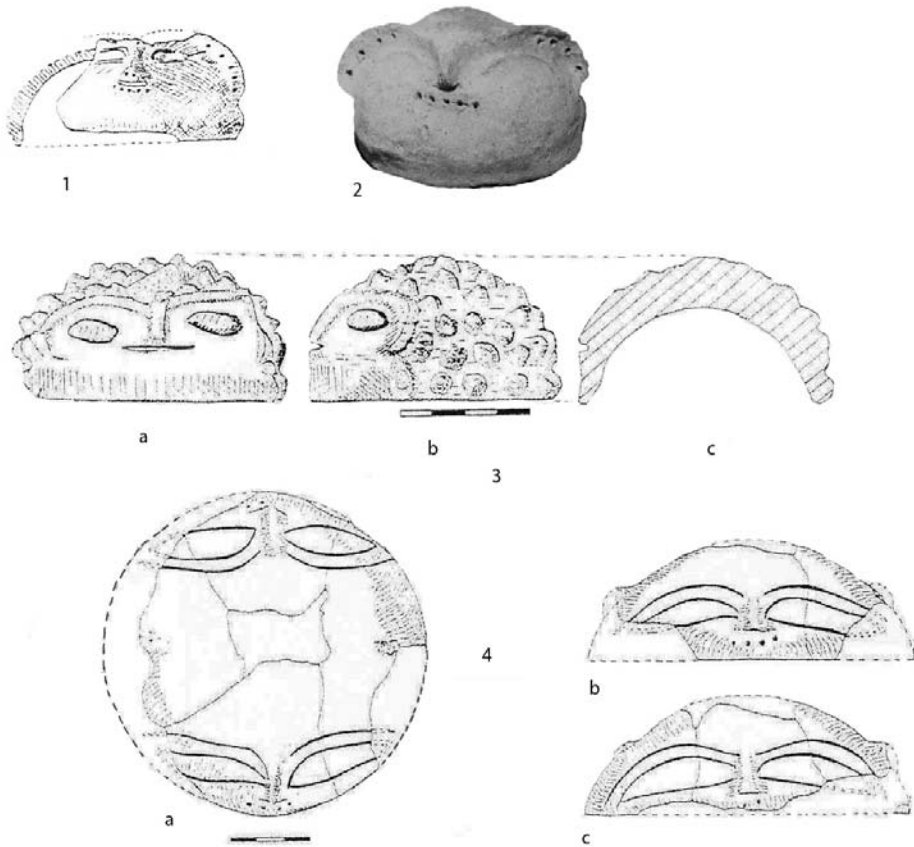


Fig. 7- De coverecele prosopomorfe: La culture Gumelnița: 1- Comana (d'après R. R. Andreescu, 2002, pl. 55/5);
2- Orbeasca
(<http://clasate.cimec.ro/detaliu.asp?k=0831334F45A311DC8D2400A0D21C2D1F>); 3a-c-Vidra
(d'après R. R. Andreescu, 2002, pl. 55/7); 4a-c- Ciolăneștii din Deal (d'après R. R. Andreescu,
2002, pl. 55/1).

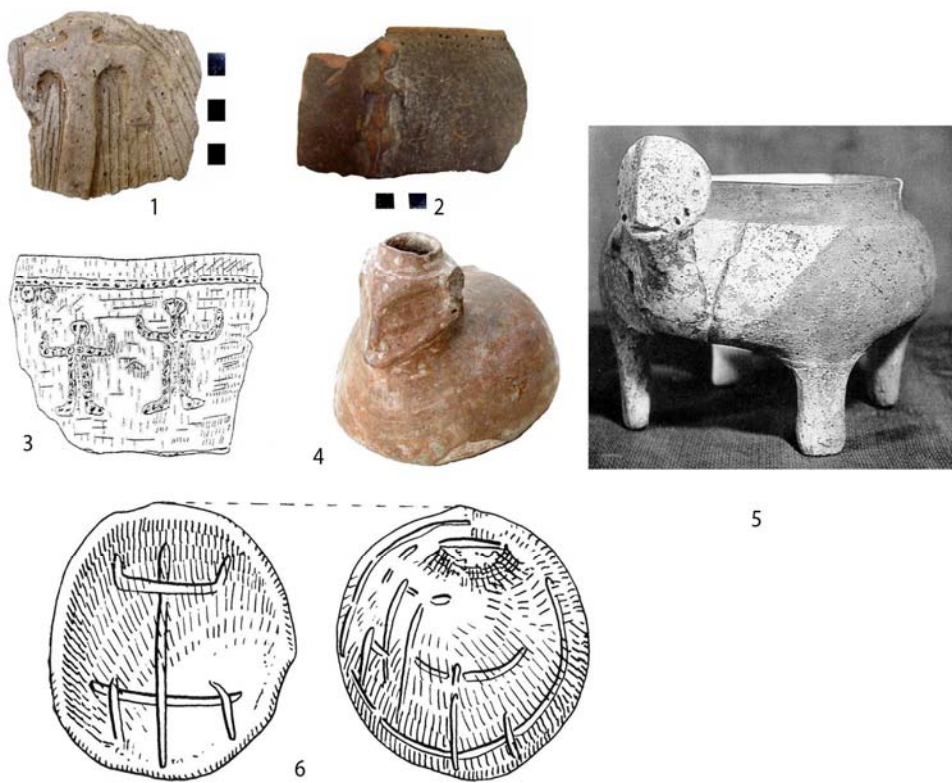


Fig. 8.- Des vases ayant une décoration anthropomorphe: La culture Dudești: 1- Drăgănești-Olt (d'après I. R. Nichita, 2011, fiche no. 20); Culture Vădastra: 2- Slatina (d'après I. R. Nichita, 2011, fișa piesă nr. 50); Culture Gumelnița: 3- Gumelnița (d'après R. R. Andreescu, pl. 60/6); 6- Ciolăneștii din Deal (d'après Vl. Dumitrescu, 1974, fig. 251/4).

Des vases anthropozoomorphes: La culture Gumelnița: 4- Gumelnița (<http://cimec.ro/Arheologie/gumelnita/5plastica/plastica.htm>); 5- Hârșova (d'après Vl. Dumitrescu, 1974, fig. 280)

DACIAN IRON SPURS - A COLLECTION. IN MEMORY OF PROFESSOR KURT HORED T

*Sever DUMITRAȘCU and Florin SFRENGEU**

Abstract: *The article displays the arguments and the archaeological discoveries indexed and published until 1986, which sustain the claim that the Geto-Dacians had had a cavalry and that they had used iron spurs. It is a tribute to Professor Kurt Horedt, who, following a scientific dispute he had with Professor Sever Dumitrașcu on this subject, finally acknowledged the presence of iron spurs in the Dacian findings on Carpathian-Danubian territories.*

Keywords: *iron spurs, archaeological discoveries, the Geto-Dacian, cavalry, Vandals*

We present in the following *a collection of Dacian iron spurs*. We will not discuss the origin of iron spurs on the Carpatho-Danubian territory. They might be of *Vandal* origin. Only two realities are certain though:

a) on the Silesian territories inhabited by the *Vandals* several iron spurs were discovered among other harness parts, pieces published by K. Tackenberg still in the years after World War I.

b) There are also iron spurs in the Dacian discoveries from the Carpathian-Danubian territories, for this purpose we present an inventory of these parts, known and used as such by the Geto-Dacians.

These lines are a respectful tribute to Professor Kurt Horedt with whom I had a dispute, him being an advocate of the thesis of K. Tackenberg, his professor at the University of Bonn, Germany, where he received his PhD diploma. Our discussion ended with a great result. The Professor finally acknowledged the presence of iron spurs to the Geto-Dacians.

A Collection of Discoveries of Dacian Spurs:

1966

1. *Two iron spurs* discovered in the Dacian fortresses from Southern Transylvania were published by M. Macrea, O. Floca, N. Lupu and I. Berciu.¹

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¹ M. Marcea, O. Floca, N. Lupu, I. Berciu, *Cetăți dacice din sudul Transilvaniei*, Bucharest, 1966, fig 25/4-5

2. *Four iron spurs* discovered in Wallachia were published by R. Vulpe. They were discovered in the Getic settlement of Popești, Argeș².

1969

3. *An iron spur* discovered in Moldova was published by N. Gostar, in the famous study *Cetățî dacice din Moldova*³. The spur was discovered in the Dacian fortress Bâta Doamnei (Neamț).

1975

4. *An iron spur*, was published by G. Trohani, in his report on the archaeological excavations in the Geto-Dacian settlement from Vlădiceasca, Ilfov County, in 1973.⁴

1981

5. *Iron spurs* were discovered in Popeși-Mihăilești, Giurgiu County, by Al. Vulpe and Marieta Gheorghîță. Here is the context of the discovery: "among the metal objects we mention the fragmentary fibulae of late Latène scheme, scissors (fragmentary), *iron spurs*, fragmentary, knife blades, bronze rings, massive bronze bracelet with loose ends."⁵

6. *Two iron spurs* with long thorn, were discovered by D. Berciu in the Dacian settlement (Buridava) from Ocnița, Vâlcea County and published in the well known monograph dedicated to this *archaeological site*.⁶

1984

7. *Two Dacian iron spurs* with short thorn, have been published by Gh. Bichir. They were found in Mătășaru, in Wallachia (Level III2).⁷ They date back to Roman times.

1986

8. *Two iron spurs* were discovered in DAVA from Sprâncenata by C. Preda⁸ and published as such, in which respect the technology of these spurs is also shown and the historical area of distribution of these artifacts⁹ in the Geto-Dacian space:

² R.Vulpe, *Așezări getice din Muntenia*, Bucharest, 1966, pl.29/1-4

³ N.Gostar, *Cetățî dacice din Moldova*, Bucharest, 1969, fig.11

⁴ G. Trohani, *Raport asupra săpăturilor arheologice efectuate în așezarea geto-dacică de la Vlădiceasca, j.Ilfov, în anul 1973*, in *Cercetări Arheologice*, 1, Bucharest, 1975, fig. 3/1

⁵ A. Vulpe, Marieta Gheorghîță, *Șantierul arheologic Popești-Mihăilești, j. Giurgiu. Raport preliminar asupra rezultatelor din campaniile anilor 1978.1979*, in *Cercetări Arheologice*, IV, Bucharest, 1981, p.58-65, p.64

⁶ D. Berciu, *Buridava dacică*, Bucharest, 1981, pl. 30/4,7

⁷ Gh. Bichir, *Geto-dacii din Muntenia în epoca romană*, Bucharest, 1984, pl.XXXIV/6,7

⁸ C. Preda, *Geto-dacii din bazinul Oltului inferior. Dava de la Sprâncenata*, Bucharest, 1986, pl. L/2,6

⁹ *Ibid*, p.62

"These include *two iron spurs* (our note); one has a sharp thorn and one of the arms is broken (pl. L / 6; LI/13), the other one, smaller (length 0.06 m), with thickened ends, one of which is broken and the thorn is sharp, but it also has a broken tip (pl. L / 2; LI/14). These kinds of spurs are relatively scattered in the Geto-Dacian world, corresponding with those discovered at Popești¹⁰, Ocița¹¹, Poiana¹², Răcățâu¹³, Vlădiceasca¹⁴. The same group of discoveries includes an iron fragmented bit with bent heads, 0.13 m long, discovered in S VII, to 0.80, (pl. XLVIII / 8). "

We believe it is clear now that the Dacians had cavalry (or had *saddled* horses) and that they used iron spurs too. Just like other populations that were nearby and came in contact with them.

A more comprehensive study will be developed in the future to reveal and to help us see more closely some scenes on *Trajan's Column*, where *cavalry* is in action in the battles with the Romans. Not only the Roxolan catafractars but Dacian horsemen, ordinary soldiers or commanders too were there.

¹⁰ Cf. R. Vulpe, *Materiale*, V, 1959, p.346, fig. 11/6; M. Turcu, *Geto-dacii din Muntenia*, p.203, pl. IX/5-6

¹¹ Cf. D. Berciu, *op. cit.*, pl.12/18;30/9,7; 96/17, 24

¹² R. Vulpe, in *SCIV*, 2,1, 1951, p.120, fig. 22/4-6

¹³ V. Căpitanu, *Carpica*, 8, 1976, fig. 39/7

¹⁴ Cf. *supra*, no.4

THE KNIGHTS OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE AND THEIR TREATY WITH VENICE

*Ion Alexandru MIZGAN**

Abstract. *The failure of the Third Crusade in the East determined Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) to appeal to the crowned heads of the West in order to organize a new crusade. After the solidification of a small core of the crusading army, the French nobles went to Venice, the great maritime Republic of that time, to conclude a treaty in order to ensure the transport of the crusading troops in the East. The French delegation was received by Henry Dandolo, the doge of Venice. The French Crusaders concluded a treaty with the Venetians, by which they agreed to pay 85,000 silver marks, amount to be paid in four instalments. The fleet would be ready to sail during the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, the June 29, 1202. The preparation of the fleet for an army of 33,500 men, plus 50 galleys that Venice was to provide at its own expense, was a massive undertaking, even for the great maritime republic of Venice.*

Keywords: *Venice, Henry Dandolo, Pope Inocent III, The French Crusaders, crusading troops.*

Among the Italian cities of the Middle Ages, the maritime¹ ones received a special attention. They ensured their independence by the trade carried out along the coasts and even further, in the East².

Venice has its origins in the main regions of the ancient Roman Empire, with a lot of cities, one of them being Aquileia. The region suffered because of the barbarian invasions during the 5th century³. The residents took refuge at first to the Adriatic and hoped that their exile is temporary, but their return was not possible. In these conditions, a second Venice came to life at the seacoast. The Venetians had a lot of powerful vessels and felt like home in the port. With the crisis that seized the western ports, Venice turned to the Byzantine Empire. In

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¹ It is about Pisa, Genoa and Venice.

²George Lăzărescu, *Civilizație italiană*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1987, p. 55

³We take into account here the invasions of the Goths and Huns. For more details, please see the work of the historian Lucien Musset, *Invaziile (Invasions)*, vol. I and II, Editura Corint, București, 2002, especially the volume I (*Valurile germanice – The Germanic Waves*), p. 29-32 and 114-118.

the 5-6th centuries, the Italian wars of the emperor Justinian (527-565) were held with Venetian vessels insuring the transport of the Byzantine troops. In 584, Emperor Maurice (582-602), concerned about the Lombard invasion of the Northern Italy, formally recognized the Venetian state and took it under its protection⁴. Thus, Venice became part of the Eastern Empire, the history of Venice being strongly influenced by the spirit and culture of Byzantium. Each of the small communities such as Torcello, Burano, Eraclea, Rialto, were led by elected tribunes. At the end of the 7th century, there used to meet a federation whose unity was achieved by a leader, with the title of *doge* and deferred to the emperor of Constantinople. The first doge, Paulo Lucio Anafesto (697-717), who came from Eraclea, was elected in 697. He made a treaty with the Lombards during his leadership⁵. The relationships with Constantinople were maintained, Venice supporting the emperor Leo III the Isaurian (717-741) in his iconoclast attitude, which upset Rome⁶. From the 8th century, Venice took less elements of the tradition of the Byzantine political life, showing instead a preference for Byzantine buildings and architecture. During this time, three doges in succession become the enemies of the Byzantine people⁷. In 814, during the doge Angello Partecipazio (810-827), the seat of the government was finally established in the Island Rialto. In fact, the Republic of Venice was not democratic from the beginning; even if the doge was elected, he wasn't hereditary, but he was chosen only from the merchant families who will become a leading factor in the society. But in the 12th century, the doge's powers will be circumscribed by a Board, which was established in 1185⁸. The Venetians gradually gained the control in the Adriatic Sea, defending against the Arabs. Around 1000, they settled a line of stationery on the Dalmatian Coast, in Zara and in the other ports. Another element that contributed to the success of the Republic of Venice was because more than other states, it understood the importance of geography in politics and trade. The Venetians had to develop ports, traditional routes and to master strategic islands. They have held a series of islands, not for robbery, but for strategic reasons. The islands and their lagoons were largely unproductive for food, but the Republic progressed because of the trade. The Venetians even crossed the Alps to do business with German merchants. They also established relationships with Alexandria, their link with Egypt being seen as vital. The Syrian and the Cyprus ports were accustomed to the presence of Venetian traders. In Constantinople, the Venetians were already well settled since the 10th century,

⁴ John Godfrey, *1204 The Unholy Crusade*, Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 56.

⁵ Claudio Rendina, *Dogii Veneției. Istorie și secrete*, traducere de Radu Gâdei și Constantin Vlad, Editura All, București, 2003, p. 15-17.

⁶ For a short presentation of the iconoclast period from the historical point of view, see Leonid Ouspensky, *Teologia Icoanei, (Theology of the Icon)*, Editura Anastasia, București, 1994, p. 70-77.

⁷ Claudio Rendina, *op.cit.*, p. 21-25

⁸ John Godfrey, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

having to fight against the opposition of those from Pisa and Genoa. The Venetians were in a safe position at Adrianople and they were also very active in Abydos and Rodosta, on the western coast of the Asia Minor. They even sailed the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov⁹. Venice's commercial activity has intensified since the 9th century, when it carried on the Pad River all the important goods from the Orient: salt, flavourings, perfumes, silk tissues, wines, oils, precious wood, iron and copper¹⁰.

During the 12th century, Venice was a big commercial centre. From the religious point of view, the Venetians were loyal to the Rome's church. During the dispute between Frederick I Barbarossa (1152-1190) and Pope Alexander III (1159-1181), when Frederick promoted as Pope, Victor IV (1159-1164), Venice supported Rome with its naval forces, with decisive result. In recognition of Venice's loyalty, Pope Alexander III invested the Republic with the title of seas' power, a statute that used to be celebrated in an annual ceremony¹¹. Even if he kept close to the papacy, Venice remained in an attitude of independence from it. Over time, Venice maintained excellent relations with the Byzantine Empire with a lot of documents showing that the Venice vessels could be used to transport the imperial troops in need. When Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) made efforts to save the Empire from destruction, the Venetian vessels came to his aid and fought against the Normans of Robert Guiscard (1057-1085) to Dyrrachion (1081) and there was a common victory of the Byzantine and Venetian troops¹². Alexios renewed for Venice, by a treaty of May 1082, important trade concessions. This understanding placed Venice in a very advantageous position among the Byzantine merchants¹³.

The big church of San Marco symbolizes, more than anything else, the uniqueness of Venice. The first church, close to this place, was dedicated to Saint Theodore, but was made over as a new church in order to receive the body of Saint Mark of Alexandria in 829. The acquirement of St Mark's relics meant the liberation of Venice from the Byzantium domination. Saint Theodore, a popular saint in Byzantium, was replaced by Saint Mark, an apostle of the New Testament. However, when the San Marco church was built, in the form that exists nowadays, it was realised in Byzantine style. It was conceived following the model of St Apostles Church of Constantinople, in a cross plan, with five cupolas supported by columns and lateral naves. The main structure was completed in 1094, when the relics of St Mark were settled there¹⁴. The building was based on a structure worked by an architect, who was Byzantine

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 58.

¹⁰ George Lăzărescu, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

¹¹ John Godfrey, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

¹² Stelian Brezeanu, *O istorie a imperiului bizantin*, Editura Albatros, București, 1981, p. 132-133.

¹³ John Godfrey, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

and who studied in Constantinople. The San Marco church was the chapel of the doge of Venice, who used himself to entitle the father of this church. Nowadays, the St Mark church in Venice rises as an essentially Byzantine church and not an occidental church with Byzantine details.

In the 12th century, between the Venetian and Byzantine peoples there were notable divergences, which intensified the animosities between them. In 1151, for example, the Venetian people didn't take into account their alliance with the Byzantine people and changed sides, joining the king of Hungary, Géza II (1141-1162), against the emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180). A new crisis between the Byzantium and Venice appears in March 1171, when the emperor Manuel I ordered the arresting of all the Venetian people of the Empire and the confiscation of all their goods and properties¹⁵. About 10,000¹⁶ Venetians were arrested in the capital¹⁷. In 1182, there took place the massacre of the Venetian merchants in Constantinople¹⁸. Later, in 1184, one tried a restoration of the friendship relations between Venice and Byzantium, the Venetian merchants coming back in their districts of Constantinople¹⁹.

During the emperor Alexios III Angelos (1195-1203), the relationships between Byzantium and Venice were getting worse again. Alexios III imposed the same charges for the Venetian merchants, favouring their rivals, the Pisan and Genoese peoples. The doge of Venice, Henry Dandolo (1192-1205) decided that an understanding with the Byzantine emperor was essential for the prosperity of Venice. Thus, at the end of the year 1198, it was signed a treaty between the two parties, Venice being obliged to provide maritime support to the Byzantine Empire if it was attacked, and the Byzantium guaranteed to Venice the commercial advantages that it enjoyed before within the empire²⁰. These were the relationships between the Venetian and Byzantine peoples when the French crusaders were moving to Venice, in order to conclude an agreement concerning the transport of the crusading army to the Holy Land.

Henry Dandolo – the Doge of Venice

During the winter of 1200-1201, the representatives of the Crusaders passed through the north of Italy in the land of the Marquis of Montferrat. Passing through Piacenza, they crossed Lombardy and arrived to Venice in the

¹⁵ Stelian Brezeanu, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

¹⁶ According to some historians, the number of the arrested Venetians might have been up to about 20,000.

¹⁷ John Godfrey, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹⁸ S.B. Daşkov, *Dicţionar de împaraţi bizantini*, traducere de Viorica Onofrei şi Dorin Onofrei, Editura Enciclopedică, Bucureşti, 1999, p. 330-331.

¹⁹ John Godfrey, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 63.

first week of the Easter Lent. They came in the great harbour looking to find ships to transport the Crusading armies to the Holy Land to regain Jerusalem²¹. The historian John Godfrey believes that there was made a fundamental mistake when the Crusaders gave a free hand to the delegates to sign on behalf of them the agreement with Venice, given their impossibility to honour the fare²².

The delegation of the French Crusaders was received warmly and with honour, as due to the ambassadors of the great feudal lords, by the doge Henry Dandolo, clad in brilliant garments. In 1201, Dandolo was a very old man, as noted by the contemporary sources of those times and by the immediately next ones²³. Marino Sanudo, the great historian of the Venetian affairs, declared that the doge was 85 when elected in 1192²⁴. The modern historians accepted that Dandolo was an old man, but in general, they are doubtful about the opinions of Sanudo concerning the venerable age of the doge. The historians Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden entitle Sanudo, showing that Dandolo came from a family whose descendants lived 80-90 years. If Sanudo was right, Henry Dandolo was 94 when he received the Crusaders' delegation²⁵.

The historian Claudio Rendina shows that when Henry Dandolo was elected as doge the June 21, 1192, there was implemented for the first time the "*Doge promise*", by which at the usual oath that the newly elected doge made to the people, there was added now a very special one, on the Gospel, which used to regulate the functions of the doge, specifying the limits of its power²⁶. Among others, the doge could not order the Commune goods at will anymore, he could not intervene in the election of bishops and judges and notaries. This measure was a strong blow to nepotism which prevailed until then, often leading to abuses. Before reaching this position, he was ambassador at Ferrara and bail at Constantinople²⁷. Besides the fact that the doge Henry Dandolo was very old, he still had another problem, that of being blind. Geoffroy of Villehardouin, who would become a close friend of him for about four years, according to his Chronicle to the fourth crusade, he could not see very well. Villehardouin says that Dandolo lost his vision after a head injury²⁸ that might have taken place in 1176-1192. After the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, a

²¹ Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade. The Conquest of Constantinople*. Second Edition, with an essay on primary sources by Alfred J. Andrea, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1997, p. 9.

²² John Godfrey, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

²³ Claudio Rendina, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

²⁴ Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁶ Claudio Rendina, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

²⁸ Geoffroy of Villehardouin, *Cucerirea Constantinopolului (On the Conquest of Constantinople)*, traducere și note de Tatiana Ana Fluieraru, ediție îngrijită și prefață de Ovidiu Pecican, Editura Limes, Cluj, 2002, p. 49.

rumour circulated that the Dandolo had been blinded by King Manuel I Komnenos, during the performance of a diplomatic mission to the king. Historians Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, who treated closely the events related to the Fourth Crusade, consider that this rumour is completely false²⁹.

Despite his age, Henry Dandolo still had a remarkable energy. He didn't lose his mental alertness, also possessing a large experience in commercial and state business. He had a great and penetrating sense of politics; he was an ingenious and experienced diplomat, a skilled strategist and tactician. He possessed special qualities that made the others to consider him the true leader of the crusading expedition. Many historians presented him as a ruthless man, cruel and merciless when in play the glory, the wealth and power of the Republic of St. Mark. He was undoubtedly an ardent Venetian patriot³⁰. As a Venetian and as a bourgeois or burgher, his qualities were not identical with those of a knight in the northern Europe. He was ambitious for his personal pride and for the prosperity of his Republic³¹. Dandolo was able to smoothly assert his authority in and out of Venice. He began to be respected in Verona, preventing the Venice trade on the Adige River, through a quick action, crushing all resistance of Verona, who in September 21, 1192 came to Venice to seek peace. It was concluded a treaty which imposed the respect of the priorities of the Republic in Treviso also³².

Negotiations between the Crusading Embassy and the Doge of Venice

After the official reception by the Doge of Venice of the Crusading embassy, the representatives of the Crusaders surrendered to the Doge the credentials, to which there were attached the terms given to them, in the authority to conclude an agreement with the Republic of Venice. The doge has set a hearing before the City Council, in four days of their arrival. The Council reduced to an executive body composed of the doge and a fluctuating group of ducal judges. After four days, the crusading embassy came to the doge's palace where they presented their request: *"My lord, I came to you because we were sent by the great barons of France who put the cross to wash the shame made to Jesus Christ and to conquer Jerusalem if God will allow. And as they know that the others do not have the power that you have, our people appeal in God's name to have mercy on the sea land and on the shame made to Jesus"*

²⁹ Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *op.cit.*, p.9.

³⁰ Claudio Rendina, *op. cit.*, p.132.

³¹ Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *op. cit.*, p.10.

³² Claudio Rendina, *op.cit.*, p. 133.

*Christ and to know in what way could they get the vessels and a fleet*³³. Although Villehardouin does not record any estimate of the number of crusaders, they certainly have sent him to the Doge, as it is improbable to open the negotiations while requesting a fleet and without specifying its name. The Doge replied that he will answer in eight days. When the French knights were presented again to the palace on the day set, the Doge and his Council were prepared to offer. The doge asked to pay 4 marks for each rider and each horse and two marks for each soldier, a total of 94 000 marks³⁴. In addition to transport, which the French had demanded, Dandolo offered to provide 50 war galleys on the Venice's expense, provided that the Venetians would receive half of the division of any achievements made. Crusaders delegates said they should consult each other and that will meet the next day. The next day, after negotiations, the price was fixed at 85,000 silver marks, amount to be paid in four instalments, in April 1202 when the Crusaders will come to Venice, and the fleet would be ready to sail on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul on June 29³⁵.

When the treaty was presented to the Grand Council, he was applauded and approved. Ultimately, for the final acceptance of the Treaty of Venice, Dandolo called a rally consisting of about ten thousand people. According to Villehardouin, the doge gathered the people in St. Mark's church to hear the Saint Mass and to pray for this decision. After the service ended, the messengers of Crusaders, by Geoffroy of Villehardouin addressed the assembly in these words: *"Your lords, your barons of France, the most important and most powerful, have driven us to you and ask you forcefully to have mercy on Jerusalem, which is in bondage of the Turks, and, in the Lord's name, to condescend to associate with them to avenge the disgrace brought to Jesus Christ. And they have chosen you out because I know that, of all people from the sea, there are not other people more powerful than you and your family. And we were commanded to fall at your feet and not get up until you will not be permitted to endure the Holy Land over the sea"*³⁶. Ending his plea, Villehardouin and other delegates, fell on their knees, tears pouring and the doge with all the others shouted in unison raising hands and saying, *"Approved!"*. Then, the doge addressed the people from the pulpit, saying how much they are honoured that the greatest people chose them to accompany them in this enterprise. The representatives of the crusaders have fulfilled their mission, and moreover, the Venetians agreed not only to provide transportation

³³ Geoffroy of Villehardouin, *op. cit.*, p.32.

³⁴ Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

³⁵ Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, translated by John Gillingham, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1972, p.186.

³⁶ Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *op. cit.*, p.34.

of the Crusaders, but also to join the expedition as allies³⁷. The next day the treaty was drawn up officially. Two copies of it, both on behalf of the doge, survived. When he handed them the documents - says Villehardouin - he knelt pouring streams of tears and swore with his hand on the Gospel to keep in good faith the agreements that were included in the Treaty³⁸.

Treaty did not mention the shipping destination, Egypt being not mentioned in the treaty. The historians Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden consider that the representatives of the French delegation and the Venetians have had a collusion concerning the beginning of the crusade in Egypt, because they believed that the Holy Land would be recaptured from the Muslims much easier this way than through a direct assault. The strategy to take Jerusalem by attacking Egypt was not new. Indirect allusions were still during the First Crusade. Then King William I of Sicily (1154-1166) sent 60 ships in a successful raid in Egypt in 1154. Also, the King Amalric of Jerusalem (1163-1174) took Alexandria in 1167 and led siege to Cairo the following year. In 1174 Amalric planned an assault against Alexandria in combination with a huge fleet sent by William II of Sicily (1166-1189), was helped by some Shiite rebels³⁹. The idea of an attack on the Western Crusaders in the centre of Muslim power gained greater support after the expedition of Richard the Lionheart (1189-1199). For choosing Egypt in the fourth crusade start there were several reasons we no longer take into account. But remember that concerning the Christians of Byzantium, they entered into a 5-year peace treaty with the Muslims in 1198 and were not willing to break⁴⁰. In the treaty between the French and Venetian Crusaders, Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) has agreed on May 8, 1201⁴¹, but he insisted that they not attack Christian cities⁴².

Return of the Crusading Embassy in France

Before leaving Venice, the crusading delegation lent 2,000 marks to pay Venice in order to start the construction of the fleet⁴³. After making farewell of the Venetians, the Crusaders were headed for Lombardy and arrived in Piacenza. There, Geoffroy of Villehardouin, Marshal of Champagne and Alard

³⁷ Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *op.cit.*, p.14.

³⁸ Geoffroy of Villehardouin, *op.cit.*, p.35.

³⁹ Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *op.cit.*, p.14.

⁴⁰ A point of view on the relationship between the Byzantium and the Muslims in the Middle Ages is provided by the historian Emanoil Băbuș, in the work *Bizanț și islam în Evul Mediu*, Editura Sophia, București, 2003.

⁴¹ Joseph Gill, *Byzantium and The Papacy: 1198-1400*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1979, p.14.

⁴² John Godfrey, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁴³ Geoffroy of Villehardouin, *op.cit.*, p. 35.

Maquerean, were separated from their companions and went straight home to France. The other four members of the delegation went to Pisa and Genoa, to explore possibilities to help find a Crusade⁴⁴. The Pisan and Genoese peoples could not easily be persuaded to join such an adventure, where they could be allied with deadly rivals, the Venetians⁴⁵.

While passing the Alps in Burgundy, Villehardouin met Count Gautier of Brienne, who went to Apulia to conquer the land of his wife, who was the daughter of Norman King Tancred of Lecce (1190-1194). Gautier de Montbéliard, Eustache de Conflans, Robert De Joinville and a lot of people, who were also crusaders, went with him. They were revealed their agreement with Venice and they were very happy, promising they will be ready to join the Christian army at the right time⁴⁶.

At home in Champagne, Villehardouin, he found a critical situation. The leader of the crusading army, Count Thibaud, was sick and in a depressed mood. He died shortly after the May 24, 1201⁴⁷. Villehardouin presents in his Chronicle his large grief occasioned by his death: "*unique sorrow, as never seemed before.*"⁴⁸. His body was buried near his father in the monastery of St. Stephen of Troyes.

Preparation of the Venetian Fleet

As mentioned, before leaving Venice, the crusader delegation borrowed 2,000 marks, to offer to the doge, to start building the fleet. The preparation of transport vessels for an army of 33,500 men, plus 50 galleys that Venice was going to provide at its own expense, represented a massive undertaking, even for the great maritime republic of the Adriatic sea⁴⁹. Robert of Clari tells that the Doge suspended the trade of Venice for eighteen months and ordered the ships to return home to focus on the preparation of this massive fleet. Even if they were mostly private merchant ships, they were contracted during the power of the doge in the service of the State. Although there were ships, the state had to pay for the construction of larger and more ships. In the recent decades, the Doge had the power within the Republic to order vessels from the famous Venetian arsenal, but in 1201 the construction of vessels was still a large undertaking of the private practice. A difficult aspect for Venice was the need

⁴⁴ Robert de Clari informs us that the crusader's delegation was interested in the possibility of transport of the Crusaders to Genoa and Pisa, before Venice.

⁴⁵ John Godfrey, *op.cit.*, p. 52.

⁴⁶ Geoffroy of Villehardouin, *op.cit.*, p.36.

⁴⁷ Jean Richard, *The Crusades*, translated by Jean Birrell, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999, p. 244.

⁴⁸ Geoffroy of Villehardouin, *op.cit.*, p.37.

⁴⁹ Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *op. cit.*, p.17.

to ensure strong people for the ships crews. The crews for 450 transport ships and 50 war galleys could require a total of 14,000 men, equalling the major men population of Venice. To mobilize such a great force, the Venetian State could not rely solely on the alleged Cross volunteers. When Henry Dandolo proposed to the Crusaders delegates that their application was a big issue, he was right. The preparation of the crusading fleet consumed the attention of Venice, its resources and the trade for more than a year. This was the greatest effort and endeavour in the history of Venice, the largest project of a state in Western Europe from Roman times and by that time. The city has made a colossal effort to support this expedition⁵⁰.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 18.

A POLEMICAL ANTICALVINIST TEXT PREVIOUS TO THE „ANSWER AGAINST THE CALVINIST CATECHISM”

*Mihai GEORGÎĂ**

Abstract: *It was taken an attitude against the Calvinist propaganda not only out of Transylvania but inside too. As an echo of the synod from Iași and of course against the Calvinist proselytism promoted by the princes of Transylvania, there were made up polemical and anticalvinist texts, previous to the polemical writing of the archbishop Varlaam: “Answer against the Calvinist catechism”. The most known anticalvinist text, copied by Mihai Românul in a miscellany in the period 1640-1644, it is called „Spunerea legiei crestine cu raspuns”. The writing could be a processing after a polemical Catechism, with fragments from Romanian translations of Bible parts, adapted to the realities and requests from Transylvania.*

Keywords: anticalvinist text, Catechism, manuscript, Transylvania, 17 century.

The appearance of catechism assigned to the patriarch Kiril Lukaris at Geneva, in which the points of doctrine influenced by Calvinism weren't less, produced a moment of great tension in the Orthodox church. The reply to this catechism was given immediately by the archbishop Petru Movila, who at Kiev together with the theologians from movileana Academy draw up an Orthodox confession, remained until today at the base of orthodox dogma. The first version was approved by a local council from Kiev in September 1640, but it was necessary a consecration of higher rank, that could arise from the meeting of a general synod of Eastern church representatives. Because it couldn't be organized at Constantinopol, Vasile Lupu, the greatest protector at that time of Eastern patriarchates, organized it in 1642 at Iasi, because the Moldavia church had autocephaly rank. Between 15 September and 26 October, the theologians from Ucraina, the Archbishop Varlaam of Moldavia with his bishops, Porfirie, former archbishop of Niceea and the reputed theologian and the great preacher of ecumenical Patriarchate, Meletie Syrigos, have discussed on Petru Movila confession. Meletie Syrigos had some fundamental objections, because

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Movila's confession, combating the Calvinist teachings from Lukaris' catechism, gave way to Catholicism, accepting the dogma of Purgatory and the specification of epiclesis moment. Thus, Syrigos made some changes, accepted by the synod, and translated the text in Greek, confirmed then by the four Patriarches of Eastern¹.

After the appearance of the orthodox confession of Petru Movila, she was adopted like normative work of the orthodox church. From now on the counteraction of protestant proselytism is supported almost systematically, following in this period of maximum affirmation of Calvinist propaganda, orthodox replies extremely strong. There are dates which confirm that, after the completion of the synod works from Iași, at the typography of monastery Three Hierarchs, on 20 December 1642, it was printed a decree in Greek of the patriarch Partenie, which appeared the following year in Latin version at Paris, issued against the Calvinist teachings and writings of Calvinist shade of the patriarch Kiril Lukaris, on whom it was fallen the anathema². At the same day, it appeared under the pressing of the typography from Iasi a Slav Catechism, under the common auspices of Greek and Russian churches gathered in synod, having a polemical content against the Lutherans and the Calvinists³, therefore a work which didn't want anymore to establish the dogmas of Eastern faith in relation to other confessions, but to combat them. Of course, the Slav catechism was made around the synod held in Moldavia in the same year, also initiated, against the Protestants. The content of the book, divided into questions and answers, was a reply to the faith confession printed by the Lutheran Conrad Teodorie. The text systematized on questions and short answers was designed for „ anyone of the Christians, willing to learn, to answer by itself, without no other rule, against the Lutherans and Calvinists mentioned above.” If „The Orthodox Confession” was a work profound theological designed to the servants of the altar, this Slavonic Catechism was a simple cultural-religious tool made available for the orthodox faithful with a minimal education in order to manage himself in a religious dispute with a protestant. Of course, the faithful had to be educated in the Slavonic cultural environment. But it wasn't efficiently for the Romanians, quite a lot, who didn't know the Slavonic language.

It was taken an attitude against the Calvinist propaganda not only out of Transylvania but inside too. As an echo of the synod from Iasi and of course against the Calvinist proselytism promoted by the princes of Transylvania, there were made up polemical and antic Calvinist texts, previous to the polemical writing of the archbishop Varlaam: “*Answer against the Calvinist catechism*”.

¹ Dan Horia Mazilu, *Recitind literatura română veche*, I, București, 1994, p. 329-330.

² *Bibliografia Românească Veche*, tom I, București, 1303, p. 119, 536.

³ *Ibidem*, tom IV, București, 1944, p. 23-24.

At the mid 17th century the scholar Mihai Românuț, good connoisseur of Slavonic and Romanian languages, copied Romanian books in the area of Apuseni Mountains, in Zarand and Bihor. The first manuscript which was kept from him was copied on the valley of Crisul Negru and it was a teaching book having on basis the 1st Cazania of Coresi⁴, but ample processed, giving a local version with all linguistic-dialectal features⁵. This Cazania (The sense of Gospels), as we know, was printed by Coresi together with a Molitvelnic, who became Calvinist. We don't know if this Molitvelnic has copied the manuscript, because he didn't keep that. However, the copy of Cazania is a testimony of Calvinist influence, even if he processed it. So, we can assume that at the beginning of his activity he worked in an environment influenced by Protestantism. But he will distance gradually in order to adopt an anticalvinist attitude in his subsequent writings.

A miscellany, discovered at Ighiel, was attributed after all the features of writing and note, to Mihai Românuț. The Miscellany was copied around the year 1647 in Brad area, and in 1672 it is bought by Nistor Magda from Brotuna (20 km west of Brad) and given to the priest Mihai from Bucuresti (10 km east of Brad), then passed in the possession of priest Ion from Ampoita (15 km of Alba Iulia) and in 1684 in the day of Holy Cross it arrives to priest Ion from Ighiel⁶. For our investigation it is interesting the fragment from the marriage ceremony. The marriage ceremony also appears in the molitvelnic of Coresi, which we suppose that Mihai Românuț knows very well, as he also knew Cazania. This time, in his copy, Mihai Românuț brings many corrections to coresian text, trying to purify it by Calvinist interferences. Even if he didn't succeed entirely, it can be seen a recovery towards the orthodoxy.

But the most known anticalvinist text, copied by Mihai Românuț in a miscellany in the period 1640-1644, it is called „Spunerea legiei crestine cu raspuns”. Alexandru Mares, the first who made a philological research on the text and dated it, has proved that it is a copy and not the own composition of Mihai Românuț⁷. The copy of the entire miscellany was made in haste, because excepting Psalms from the first Catisma, the other texts are not kept entirely. It is interesting that the text „Spunerea legiei...”, was integrated in a manuscript, in which all the other texts had in a great part an identical destination, being employed in the religious service. We can only suppose what determined the copyist to join a fragment from a polemical text. It was necessary to use that in

⁴ Florian Dudaș, *Urme din trecutul Transilvaniei*, Timișoara, 2004, p. 205.

⁵ Idem, *Vechile manuscrise din Ţara Bihorului*, I, Oradea, 2008, p. 38-40.

⁶ Ioan Turcu, *Popa Mihai, un interesant copist din secolul al XVII-lea. Fragmentul său din slujba cununiei păstrat în miscelaneul din Ighiel*, în „Biserica Ortodoxă Română”, XCI, nr. 11-12, 1973, p. 1268-1273.

⁷ Alexandru Mareș, *Un text polemic românesc din prima jumătatea a secolului al XVII-lea*, în „Limba română”, XX, nr. 6, 1971, p. 589-592.

a time and an area, where there were confrontations with the Calvinists. Regarding the sources of this polemical writing, Alexandru Mares proved that it wasn't about a translation from the Slavonic Catechism, appeared at Iași in 1642, because it aims first of all working conditions from Transylvania. The criticism of the text shows that it is a Romanian elaboration, in which the evangelic quotations are taken after contemporary Romanian versions of the New Testament, and the fact that the references to chapters and verses are sometimes omitted, indicated wrongly and inverted by that one who made the text – even if the wrong digital indications are put on account of the copyist-, proves moreover that a printed text like the Slavonic Catechism couldn't dispense by clear and accurate references to the Holy Scripture. In the same time, we can notice that, this type of errors, as well as the transcription, are the result of the rush that was made the writing, a rush imposed by the theological confrontation of the orthodox church with the Calvinist church. However, the writing could be a processing after a polemical Catechism, like the Slavonic one, published at Iași, with fragments from Romanian translations of Bible parts, adapted to the realities and requests from Transylvania, a thing suggested by the fact that the interventions of the two polemical partners are noted constantly in Slavonic language, and the form *liutur* or *liuter*, presents the phonetism of *l* from Slavonic⁸.

If we know the person of the copyist, we don't know the person of the author. We suppose, just like Alexandru Mares, that the work should have been emanated from a hierarch (archbishop, bishop, dean), who could allow himself to ask advice at the first person. The features of language and the references to the working conditions from Transylvania show us that the source from which Mihai Romanul copied comes from the same region, where he lives. The use of the excerpts from a Moldavian Apostol, makes Alexandru Mares to suppose, at hypothetical level, that the author of the polemical text could be the archbishop Ilie Iorest, former monk at Putna and connoisseur of the religious realities from Transylvania, but he doesn't exclude, at the same time, the hypothesis that the author should been made by a dean or an abbot of Prislop monastery, near Hațeg⁹.

We are not interested about the formal aspects of the text, analysed with much professionalism by Alexandru Mares, but about its content. The analysis of the polemical discourse and of the content should be elaborated, from our point of view, in order to reveal the level at which there was the doctrinal confrontation between orthodoxes and Calvinists, as well as the intellectual means and of theological argumentation made in debate. For all these, I consulted the original of the manuscript, which it is at the library of Romanian Academy from Bucharest.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 593-596.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 596-598.

In great part, the text „Spunerea legiei...” is a polemical dialogue between *Hristiian*, understood as orthodox and *Liuter*, understood as Calvin. The term *liuter*, used in the text, must be taken generically as protestant, and if we take into consideration the fact that the Lutherans didn't make proselytism anymore in the middle of 17th century, certainly this term could be attributed to Calvinists¹⁰. In fact, this term was more usual in Romanians' language. Varlaam, although he combats in his Answer the Calvinist catechism, rarely reminds them, and then besides the Lutherans. But he prefers to call them Lutherans, as he mentions in the letter addressed to the tzar of Russia, asking compassion for Ilie Iorest; about the Calvinist superintendent George Csulay, he says that „he is in the Lutheran eres in which the king and all the Hungarians are”, and that Ilie Iorest was jailed with other priests „for the Christian faith, wanting to convert them to Lutheranism”¹¹.

The presentation of the heresies from Transylvania in the text „Spunerea legiei...”, without mentioning the Calvinists, representatives of the main reformed current, stresses the idea that the term *Liutur* substituted the Calvinist one¹².

The text is made up in great part of quotations and reproductions from Holy Scripture, especially from the New Will, followed by short comments. Because the Calvinist propagandists reproached to the Orthodoxes that they had faith „without Scripture”, the orthodox theologians considered that they combated most efficiently with the own tools, making references only to the scriptural text and logical reasons, without invoking the tradition and the learnings of the holy parents.

The text „Spunerea legiei...” begins with an introduction, in which the author invites the reader and the listener to tempt the scriptures „in order not to run mad somehow, because there are many who have run mad from Scripture”, a clear allusion to the Protestants, showing through the predictions of the apostles Petru and Pavel that „the ones who are uncured and unlearned, they distort as other Scriptures to their destruction”, and others will raise „if they speak wrongly”. The author underlines the prophecy of Petru, who said that („la dzilele din apoi vor veni ocarnicii de vor umbla dupa voia sa si dupa pohtele sale”), a prophecy certified when the „enemies raised against the faith”... („si de toate partile ca niste lupi casca spre crestini si vor sa risipiasca besearca lui Hristos sis a piardza lauda lui”). Thus, the orthodox church and its learning is stormed from all sides. But the most dangerous enemy is identified in the Calvinist (Lutheran): „Those who are more hostile to Hristos than the Liuturii,

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 590-591.

¹¹ Silviu Dragomir, *Relațiile bisericii românești cu Rusia în secolul al XVII-lea*, în „Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile secțiunii istorice”, seria II-a, tom, XXXIV, 1911-1912, p. 1169-1170.

¹² Biblioteca Acedemiei Române, *Manuscrisul românesc 4818*, fila 48.

who distort the scriptures and spoil them after their wish, as the apostle Petru said, and where they like they believe, and where they don't like they don't believe. From outside they look faithful, and from inside they reflect to faith, like the wolf to the sheep. God teaches us to beware of these ones"¹³. They can be recognized, in principal, because, „vietuiesc ca si paganii si nice o pocaianie n-au printru gresealele lor niceodinioara”, because they never confess their sins and they don't have the mystery of confession.

The author is alarmed by the fact that some of the orthodox Christians disavow their faith and follow the Calvinists, what proves that there have been conversions. („ce inca si din noi ia oameni si samana erese intr-inima lor si-i invata sa huleasca moartea si rastignirea lui Hristos, adica crucea”). Besides the fact that they ignore the right learning, the Calvinists are always in polemics and religious confessions in order to denigrate the orthodox faith. („Acestia toti nu parasesc de a facerea sfada si para asupra crestinatatei si-s gata a intreba si pritci in toata vremea”). That's why, the orthodoxes must be ready in case of need and pinch to give them an answer. But, the author, in accordance with the letters of Pavel, recommends them, however, when there is no need and pinch, to avoid the Calvinists and the confessions and polemics with these ones¹⁴.

From here, we can deduce, on the one hand, that the author recognized the inclination of Calvinists to polemic and their skill in theological contests, and on the other hand, the defensive position of the orthodox church in the confrontation with other confessions. The tone is not a resigned one in front of the prophecy of the apostles, according to whom the heretics will increase, and not catastrophic as the interpreter of a text from The Codice from Cohalm¹⁵ understands: „the heretics will raise, like the liuturii, the sambotasii, the arians and others like these”. The worry, as well as the indignation, manifest themselves to the orthodoxes who fall in apostasy to satisfy their small worldly purposes: („si din noi sa vor ridica unii de vor grai stramb, in ce chip vedem amu multi. Ca printru ca-s imple voia pre toate poftele lumiei sis a fie slobodzi de sub giugul cel bun si usor a lui Hristos, ci sa leapada de credinta cea dreapta si luminata. Si ocarnicii si hulitorii legiei lui Hristos mai rai-s decat ceia ce-s din nastere necredincios”).

In order to cope with the doctrinal contests of Calvinists, the author presents and consists his writing in eight points: the cross, the post (the Lent), the priest married just once, the interdiction of marriage for the bishop, the salvation of the orthodox, the worship of the saints, the prayer for the dead and the holy mysteries. With the explanation that these will be discussed as

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. filele 42-44.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, filele 45-47.

¹⁵ Eufrosina Simionescu, *Monumente literare vechi-codicele de la Cohalm*, Huși, 1924, p. 9-16.

questions and answers, the introduction will end¹⁶. Unfortunately, it was copied only the answer to the dogma of the holy cross.

At the reasons of *Liuturi*, extracted from Bible, why the holy cross should not be honoured, which symbolizes the punishment of Jesus and not the victory of death and sin, the author brings contra arguments from Bible too. The main idea around which this orthodox theologian makes his argumentation, ample and nuance, is that the wood of the cross is not honoured, but the object as symbol and altar of salvation¹⁷. But the answer doesn't stop to the authority of the biblical text, so there are looking for logical arguments in order to justify and defend the dogma of the holy cross. For example, it is made a comparison of the cross with the flag and the weapon. „O, tell me, liuturi, are all to worship for the tissue of the imperial flag or for the power of the emperor? Or the weapon with which the king conquers his enemies, is it honoured for its grace or for the king's bravery? We know that neither the flag nor the weapon don't have honour for themselves, but for the king's victory and power. Thus, we don't have faith in the wood of the cross, but in the power of Hristos for what has he done on the cross”¹⁸. Therefore, the cross was venerated because through and on it Hristos brought the salvation of the world. That's why, it is the cross that will appear before the second Coming¹⁹. The last phrase from which the text interrupts, proves that the writing was addressed to the Romanians, those from Transylvania: „You, Romanians, if you worship at the cross, you must worship at all woods, because it was the wood where Jesus Hristos was crucified...”²⁰.

Short passages from the first answer offered by the orthodox part shows that the text, „Spunerea legiei...” had the mission to serve as a guide in order to have a contest in a public place, eventually an assembly of a synod, convened to the requirement of the prince, where there are going to demonstrate the truths of faith between the Calvinists and the Orthodoxes: „ why do you ask, we demand on you with the name of Hristos not to stop the word that we'll say, neither with the name of God, nor with the name of king” or („in cinste ne intrebati, de nu ne lasat sa tinem cum am apucat dintaiu de la sfintii apostoli”). Even if it was kept only a fragment copied from this writing, it reveals us the level of the polemical anticalvinist discourse from that culminate stage of the confrontation with the Calvinist propaganda.

¹⁶ *Manuscrisul 4818*, filele 48-49.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, filele 50-62.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, fila 63.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, fila 64.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, fila 65.

SEXTIL PUȘCARIU'S DACOROMANIA

*Mihaela Goman**

Abstract: *One of the important personalities in the intellectual life of Cluj was undoubtedly Sextil Pușcariu. Established in the town on the Someș River, in 1919 has linked his name forever to the newly established University, the rector of which he was in the years 1919-1920 and 1940-1941, respectively. However, the institution that consecrated him in the terms of his preparation - belonged, in fact, to the young Romanian scientific strongholds - was the Romanian Language Museum. He called his main periodical Dacoromania, the first volume saw the light of print in 1920, and the last (the eleventh) in 1948, when his founder, the famous philologist and linguist, died.*

Keywords: *Sextil Pușcariu, Romanian Language Museum, Dacoromania, periodic, linguist*

In this paper, we propose to present some aspects related to the interwar scientific work done by the famous linguist Sextil Pușcariu in Cluj, more precisely on a segment of his, that of founder of an important institution of language, history and literary criticism, the *Romanian Language Museum* and its bulletin entitled, suggestively, *Dacoromania*.

They commonly know about the life and the teaching and scientific activity of the scholar of Aromanian origin. However, we remember that the university studies in Leipzig - where he held the doctorate, too, being, among others, pupil and collaborator of Professor Gustav Weygand - have profoundly affected the young Pușcariu managing to mark his subsequent training, perfected in Paris and Vienna, drawing gradually the profile of a well-known philologist¹.

At the end of World War I, specifically in 1919, Sextil Pușcariu settled down in Cluj, that he was part of the myriad of personalities called to give prestigious to the new University what opened widely its doors to the Romanian and world science and culture. Moreover, Sextil Pușcariu received the supreme task of leading the destinies of the young University, appointed its first rector, in a particularly difficult moment, teaching also in this position for it, to

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¹ Elisabeta Faiciuc, *Sextil Pușcariu (1877-1948) Biobliografie*, Clusium Publishing House, Romanian Language Museum Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2000, passim

become a Romanian national citadel, with the other two Alma Maters in Bucharest and Iași.

In the service of this goal, he put all his skill and erudition, and, his attachment to the material and spiritual values of the Romanian people was to be the cornerstone of his concerns. In this respect, the land had to be marked out, even since 1919, by the implementation of the first parts, namely by the establishment of a specialized institution called the *Romanian Language Museum*. From the position of director of its, closely Sextil Pușcariu bothered developing the *Romanian Linguistic Atlas*, a Benedictine work, to which labor also contributed other Romanian specialists in the field. Pușcariu's intention was to corroborate the linguistic problems with the ethnographic, folkloric ones, clearly aiming to highlight some commonalities, but also to provide the research an exhaustive character as a whole. For the purpose they developed *questionnaires* (in eight) applied to the so-called linguistic investigations all over the country, including in Bihor County², to which the ethnographer Romulus Vuia and the folklorist Ion Mușlea have contributed, the last being also that who founded the *Folklore Archives* in Cluj.

In fact, the two institutions mentioned above, namely the *Romanian Language Museum* and the *Folklore Archives* have been ascribed to the University of Cluj. In their indoors have activated famous personalities of the moment such as Sextil Pușcariu, Ion Mușlea, Sever Pop, Ștefan Pașca, G. Giuglea, Vasile Bogrea, Theodor Capidan, Nicolae Drăganu, Alexe Procopovici, Theodor A. Naum, Emil Petrovici, Tiberiu Morariu etc., who actively campaigned to investigate the realities of the Romanian village as linguistic, ethnographic and folklore aspect³. Next to them, experts from abroad (Wilhelm Meyer - Lübke, Bitay Árpád, Giandomenico Serra, Carlo Tagliavini) who agreed to publish in the bulletin pages of the *Romanian Language Museum*, *Dacoromania*, important studies and articles, giving it a real prestige, were also included as members. Some of them settled down in Cluj, as it was the case of Professor Giandomenico Serra, his teaching and scientific activity wiggling back and forth between the University, where he was the titular of the Italian Department for 19 years (1920-1939) and the *Romanian Language Museum*.

Dacoromania was not only the main periodic newspaper of the *Romanian Language Museum*, but also a true scientific school, where they made and affirmed a number of specialists, especially in linguistics, under the watchful eye of its founder, who took care also about its scientific behavior.

² Vasile Todincă, Mihaela Bulc, *Lumea satului românesc în răspunsuri la chestionarele Muzeului Limbii Române din Cluj (zona Bihorului)*, Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, passim

³ *Ibid*, p. 29

The detailed analysis of the magazine *Dacoromania* firstly gives the reader a first observation, namely that it appeared regularly every year, at least in the first three years (1920-1923). Then, some changes of social-economic and political color in the Romanian society in connivance with the prolific work of the *Romanian Language Museum's* members have determined either the appearance of the periodical in two distinct parts (it is the case of the fourth volume, for the years 1924-1926 and of the tenth volume, for the years 1938-1943), or the appearance of some volumes, which although with a relatively small number of pages as the former others, characterized an unusual time (applicable to the latest volume, the eleventh, which overlaps the period 1944-1948 and contains only 408 pages).

In other words, the first volume appeared a year after the founding of the *Romanian Language Museum* in 1920, and the last in 1948, when the founder of the mentioned institution and namely of its bulletin - *Dacoromania* - Sextil Pușcariu, died.

Returning to Sextil Pușcariu we should note that he signed each time the different columns in the pages of the specialized magazine *Dacoromania* as *From the Perspective of the Dictionary, Etymologies, On the Margins of the Books* through which he prepared thoroughly the *Romanian Linguistic Atlas* and his basic work the *Romanian Language*. To these we add the numerous reviews, but also the necrology, from the contents of the sixth volume (1929-1930), written by Pușcariu on the occasion of passing away of his former professor from the University of Leipzig, Gustav Weygand.

In 1936, at the age of 75 years, another contributor to the magazine, namely, Professor Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke from Vienna died, and to mark this in a different way, the ninth volume (1936 - 1938) was a tribute dedicated to the personality of the great disappeared.

The end of 1939 caused to mourn again the *Romanian Language Museum* staff by passing away of Nicolae Drăganu, professor of the Old Romanian Language and Literature object at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy of the University of Cluj. Philologist, linguist and literary historian, he held the position of dean of the above mentioned Faculty, being also the mayor of Cluj, in the period 1933-1938. In the tenth volume (1938-1941), printed in Sibiu in few pages, Sextil Pușcariu brought a pious homage to his commonalty fellow. Beginning with this number, the bulletin *Dacoromania* was to have a *steering committee* composed of the oldest and most steadfast collaborators of its. In the same year, 1939, in Brussels will take place the International Congress of Linguistics that they postponed because of outbreak of World War II. If by the tenth volume, the name of Sextil Pușcariu is mentioned frequently on the cover of the magazine and namely, at the contents, the eleventh volume (1944-1948) is directed by Ștefan Pașca and Emil Petrovici, Pușcariu's closest collaborators. It is also a reverential volume

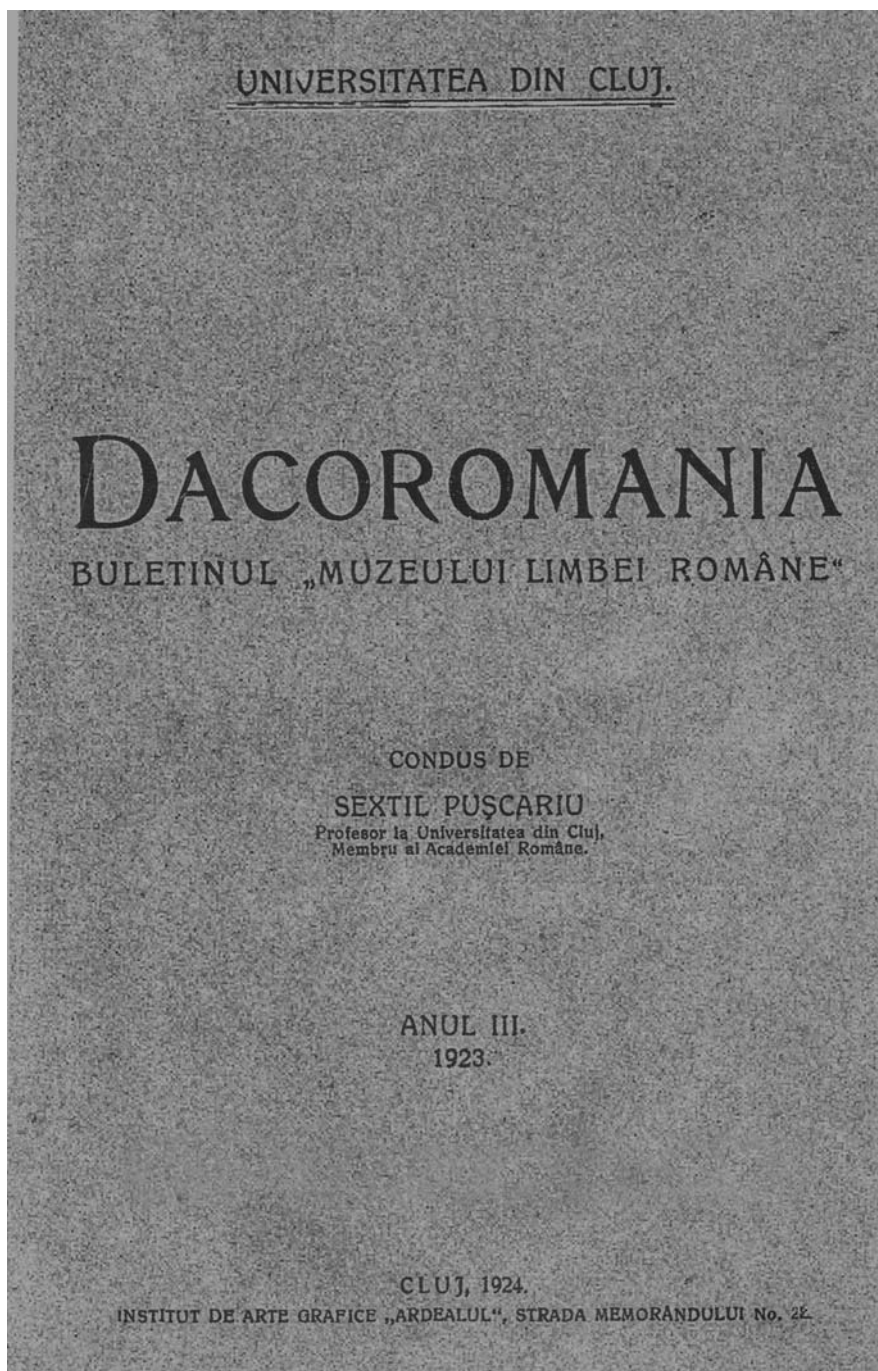
dedicated to Professor Constantin Daicoviciu, historian and archaeologist, on the anniversary of commemorating of 50 years of age. In early 1937 he was among the members of the *Romanian Language Museum* (see Annex 1).

We should also mention the fact that this institution, although they ascribed it to the University of Cluj, including also its specialized magazine *Dacoromania* that appeared under its auspices, however, had its own library (led by Sextil Pușcariu). For example, in 1939 they sent the *Dacoromania* bulletin to no more than 45 publications in the country and to 41 abroad, which shows the large internal and international circulation that enjoyed. In addition, its value increased year by year, thanks to the autochthon and foreign experts who agreed to publish in the contents of each volume, interesting and relevant topics of linguistics in particular, most fruit of their research.

The *Dacoromania* magazine founded by Sextil Pușcariu would continue to exist after his death, too, occurring for a period (1973-1993) in Freiburg, Germany. Those who have opened a new series for *Dacoromania* magazine in 1994, respectively the specialists from the Institute of Linguistics and Literary History in Cluj-Napoca appreciated the efforts of their forebears and above all, the titanic work done by the great Romanian linguist of the 19th century, Sextil Pușcariu. Moreover, as a deep recognition of his merits, the institute bears his name today.



Annex 1. The members of the *Romanian Language Museum* in 1937 - National History Museum of Transylvania in Cluj - Napoca, *Constantin Daicoviciu Fund*



Annex 2. *Dacoromania*, the bulletin of the Romanian Language Museum

THE HUNGARIAN SOCIETIES FROM ORADEA AND BIHOR COUNTY AT THE END OF THE 19TH AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURIES

*Radu ROMÎNAȘU**
*Mihaela CIOCA***

***Abstract:** The authors present the main aspects of Hungarian cultural societies' activity from Oradea and Bihor County at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. These reunions and societies clearly contributed to the affirmation of the self consciences of the Hungarian communities from the above mentioned areal, which, through their cultural activities, constituted a dynamic factor of the spiritual life from Bihor county. These societies had functioned mainly in the urban milieu, through some traditional cultural propaganda ways, developed and restructured at the beginning of the 20th century.*

***Key words:** cultural societies, associations, education, modernity, Bihor County*

The issue of cultural associationism has captured the interest of several generations of historians. Most of the times, the process was approached in proper visions, with notable results in the field of historical writing. Therefore, the main result is a complex historiography, which held a plurality of debated ideas. This effervescence caused a variety of approaches in the western part of the country, where the activity of cultural societies and associations that had functioned mainly in the urban milieu at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries has been analyzed by many researchers who took advantage of the rich amount of written sources.

Cultural meetings were defined and analyzed, by specialists in the field of creativity, as spiritual and social places that facilitated mutual understanding, exchange and cooperation between people of different social and cultural origins, pointing out the role of diversity in human potential development, both locally and nationally. They were also considered a catalyst for modernization

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and the intellectuals grouped in such societies were regarded as the true agents of "New", those who provided the dissemination of the national and European models.

In modern times, culture has been one of the most powerful instruments of national affirmation. Romanians and Hungarians, part of the Habsburg monarchy, understood that one of the best ways for achieving notable cultural progress, but in the same time preserving their own traditions and language, was the founding of reading societies and cultural associations.

Thus, the societies, associations and cultural meetings from Bihor County entered in a new phase of their existence, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, when radical changes were made in the structure of spiritual and scientific landscape.

That is due to the specialized state institutions, which, as a result of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy from the summer of 1867, have benefited the most of the new political context but also to the civil society which, through individual and collective activities, aimed at creating new cultural structures in accordance with the spirit of the epoch.

We can talk about a true implementation of cultural infrastructure which included institutions and cultural organizations, academies, schools, museums, libraries, archives, cultural associations, literary, scientific, artistic and cultural circles, theaters and actors bands, permanent orchestras, printing and publishing houses etc¹.

Given this cultural ferment, the Hungarian population of former Bihor County acted dynamically to materialize a genuine cultural life.

Thus, *The Hungarian National Casina of Bihor County (Bihari Nemzeti Kaszinó)* had an intense activity in the epoch. The society was founded in 1833, president being elected Fényes Károly and vice president Reviczky Frigyes. Between the years 1858-1890 the presidency of the society was owned by Baron Gerliczy Felix. The deputy of Oradea, Tisza Kálman, was also elected president of the above mentioned cultural institution².

The word "Casina" is an adaptation of the Viennese "Kasino". From its beginnings, the society was an exclusive club, accessible only to its members. Most of scholars have rejected the explanation of the term in its modern sense of casino, a space where games are played for money, highlighting instead its cultural meaning³.

¹ Katus László, *A polgári kultúra intézményrendszerének kiépülése Magyarországon a XIX. Században* (Realizarea infrastructurii instituționale a culturii burgheze pe teritoriul Ungariei în secolul al XIX-lea), în *Társadalom és kultúra Magyarországon a XVII-XIX században*, Pécs, 2003, p. 12

² Fehér Dezső, *Bihor-Biharmegye, Oradea-Nagyvárad kulturtörténete és őregdiákjainak emlékkönyve*, Oradea, 1933-1937, p. 200

³ Sextil Pușcariu, *Brașovul de altădată*, Editura Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1977, p. 216

It is true that Vienna has imposed itself as an important cultural center of Central Europe, a place where many cultural venues were opened, which provided an ideal framework for spiritual evolution. An eyewitness from the beginning of the twentieth century concluded regarding to the atmosphere of the city: "... Vienna venues had an important function in society. One could sit there for hours, to meet friends, play chess or read the newspaper next to a cup of coffee or cocoa [...] there existed clubs with different profiles, for business men, student associations and for those who had as hobby chess or billiards"⁴.

Gradually, the Hungarian Casina turned, out of political and social reasons, in a true cultural institution that has grouped the intellectual forces longing for freedom, progress and enlightenment of society.

The Casina was host for discussions about business and politics, but members could also serve coffee there or read passages from the epoch periodicals.

Casina's stated goal was to create a culturally framework in order to pursue educational, artistic and social activities. Association members were involved in organizing ample cultural events, for both urban and rural county's inhabitants. The memory of these activities (conferences, lectures and dissertations with diverse topics, from education and culture to pedagogy, social and literary meetings, social dances and social meetings where young people were able to show their cultural and artistic performances, philanthropy etc..) is held in numerous documents of the time.

The favorable climate created by an unprecedented spiritual effervescence, to which some of the Hungarian intellectuals thoroughly assimilated part of Western ideas and, by these means, had developed their own system of thought and action, lead to the development of new ideas, the emulation that conditioned success. They aimed at releasing the retrograde mentalities and prejudices, cultural mechanisms being placed on modern patterns, representing a viable alternative to the old ways of dissemination regarding cultural opportunities and aspiration to social climbing.

Even since 1849 the Hungarian National Casina of Bihor County had a well endowed library, which was destroyed by a fire. In 1863 the library was renewed with 5132 volumes (120 in Hungarian, 20 German and 185 in French for the year 1884). In the same year, according to statistics, the library was attended by 130 readers who have borrowed for study no less than 2685 volumes.

Around the year 1900 the library owned 3,200 volumes, of which 2,300 of literature. The Association allocated annually a specific amount of money (about 1,200 crowns) for book fund augmentation and printing local Hungarian

⁴ Brigitte Hamann, *Bécs és Hitler – Egy diktátor tanulói (Vienna și Hitler – mărturiile unui dictator)*, Editura Európa, Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 2000, p. 193

newspapers, the library being subscribed to 48 newspapers which appeared in German, English and French areas⁵.

The Civic Circle Society (*Polgári Kör*) was founded in 1868 and brought together artisans with cultural and artistic activities in the purpose of disseminating information from the field of political life. In 1875 the association had 570 members and dispose of a library with 1439 volumes⁶. For a long period of time, president of the society has been Mihály Mezey, royal public notary⁷.

The Popular Circle of Oradea-Velența and Oradea-Subcetate (*Váradvelence - és váralyai népkör*) was founded on February 28, 1870 at the initiative of the locals from Oradea-Velența and Oradea-Subcetate⁸. The society was lead by Dr. Dési Géza⁹, advocate. According to documentary sources, since 1884 the cultural circle owned a library that contained 737 volumes. In the same year, 112 readers borrowed and consulted 330 books from the mentioned library¹⁰.

The founding and organization of **The Society of Archaeology and History of Bihor County** (*Biharmegyei Régészeti és Történelmi Egyesület*) is related to the names of some personalities as Rómer Flóris, Bölönyi Sándor and Gyalókay Lajos. The society's first meeting was held on August 28, 1872 when Dóry József was elected president and Gyalókay Lajos¹¹ vice president. The society was later ruled by Rómer Flóris (from 1885), Bunyitai Vince (from 1891), Beóthy László and Karácsonyi János. In 1890 its name was changed into Archaeology and History Society of Bihor County and town of Oradea¹². According to the statutory aim, its purpose was the discovering and collecting objects, archaeological and historical evidence of the county or from other surrounding areas and the establishment of a museum of antiquities in Oradea¹³.

This latter goal was achieved in 1896, when the building designed and executed by Rimanóczy Kálmán¹⁴ was given to use. There have been exposed

⁵ Borovszky Samu, *Bihar Vármegye és Nagyvárad* (Comitatul Bihor și Oradea), Budapesta, 1901, p. 348

⁶ *Istoria Orașului Oradea...*, p. 264

⁷ Fehér Dezső, *op.cit.*, p. 200

⁸ *Ibidem*

⁹ *Istoria Orașului Oradea...*, p. 349

¹⁰ György Aladár (redactor), *Magyarország köz és magánkönyvtárai* (Bibliotecile publice și particulare din Ungaria) în *Hivatalos statisztikai közlöny* (Anuarul Statistic oficial), Budapesta, 1885, p. 354

¹¹ Fehér Dezső, *op.cit.*, p. 204

¹² Fleisz János, *Város kinek nem látni mását. Nagyvárad a dualizmus korában (1867-918)* (Orașul care nu are seamă. Oradea în perioada dualismului (1867-918) (în continuare: *Város kinek...*), Editura Bihari Napló, Oradea, 1996, p. 144

¹³ Letiția Roșu, *Istoricul primului edificiu stabil al muzeului orădean, în Centenar Muzeal Orădean*, 1972, Oradea, p. 83

¹⁴ Fleisz János, *Város kinek...*, p. 144

materials of history and archeology in three of the nine rooms the rest being dedicated to the Bishop Ipolyi Arnold collection (paintings in oil 521, gobelins 26, oriental carpets 83, antique furniture 77, gold objects 219 and antique vases 518) bequeath to town after the bishop's death¹⁵.

From its very beginnings the society owned a library, at first a modest one because the building had no adequate space for storing books. Favorable conditions occurred in 1885, when the Society was relocated in a building on Apáczta Street. As a result, in the following years the library has increased the number of volumes, initiating a fruitful exchange of publications with similar institutions from Transylvania and Hungary, while procuring also the books published under the aegis of the Hungarian Scientific Academy.

In 1896 the library has considerably increased the books number from donations, as that of Bölöni Sándor, former curator of the library, which gave 1313 volumes, mostly works with historical content. In the same year at the library book fund added the donation of "Juricskai" Library, consisting in 276 volumes. Also, the Society have archived some series of important documents that belonged to famous Hungarian families from Bihor, like Telegdi, Baranyi, Fráter, Csanády, Kazinczi, Ravaszdy, Bagossy and Nadányi. In 1908, the library had over 5,800 books available to readers¹⁶.

The Activity of Archaeology Society of Oradea, its presence in the local cultural life can also be analyzed through the links established since the first years of activity, with other societies with similar profile from Hungary. For example, parts of the correspondence between the provisional president, Lajos Gyalokay with his counterparts from B. Csaba or Syombathely had been kept in archives. From a letter dated August 6, 1874, addressed to the "respectable gentleman Gyalokay Lajos jr., Secretary of the Society of Archaeology and History of Bihor County" and signed by Zsilinszky Mihály, secretary of the Archaeology and History of Culture Society of Bélkés County, it is mentioned the need for collaboration between the two societies „... the greater the joy to take this opportunity, greeting you as a colleague, also assure you that I shall maintain, and even more, I shall strengthen the such necessary friendship between the societies with scientific purposes. And it will cause me great joy if I could communicate to you the main steps of the way to the common goal”¹⁷.

The collaboration was also maintained through the exchange of publications, as suggested in the following passage: “This (collaboration - Ed) could be easiest achieved by mutual exchange of publications and yearbooks”¹⁸.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 144 -145

¹⁶ *Biharmegyei Régészeti és Történelmi Egylet Évkönyve* (Anuarul Societății de Arheologie și Istorie din Bihor), 1885/1886, p. 93; *Ibidem*, 1887/1888, p. 59; Fleisz János, *Város kinek...*, p. 154

¹⁷ Arhivele Naționale-Serviciul Județean Bihor (în continuare: AN-SJBh.), *fond Societatea de Arheologie și Istorie a județului Bihor și a orașului Oradea*, dos. 1, f. 10

¹⁸ *Ibidem*

In another letter, dated 16 August, signed Miklós, it is stated: “In response to your esteemed lines addressed to me, it will always cause me great joy if I could help my colleague with any small thing in order to achieve the common goal”¹⁹, underlining once again the existence of a mandatory cooperation between cultural institutions

On October the 2nd 1892 *The „Szigligeti” Society* (*Szigligeti Társaság*) has been founded, under the presidency of Rádl Ödön, advocate and the vice presidency of the inspector Sípos Orbán. Among prominent members of society we must include the names of poets and writers as Biró Lajos, Nagy Endre, Juhász Gyula, Dutka Ákos and, of course, a number of writers from the young local generation. Other prominent members of this society were the Romanian scholar Iosif Vulcan and the Hungarian poet Ady Endre (from 1900). The Society had not exclusive literary preoccupations but it had also concernings about visual arts, a considerable part of the members being formed by artists or art critics²⁰. Due to its involvement in the town’s life, the Society’s name is connected with the act of building a theater in Oradea and the statue of Szigligeti Ede, of organizing exhibitions of fine arts, the founding of a public library. For twenty years, in Oradea there were only four such cultural establishments.

Of great importance is the Society’s editorial activity. In its first ten years of existence, there has been spent 1604.46 crowns for editing the society’s yearbooks and other publications, to which were added the members’ donations conferred to printing studies and literary creations²¹. In 1919, the society has ceased activity, but it was re-established in 1922 under the leadership of the Bishop Dr. Karácsonyi János.

The Society of Tomorrow (*Holnap*) was a Hungarian elite literary society, founded in Oradea in 1908, by a group of young journalists who were meeting at the "Emke" café (nowadays it is know as the tourist complex "Astoria" which subsequently became the local Journalists Club)²². The place was frequented also by Ady Endre, Juhász Gyula, Dutka Ákos, Emőd Tamás, Babits Mihály, Balázs Béla, Miklós Jutka. In this café took place several meetings between Ady Endre and Octavian Goga, the two being bound by a long lasting friendship. Discussions were focused - as a priority – on the revival of Hungarian poetry on modern bases, closer to the pulse of contemporary society. The literary society was able to publish, with the help of Ady Endre, two anthologies that have grouped the most successful creations of young members. For example, one was generic named *A Holnap (Tomorrow)*²³.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, f. 11

²⁰ Tóth János, *Contribuții la cunoașterea activității societăților culturale orădene în a doua jumătate a sec. al XIX-lea și începutul sec. al XX-lea*, în *Crisia*, 1981, p. 185

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 188

²² *Istoria Orașului Oradea...*, p. 268

²³ *Ibidem*; <http://www.revistanoinu.com/Poetul-Ady-Endre.html> (accesat în 20.10.2011)

An important Hungarian cultural society was ***The "Ady Endre" Society***. The idea of establishment crystallized in the days immediately following the poet's death (January 27, 1919). The founding meeting was held on 19 February 1919, one of the promoters of modern literary movement in Oradea through the "Holnap" Literary Society, Antal Sándor, was elected president. The society proposed the organization of scientific seminars on various topics, an Ady Endre celebration scheduled to take place at the Theater, starting with this occasion a sustained campaign to build a statue of the poet. Due to some personal differences and to historical events from the spring of 1919, when Oradea is caught in the military operations, the town being under the state of emergency, the society's activity was suspended. It has not been able to reorganize, its cultural objectives being taken over by "Szigliget" Society²⁴.

The "King Ladislaus" Masonic Lodge was founded in 1876 at the initiative of Dr. Berkovits Zsigmond and aimed at promoting culture and art in local society²⁵. At the beginning of the twentieth century Várady Zsigmond was elected as president²⁶. The lodge had the most important role in the reconstruction, on 14 November 1886, of the "Unio" Lodge of Cluj, which became in the early twentieth century the largest and most representative of the Masonic lodge in Transylvania²⁷.

The Association of Beauty Promoters (Szépitési Egyesület) was founded in 1883, its first president being Jereniczky Ferencz, followed by Baron Dóry József and Dr. Beóthy László. The Association made considerable efforts to revitalize the spiritual life of Oradea²⁸.

The modern ages have brought to the feminine part of population a noticeable introduction in public activities. This is the period when, in the midst of major political disputes, for the first time the feminist idea movement appears as a group. In this context, we can also mention the establishment of ***The Charitable Association of Hungarian women from Oradea and Bihor County***, who activated with notable results over the time.

A first step for setting up such a reunion took place in 1863 when Baroness Gerliczy Félix, born Countess Korniss Luisa²⁹, who led the association for 42 years, until 1912, and submitted to the Ministry of the Internal Affairs a statute project with the purpose of grouping Hungarian women in an association to "alleviate the sufferings caused by poverty and to

²⁴ Tóth János, *Societatea „Ady Endre” din Oradea*, în *Crisia*, 1994, p. 431-433

²⁵ Fehér Dezső, *op.cit.*, p. 201

²⁶ Borovszky Samu, *op.cit.*, p. 353

²⁷ Tudor Sălăgean, *Repere pentru o istorie a francmasoneriei în Transilvania în epoca modernă*, în *Țara Bârsei*, 2010, nr. 9, p. 219

²⁸ Borovszky Samu, *op.cit.*, p. 350

²⁹ Szabó Ödön, *Forme de manifestare a emancipării femeilor în Oradea sfârșitului de secol XIX și începutul secolului XX*, în *Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studentești*, Seria Arheologie-Istorie, 1997, p. 120

spread the feeling of sympathy [in society]"³⁰ Although the objectives of the association were clearly directed to philanthropy and charitable actions, political activities being excluded, the ministry approved the statutes with an ill-founded delay of three years (April 20, 1866). Generally speaking, the association members were part of the Hungarian aristocratic and bourgeois environment of Bihor County.

Since its inception, the Association of Hungarian Women from Oradea and Bihor County acted to build an orphanage (which resulted in 1872) and a home for elderly women, left without financial possibilities. In parallel, the association's administration sought to conduct charitable activities related to caring and nursing the ill, to educating children from families with limited financial possibilities, purchasing clothing, shoes, school supplies and food for poor families etc³¹.

The association's statutes were renewed in 1908, with this occasion the reunion's goals were also reformulated, being established as a priority the actions meant to support and strengthen the orphanage and the asylum for old and ill women, and procurement of funds needed to maintain in good condition the two charitable institutions. The orphanage, according to statutory provisions, could accommodate girls between the age of 5 up to the age of 14. After reaching this age, girls received a diploma and were employed in various jobs. Their education was considered a very important activity, situated in the priority actions initiated by the association. As such, the girls were taught reading, writing and counting, were receiving practical household tips, basic notions of cultural, religious, agricultural, industrial and hygienic domains³².

Some of the necessary amounts of money were collected by organizing cultural and artistic moments, balls and soirees followed by dance parties. Most events were held at the "Black Eagle" hotel or at the Szigligeti Theater. Each time a distinguished audience was participating because they understood and supported the local Hungarian feminist movement's humanitarian purposes. The reunion also benefited of donations made by individuals and from fees paid by members³³.

In 1908, the reunion had 506 members and a budget of 150,023 crowns, of which the net income amounted to 135,139 crowns³⁴. Beginning with the year 1913 was taken by Mrs. Des Echerolles Kruspér Sándor, bolstered by Grunwald Henrik and Imre Molnár (Vice President)³⁵.

³⁰ AN-SJBh, *fond Primăria Municipiului Oradea*, dos.171, f. 10

³¹ Fleisz János, *Város kinek...*, p. 121;

³² AN-SJBh, *fond Primăria Municipiului Oradea*, dos.176, f. 18; Szabó Ödön *op. cit.*, p. 120

³³ AN-SJBh, *fond Primăria Municipiului Oradea*, dos. 171, f. 35; *Nagyvárad* *Napló*, 1910, nr. 102, p. 9

³⁴ Fleisz János, *Város kinek...*, p. 113

³⁵ *Nagyvárad* *Napló*, 1913, nr. 248, p. 4

The Hungarian Women Association from Oradea and Bihor County philanthropic and cultural actions, until 1918, were materialized with the help of other local reunions too, such as the Protestant Charity Association, the "Elizabeth" Association (it founded three nurseries and three kindergartens in Oradea, in the purpose of helping local poor mothers), the "Friends of Children" Association – Hungarian women's branch, the "White Cross" Association, the Association for carrying the poor etc³⁶.

Hungarian feminist societies and associations have tried through their work to support the literacy of the western area of Transylvania. They have proven their efficacy in the field of social life, where they developed, in accordance with the possibilities of the time, significant philanthropic and charitable activities. The balls, celebrations, soirees, cultural events etc attracted the attention of civil society, providing a foundation for the reception, consolidation and promotion of social and charitable events, Hungarian literature and culture values in a multi-ethnic and pluri confessional area.

Finally, we owe to remember *The Friends of Music Association from Oradea* (*Nagyvárad* *Zenekedvelők Egyesülete*) which was founded in 1890 at the initiative of the royal public notary Mezey Mihály. The association aimed to organize concerts, shows, musical evenings, but the most important goal was that of founding a school of music which was opened in 1896 and functioned for ten years³⁷.

The above mentioned societies, reunions and associations tried to act in a consistent manner both in urban and rural areas. Through the traditional means of cultural propaganda, checked in time, they had developed and restructured in the inter-war years a favorable environment for modernization and development. Their conferences and lectures were representing to the people, as well as the cultural and artistic socials, musical concerts, theatrical and film performances, exhibitions etc. But real results were not always as expected, due to objective and subjective reasons.

All the Hungarian cultural societies, institutions, reunions and associations from Bihor County, although facing various problems, managed to be useful to society, integrating with notable results in local and regional cultural landscape of Transylvania, but also in the general context of spirituality of the Central and South-East Europe. They have directly contributed to the dissemination of cultural phenomenon in all segments of social life, shaping the collective mentality, too.

³⁶ AN-SJBh, *fond Episcopia Romano-Catolică Oradea*, dos.197, f. 19; Szabó Ödön *op. cit.*, p. 120

³⁷ Fleisz János, *Város kinek.* p. 113

HIGHLIGHTS ON IOAN CIORDAȘ'S POLITICAL ACTIVITY

*Diana IANCU**

***Abstract:** This paper presents the political activity of Ioan Ciordaș, the national militant. He was one of the most important promoters of the national ideal. He fervently engaged in defending the Romanian people's national rights. He offered his support to all actions that were taken in order to make possible the union between Transylvania and Romania. He contributed significantly to the Romanian people's political education; he was presented at the approval of the Declaration of National Self-Determination, he was the leader of the Romanian National Council from Beiuș and member of the Romanian National Party. Was also elected to represent the Romanians from Beiuș in the National Assembly from Alba Iulia, on December 1st 1918, where the union of Transylvania with Romania was proclaimed.*

***Key words:** Ioan Ciordaș, Beiuș, Declaration of National Self-Determination, popular meetings*

His political activity was focused around popular and electoral meetings where he defended the political education and the revival of national consciousness of the peasants from the county of Bihor.

He was seen as an authentic local leader at the assembly from Beiuș, on November 26th 1905. In his speech he confessed "we have not left, and most importantly we will not leave the Romanian flag into derision, but with faith we will gather around it"¹. Finally, he read the Romanian National Party's decision to "require" the Hungarian government to introduce "the vote for the people and to show confidence in the Romanian deputies"², something that the people received with great enthusiasm.

The 1905 proclamation of political activism brought the activation of national movement for the Romanians in Bihor. Under the presidency of Ioan Ciordaș a political conference was held on March 17th 1906, a conference where the members of a committee of action were elected. Its purpose was to

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¹ Viorel Faur, *Viața politică a românilor din Beiuș și localitățile din Sudul Bihorului în perioada 1849-1919*, în Ioan Degău, Nicolae Brânda (coord.), *Beiușul și lumea lui: studiu monografic*, vol. II, Editura Primus, Oradea, 2008, p. 202.

² *Ibidem*, p. 203.

present the program of their own candidates to the residents of southern Bihor. Proving his real political qualities, active and full of energy, at the meeting from April 14th 1906, Gavril Cosma and C-tin Popoviciu convinced Ioan Ciordaș (who was considering Iuliu Maniu or Aurel Cosma from Timișoara) to accept to run for the parliamentary election. Based these facts, the Orthodox Archpriest Petru E. Papp said the following: "It was an elevating meeting. We had a nominee from among ourselves, with great influence on the elector"³. All the Romanian intellectuals of the parties of Beiuș and Vașcău, the teachers and the clergy of the villages, were grouped around Ioan Ciordaș, something that caused great fear among the Hungarians. Petru E. Papp mentions the fact that in the meetings with voters, Ioan Ciordaș's speech vibrated with love for the nation and the enthusiasm with which it had been received in all the villages and it allowed its' villagers to relate the brilliant victory⁴.

The manner in which the elections took place and the measures taken by the authorities to counter a possible victory of the Romanians, is shown in the following telegram: "Beiuș, May 1st. The battle is terribly heavy. Administration's terrorizations are unlimited. The gendarmes were willing to do anything ... The bribery is public. A priest was escorted from church, many other leaders were prisoners under the pretext that they have incited others. However, we hope to win because people have faith in our candidate Ciordaș"⁵.

The Romanian's candidate was defeated by the official candidate, Barta Ferencz, who obtained 1801 votes, as opposed to 918 votes for Ioan Ciordaș. His solemn promise "my life is of my people"⁶ will be respected till to his martyrdom from Lunca.

Ioan Ciordaș vigorously protested against the 1907 school project, promoted by the Minister of Religious Affairs and Public Instruction, Appony Albert. This education law had significant consequences on the organization of the non-Hungarian confessional education in Hungary. The authorities could turn religious schools into state schools and also suspend teachers without the consent of the church authorities. The state established a rigorous control of denominational schools and Hungarian language became the language that the teaching was delivered in most schools.

Ioan Ciordaș considered that "the language of a people is the coat of its' soul". He praised the Romanian language, saying: "In this language the Romanian people voices its' joy, in this language lover's souls reunite, in this language the old father gives the advices to his sons on his deathbed „this coat

³ Petru E. Papp, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 61.

⁵ Ioan Tomole, *Românii din Crișana, Sălaj și Sătmar în luptele național-electorale de la începutul secolului al XX-lea*, Editura Gutinul, Baia Mare, 1999, p. 91.

⁶ Gavril Hădăreanu, *Torțe arzânde în Țara Beiușului*, Editura Buna Vestire, Beiuș, 1995, p. 249.

covers all manifestations of the soul, spreading the song on cornfields and in churches the prayer of praise to God! We will not allow us to be stripped of this spiritual coat, we have to defend it to the last drop of blood ...”⁷.

At his impulse there was a large assembly of Romanians from Beiuș on April 14th 1907⁸. The Hungarian authorities saw this meeting as a means to create national agitation, so they aimed to its dissolution. Márkovits Károly was brought from Cefa to maintain order. He was well known for his anti-Romanian behavior. 60 gendarmes were concentrated at his disposal. He brought Hungarian people from Tărcaia, in order to disturb the meeting.

This assembly of protest against Apponyi’s law could not lead to achieving the goal, however it has contributed to the political activation of the Romanians, to strengthen ties of solidarity between them, it prepared one of the most important political successes of the Romanians in Bihor, the election of Vasile Lucaciu as deputy of Beiuș in the Hungarian parliament in 1907.

In the summer of 1907 new elections were held in the electoral circle Beiuș-Vașcău. Bartha Ferencz, elected the previous year renounced his mandate. The Committee of the Romanian National Party in Beiuș proposed that Ioan Ciordaș runs as candidate. To prevent him from it, the authorities ordered that he be "called to exercise" in the city of Miklósfalva. He was not sure that would be able to return to Beiuș before the elections. So he refused to run, justifying his choice by saying that a person who can surely obtain victory would be a more suitable candidate. It was decided that Vasile Lucaciu was such a candidate, being a militant leader whose activities in the fight for national rights were well known by the majority people of Bihor.

Outstanding politician, Ioan Ciordaș, returned to Beiuș, and got involved with great enthusiasm in organizing the electoral campaign. He accompanied Vasile Lucaciu throughout the campaign: “... there was no village where his voice of archangel did not resound. Ioan Ciordaș PhD, for whom the peasants’ admiration was limitless”⁹. In order to succeed “he put his entire work and overwhelming influence that had upon them. Besides the candidate, he traveled all over the villages, encouraging them all”¹⁰.

From the desire to obtain the majority of votes, the Hungarian authorities resorted again to violence, corruption and fraud. Despite all the diversions, Vasile Lucaciu was the winner. He got 1718 votes, while his counter, Kardos Árpád only 914 votes¹¹.

⁷ *Lupta românilor din județul Satu Mare pentru făurirea statului național unitar român - documente 1848-1918*, Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului, București, 1989, p. 379-380.

⁸ Flaminia Faur, *Manifestările românilor din Bihor împotriva proiectului de lege școlară din 1907*, Fundația Culturală „Cele trei Crișuri”, Oradea, 1994, p. 45.

⁹ Petru E. Papp, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ Corneliu Mezea, *Martirii din Valea Beiuș-Vașcăului, în Bihorul-strajă la hotare*, Oradea, 1933, p. 86.

The Romanian newspaper *Tribuna* recognized the outstanding merit and hard work of Ioan Ciordaș in order to obtain Vasile Lucaciu's victory. It wrote about the leader of the Romanians in Beiuș and environs: "... We are happy to note, that in this young solicitor are focused all our hopes regarding the national revival of Bihor. He appointed more and more pronounced by his seriousness, wisdom and energy, which in this battle was imposed to foreign leaders – by the man that for so long time expects a worthy fate, to which Bihor county is entitled to aspire"¹².

To promote the Hungarian's cause the authorities set electoral restrictions. The right to vote in 1848 was given to around 10% of the population, with the dualism it was reduced to about 6%. In the non-Hungarian regions the number of deputies was lower than in other areas. The Hungarians accounted for 90% of the seats in the Parliament, while the Romanians, Slovaks, Serbs, occupied merely 10% of the seats¹³. The Hungarians had political hegemony. In 1910, they had 405 deputies in the Parliament, while there were only 5 Romanians and 3 Czechoslovakians¹⁴. Hungarians predominated in 12 Transylvanian districts, with about 5172 voters, as opposed to a single Romanian district with about 5275 voters¹⁵. The Hungarian electoral map was drafted so that the Hungarians could maintain their political supremacy.

The political crisis in Hungary at the beginning of 1910 determined the Romanian National Party to organize the future elections. In this context, the Romanian National Party's Conference took place on April 5th 1910 in Sibiu. Along with other important names: such as Gheorghe Pop de Băsești, Iuliu Maniu, Aurel Lazăr and other leaders of the national movement, Ioan Ciordaș was also present there. On this occasion, he was elected member of the electoral executive committee¹⁶.

As in 1907, for the electoral district of Beiuș-Vașcău candidate Vasile Lucaciu. In 1910 the electoral district had,3987 voters in 84 municipalities located up to 40 miles from the central station. Of the 3987 voters, 3337 were Romanian and 630 Hungarian and Hebrew. The majority of the Romanian voters was 2687. However, at the elections of 1910, Vasile Lucaciu obtained only 967 votes, while the government's candidate, Gavril Rednik obtained 2118 votes.

Ioan Ciordaș protested against the authorities' aggression, including the electoral abuses in a statement-interpellation that was presented to the Bihor county congregation, as Ciordaș was a member.

Authorities have tried to introduce another electoral law, with the purpose to diminish more and more Romanians' right to vote. Among its stipulations it

¹² *Tribuna*, 1907, nr. 181, p. 3-4

¹³ Alan Sked, *Grandezza e caduta dell'impero asburgico 1815-1918*, Editori Laterza, Roma, 1992, p. 212.

¹⁴ John W. Mason, *Il tramonto dell'impero asburgico*, Società editrice il Mulino, Bologna, 2000, p. 31.

¹⁵ Arthur J. May, *La monarchia asburgica*, Società editrice il Mulino, Bologna, 1973, p. 119.

¹⁶ *Tribuna*, 1910, nr. 68, p. 1.

was also that which says that just the citizen who can possess the school certificate of graduating at least six basic classes and pay a state fee of 20 crowns could be a voter. The Romanians from the mountain area of Beiuș, where illiteracy was massive, were the most affected by this measure. The electoral circumscription of Beiuș, was divided into three voting districts.

To fight against such means of reducing the Romanian voters, Ioan Ciordaș organized popular assemblies in villages, putting on the agenda. “1. Adhesion to the Romanian National Party and Romanian deputies, 2. Protest against the Bihor County’s decision regarding the new voting districts, 3. The question of the universal suffrage, 4. The political situation”¹⁷.

Such popular assemblies were held at Budureasa, Mizieș, Talpe, Cărbunari, Saca, Telec and Săliste of Beiuș. During these meetings, participants compiled a “complaint” that was sent to the Minister of Interior, as a form of protest against the electoral law. They also voted a “grip address” towards the Romanian National Party, as follows: “Romanian people from Bihor, living around Beiuș, meeting today in the assembly from Budureasa, enthusiastically welcome the National Committee and national deputies to fight in the interest of Romanian people, declaring themselves faithful soldiers of the Romanian National Party, adhering to all principles and wishing the leaders the perseverance heretofore. We will support them forever”¹⁸. As signatories of the address, there are Ioan Ciordaș (the represent of the Executive Committee), Ioan Dan (President of the Assembly) and Florin Matiu (its notary).

This address was also voted in the popular assembly from Mizieș, where the National Committee was represented by Ioan Ciordaș P.h.D.

A similar meeting was the one scheduled in the village of Lazuri, on 14 june 1914. The Romanian leaders attending were: Ioan Ciordaș, Constantin Popoviciu, Ioan Cosma, Terentie Popoviciu and Ioan Petra. As soon as the leader Cosma began to explain the new electoral law and its aims, he was interrupted by the gendarmes, accompanied by Mártonfi. They fell on Ioan Ciordaș, addressing him the following words:

“- What are you doing here?

- What are we supposed to do? (asked Ioan Ciordaș). You must know what we are doing here.

- Are you holding a popular assembly?

- Yes!

- Where's the permission?

- You have it. The notification has been properly done and given the fact that we did not received any contrary disposition so far, obviously, the meeting is regarded as acknowledged – answered the Romanian leader from Beiuș.

¹⁷ Petru E. Papp, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 178.

- We didn't receive any request for permission to hold the meeting, so I give you the notice to dissolve it, contrariwise, I will spread all of you from here with the gendarmes"¹⁹.

The meeting was dissolved by Tempeleán Deszö, a representant of the authorities from Vacșău on the consideration that „the announcement of the meeting, sent on reccomandation, with many days before, has not reached the authorities”²⁰.

In order to avoid a scandal, Ioan Ciordaș advised the crowd to leave for their houses.

Despite the measures taken by authorities, in order to soften the national movement, the peasants from Lazuri didn't lose their courage; on the contrary, they went to Ioan Ciordaș asking for the organization of a new assembly.

On June 21, a new meeting was scheduled in the village of Lazuri. Again, Tempeleán Deszö didn't make possible the meeting between Romanian leaders and peasants. He issued a decision, which stood against the organization of a new meeting. I shall give some details about the terms of his decision. Even if he had been informed about the first meeting, he affirmed that it was organized without the authorities' knowledge. Provides also the fact that the “gendarmes denounced the solicitors, who were the organizers, for agitation against the law and Constitution! and those who took part in the old assembly, that was interrupted, were accused for contravention!²¹”. Tempeleán Deszö had the conviction that “... Influencing voters will have as a consequence the disturbance of the friendly relations between the Hungarians and Romanians! ...”²². He also affirmed that “the assembly was convened for violating the public order”²³.

According to his point of view, the Romanian solicitors were responsible for the agitation of spirits throughout the people. We can note this fact from the following affirmation: “We know from our own experiences that people are indifferent and just the solicitors instigate to discontent”²⁴.

The decision that we are talking about, was contested by Ioan Ciordaș to the prefect of Bihor county.

The Romanian leaders succeeded in the organization of the popular meeting from the village of Buntești. In the frame of this, Ioan Ciordaș has spoken about the Romanian National Party and its program. At the same time he showed the significance of the meeting from Ileanda Mare. The leader of Romanians from southern Bihor pointed out the fact that when the government

¹⁹ *Românul*, 1914, nr. 121, p. 3.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, nr. 120, p. 6.

²¹ *Ibidem*, nr. 126, p. 4.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ *Ibidem*.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

introduces new taxes, the Hungarians protest in an active manner. He addressed the crowd the following advice: “We should, also, organize and protest, showing to the Government how annoying these laws are for the people”. Hearing this, Középesy Phd. warned Ioan Ciordaş that he deviated from the topic and the notary Gavra said that the speaker is agitating the people. At his remark, Ioan Ciordaş answered with courage and dignity: „Indeed, I’m agitating. This is my purpose, to agitate against unlawfulness”²⁵.

Finally, the assembly charged Ioan Ciordaş and Augustin Ciavici to transpose, to the Committee, through the newspaper *Românul*, the following address of adherence:

“Romanians from Bihor, meeting today, on June, 21, 1914, in the popular assembly from Bunteşti, being informed about the decisions taken in the reunion from Ileanda Mare – with enthusiasm and solidarity join to these decisions. With heart and soul they enlist among the fighters, gathered under the Romanian National Party’s flag, and with absolute confidence they put their destiny in the hands of the committee of this party”²⁶.

Romanians from the lands of Vaşcău, possessing a strong national conscience, have also organized popular meetings. As an example, there is the reunion from Rieni, where Ioan Ciordaş spoke about the division of electoral circumscriptions. In his opinion, the commune of Rieni was the most suitable to form a circumscription of voting. Thus, Romanians wouldn’t go 20-35 km. far away, to Beiuş to exercise their right to vote. He presented the situation of Târcaia, a village, where the majority were Hungarians, and despite the fact that this village was just 4 km. far away from Beiuş, it formed a circumscription of voting. The leader of Romanians from Beiuş spoke about the social and politic realities, presented the Resolution voted in the meeting from Ileanda Mare. He brought into discussion the negotiations between the Hungarian, represented by Tisza, and Romanians from the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

As always, the speech of Ioan Ciordaş was received with great enthusiasm and applause by the people, who demanded him to speak as more as possible. Notice the fact that the solicitor from Beiuş was a very good speaker. His oratorical talent fascinated the souls of those who listened him. He had the power to convince the public. He was wise in speech and advice. His words represented the truth and were an urge for Romanians that have a great respect for his person. Desiring his advice the peasants told him: “We are listening to you even till tomorrow morning!”²⁷.

Finally, the reunion adopted a resolution, with a similar content, as those we have already written about.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 5.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, nr. 132, p. 1.

He dedicated himself in order to defend the national cause. He had a very important role in the events of autumn 1918, when the political crisis of Austro-Hungarian monarchy reached its climax, and the saving of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was impossible. By the favor of circumstance, the Transylvanian Romanians have intensified their actions in order to accomplish the national ideal.

Ioan Ciordaș attended the National Conference of Oradea on 12 October 1918, where was adopted the *Declaration of national self-determination of the three and a half million Romanians from Transylvania, Banat, Crișana and Maramureș*²⁸. Through his participation at the approval of this important document, his prestige has increased considerably.

In November 1918, took place the action of constitution of Romanian National Council and National Guards in Bihor county, Romanian organs of self-guidance. On November 3rd, Romanians from Beiuș formed the Romanian National Council. Ioan Ciordaș who was also a member of the Romanian National Council for Bihorea and Oradea, has the merit of being elected President of the Beiuș Council²⁹. One of the first duties of this council was to set up a Romanian national guard in order to “defend the order, the safety and the richness of citizens, especially of the Romanians threatened by foreigners”³⁰. A measure of major importance, adopted by the Romanian Council from Beiuș was the introduction of the Romanian language, as the language of instruction in the Gymnasium of Beiuș. For the first time, on November 4th the Romanian flag was flying on the house of political leader from Beiuș “as a symbol that, from that moment under its whetstone we will live and die”³¹.

On 27 November, in Beiuș, under the chairmanship of Moise Popoviciu, Ioan Ciordaș³² was appointed as a delegate to the Great Assembly of Alba Iulia. There, on December 1st 1918, was approved the resolution of union with country: „*The National Assembly of all Romanians from Transylvania, Banat and the Hungarian Country, gathered by its rightful representatives at Alba Iulia, on 18 November / 1 December 1918, decreed the union of these Romanian territories and all territories inhabited by them with Romania*”³³.

²⁸ Viorel Faur, *80 de ani de la Adoptarea la Oradea a Declarației de Independență a Românilor din Transilvania, Banat, Crișana și Maramureș (12 octombrie 1918)*, Editura Universității din Oradea, 1998, p. 23.

²⁹ *Monografia almanah a Crișanei-județul Bihor*, redactată de Aurel Tripon, Tipografia Diecezană Oradea, 1936, p. 354.

³⁰ Viorel Faur, *Viața politică a românilor din Beiuș ...*, p. 263.

³¹ Gavril Hădăreanu, *op. cit.*, p. 576.

³² *1918 la români, Documentele Unirii. Unirea Transilvaniei cu România. 1 Decembrie 1918*, vol. VIII, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1989, p. 56.

³³ Constantin Botoran, Mihai Retegan, *1918. Făurirea României Mari*, Editura Vatra Românească, București, 1993, p. 89.

Ioan Ciordaș represented the Romanians from Bihor in the Union Hall with over 1228 other delegates. At the same time he addressed the people gathered on the Roman's Plateau.

The head of the Romanian National Council from Beiuș was elected into the Great Romanian National Council, together with Aurel Lazăr and Petru E. Papp.

Returned from Alba Iulia, he acted to counter the propaganda performed by Hungarians against the act of union.

At Beiuș we meet a particular situation of collaboration between the three political councils established here: the Romanian National Council, the Hungarian National Council and the Labour Council. The representatives of these councils formed an executive committee, with Ioan Ciordaș as chairman. The three political bodies worked for: ensuring public safety, resolving issues related to the supply of oil, wood, food, trade and so on.

At the end of January, due to the descent to Beiuș of Hungarian military troops and of changing the attitudes of the Hungarian National Council and the Labour one, Ioan Ciordaș "with bitterness in his soul, had to find that from then any cooperation among the three councils is excluded"³⁴.

He have to endure the calvary produced by captain Verböczy's troops, who sentenced him to death, passing his name on the "blacklist". The Military Council that took the power condemned Ioan Ciordaș and Nicolae Bolcaș to death³⁵. The most responsible for their deaths were Verböczi and Ürmösi. On the midnight of 3/4 April 1919, Ioan Ciordaș and Nicolae Bolcaș were taken from their houses and transported to Lunca. Here they were killed in a cruel way.

Unaware of the disappearance of Ioan Ciordaș, the Romanian Council from Sibiu appointed him as a prefect of Oradea and Bihor County³⁶.

An important figure of Bihor's history, Ioan Ciordaș put his life in the service of the Romanian nation and he can be considered a founder of Greater Romania.

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³⁴ Petru E. Papp, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

³⁵ Roman R. Ciorogariu, *Zile trăite*, Ediție și postfață de Viorel Faur, Fundația Culturală „Cele Trei Crișuri”, Oradea, 1994, p. 147.

³⁶ Barbu Ștefănescu, „Martirii Bihorului: Dr. Ioan Ciordaș și dr. Nicolae Bolcaș”, în *Cetatea Bihariei*, 1994, nr. 1, p. 1.

ASPECTS FROM THE ACTIVITY OF THE SIGHET DIVISION OF *ASTRA* IN THE FIRST YEARS FOLLOWING THE GREAT UNION

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Abstract. *After the war, the Sighet division of Astra resumed its activity with some delay. Archival documents reveal that its reorganization, which only took place in 1921, was made for a good organization of the general assembly of the Association that was to take place that year in Maramureș.*

In general, the Sighet division's activity was within the cultural program conducted by the Association, including conferences, cultural and artistic social evenings, various cultural events organized in collaboration with the other Romanian cultural associations in Maramureș, the creation of agencies and libraries in rural areas. Even if it recorded modest results in the aftermath of the Great Union, it has brought its own contribution to the cultural advancement of Romanians in Maramureș.

Keywords: *Grand Union, Astra, cultural activity, Sighet division, Association.*

The end of World War I and the Union of Transylvania with Romania announced for *Astra* the beginning of an age under the best auspices. The political and military situation at the end of 1918 and during 1919, however, made the reactivation of the institution more difficult than previously thought². While in most counties in Transylvania peace and satisfaction for the fulfillment of an ideal was set, in the territory that remained outside the boundary³ the struggle for national and territorial unity defense was extended

¹ *This work was partially supported by the strategic grant, POSDRU/CPP107/DM11.5/S/80272 (2010), co-financed by the European Social Fund-Investing in People, within the Sectorial Operational Program Human Resources Development 2007-2013.* University of Oradea, e-mail: mia_rosan81@yahoo.com

² Valer Moga, „*Astra*” and society 1918-1930, Sebeș, Emma Books Publishing, 2011, p.53.

³ Through the military agreement signed on November 13, 1918 by General Franchet d'Esperey with the Hungarian government, a demarcation line was instituted that followed the Mureș river and the Banat region was placed under French-Serbian administration. In mid-December, the Romanian army, reaching the line established by Franchet d'Esperey, advances, with the approval of General Berthelot and occupies Cluj (December 24) and Gherla, stationing on the Sighetu-Marmației-Zalău-Zam line. Subsequently, in February 1919, the Inter-Allied Military

by nearly one year. On the other hand, the complex problems that the Romanian society was facing determined both the prominent members of the Central Committee and the leaders and members of *Astra* in the territory to place themselves in the service of the Romanian political forums established at the end of the war, receiving other assignments and leaving culture in the background for a while⁴.

While most sectors of public life were still operating under interim conditions, on April 30, 1919, Andrei Bârseanu issued a form letter to the directors of the *Association's* divisions, for an official reactivation of *Astra*. Following this request, in 1919, intellectuals in the territory organized general meetings in 23 of the 87 divisions in the Central Committee's records⁵. According to information provided by the *Association*, gradually, especially during 1920, many divisions resumed activity. Among the 53 divisions that were listed as active in the official documents of the company, in mid 1921, we find the Sighet division⁶. It was reorganized following the insistences coming from the Central Committee⁷, ever since the end of 1920, to ensure appropriate conditions for the general assembly of the *Association* to be held in 1921 in Sighet. In Oradea, in 1920, *Astra's* board, having received guests from the Baia Mare and Sighet divisions for the general assembly of the following year, chose the latter of several reasons, among them being: the lack of Romanian teachers, illiteracy that comprised 73% of the population, the momentary weakness of the *Association for the culture of the Romanian people of Maramureș* and closer connections with it⁸, etc.

Archival documents and the newspapers at that time do not contain information about the circumstances in which the meeting for the reorganization of the Sighet division took place. However, it is certain that, until May 19, 1921, the *Association's* board in Sibiu had not been informed about a solution to this problem⁹. Through a letter dated June 5, 1921, the division director, Vasile Kindriș, communicated to the Central Committee only that, in a meeting held with local intellectuals, it was proposed that the general assembly be held on August 28 - 29 and that various committees for preparation and arrangement had been established¹⁰. As the Central Committee agreed with

Council formally accepted a new line, which followed the railway Satu Mare - Oradea - Arad. Although this new line represented a step forward, it was ignoring the ethnic, political and historical realities in the western regions, isolating the Arad and Bihor counties entirely from the national territory, Sălaj and Satu Mare only partially.

⁴ *Transylvania*, 1920, no. 5-9, p. 547.

⁵ Valer Moga, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁶ *Transylvania*, 1921, nr. 7-8, p. 525.

⁷ S.J.-A.N. Sibiu, *Astra Fund*, Sighet Division (Maramureș), no. 852/1921.

⁸ Valer Moga, *op. cit.*, p. 103. ; *Transylvania*, 1921, no. 10-12, p. 815-823.

⁹ S.J.-A.N. Sibiu, *Astra Fund*, Sighet Division (Maramureș), no. 852/1921.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

the recommended date, a series of correspondence on the steps to be made for the organization and proper progress of the assembly occurred between the committee in Sibiu and the director of the Sighet division¹¹.

While the organizational activity was under way, the intellectuals from Sighet began their propaganda: through an *Address*, they asked all the village leaders, “priests, teachers, notaries to prepare the people, in good time, for these festivals”¹², and through the periodical entitled *Maramureș Gazette*, the only Romanian newspaper in the county, the Romanians from Maramureș were invited to take part in arranging a few cultural events. Moreover, the *Maramureș Gazette* had an important role in mobilizing masses for this general assembly. The issue dedicated to *Astra*, preceding this true cultural event, in the columns of which articles on the history of the *Association*, its achievements and its role in the future were inserted, was meant to persuade the Romanians in this region to respond in great numbers to the heart-warming incentive addressed by the Sighet division of *Astra*, namely: "Brothers are joining brothers: greet them with flowers, singing hymns of welcome"¹³!

The ordinary general assembly of the *Association for Romanian literature and the culture of the Romanian people*, held at Sighetu-Marmației on August 28-29, 1921, had the meaning of an “establishment” of *Astra* in the historical part of Maramureș. Among prominent guests that participated we ought to mention Andrei Bârseanu, the *Association* president, Elie Dăianu, Dr. G. Preda, Dr. Sever Dan, Vasile Bogrea, Ioan Lupaș, Romul Simu. We emphasize that the general assembly in Sighet was the last from a long series (1906-1921) chaired by Andrei Bârseanu¹⁴. Very ill, he died on August 19, 1922. A notable fact was the presence of certain British scholars, namely W. A. Craigie, professor at the Oxford University and A. R. Wright, vice president of the Society of folklore in Great Britain. They were joined by local civil and military authorities, intellectuals, members of the Vișeu-Iza and Sătmar divisions, many peasants, youth from local schools and media representatives¹⁵.

To facilitate travel, the Ministry of Communications issued 500 travel certificates for the Romanian Railway, with a 50 % discount for *Astra* members, 20 travel sheets for lecturers and for the editor of the *Transylvania* and *Popular Library* journals a travel pass¹⁶. However, because of Sighet’s remoteness and lack of transportation, “not all the people who wanted to see and know these places of the most ancient and glorious parts of Romanian culture could take part”. Only eight divisions (of the 53 reorganized) sent

¹¹ *Idem*, doc. no. 742/1921, 858/1921.

¹² *Maramureș Gazette*, 1921, no.33, p. 2.

¹³ *Idem*, 1921, no. 34, p. 1.

¹⁴ *Transylvania*, 1936, no. 4, p. 196.

¹⁵ *Transylvania*, 1921, no. 10-12, p. 937.

¹⁶ *Idem*, 1922, no. 7-8, 477.

delegates with official mandate, namely: Baia-Mare, Blaj, Cluj, Ibașfalău, Jibou, hungarian-Lăpuș, Năsăud, Vișeu-Iza¹⁷.

The official opening of the assembly was performed, after a religious ceremony, by Dr. G. Preda's speech, read on behalf of the president, in the Cultural Palace Hall. Even in its early stage, after expressing a greeting "from the bottom of our hearts for our brothers in Maramureș, who with love called us to be their guests in their beautiful lands", the assembly president wanted to emphasize the *Association's* mission in Maramureș, "to support national life in these marginal regions that were exposed to so many foreign attacks, to strengthen and lift the Romanian element through the weapon of culture and a better economic organization"¹⁸. His speech continued by highlighting the favorable development conditions that Greater Romania offered, also noting that "in order to use the assets and powers with which God has endowed our beautiful country, we must have known the lack of, and this knowledge can only be gained through teaching [...] one can gain it only in schools, in the holy church, in conferences, by reading good books and papers written for teaching"¹⁹. At the end of the speech, Andrei Bârseanu launched the following invitation to the people of Maramureș: "In this brotherly and Romanian work: towards light, towards moral heights and towards the material strengthening of the nation to which we belong, we call on you with all the love, dear brothers from Maramureș. In the past, you have been the country's watch in these exposed parts of the Romanianism. Be so in the future, watching over our national culture, and not only your descendants, but a whole nation will bless you!"²⁰

In the speeches given by the British guests, W. A. Craigie and A. R. Wright, publically translated by V. Bogrea, the emphasis was put on the need to gather the precious historical material, especially the customs, beliefs, fairy-tales, songs and incantations of the Romanian people, thus bringing a valuable contribution to the reconstruction of human history. A. R. Wright gave the sum of 10,000 lei to the Institute for the Study of South Eastern Europe, in order to support the collection of Romanian folklore²¹.

The greeting made by the local authorities was followed by the reading of numerous congratulatory telegrams that were addressed to the Assembly. Of their signatories we mention prof. Nicolae Iorga, general Traian Moșoiu, Bishop Roman Ciorogariu from Greater Oradea, Bishop Iuliu Hossu of the Diocese in Gherla, Dr. Teodor Mihali of the "Cele Trei Crișuri" [*The Three Criș's*] Society etc.

¹⁷ *Idem*, 1921, no. 10-12, p. 937.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 793.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 794-797.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 798.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 938.

After the presentation of the general report on the activity of *Astra* for the year 1920 and after the reading, by the administrative secretary, Romul Simu, of a special report on the donation of 10,000 lei made by Nicolae Simian - a native of Săliște, owner in Râmnicu-Vâlcea, destined for setting up a regional library of the *Association* in the town of Sighet²² “in loving memory of his son Valeriu who died in the shelter in Moldavia” - they proceeded to the election of the committees set in the agenda, activities which completed the work of the first meeting.

The program continued with a tour of the wonderful exhibition prepared in the Cultural Palace by the old *Association for the culture of the Romanian people of Maramureș*, on the occasion of its 60th anniversary. In fact, it was a common anniversary of the two associations and also an act of collaboration. Guests had the opportunity to admire the wonderful Romanian fabrics of Maramureș, their attention being captured, in particular, by the splendid carpet depicting an eagle flying over Zion, designed by the artist O. Smigelschi and woven by the peasant women in Sarasău under the supervision of the Mihalyi family, rug which belonged to the Romanian Greek-Catholic Mitropoly in Blaj²³.

The banquet at the “Crown” restaurant was followed by a great ethnographic gathering held in Union Square, with the participation of peasants from Sighet, Borșa, Vad, Bârsana, Sârbi, Petrova and Ieud. Among the antiques, agricultural products, religious documents and books, President Andreiu Bârseanu was happy to discover the original “Christian question” copied in 1607 by priest Gregory from Măhaciu and published by B. P. Hașdeu in Vol. II of „Cuvente den bătrâni” [*Words of old*], on which he later made an interesting communication to the Romanian Academy²⁴.

The committee designated for offering the awards to the participants at the ethnographic exposition and gathering, led by prof. Al. Lupeanu Melin, made the following assessments: honorable mention and first place to the town of Borșa, for the way it depicted all aspects of village life, the costumes, the hunting chariot, the boys’ dance, the wedding bundle, the old folk, the social evenings, the scouts, miners, and for evoking the historical figure of the hero Priest Șandru Lupu, smasher of Tartars in 1717; second place to the town of Sârbi [*Serbian*], for the most accurate Maramureș costume; third place to the town of Vad, for scenes of industry and agricultural trades; fourth place to the town of Bârsana for their religious procession. Certificates of appreciation were awarded to Iustina Mihalyi (for objects of domestic industry and historical objects), Elena Bârlea and Cornelia Orosan (domestic industry), Ilinca Drăguș (old rugs), Artemiu Anderco (peasant domestic industry and old coins), to the

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ *Maramureș Gazette*, 1921, nr. 35, p. 2.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 474.

Greek-Catholic church in Petrova (for old books), to Vasile Dunca (for peasant rugs) and to Vasile Hodor of Bârsana²⁵.

A successful arts festival held at the city theater by a group of dilettantes led by Miss Livia Boroș, Elena Linde, Maria Juga and Doroș and Nicolae Șanta, Vasile Victor Șerbac, Victor Mesaroș, Victor și Vasile Dunca²⁶ completed the first day of the assembly.

On August 29, the second meeting of the assembly was held. Among other activities, they pleaded once more for closer ties between *Astra* and the other cultural societies, to “avoid a crumbling of energies”²⁷. They continued with the enrollment of new members - 65 – with no highlights in this respect. However, the surprise came from the County School Inspectorate and 4 primary schools that signed up as members for life. Another 30 primary schools signed up as active members²⁸, evidence that showed that there was a need for mutual support between *Astra* and the schools in Maramureș.

After lunch, the university professors in Cluj held conferences as part of the scientific and literary departments. Ioan Lupuș reviewed *The most important moments in the history of Maramureș*, focusing in particular on relations with the Principality of Moldavia and the Hussite movement, from which the first writings arose, and V. Bogrea held a lecture on *The contribution of Transylvania for preserving Latinity*, revealing the merits of the Latinist School and past links with Latin sisters, especially Rome. In concluding the meeting, Vasile Filipciuc, primary praetor in Vișeu, presented the situation of Maramureș from a geographical, ethnic, economic and cultural point of view²⁹. The festivities ended with the concert of *Reunion songs* from Sighet and with the dance party held at the Culture Palace³⁰.

The general assembly in Sighet, still marked by the enthusiasm of the Great Union and the development prospects it offered, meant a postwar reactivation of the Sighet division of *Astra*. Under its impetus, the scholars in Maramureș mobilized and, from the fall of 1921 until the spring of 1922, established agencies in most towns in the division³¹. From a professional

²⁵ *Idem*, 1921, nr. 10-12, p. 939.

²⁶ *Maramureș Gazette*, 1921, nr. 35, p. 2.

²⁷ *Transylvania*, 1921, no. 10-12, p. 938.

²⁸ S.J.-A.N. Sibiu, *Astra Fund*, Sighet Division (Maramureș), no. 86/1922.

²⁹ *Transylvania*, 1921, no. 10-12, p. 939.

³⁰ *Maramureș Gazette*, 1921, nr. 35, p. 2.

³¹ In September 1921, communal agencies were established in Cernești, Ferești (president Iuliu Rednic), Desești (Andrei Șerbac), Hârnicești (president Gavrilă Șimon), Sat Șugatag (president Ioan Doroș), Giulești (president Petru Salcă), Ocna Șugatag (president Vasile Szabo), Hoteni (president Ioan Hotea), Călinești (president Ioan Cupcea), Berbești (president Petru Bârlea), Săpânța (president Simeon Balea), Sarasău (president Vasile Ciplea), network which was expanded at the beginning of 1922 by establishing agencies in Budești, Breb, Bârsana, Oncești,

standpoint, most agency presidents were part of the clerical class, with rare exceptions, from that of teachers. However, a remarkable expansion could be seen in relation to libraries, whose number had risen to 35, i.e. one in each town belonging to this division. The books came from donations from the headquarters located in Sibiu³².

In reorganizing the activity of the Sighet division of *Astra*, of real importance was the Central Committee's meeting held on December 27, 1922, in which the main lines of action were defined. Participants: Vasile Kindriș - division director, Emil Domide, Mihail Șerban, Dr. Vasile Ilea, T. Stoica - members and Cornel Sânjoan - as secretary. Under the provisions received from the center, through the form letter no. 1674/1922, the committee decided to organize agencies in all towns belonging to the division but, until this goal could be achieved, their work would extend over both Sighet and Șugatag. The idea of a new assignation of the division by creating the Șugatag division was again called into question. As before, a ruling to this effect was adjourned. Director Vasile Kindriș informed those present that, as a result of conferences held with the presidents of cultural societies and local school directors, "it was decided to start a series of artistic and literary social evenings which will be held on the first Sunday of each month in the Prefecture's Festive Room, with no entry fee. At these social evenings the *Astra* division will take care of lecturers, while the other societies will deal with the artistic element"³³. We should also point out the building, on this occasion, of a series of conferences having the "character of folk universities" and of activities against alcoholism³⁴.

Therefore, in the following year, a series of cultural and artistic social evenings began in Sighet, organized with the aid of *Harmonia* and the *Reunion of Romanian women from Maramureș*, as well as a course of national history and the history of Romanian literature, especially for officials, held by Livia Boroș și Cornel Sânjoan, both teachers.

Cultural propaganda in the villages was carried out with help from secondary school students from Sighet, who organized a series of social evenings, among the most successful being those in Săpânța, and Strâmtura³⁵.

In the second half of 1923, *Astra's* conferences were held three times a week - Monday, Wednesday and Friday - in the music room at the "Lady Ileana" High School for Girls in Sighet³⁶. Among the foreign speakers who honored Sighet with their presence we should mention Dr. G. Preda (1923) who

Vad, Nănești and Sârbi (S.J.-A.N. Sibiu, *Astra Fund*, Sighet Division, minutes from 1921 numberless; *Maramureș Gazette*, 1923, no. 10, p. 1).

³² *Transylvania*, 1922, no. 7-8, p. 515. The number of books in each library varied from 40 to 50.

³³ S.J.-A.N. Sibiu, *Astra Fund*, Sighet Division (Maramureș), no. 72/1923.

³⁴ *Ibidem*.

³⁵ *Maramureș Gazette*, 1925, no. 34, p. 2.

³⁶ *Idem*, 1923, no. 52, p. 2.

spoke about current social problems³⁷, Ion Pillat (1923) about folk poetry, Iuliu Hațiegan (1924) about tuberculosis, prof. Parhon from Iași (1925) about the importance of the endocrine glands³⁸, Dr. A. Borza (1926) about the beauty of nature³⁹ and canonical father Dr. Victor Bujor (1926) who held religious conferences both in Sighet and in Săpânța, Vișeu de Sus and Middle Vișeu⁴⁰.

A central place in the program of the *Astra* conferences was occupied by national holidays and anniversaries (January 24, May 10, Heroes' day and December 1), when the division took part in the activities initiated by local administration, school or church. On marking these important events in the history of our nation, we ought to mention that in 1923 the board of *Astra* in Sighet, following up on the Central Committee's form letter, effectively mobilized in fulfilling the aim of these celebrations, stated in 1919 by President Andrei Bârseanu: "to strengthen in the consciousness of every Romanian the belief in the meaning of the mighty act of national unity"⁴¹.

The schedule of these festivities, set in a meeting that director Vasile Kindriș had with the county prefect, the presidents of cultural societies, the directors of local secondary schools and a representative of the garrison, included: opening festivities marked by a short Te-Deum [*Hymn of Praise*], military parade, a concert given by local school choirs, the *Reunion of Romanian women from Maramureș*, the *Harmony* musical society and the Orchestra of the 10th Hunters Battalion, lectures held by Mihail Șerban and the poet Ion Pillat - as a delegate of the Free University of Bucharest - and "enjoying a tea on a musical background, that urged the public to dance"⁴². In order to increase the solemnity of this day, the normal school sent its students, divided into teams of 8-10 people, in the towns located in the Mara and Cosău; sixth grade students held "folk speeches" with patriotic content. Meanwhile, priests from all towns belonging to the division were urged to read a solemn speech about the importance of the Great Union realized on December 1, 1918⁴³. Being able to concentrate around it all the local cultural forces, the event distinguished itself through grandeur, by attracting a large number of participants and by the echoes generated in the local media.

The Sighet division's work under the leadership of Vasile Kindriș registered an uplifting cultural event, which substantially contributed to restoring the self-confidence and prestige of a true Romanian cultural society:

³⁷ S.J.-A.N. Sibiu, *Astra Fund*, Sighet Division (Maramureș), no. 370/1923.

³⁸ *Astra in Maramureș*, 1927, no. 29, p. 2.

³⁹ *Maramureș Gazette*, 1926, no. 12, p. 3.

⁴⁰ *Idem*, 1926, no. 42, p. 3.

⁴¹ Pamfil Matei, *Asociațiunea Transilvană pentru Literatura Română și cultura poporului Român (ASTRA)[Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People]and its role in national culture*, Cluj-Napoca, Dacia Publishing House, 1986, p. 49.

⁴² *Maramureș Gazette*, 1923, no. 48, p. 2; 1923, no. 49, p. 3.

⁴³ *Idem*, 1923, no. 49, p. 3.

the celebrations organized on August 30, 1925 when the bust of Dr. Ioan Mihalyi was presented to the public.

The "Thanksgiving Feast" had been in development since 1923 when, during the division's general assembly, it was decided to immortalize Dr. Ioan Mihalyi in bronze, "the founder of *Astra's* Sighet division, a member of the *Romanian Academy*, the pride of old Maramureș"⁴⁴. Through public subscription, donations and exhausting work, carried out especially by prof. Ion Modreanu from Gorj, the amount needed was gathered, and in the spring of 1925 the bust – created by the sculptor Mățăuanu from Bucharest - was completed and erected in the square in front of the Prefecture.

Following the pattern of similar actions, the division board was not satisfied with just organizing a ceremony for the unveiling of the monument, whose echoes and effects would die within days. In order for this moment to acquire the appropriate importance, the participation of all local authorities, cultural societies, educational institutions and the church was needed. Therefore, on May 24, 1925, the extraordinary general assembly was convened to establish an official program and the distribution of tasks. On this occasion, the committee responsible for organizing the festivities was established, and it consisted of: Vasile Kindriș (Sighet division President), Roza Șerban (president of the *Reunion of Romanian women from Maramureș*), Ilariu Boroș (Vicar), Al. Lazăr, Paul Cziple (Mayor), Ilie Kindriș, Dimitrie Simion (Director of the Normal School), Vasile Ilea (Director of the insane asylum), Alexandru Balint (first M.D.), Gheorghe Vornicu (teacher) and Ioan Bîlțiu Dăncuș (division Secretary)⁴⁵. The committee found strong support in the institution of Prefecture through prefect Gavrilă Mihalyi, who made all the efforts so as the events "would be as successful as possible and would surpass all other festivals until then with their splendor"⁴⁶.

The event was organized with utmost care: invitations were sent to the Government, to the *Romanian Academy*, to the Central Committee in Sibiu⁴⁷, to MPs from Maramureș and various cultural institutions etc.; calls were launched to the elders of Romanian villages; a strong media campaign was triggered in local newspapers; active propaganda was carried out in its favor; measures were taken for the preparation of stately ceremonies.

Although several ministers had announced their arrival, including Ion Inculeț and Ion Nistor, finally only Alexandru Lapedatu, Minister of Religion and the Arts, member of the *Romanian Academy* responded to the invitation. Among those who honored the memory of Dr. Ioan Mihalyi with their presence was Alexandru Breban, delegate of the Central Committee of the Association in

⁴⁴ *Idem*, 1925, no. 36, p. 1.

⁴⁵ S.J.-A.N. Sibiu, *Astra Fund*, Sighet Division (Maramureș), no. 1149/1925, f. 1-2.

⁴⁶ *Maramureș Gazette*, 1925, no. 34, p. 3.

⁴⁷ S.J.-A.N. Sibiu, *Astra Fund*, Sighet Division, no. 1149/1925, f. 1-2.

Sibiu, the *Tătărași Folk Athenaeum from Iași*“ that came to see its birthplace and to embrace its brothers”⁴⁸, senators Emil Bran, Ioan Tarția, Eg. Mircea and MPs Ion Urdea and Z. Man.

The festivities began on the morning of August 30, 1925 with a liturgy held by the vicar Ilarie Boroș and a memorial service for the soul of the commemorated. After welcoming, with enthusiasm and zest, the *Tătărași Folk Athenaeum* (comprising 200 Moldavians and 200 Bessarabians) at the train station, an impressive procession was formed which, led by military music, went towards the Prefecture. In the building’s festive hall, the president of Sighet’s division of *Astra*, Vasile Kindriș, in a short speech, addressed the “*Welcome!*” greeting, then asked the Central Committee delegate to lead the agenda. The lectures held by Al. Breban and Al. Cziple, which recounted the work of Dr. Ioan Mihalyi in the cultural, political and national realm, “managed to bring the audience in tears”⁴⁹. One member of the audience, referring to these speeches, later wrote in a local newspaper: “Ioan Mihalyi rightly deserved the love and gratitude that all Romanians showed him. A deep thinker, a fierce defender of Romanian justice in these lands, a great teacher of our schools and our church, father of the cultural life, faithful propagator of the idea of unity, a great apostle of Romanians”⁵⁰.

The program continued in the square in front of the Prefecture with the unveiling of the bust and the consecration ceremony. Alexandru Lapedatu read a speech in memory of the one celebrated then those present placed wreaths: Al. Lapedatu on behalf of the *Romanian Academy*, Al. Breban on behalf of the Central Committee of the Association in Sibiu, G. Nedelcu on behalf of the “Prince Charles” Cultural Foundation, I. Bârlea on behalf of the *Association for the Culture of the Romanian People from Maramureș* and V. Kindriș on behalf of the Sighet division of *Astra*. I. Modreanu gave away the bust to the City Hall on behalf of which Mayor Paul Cziplea promised that “he will guard and defend it with sanctitude as the town's most beloved treasure”⁵¹.

The banquet was given in the Cultural Palace, but it was too small to receive the public. We emphasize that the menu cost 120 lei, 50 lei for the Moldavian guests, and several hundred ploughmen received the food free of charge. Nevertheless, the meals served to 1,250 people proved insufficient, an additional 300 menus being needed to meet the demands⁵². The banquet was animated by the *Folk Athenaeum* choir and by numerous speeches. One speech worth mentioning was that of vicar Ilarie Boroș, who expressed his deep contentment seeing that this event produced “a true union of all Romanians” –

⁴⁸ *Maramureș Gazette*, 1925, no. 35, p. 2.

⁴⁹ *Maramureș Express*, 1925, no. 12, p. 1.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 2.

⁵¹ *Maramureș Gazette*, 1925, no. 36, p. 2.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 2.

an ideal Dr. Ioan Mihalyi aspired to and for which he fought – “for which great Romanian men, the most distinguished, have gathered here from all four corners of the nation”⁵³. After the meal was over, the public visited the studio of painter Liviu Szabo Bordeaux, the ethnographic museum arranged by Gh. Vornicu and the weaving workshop of Elena Bârlea. The dinner invitation launched by Dr. Ioan Mihalyi’s widow was honored by many officials of whom we mention Al Lapedatu, Al. Breban, Ilarie Boroș, senators Ig. Mircea and Ioan Tarția, MPs Ion Urdea and Z. Man, prefect Gavrilă Mihalyi, mayor P. Cziplea, colonel Greceanu, C. N. Ifrim, V. Kindriș.

The celebration took on a special splendor through the cultural and artistic social evening organized by the *Folk Athenaeum* in the theater hall at the Palace of Culture, which once again proved too small for the crowds. We want to state that, according to what had become a tradition, the *Athenaeum* was seeing its eighth gathering of “propaganda and cultural brotherhood” and in that year, through a happy coincidence, the route had been established through Transylvania, Maramureș and Bucovina. After the *Athenaeum* choir sang the Royal Anthem, Al. Lapedatu, enthusiastic by the “presence of Moldavians among our brothers from Maramureș”, held a conference in which he evoked the common contribution of Moldavian and Transylvanian political leaders in achieving national unity. The cultural and artistic program that followed, with songs, recitations, violin solos, voice solos, national games etc. – later reported by local media - was exceptional: the poem entitled *Ștefan cel Mare [Stephen III of Moldavia or Ștefan the Great]*, recited by D. M. Popovici “produced soul shaking among its listeners, being called again several times”, the *Romanian Rhapsody* interpreted by M. Barbu on the violin, accompanied on piano by master Ciolac “generated numerous applause and acclamation”, while “national dances like *cazaciasca* and *mărunțica* gave rise to thunderous applause”⁵⁴.

As an epilogue, the president of the *Athenaeum*, Constantin N. Ifrim, recited the lyrics of poet Andrei Murășanu: “Romanian from four corners, now or never / Unite in thought, unite in feeling!”⁵⁵

This “cultural brotherhood” between Moldavians and the people of Maramureș promoted union of spirit, the establishment of the idea of national unity of the Romanian people of Maramureș⁵⁶.

Long awaited, painstakingly prepared, but mostly lived with emotion and commitment, the feast given in honor of the cultural apostle of Maramureș, Dr. Ioan Mihalyi, was indeed, as planned, “the most sublime ever to take place in Maramureș”⁵⁷.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 1-2.

⁵⁴ *Idem*, 1925, nr. 37, p. 2-3.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, 1925, no. 34, p. 3.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, 1925, no. 35, p. 1.

From 1925 dates yet another notable achievement in the history of the Sighet division's work, which contributed to the widening of its field of activity, namely that of establishing the medical circle of *Astra*, under the chairmanship of Dr. Vasile Ilea⁵⁸. Shortly after its creation, the department's management adopted a very dynamic attitude. In a meeting that called together the intellectuals of Sighet, regardless the category they belonged to, they tried to outline an efficient action program: active propaganda through media, books, drawings and posters aimed at promoting hygiene education and prevention; public conferences held systematically within the city; activities in the villages where a team of doctors would go and spread public health. The *fight* was to be given in two directions: one curative and one prophylactic.

After the cultural circle began its work by organizing of two or three conferences weekly in the Cultural Palace, by holding "folk lectures", by spreading the propaganda in the villages - led by Dr. Gh Păcurar - local media reported: "a fruitful and multilateral start of activity that absolved us from the embarrassment of a total lack of cultural activity like the one we had until now"⁵⁹. Although initially, due to numerous obstacles, especially those of a financial nature, they failed to achieve all their objectives, in the coming years *Astra's* medical circle recorded significant results, through the hope and hard work of its members.

It is just as important to remember that once the reorganization of the cultural and scientific departments of *Astra* was performed, some scholars from Maramureș were included as active members or correspondents: priest Ion Bârlea (corresponding member of the historic department and an active member of the geographic and ethnographic departments) and Vasile Ilea (corresponding member of the medical and bio-political departments).

We also ought to mention that the above achievements, undoubtedly important, were only partial. The General Assemblies of the division⁶⁰, which were a framework for carrying out analyses and discussions on economic circumstances and on the results of members, and for identifying solutions for activity improvement, failed to outline a complete program of actions to be taken. This happened because of several reasons. On the one hand, there is no permanent solidarity between members of the division able to flourish within the institution and spread cultural activities, members being occupied by other tasks, particularly administrative and political. This sad fact was reported in local newspapers which, in the summer of 1925, wrote: "at the general assembly of the Sighet division held on August 16, 1925 in the Great Hall of

⁵⁸ *Transylvania*, 1926, no. 1, p. 39. Vasile Ilea continued a good collaboration, for social protection, with Iuliu Moldovan, Iuliu Hațieganu and Marius Sturdza.

⁵⁹ *Maramureș Gazette*, 1926, no. 10, p. 1.

⁶⁰ In the years 1921-1925 only two general assemblies of the Sighet division were organized, in 1923 and 1925.

the Cultural Palace, only 10 intellectuals and 10 students were present⁶¹. Moreover, in the absence of an effective propaganda, which was needed in order to make people understand the purpose of a literacy activity, membership did not increase, giving way to “general indifference to cultural and spiritual issues”⁶². For example, in 1922, the division included 18 life members and 39 active members⁶³, while in 1925 only 3 founding members and 17 life members were still in the records⁶⁴. On the other hand, the division did not have any permanent source of income, which made its mission be very difficult, being restricted largely to the town of Sighet. Due to the high cost of travel and lack of transportation, the interaction with scholars in villages was rarely made, making the disinterest in the cultural act persist in rural areas - agencies and libraries proved to be non-operational.

The financial difficulties the division faced were a hindrance to the action of building National Houses, i.e. “institutions of great importance to propagate national culture”⁶⁵, although the Agricultural Council of Maramureș, at the request of the Central Committee, at the same time as the expropriation and appropriation reform, made expropriations for such buildings in 23 town, offering to reserve a location for this purpose in other villages, where the expropriation was in progress⁶⁶.

These *limits* in the Sighet division’s activity were gradually overcome in the following years, under the leadership of Dr. Vasile Ilea, by preparing and observing a rational and comprehensive work program, becoming one of the most active divisions of *Astra*.

We consider it necessary to say that since the board of the divisions in Maramureș maintained only a sporadic correspondence with the Association Office in Sibiu, the documentary fund of *Astra*⁶⁷ does not contain a lot of data on its activity during 1918-1926. Also, the press at the time was not too *generous* in information. Therefore, it is likely that the picture depicting the activities of this division within the aforementioned time span be only partially retraced.

⁶¹ *Maramureș Gazette*, 1925, no. 34, p. 2.

⁶² *Ibidem*, p. 2.

⁶³ *Transylvania*, 1922, no. 7-8, p. 518.

⁶⁴ *Idem*, 1925, no. 9-10, p. 530.

⁶⁵ *Idem*, 1922, no. 5, p. 384.

⁶⁶ S.J.-A.N. Sibiu, *Astra Fund*, Sighet Division (Maramureș), no. 681/1925.

⁶⁷ We refer to the *Astra Fund* of the County Service of National Archives Sibiu. We state that the County Service of National Archives Maramureș and the Museum of Maramureș in Sighetu-Marmației do not hold such a fund.

ROMANIAN – BRITISH RELATIONS DURING GOGA-CUZA GOVERNMENT

Monica POP *

***Abstract:** This paper tries to capture the Romanian-British relations during and after the dismissal of the Goga-Cuza Government until the instauration of the Carol's authoritarian regime, and the Munich Pact.*

The establishment of the Goga-Cuza government, on December 28, 1937, aroused a keen interest and concern within the public and the ruling circles of England. Thus, the news of Romania, regarding the establishment of the new government and its internal and external policy orientation has occupied a prominent place in the English press for more than a week. The London press devoted unusually long articles to the Romanian government change and commented unfavorably the forming of the new cabinet.

Beginning with 1938, the British newspapers were filled less than the new Romanian government, although continuing to publish during the next time some articles or telegrams on its internal and external policy. This decrease in interest of the media to the Goga-Cuza government was a somewhat normal phenomenon. Its acts and declarations of the internal and external policy until then had shown quite clearly, which would be, in general, its orientation in future inside and outside, ending thus the various assumptions, comments and interpretations on this topic, which generally interested the public opinion and the British ruling circles.

***Keywords:** Romanian-British, relations, Goga-Cuza, government, press*

The establishment of the Goga-Cuza government, on December 28, 1937, aroused a keen interest and concern within the public and the ruling circles of England. Thus, the news of Romania, regarding the establishment of the new government and its internal and external policy orientation has occupied a prominent place in the English press for more than a week. At December 29, 1937, the London press devoted unusually long articles to the Romanian government change. The *Daily Telegraph*, *Daily Herald* and *News Chronicle* commented unfavorably the forming of the new cabinet, stressing that, if Romania would abandon the constitutional parliamentary practice, then

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it would lose the support of England. The *Times* expressed its surprise, and the *Manchester Guardian* advanced the opinion that between two dangerous solutions, the king chose the middle path.

The London Evening Press has changed, but the tone of its articles, after the speech of King Carol II when he took the oath of the members of government, of which concluded that there was no dictatorship or unconstitutional measures. Thus, the *London Star* wrote that the government would not have extremist tendencies and that the king, who would keep the friendship for England and France, guaranteed the stability of the foreign policy.

On December 30, the liberal *News Chronicle* and the labor *Daily Herald* continued to comment adversely the change of government in Romania. The conservative *Daily Telegraph* modified, however, its opinion, saying that King Carol commissioned O. Goga and, not Codreanu, to form the government. The *Evening Standard* newspaper published in the evening of December 30, an interview received on phone from Goga, who said inter alia, “A main point of our foreign policy will be friendship ties more closely with England than we want at present. I hope to expand our diplomatic and commercial ties”¹.

The comments of December 31 focused mainly on the anti-Semitic measures taken by the Romanian Government and on the statements of Goga and Micescu on the Romania’s foreign policy orientation. Therefore, for example, *Manchester Guardian* wrote, “The persecution of the Jews began throughout Romania. It feels great concern; because Goga’s nationalist and anti-Semitic government wants to proceed drastically to the elimination of the Jews from the political and economic life of the country. This is a serious concern for the fate of the 850 000 of Jews in Romania. If the government will be allowed to fulfill its program in the announced drastic way, Europe will be found in the face of a problem regarding the refugees which will excel the recent German immigration”². In addition, the *Times* noted, “The new foreign minister, Micescu, announced that the old friendships and alliances with the other countries remain unchanged under his leadership ... The suppression of three democratic newspapers, the Jews’ property, is bad news for Jews”³. *Daily Telegraph*, highlighting the statements made by Goga referring to England, stated: “Mr. Goga, the new prime minister of Romania, made friendly statements about the United Kingdom last night. I have right now in my pocket, he said, a telegram that I will send tomorrow to the Prime Minister of England, expressing my highest consideration. For its strength and spirit of justice, we consider United Kingdom as the great pillar of the world peace. The government that I chair is willing to work towards further tightening of the ties

¹ Gheorghe Pașcalău, *România și Marea Britanie*, Albatros Publishing House, Bucharest, 2001, p. 88

² *Ibid*

³ *Ibid*

between the two countries. These links will be expressed solemnly by the visit of our King to London during this spring”⁴.

The comments in the following papers regarded mainly the foreign policy guidelines announced by the Goga-Cuza Government.

The *Sunday Times* of January 2, 1938, emphasizing that Romania, Poland and Yugoslavia have repeatedly declared that the friendship with Great Britain is the cardinal principle of their foreign policy, wrote “Even the recent changes in Romania, where a small anti-Semitic party is now in power under Mr. Goga, not shaken this view. The friendship with Great Britain is regarded still to be King Carol’s policy and, for this reason his visit to London in March, is awaited with interest”⁵.

The Romanian newspapers published on January 3, 1938, the exchange of telegrams between Istrate Micescu and Eden. In his telegram, Micescu, bringing into notice to the British minister’s chief his appointment to the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs, expressed his satisfaction to collaborate with him for maintaining the peace and friendship ties between Romania and Great Britain, based on the respect of the commitments. Eden’s response telegram expressed thanks and the same hope for cooperation in peacekeeping operations in Europe⁶. But, on January 4, 1938, Cesianu, the Romanian ambassador in Paris, communicated in Bucharest that Eden told Churchill, whom he met on January, 3, at the British Embassy in Paris, that England was concerned seeing the slope Romania grabbed, with or without will, and that the Romanian government’s acts were expected to draw a conclusion⁷. The very next day, however, without waiting, the English government sent instructions to its Minister in Bucharest, Sir R. Hoare, to remember the Romanian government, in the most friendly terms, the interest that he wore for the Minorities Treaty, signed in Paris in December 1919⁸. The Minister of France in Bucharest also made a similar approach, on January 5, 1938. The intercession done by the British government to remind the Romanian government the obligations in the Minorities Treaty occurred after the protests and complaints of the representatives of the Jews against the anti-Semitic measures taken by the Goga-Cuza government. It was inspired, in Grigorcea’s opinion, by the needs of the very complicated policy of England in the Palestinian issue, the subtle balance game between Arabs and Hebrews asking England to make a gesture to assure the sympathies of the Jewish element and of its City’s supporters⁹. To

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 88-89

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 89

⁶ Romania’s National Archives, Bucharest, *Presa internă*, file 379, f. 111

⁷ Idem, Fond 71, England, vol. 40, telegram No. 4626, signed Cesianu, Paris, January 4, 1938

⁸ Florea Nedelcu, *Viața politică din România în preajma instaurării dictaturii regale*, Dacia Publishing House, Cluj, 1973, p. 200

⁹ Romania’s National Archives, Bucharest, Fond 71, England, vol. 40, telegram No. 3, signed Grigorcea, London, January 7, 1938

achieve this effect, the Government itself informed the English media about the request made. The first information on this intercession occurred on January 5, 1938, the *Evening Standard* newspaper, in the article signed by its diplomatic correspondent, entitled *Great Britain remembers King Carol promise made. The Jews' rights guaranteed by treaties*¹⁰. The English newspapers of January 6 gave information about the approach of England and France, publishing feature articles and telegrams from Paris. The attitude of the conservative newspapers, close to the government to intercession, as it appeared from the information given was different from that of the liberal newspapers. Thus, the *Times* was bordered to display the content of the British government intercession, without making any comments, and publish the correspondence from Paris about the friendly approach of Thierry, the French Minister in Bucharest, and Goga's response that the restrictions reached only the immigrants, so that the Romanian Jews would be relieved of an unfair competition. Similarly, the *Daily Telegraph* published the same news, adding only that Goga agreed, in his response, that, before taking any drastic measures, the issue to be brought in front of the League of Nations. The *News Chronicle*, however, showing that England and France's intercession was the anticipated attitude outcome of the new Romanian government towards Hebrews, wrote that the Minorities Treaty provisions were applied to all Jews who have acquired the Romanian citizenship, even if it happened only a few months ago. In addition, the *Manchester Guardian*, showing the need for Great Britain to get out of its past indifference to massacres and racist persecutions and noting that the Minorities Treaty signed by Romania in 1919 was raped, expressed its satisfaction with the Hoare approach to the Romanian government, on the behalf of Jews¹¹.

On January 7, 1938, Goga received a delegation of the representatives of the British financial circles that had interests in Romania. He has declared them that the visit that was to be done by King Carol II in England would further strengthen the links between Great Britain and Romania and that he and his colleagues in government wanted to work with the English capital, thereby establishing a "direct line" between Bucharest and London, rather the indirect way existed before¹². In addition, in a telegram sent to Chamberlain and published in the Romanian newspapers of January 8, 1939, he expressed his belief that Great Britain would support the peaceful activity of his government. In the response telegram, Chamberlain warmly thanked to Goga for the "very cordial" telegram and expressed his hope that the two countries would cooperate to preserve peace¹³.

¹⁰ Idem, *Informații*, file, 676, f. 10

¹¹ Idem, *Buletine*, file 9, f. 4 - 15

¹² Idem, *Buletine*, file, 11, f. 31

¹³ Idem, *Presa internă*, file, 379, f. 14 -15

Starting with January 9, 1938, the British newspapers were filled less than the new Romanian government, although continuing to publish during the next time some articles or telegrams on its internal and external policy, as well as the interviews award by Goga and King Carol II to some few British journalists. This decrease in interest of the media to the Goga-Cuza government was a somewhat normal phenomenon. Its acts and declarations of the internal and external policy until then had shown quite clearly, which would be, in general, its orientation in future inside and outside, ending thus the various assumptions, comments and interpretations on this topic, which generally interested the public opinion and the British ruling circles. On January 10, 1938, the *Daily Herald* published the interview that King Carol II award to the correspondent in Bucharest, where, after trying to justify the measures taken by the Goga-Cuza government against the Jews, the Romanian sovereign said: "There will be no change in our policy of friendship with Great Britain. On the contrary, our ties of friendship will strengthen ". About the draft official visit to London, he said, "I look forward this visit, planned long ago. It will strengthen the cordial ties with Great Britain, and my pleasure is even greater, given the personal feelings that I cherish for King George and Queen Elizabeth". The *Daily Herald* accompanied the interview award by King Carol II to its editor and published on the front page of the newspaper, on top position, a matter article, which made the following comment: "It is the most important and authoritative statement, appeared before in the world press, on Romania's policy. Moreover, we should be grateful for the given assurances"¹⁴.

However, both before and after the session in January 1938 of the League of Nations Council in England continued the campaign against the anti-Semitic measures of the Goga-Cuza government. Thus, on January 24, 1938, Professor Seton Watson held a conference at the London radio station, criticizing violently the situation in Romania, attacking Goga and accusing King Carol II that he makes dictatorship. He ended the conference by saying that what happened in Romania encouraged those who believed that reviewing the treaties was a necessity, given that Romania itself violated the minorities' treaties by the anti-Semitic measures taken¹⁵.

On February 7, after the interpellation of the government by the deputies Wegwood and Cocks, they discussed the issue of the Hebrews in Romania in the House of Commons, too. After Eden's response, which showed, inter alia, that until the committee meeting that was to examine the petitions of the Jewish associations addressed to the League of Nations, the English government pursued the issue to see if it was appropriate to take an immediate action, considered, possibly, appropriate under the circumstances. Then, Deputy Cocks asked Eden if he was willing to put pressure on the Romanian government to

¹⁴ *Universul*, January 13, 1938; *Carol the Second and the British Press*, London, 1939, p. 21-24

¹⁵ Romania's National Archives, Bucharest, *Fond Casa Regală*, file 91/1938, f. 4

suspend the measures against Jews, until the committee would discuss the problem. Eden said, “This idea crossed naturally my think of”¹⁶.

In such an atmosphere, it is no wonder that the dismissal of the Goga-Cuza government made in England a good impression, in both the ruling circles and the press, being especially welcome by the papers of left¹⁷.

¹⁶ Harry Hanak, *Romania in 1938 and 1939 and the End of British Appeasement*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A. D. Xenopol*, Iași, 22/1985, p. 164-166

¹⁷ Romania’s National Archives, Bucharest, *Presa externă*, file 991, f. 105, 135; *Buletine*, dosar 9, f. 61-62

PRISON OF ORADEA AT THE BEGINNINGS OF THE COMMUNIST PERIOD (1945-1946)

*Cristina PUȘCAȘ**

Abstract: *The communist regime has significantly changed the role that the penance institution played in a society. The communist prisons and the labor colonies were not simply isolation spaces of the prisoner, they have become places for reeducation in which the torture, deprivation, humiliation were the main ways to transform the communist regime opponent in a new man. The Penitentiary of Oradea is part of this new line of the central policy promoted by the new totalitarian regime of Soviet origin.*

In the Penitentiary of Oradea, until August 23, 1944, prisoners of common law and policy have executed their punishment and after August 23, 1944, there they imprisoned both prisoners of common law and “those who committed crimes against the state security”. From year to year, with intensifying the fight against the “anti-democratic actions”, the number of the “counterrevolutionary” prisoners increased continuously. The average capacity of the Penitentiary was 700-1000 people, but in reality, during the periods of maximum repression, the number of occupants doubled. If in the registry of prevents on the year 1945 they recorded 167 persons, the next year the number of those imprisoned in the Penitentiary of Great Oradea has reached 611, including 89 women.

Keywords: *Oradea Penitentiary, political prisoners, prisoners of common law, anti-Communist resistance, 1945-1946.*

The penitentiary of Oradea remains in the memory of many former political prisoners during the communist regime, a space that, because of its degrading conditions of solitary confinement, occupies a leading position on the map of the Romanian Gulag.

The building that houses the prison of Oradea is located in the “downtown”¹ of the city in no.3 Traian Park Street, approximately 800 m north of the river Crișul Repede and 1,500 m south of the Central Station of the town. The building construction in the former central market of the new neighborhood in Oradea, Olosig began in the second half of the 18th century. Until then, even after building the new edifice, they imprisoned the evil doers in the Fortress of

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¹ Liviu Borcea, *Memoria Caselor*, Oradea, Arca Publishing House, 2003, p. 141

Oradea, specifically in the basement of the medieval buildings². However, in the 17th century, in Bihor County they reported two other detention spaces, one in Beliu³ and one at Vașcău⁴. The works on the current Prison in Oradea would be started 1752, being completed in 1758, during the next century the property benefiting from numerous interventions, developing, both horizontally and vertically⁵. The walls had a thickness of 150 cm. They judged the trials in the building next to the former House of the Committee⁶, and after issuing the final sentences, they took the prisoners to serve their sentence in the building next. The extending of the building started in 1837 and ended on 1 July 1842, this time producing a three-floor building, perpendicular on the main building⁷. Since 1890, at the first floor the Royal Prosecution has started its activity here being arranged also a room for debates.

According to some documents, in the period 1880-1890 they built workshops, warehouses, stables and offices bound for prison because of the peasant riots, carried out as the strikes of harvest⁸. The short history of the Penitentiary of Oradea in 1865 indicates that the municipality purchased the building⁹. The Prison perimeter has an irregular shape, comprising within three bodies of massive buildings, two of which, arranged in the shape of “L” and the third situated perpendicular on the direction of the inside angle formed by the other two buildings¹⁰. The perimeter also includes the workshops of the Braids Enterprise MIA, the garages and yards of walking. The two buildings in a form of “L” are built on two levels with a basement divided into large rooms (cellars for food) and the third building (the cell division) is built on three levels. The entire building is massive, with thick and solid walls¹¹.

The first documents of the newly established institution identified so far dates from 1758¹². A first record register is dated 1765, this document referring

² *Ibid.*

³ Adrian Apan, Adrian Bungău, *Contribuții documentare privind justiția și pușcăria capitalară de la Oradea*, in *Revista bihoreană de istorie*, Year IV, no. 6-7, 2006, Oradea, p. 44

⁴ National Archives - Bihor County Service (hereinafter A.N. – S.J. BH), *fond Episcopia romano-catolică de Oradea, Acte Juridice*, dossier 431, passim

⁵ Liviu Borcea, *op.cit.*, p. 141

⁶ Construction at County House, located in no.7, Traian Park, began around 1760 (cf. *Istoriei orașului Oradea*, Second Edition, Liviu Borcea, Gheroghe Gorun (coordinators), Oradea, Arca Publishing House, 2007, p.193; Peter I. Zoltan, *Trei secole de arhitectură orădeană*, Oradea, Muzeului Țării Crișurilor Publishing House, 2003, p. 26)

⁷ Liviu Borcea, *op.cit.*, p. 141

⁸ Penitentiary National Administration Archive (hereinafter A.A.N.P.), *fond Pază și Regim*, dos. FN-1967-1968, vol. II, f. 52

□ <http://www.anp-just.ro/unitati/oradea.htm>

¹⁰ *Dicționarul penitenciarelor din România comunistă (1945-1967)*, Andrei Muraru (coordinator), Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 2008, p. 410

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 410

¹² A.N. – S.J. BH, *fond Episcopia romano-catolică de Oradea, Acte Juridice*, dos. 462, f.2

to 23 people¹³. In 1814, they imprisoned 105 persons, and in the first half of the 1816, they registered 76 inmates. From 1845, they report an increase in the number of the “inhabitants”, only in the first half they registered 202 offenders, followed in 1877, 421 people incarcerated in the prison of Oradea¹⁴.

In the Prison of Oradea, until August 23, 1944, prisoners of common law and policy have executed their punishment, and after August 23, 1944, here they imprisoned both prisoners of common law, and “those who committed crimes against the state security”¹⁵.

The average capacity is of 700-1000 people¹⁶, but in reality during the times of extreme repression, the number of occupants doubled. Thus, during the years 1945-1950 the average number was of 800-1000 imprisons, in the years 1951-1952 this effect reached 2.000, of whom over 500 were “counterrevolutionaries” detainees, in the period 1955-1958, the average number fell back to 900-1.000 prisons because in 1958 this effect to reach about 500 prisoners. In the period 1959-1964, the effective number reached an average of 900-1000 prisoners and after 1964 until 1967 remains the same¹⁷.

The period immediately following the takeover by the Romanian administration of the territories lost by the Vienna Dictate, in the context of the political and administrative changes, favored the inmates’ in-group of some detainees of common law. In the period, 1945 - 1947, from this prison escaped 29 prisoners under common law - convicted - and 21 detainees taken into precautionary custody¹⁸. According to the information presented in the history of Oradea Penitentiary “Great Oradea Prison Archive in the period 1920 - 23 August 1944 was destroyed during the war”¹⁹. Thus, the oldest documents found in the Prison Archives of Oradea are three calendars, one that concerns those precautionary arrested and two regarding the prisoners who passed through this place of detention since 1945, among them also the first “counterrevolutionaries”. For this first year of the three registers, two are identical, in that they listed these prisoners. They made these documents, with permanent storage regime, in alphabetical order. As the general presentations transmitted to those of the Center on the Prison life in Great Oradea, the three books highlight a series of escapes. The preventions calendar on the 1945,

¹³ Adrian Apan, Adrian Bungău, *op. cit.*, p. 44 (the two indicate 22 persons), in reality are 23 inmates remembered (A.N. – S.J. BH, *fond Episcopia romano-catolică de Oradea, Acte Juridice*, dos. 462, f.5)

¹⁴ Adrian Apan, Adrian Bungău, *op. cit.* p. 44-45

¹⁵ A.A.N.P., *fond Pază și Regim*, dos. FN-1967-1968, vol. II, f. 59

¹⁶ Archive of the National Council for the Study the Security Archives (hereinafter A.C.N.S.A.S.), *fond Documentar*, dos. 8859, vol. 80, f. 7

¹⁷ A.A.N.P., *fond Pază și Regim*, dos. FN-1967-1968, vol. II, f. 59

¹⁸ A.C.N.S.A.S., *fond Documentar*, dos. 8859, vol. 80, f. 5

¹⁹ A.A.N.P., *fond Pază și Regim* dos. FN-1967-1968, vol. II, f. 59

which includes 167 people, including 26 women, noted five cases of escapes, even though the most took place in 1946²⁰.

They added five escaped listed as “preventions” four other prisoners outlined in the two calendars of convicts²¹. The only escape officially recognized by the authorities seems to be that of Popa Aurel. “On the day of 4 December 1945 the prisoner D.C. Popa Aurel escaped from the work site “Pădurea Episcopiei” they show in the history of Oradea Penitentiary²². In the “Calendar of Convicts on the year 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, I - N/A/6” there is an indication that they imprisoned Popa Aurel on October 6, 1945, under a Court Mandate Control of Aleșd, because of theft. He received a sentence of three months, but will escape on 4 December 1945, and they will catch him on January 25, 1946²³.

As regarding the number of prison inmates who were in Oradea Penitentiary in 1945, we have no information. We know that this year they “deposited” 167 preventions, of which 27 were women. Their number increased together with the receipt of 161 inmates who acquired the status of “convicted”. Of these 61, i.e. 37.88%, depending on their facts, can come in the “CR” category - counterrevolutionaries or “CSS” - against the state security. In the leading point of the convictions, on the first place are the prisoners locked up in the Prison of Oradea accused of sabotage. The 12 prisoners of sabotage got

²⁰ The first person mentioned that escaped the vigilance of the guards on January 3, 1946 is Bojan Iosif, who had entered the prison Oradea on 23 January 1945, and the authority that would “deposited” is the Court of Oradea (Archive of Oradea Prison (the A.P.O.), *Prevention Calendar for the year 1945-1948, I - N/A/7*, letter B/1945). Hoidaman Ioan came to prison of Oradea on October 1, 1945, “submitted” by the Oradea Court of Appeal on the base of the mandate no.461/1945, and in the right box “Release Date” is the last date May 31, 1956, which could be the escape date(cf. *Ibid*, letter H/1945). They imprisoned Matyas Mija under a mandate issued on 28 September 1945 by the Oradea Court Prosecutor on 29 November 1945, but it seems that on December 11, 1945 manages to escape and they caught him on July 24, 1946 (cf. *Ibid*, letter M/1945). Szabo Alexandru reaches the other prison cells in Oradea on 18 December 1945, that on February 15, 1946 to succeed to escape (cf. *Ibid*, letter S/1945). The last black spot on the bank for prison staff on the Crișului Repede River is the incident of the detainee escape Vancea Sigismund, who is imprisoned on 29 August 1945, following the escape on September 18, 1945, and caught on 31 October 1946 (cf. *Ibid*, letter V/1945)

²¹ They imprisoned Boneac Petre - on July 15, 1945 for theft, receiving a sentence of three years. According to the second record, he will escape on 26 octombrie1945 (cf. Idem, *Calendar of Convicted 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, I - N/A/6* letter B/1945). They imprisoned Guba Joseph - on March 22, 1945, because of theft, for which he received three months. He will escape on 2 September 1945, after referring to the statement that they caught him on 20 October 1949 (cf. *Ibid*, letter G/1945). They sentenced Nicolae Ionescu for stealing all year, and «imprisoned» in Oradea prison on 5 December 1945, where he manages to escape on 18 December the same year (cf. *Ibid*, letter I/1945).

²² A.A.N.P., *fond Pază și Regim*, dos. FN/1967-1968, vol.II, f. 53

²³ A.P.O., *Calendar of Convincts on the year 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948 (Opisul de condamnăți pe anul 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948)*, I – N/A/6, litera P/1945

sentences between one month and one year. Four of them are women²⁴. The courts that have “put the mandates” for the detention there were in the district of Bihor County, these mandates being issued or by the Tribunal of Bihor, or by the Urbarial Court of Oradea. Another economic infraction, i.e., the speculate, brought eight other prisoners in the Penitentiary of Oradea. In this case, too, the sentences ranged from one month to 6 months. Of the eight persons convicted of usury, four are women²⁵. Under the general condition of the product shortages, especially of food due to the war, the need to supply the Soviet and Romanian troops on the front, but especially because of the country obligation to pay the huge war compensation by the USSR, the “speculation” and the “sabotage” were common in an economy disrupted by the military occupier and the pro-communist regime of Dr. Petru Groza.

A place of honor in the ranking of the sentences they have the “frontier men”. In 1945, they recorded 12 people convicted of “border crossing” in the calendar of prisoners of the Oradea Penitentiary. In most cases, the court that issued arrest warrants is the Court-Martial of Cluj and the period of the sentence is one month, in one case, of Penzes Ioan, the penalty being of 3 months. Also among the “frontier men”, there are also two women²⁶. The charges of desertion were during this period, in a very large number. For 1945 we have ten inmates in the Penitentiary of Great Oradea with the charge of “desertion”, the penalties issued by the local councils of war are between one and six months.

On December 6, 1945, at the Penitentiary of Great Oradea they brought an impressive batch of prisoners. Nine of those detained in that day seem to be part of a group that has as main count the “rebellion”. The mandates seem to have the dated 30 November, issued by the Court Martial of Cluj²⁷. On

²⁴ They imprisoned Crișan Floare on 7 October 1945, but although she received one month in prison, they released her on October 10, 1945. The same they found Ileana Mill, sentenced to six months, but released after a day respectively the widow Virag Vilma, sentenced to six months (cf. *Ibid*, letter C/1945, letter M/1945, letter V/1945)

²⁵ Thus, they will submit Rabinovitz Terezia to the Oradea Prison on 21 December 1945 for a period of six months, and released on May 16. Along with Rabinovitz Terezia, we mention Madas Floare, Popa Floare and Șerban Floare, all sentenced to one month of imprisonment (cf. *Ibid*, letter R/1945, letter M/1945, letter P/1945, letter Ș/1945)

²⁶ Csuhan Elisabeta, „submitted” to prison on July 28, 1945 Oradea, that Fazekas Maria, who arrived in the hole on 1 August 1945. Both, because they tried to leave the country, received a sentence of one month (cf. *Ibid*, letter C/1945, letter F/1945)

²⁷ Thus, Asztales Francis has endured a sentence of three months, Baroti Alexandru has served a sentence of six months, and released under the terms of the register of convicted on May 21, 1946. In addition, Bertlan Alexandru would spend in cell two months, and Borbely Anton has served one of the longest periods of detention for eight months, like the prisoner Pop Alexandru. Farch Iosif, Kocsis Ștefan, Nagy Alexandru and Pal Ștefan Farchant will each receive a sentence of six months (cf. *Ibid*, letter A/1945, letter B/1945, letter F/1945, letter K/1945, letter K/1945, letter N/1945, letter P/1945)

December 6, 1945, the Penitentiary of Oradea will receive between its walls the convict to death Derzsi Alexandru. The count is “high betrayal”²⁸, they will arrest him on the base of the mandate numbered 1956 November 26, 1945 issued by the sixth Army Corps Court Martial Prosecutor²⁹. According to the penal registration file, dated June 22, 1945, Derszi Alexandru was born on 1 May 1894, residing in the village Mihai Viteazul, district of Turda. He has the Hungarian citizenship, being a carpenter, without fortune, with deceased parents, who had one hectare of land and a house³⁰. He has graduated four primary classes and got married. As particular signs in his private criminal sheet, records are listed “missing three fingers on his left hand”. They will hold him again on 22 November 1944, and initially sentenced to death, then they will commute the penalty to hard labor for life, then they will reduce the punishment to 25 years. The have accused him that in his house “they drank and ate with the Hungarians” and that “he was a volunteer in the army of Hitler”. They will put him free only on 15 April 1964, according to the decrees of pardon, after almost 20 years he has gone through Aiud, Jilava, Gherla, Pitești, Dej.

Another large category of political prisoners is that who refused the “incorporation”. In the register on 1945 of the Penitentiary of Oradea, we have seven cases of this kind. The main cause of the “disobedience to incorporation” was of religious origin. Typically, they were the members of the cult of “Jehovah’s Witnesses” or those who were Adventists. Also, in the Penitentiary of Oradea in 1945 have arrived also two people convicted for illegal possessing of weapons, and one for possession of uniform³¹.

For 1946, the Archive of Oradea Penitentiary retains four records of the inmates who passed in the 12 months through here. Compared with 1945, the information for the year 1946 is much richer. First, the number of those inmates increased substantially. Secondly, the documents of the time kept for the second half of the year rich information regarding the age, profession, religion, ethnicity, residence, respectively the reason for incarceration and the provided punishment. If the registry of prevents for the year 1945 they recorded 167 persons, the next year the number of those deposited in the Penitentiary of Great Oradea has reached 611, including 89 women³². While the number of

²⁸ *Ibid*, letter D/1945

²⁹ *Ibid*, letter D/1945

³⁰ <http://86.125.17.36/Fise%20matricole%20penale%20-%20detinuti%20politici/D/D%2002.%20Deac%20-%20Dinaiu/Derzsi%20Alexandru%20S/index.php>, Derzsi Alexandru Penal Records File

³¹ One case that of Bolteanu Ivan, filed on August 23, 1945 for the hitting of the supervisor followed that on August 26, 1945 they will transfer him to the Penitentiary of Cluj (cf. A.P.O., *Calendar... Opus de condamnati pe anul 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948*, I – N/A/6, letter B/1945)

³² *Idem*, *Opus de preveniti pe anul 1945-1948*, I – N/A/7

escapes dropped to three, the number of deaths increased. Of the three escapees, two are women³³. The number of deaths increases unexpectedly among the prisoners. On October 7, 1946, they recorded the death of the prisoner Scheffer Gheorghe came from the Penitentiary of Satu Mare to Oradea on August 5, 1945. Another death recorded is that of Tabacu Stelian, “died in hospital”, without recording also the date of death. The detainee Tabacu Stelian whom they put in the cell in Oradea on 16 August, under a mandate issued two days before by the Cabinet II Instance. Ulici Gheorghe, whom they imprisoned on 23 September in the base of the office no.1693 of August 29, 1946 issued by the General Prosecutor of Oradea, will die a year later, on September 22, 1947. For the period August 1 to December 31, 1946 the Archive of the Penitentiary in Great Oradea records a Register for the staffing of the detainees³⁴, stating that people institutionalized for sabotage, but also other categories of political prisoners. This document looks very generous with information about the identity of those detained during this period. The registration sheet includes, in addition to name also the “pronoun” of the prisoner, parents’ names, place of birth, residence, religion, nationality, profession, marital status, and number of children, why they arrested him and the age of the prisoner. Moreover, a major section includes the likeness of that imprisoned. That who completes the form sheet of the prisoner must indicate the size, shape of the nose and mouth, the chin, face and its shape, color of the eyes, hair and eyebrows. He has also to mention whether he has or not beard and / or mustache, body attitude as well the private signs found at the moment of detention, such as those acquired during the arrest.

From August 1 to December 31, 1946, they arrested 92 people for sabotage, to which they added another 12 prisoners arrested for various acts of a political nature. Thus, we have four “frontier men”, two arrested for incitement, one - for political propaganda, two arrested for “political” motif, one - for assault, and three - for prohibited actions. Of the four people arrested for crossing the border, three are women, all with Hungarian citizenship and residence in Oradea³⁵.

³³ They arrest Ana Cojocaru on the base of the mandate no.4 of 29 January 1945 and brought to the Penitentiary the same day, while Nagy Rozalia will go to jail on July 5, 1945 after Bihor County Court Prosecutor's Office will issue an arrest mandate. That same month, on July 24 Toth Ladislau also reaches the Penitentiary and that who will escape a few days later (cf. *Ibid*, letter C/1946, letter N/1946, letter T/1946)

³⁴ *Idem*, *Registru pentru încadrarea preveniților, începând de la nr. 188/946*, I = N/A/9

³⁵ They will arrest Naghi Ladislaus, 26 years of profession “horse dealer”, on September 19, 1946, as well as Rozsa Irma, 25 years old, homemaker and mother of 2 children. In addition, on September 19 they will arrest Ghirihalun Eva, 22 years, homemaker and mother of 1 child. The fourth person arrested for crossing the border is Reisner Margareta, a clerk, 38 years old, who at the time of arrest, 22 October 1946, had no “clarified the Romanian citizenship”. As for religion, Naghi Ladislau was, according to the file of evidence, Greek Catholic and Rosza Irma and Ghirihalun Eva belong to the reformed religion, while Reisner Margareta is Roman Catholic (cf. *Ibid*)

They impute another category of people who got in the Penitentiary of Great Oradea that it has participated in banned demonstrations. Crăciun Ioan and Andor Dumitru are both from Batăr and they will retain them: the first one on October 22, and the second on October 23. Crăciun Ioan was a tiller and had five children, while Andor Dumitru was a student and they would release him under the terms of the criminal record transcript, on 5 November. The third arrested because he also would have participated in “prohibited demonstrations”, named Zembrea Florian from Lugașu de Sus, was 29 years old and was a cobbler. Arrested under a mandate issued by the Cabinet I Court of Instance on 4 November they will release him on 13 November. Lăpușan Iosif invalid of war “without left leg and both hands without the ring finger from the time of the war”, inhabiting in Batăr, of profession a carpenter and of 27 years old they will retain him on 18 September for incitement. Two days later, he will reach the arrest of the Oradea Penitentiary and Patasi Bălaj from Salonta, a painter, 37 years old, also for the same act of provocation. They will arrest three people in October 1946 for “political propaganda”. The first will get the Penitentiary on 14 October 1946. They will arrest Roxin Avram from Ciumeghiu, a tiller, 31 years old, under a mandate issued by the “Cabinet I Apolitical Propaganda Court of Instance”³⁶. The teacher Stana Ioan also will be “Arrested for Policy”, residing in Vadu Crișului, 31 years old. His detention will occur on October 17, 1946, under a mandate issued by the Cabinet I Court of Instance and they will release him on 13 November. The lawyer, Moldav(e)an Dumitru, born in Sântandrei, the son of Gheorghe and Ana living in Oradea will be arrested on October 17, 1946 and released on November 1, for “insulting”. On October 22, they arrest him again. Father of two children, of Greek-Catholic religion, the lawyer was 35 years old when they arrested him. The Cabinet I Court of Instance made the first arrest under a mandate issued by the Bihor County Tribunal Prosecutor, respectively. According to the penal registration file, which one can view on the website of the Institute for the Investigation of Communist Crimes and Memory of the Romanian Exile (IICCMER), Moldovan Dumitru would be born on 16 September 1911 in the village Sântandrei, son of Gheorghe and Ana, resided in Oradea, with the licentiate in law. Under the heading “social origin”, they noted the phrase “poor peasant” without making any statement regarding the wealth. Regarding the political affiliation, he was a member of the Peasant National Party³⁷. The penal recording file indicates that Moldovan Dumitru had been “institutionalized” for a period of 60 months from 16 August 1952, following to release him on 16 August 1957, but they will release him on May 13 1954. Moldovan passed on

³⁶ *Ibid*

³⁷ <http://86.125.17.36/Fise%20matricole%20penale%20-%20detinuti%20politici/ M/M% 2008 .%20Moja%20-%20Motyos/Moldovan%20Dumitru%20Gh/index.php>, Moldovan Dumitru Gh. Penal Registration File

to Cape Midia and on August 27, 1953, they transfer him to Onești³⁸. Even if the data recorded in the documents of Oradea Penitentiary they did not detail in what circumstances did have “political propaganda” and what type of “prohibited demonstrations” they have attended, we can assume that the actions are part of the electoral campaign in the autumn of 1946, those arrested being the supporters and members of the Peasant National Party.

Another category of political prisoners who passed through the Penitentiary of Oradea is that of the saboteurs, those who did not give the toll to the state, facts provided by Law no. 351 of May 3, 1945 for the suppression of the unlawful speculation and of the economic sabotage. The register for the period August 1 to December 31, 1946 they mention 92 individuals arrested for sabotage. The most imprisoned because of sabotage are plowmen. Specifically, in the five months of the second half of 1946 they jailed for sabotage 22 ploughmen. Four farmers join them. Regarding the profession of the inmates, the mechanics occupy the second place (from the flax threshers - our note), they recording as part of this group 19 people. In addition, nine people arrested in this context are traders. Among the professional categories that have experienced the arrest of Oradea Penitentiary are bakers (three cases), workers, also three in number, namely three owners of cars and four officers as well two teachers. We also have in the calendar with prisoners' one person of the following professional categories: driver, accountant, glazier, carpenter, lawyer, notary, innkeeper, and respectively one retired person. Of the 91 arrested in the second half of the year, 11 persons are women. Seven of the women are homemakers and they are aged between 26 years and 64 years³⁹.

Regarding the membership of a religion or another, we have five people who are of Hebraism; three are traders, the fourth - retired and the fifth - official⁴⁰. Most, 30 in number, of those arrested are Reformed, 12 are Roman

³⁸ *Ibid*

³⁹ Sabău Tereza is 64 years old and with the residence in the Diocese of Bihor, of profession homemaker, they will institutionalized her in the period October 1 to 20, 1946, to the Hospital for mental illness and neurosis in Oradea. Sabău Elias (?), the wife of Sabău Emeric, 35 years old, baker, residing in Oradea, of the reformed religion, they will retain her because of sabotage during the 6 to 11 September 1946. They will arrest Professor Olga Ciuglan, aged 32 years, residing in Vladimirescu Tudor Street, no. 29 of Oradea, since September 16, 1946 and released on 22 October 1946. Medrea Carolina, is the owner of a mill. They will arrest the mother of two children, Medrea Carolina, aged 35 years, with the “size of 1.60 cm, small nose, small mouth, oval chin, face and muddy form, brown eyes short body attitude” in the base of the mandate no. 4493, 25 October 1946, issued by the Oradea Court of Appeal, and released on 1 November 1946. Another veteran of the prison of Oradea is Micsealezzy Margareta of Ciumeghiu, proprietary, aged 57 years, arrested for sabotage within 9 to 13 November 1946. (cf. A.P.O., *Registrul pentru încadrarea preveniților, începând de la nr. 188/946, I = N/A/9*)

⁴⁰ Bruder Nicholas, the son of Ignat and Berta, was born and had the residence in Marghita, arrested for sabotage at the age of 31 years. According to the record file, Bruder Nicolae has the size, 1.65 cm, curved nose, oval mouth and chin, face and its form muddy, brown eyes, hair and

Catholic, 10 Greek Catholics, we have two Baptists (Sabău Rozalia from Diosig, 49 years, housewife, and, respectively a young man of 22 years, of profession a driver, from Vadu Crișului, Pușcaș Florea) and a Lutheran (Frențel Alexandru, from Oradea, a merchant, 53 years). Another reality that one can exploit from the information offered by the register with prevents is that related to the age of those arrested. Of 92 persons arrested for sabotage, 20 were aged between 41 and 45. On the second place were the people aged between 56 and 60 years, respectively those aged between 31 and 35. Nine other people fall into the category 36-40 years and eight arrested are aged between 46 and 50 years. For each category, between 20 - 25 years and, respectively, 26-30 years we have six people. In addition, four arrested are aged between 61 and 65, respectively; they included other cases in the category of 61-70 years, the oldest prisoner being of 68 years old. Felventi Alexandru is of profession a ploughman, residing in the Diocese of Bihor and father of five children, belonging to the reformed religion. On the date of the arrest, on October 1, 1946, he was 68 years old. They will release him on October 5 the same year⁴¹.

They will charge Olteanu Iosif, a lawyer, according to the information from the register of the Penitentiary of Oradea, for sabotage, a motif for which the Bihor County Tribunal Prosecutor's Office, by the mandate no. 22906 of 29 October 1946, will order his arrest following his release according to the register on 30 October 1946⁴². Son of Iosif and Elena, born in Ghiorac, resides in Oradea, on no. 17, Sindicatelor Street. On the date of the arrest, he was 39 years old and father of two children. He was "1.90 cm height, had a straight nose, a right mouth, an oval chin, face and its form muddy, brown eyes, brunette hair and eyebrows", no beard and mustache, "high body attitude".

eyebrows are chestnut, without a beard and mustache, with a medium body attitude. Accused of sabotage they will incarcerate him in Oradea Penitentiary on August 4, 1946, on the base of the arrest mandate issued by the Court Bihor County Section I no. 5883 of 3 August 1946. On the same day, they will arrest him and Rubin Nicolae of Marghita, with the same home, Stalin Street no. 18, as Bruder Nicolae. Rubin Nicolae is 43 years, and they will release him on August 7, 1946. Cohanescu Didi, 31 years, merchant, respectively Galbstein Leopold, aged 59, retired, are both from Bucharest. They will submit the first to the Penitentiary of Oradea on 25 October 1946 and released on October 29 and they will release the second on November 6 that year. Last Jew is Lavi Vasile, from Baia Mare, 23 years old, particularly official, arrested within 10 to 16 November 1946 (cf. *Ibid*)

⁴¹ Bihari Vilhent from Biharia, is a mechanic, aged 67 years. They will arrest him under a mandate issued by the Bihor County Court Prosecutor on 26 August 1946 that "he did not give the toll to the state, which provided by the art. 351/45" (Law 351/1945). They will release him on October 24, 1946. Resident in locality Albiș, Naghi Alexandru, a tiller by profession, was 67 years when, on 27 September 1946, he will reach the Oradea Penitentiary, where from they will release him on October 3, 1946. Haura Gheorghe of Ciumeghiu, the father of three children is 66 years old. A tiller of profession they would arrest him for sabotage, and held during 9 to 13 November 1946 (cf. *Ibid*)

⁴² *Ibid*

According to the information held in the Archives of the Former Political Prisoners Association Bihor County Subsidiary, among the first who stepped over the apron of the prison cells was the attorney Iosif Olteanu, born on March 29, 1906 at Ghiorac. They arrested him on 28 October 1946 and imprisoned for one year and seven months. “They arrested him, a procedure not followed by the indictment, between October 28, 1946 - June 17, 1948, for “anti-democratic” reasons, showing an anti-democratic attitude in his public and professional life, what, in the sense of the period 1948 and compared to the conditions of the art. 7 of the former Law 3 / 1948 meant that he was a politically undesirable for the communist regime, then for a long time they prevented him to do his job. Of the documents filed at the dossier of the Association of the Former Political Prisoners Bihor County Subsidiary, we note that the petitioner, a former lawyer in Oradea, expelled from the Northern Transylvania by the Horthy’s authorities for Romanian nationalism, they excluded him from the Bihor County College of Lawyers. That is they did not enroll him in accordance with the requirements of the art. 7 of Law 3 / 1948 into the Bar as an improper political element, as one who manifested himself “undemocratic” in the public and professional life, and they arrested him without being prosecuted in the period October 28 1946- June 17 1948”⁴³. This register mentions the entry of three new deaths, which join the other three mentioned above (Scheffer Gheorghe, Tabacu Stelian, Ulici Gheorghe).

This common calendar of evidence of the prisoners of common law and of those considered “counterrevolutionaries” also provides information on the age of those institutionalized in the second half of 1946 in Oradea Penitentiary. Thus, on November 1, 1946, they institutionalized for theft and vagrancy, Kakoth Iosif from Oradea, aged 13 years, and they will give him to the Reeducation Court in Oltenița.

Two registers that concern the “sentenced” come to complement the image of the Oradea Penitentiary for the year 1946. They concern the people charged and held in the Penitentiary of Great Oradea throughout the entire year 1946, but do not contain new data on the number of prisoners, but no the

⁴³ The Archive of the Association of the Former Political Prisoners - Bihor County Subsidiary, file no. 10 / A, Olteanu Iosif. The case of the lawyer Olteanu Iosif is symptomatic for all the political realities of the time in an area of Bihor County, belonging to Transylvania ceded to Hungary in the period 1940-1944. After October 1944, at the express request of the authorities in Budapest, regardless of the political orientation, the administrative structures of the Horthyst old regime in the Northwestern Transylvania have adapted to the new political realities to keep their positions, hoping to maintain the area in the borders of Hungary. Thus, many Hungarians have played the game of the political occupant, then of the Communist Party of Romania, especially after the establishment of Dr. Petru Groza. A “Romanian nationalist” like the lawyer Olteanu, a declared opposed of the Hungarian rule, they had to isolate him politically by arrest, then professionally marginalized by his exclusion from the Bar.

categories of prisoners. An initial Calendar of Convicts, inventoried under number I-N / A / C, contains the evidence of 615 persons, of which 28.31% prisoners can be enrolled in the "CR" category. The other registers of convicts in the year 1946 are 622 people, of which 31.18% have put in charge different acts intended to undermine various new social order. The largest share of offenses for which the inmates were incarcerated were those of common law. Thus, according to the Calendar of convicts on the year 1945-1948, I-N/ A / C, they had convicted 216 people for theft, 41 - for murder, 33 - for robbery, 26 - for forest crime, etc. As regarding the number of convictions on political criteria, it goes up, according to this first register, to 173. On the first place are the convictions pronounced for illegal possession of weapons, amounting to 52, followed by the offense of desertion, for which they laid 37 penal convictions. They will convict other 18 persons for sabotage and 14 for profiteering, to whom they added 14 for crossing the border. In addition, they will convict eight people for "carrying uniform", and respectively, they will imprison six people for association against the public calmness. For disobedience to incorporation, we have to do with other six persons, and they will accuse five people for "spreading false news". In the case of four people, the act detained in the incriminator's duty is "high treason". For the offense against the nation they will imprison four people, and for public inciting other four. We have registered also a case of espionage, as well as two "beatings of the supervisor".

They inventoried a parallel register under the number I-N/A/6. This has included 622 people, of which they can include 194 convicts in the category "political". Note that the number of sentences pronounced for an offense or other is not very different from the other calendar. Thus, we are dealing with 48 and not 52, convicted for illegal possession of weapon. As in the previous register the convictions for desertion ranks the second place, with 38 people as against to 37. The crimes of sabotage occupy the third place, as they showed 25 people, compared to 18. They will convict those 18 people for crossing the border, followed by other 16 people accused of profiteering. In addition, in this register they mentioned 11 persons who "associated" against the public calmness, as against to six, as they mentioned in the other source of archives. Ten people have refused to submit to the incorporation, followed by other six, who wore improper the "uniform". In addition, they listed five people in the register of convicts for the act of "offense against the nation". The convicts for high treason are four in number, but noted that compared to the previous register a prisoner highlighted to the letter "B" disappears and another one appears to letter "I". They convicted four persons for spreading false news, respectively, public inciting or stirring. We also have to deal with one case of espionage, one of hitting the supervisor, as against to two previously mentioned in the register, that a conviction case for falling under the "Customs Law", respectively the "Foreigners Law". As regarding the deaths registered among

the over 600 prisoners outlined in the calendars of convicts, they mentioned four, one of them being Ulici Gavril, sentenced to eight years for felony murder. The deaths of three of the inmates at the Penitentiary of Oradea will occur only in 1947, one single death, that of Simaniș Anton, happening in the year 1946⁴⁴. The year 1946 seems to be a year that the escapes remain at a high level. According to the two registries for convicts, 14 people imprisoned in 1946 managed to escape, at least for a short period. They also highlighted this in the History of the Oradea Penitentiary No.0043 of 29.04.67, “in the register of the population movements (stock no.6/1946) showing that between 17.06.1946 and 01.12./1946 escaped a total of 18 prisoners sentenced by DC and 5 detainees prevented by DC”⁴⁵. They registered the first escape on 6 May 1946, when two prisoners managing to escape from handcuffs and chains will run under escort, both convicts for theft to five years of imprison⁴⁶. In the case of other four persons, we do not know the date of escape⁴⁷.

⁴⁴They will arrest him on July 3, 1946 under a mandate of the Military Prosecutor of Timișoara, and sentenced to 12 years in prison for theft. However, on 20 November 1946, he will die (cf. A.P.O. *Calendar of Convincts on the year 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948*, I – N/A/6, letter S/1946). Both registers on the category of prisoners in 1946 will record the death of Pop Imre imprisoned in the Penitentiary of Oradea on June 17, 1946 and who will come out of here, but without breath, on 2 August 1947, the date recording the death. They will arrest Pop Imre under a mandate no. 434 of April 14, 1946, issued by the Prosecutor of the Court Martial of Cluj, was sentenced to five years for illegal carrying of weapon (cf. *Ibid* letter P/1946. Stan Ilie reaches Oradea prison on March 11, 1946 following a warrant issued by a court martial CI Army for theft, receiving a sentence of six years. He will die within the first days of 1947, and they registered the death on 9 January (cf. *Ibid*, letter S/1946)

⁴⁵ A.A.N.P., *fond Pază și Regim*, dossier FN-1967-1968, vol. II, f. 59

⁴⁶ They imprisoned Nezo Iosif on 9 February 1946, while Dumitru Manea reaches the Penitentiary of Great Oradea on March 11, 1946. On July 9, 1946 the prisoner Daniel Dinca will escape, sentenced to 20 years for desertion. He reaches the Penitentiary of Oradea on April 8, 1946, as mandated no. 446 on March 4 issued by the Court Martial C II Army (cf. A.P.O., *Calendar.... Opis de condamnați pe anul 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948*, I – N/A/6, letter D/1946). According to the penal registration file, Dinca Daniel was born on August 16, 1914 in the village Alesceni, Ialomita region. Tiller, without wealth, of “poor workers” origin, he has graduated two primary classes, married, having a son. His Penal Recording File includes a string of convictions. The first sentence bears the number 446/1946, issued by the Court Martial C II Army provides a sentence of 20 years for robbery and theft, to the description of the fact they noted “he killed his wife and a citizen”. The starting date is October 29, 1945 sentence. The second sentence of 5 years MS is for illegal possession of weapon, and then robbery, weapon possession and escape, stating “escape from the Court Martial”. As regarding the escape on 9 July 1946, they confirmed it in another record criminal records. He will pass through the prisons of Aiud, Galați, Sighet, Galați, Suceava Brad, Văcărești, and they released him on August 3, 1960 (<http://86.125.17.36/Fise%20matricole%20penale%20-%20detinuti%20politici/D/D%2003.%20Dinca%20-%20Doltu/Dinca%20Daniel/index.php>, Penal Record File, Dincă Daniel).

They will imprison Bot Nicholas said Albuț (cf. A.P.O., *Calendar of Convicts on 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948*, I - N/A/6 letter B/1946) on 4 March 1946 for theft, and sentenced to four years imprisonment. On July 24, 1946, according to records from the Penitentiary of Oradea, he

In the order of the seriousness of the facts they fall between the crimes punished severely - the abusive behavior of the “uniform” (military - our note) - six people, “offense against the nation” - five people, and the “high treason crime”. At the Penitentiary of Oradea in 1946, they accused five people for “high treason”. They highlighted Borșandi Ivan in the two registers of convicts that we operate with and the Court Martial CT 7 Army sentenced him to 5 years, imprisoned at the Penitentiary of Oradea on February 8, 1946⁴⁸. According to the penal registration file, they will sentence initially Borșandi Ivan to 20 years in prison under the sentence no. 3692/1946. The motif of the sentence, “I have been guard on there when the Hungarians retired”, and they arrested me even on 3 October 1944⁴⁹. Borșandi was born on April 12, 1922 and was resident at the time of arrest in the village Firiteag, Timișoara. Ploughman, without fortune, married, a Romanian citizen, has graduated four primary classes⁵⁰. Among those convicted for high treason there also is a woman, Bratu Iuliana. Her mandate of arrest with the number 1211 dated 18 November 1944, issued by the Military Prosecutor’s Office Division I Volunteer. She will walk through the gate of Great Oradea Penitentiary on February 9, 1946 and will serve six years of hard labor for “high treason

escaped (cf. *Ibid*, letter B/1946). Six days later, on July 30, 1946, they recorded Toro Adalbert's escape, imprisoned from 7 January 1946 for one year for theft. They imprisoned Bită Gheorghe on 8 February 1946, under a mandate issued by the Territorial Court Prosecutor Military C 7 on 23 January 1945. They convicted him for murder to 10 years in prison and would escape on August 1, 1946 (cf. *Ibid*, letter B/1946). Also, they sentenced on August 1, Pruna Gheorghe, imprisoned in the Penitentiary of Oradea on June 17, for robbery, to five years, and he would escape, too. A new escape occurs on August 28, 1946. The author of this work is Ion Constantin, whom they imprisoned in the Penitentiary of Oradea on 11 March 1946, to serve a sentence of 10 years for theft. They will condemn the prisoner Morar Tana to six years for possession of firearm being imprisoned on 11 June 1946, escaped on September 6, 1946 (cf. *Ibid*, letter M/1946).

That same month, on September 16, manages to escape under escort also Sabo (Sabău) Alexandru came to the penitentiary of Oradea on June 11, 1946 for the same offense of unlawful possession of a weapon, and convicted by the Court Martial of Cluj to five years imprisonment (cf. *Ibid*, letter S/1946).

⁴⁷ Roșu Gavrilă gets into detention in Oradea on 22 January 1946 under a mandate issued on October 10, 1945 by the Military Court Prosecutor Brașov, because of carrying illegal a uniform, fact that punished him with 5 years imprisonment (cf. *Ibid*, letter R/1946). They sentenced Csepei Iuliu to five years for the offense of theft, reaching the cell of Oradea Penitentiary on March 2, 1946 (cf. *Ibid*, letter C/1946). On March 9, 1946, the Rural Court Săcueni has admitted the detention for 6 months in the penitentiary of Oradea of Varga Iosif, for theft, who later will escape (cf. *Ibid*, letter V/1946). The 14th escaped is Petrescu Oliver. He will step through the gate of the prison of Oradea on March 26, and sentenced to three years for theft (cf. *Ibid*, litera P/1946)

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, letter B/1946

⁴⁹ <http://86.125.17.36/Fise%20matricole%20penale%20-%20detinuti%20politici/B/B%2006.%20Bold%20-%20Bozd/Borsandi%20Ioan%20A/index.php>, Borșandi Ion Penal Register File

⁵⁰ *Ibid*

crime”⁵¹. On July 3, 1946, two convicted reach Oradea, Jiva Petru and Jivet Valeriu respectively. The Prosecutor of the Court Martial of Timișoara will issue the both mandates for the arrest of the twos. It will convict Jiva Petru for high treason crime to 20 years in prison and Jivet Valeriu, to 10 years⁵². The fifth condemned for high treason brought to the prison of Oradea in 1946 is Tamaș Baci Petru. He will reach the Penitentiary of Great Oradea on 17 December 1946 they will sentence him to six years for the same offense. Even if we do not have too many details about the substance of the abuse behavior of the “uniform” (military - our note) or the “offenses against the nation” corroborating the above with details of the everyday life at the time, still democratic of the time, we can explain the substrate of the charges. Against the food shortages in the country’s main cities they formed gangs of criminals who dressed in Soviet military uniforms robbed the shops of the traders, but also ordinary people, in entire street, undressing them and taking them money or food that they had to them. The other crimes aimed at the Romanian state in the process of “democratization of Soviet time” with whom the Romanians could not agree. Very rarely, they punished the Hungarian ethnics who made the game of the Horthy’s occupant at the expense of the Romanian population.

The detailed analysis of the prisoners in the Penitentiary of Oradea of the years 1945-1946, allows us to see, as in a mirror, a Romanian society upset by the consequences of World War II. We observe the slow passage from the cases of the arrests for acts of common law to the political ones, related to the arrest of the Romanians’ resistance against the Soviets occupant and their instruments - the communists in Romania.

⁵¹ APO, *Calendar ... Opus de condamnări pe anul 1944, 1945, 1946, 1948*, I – N/A/6, letter B/1946

⁵² *Ibid*, letter J/1946

**AN IMPORTANT HISTORY SOURCE ABOUT THE
BIOGRAPHY AND ACTIVITY OF CAPTAIN
ȘTEFAN POPESCU, LEADER OF THE ANTI-COMMUNIST
RESISTANCE
IN BIHOR COUNTY (1946-1950)**

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***Abstract.** The author examines the content of existing information in a document of great importance, found in archival funds of the National Council for Research on Security Archives in Bucharest. Is it about Captain Ștefan Popescu autobiography, written by him on August 10, 1950, in conditions of detention. The document is reproduced in full as an annex to the author comments that are considering reporting this documentary evidence from other sources of information of the time. It follows from the context that the arrests in the summer of 1950, the leader of the anticommunist resistance movement in the south of Bihor county, after four years has led to persistent chase of state security bodies, which were able to identify a resistance organization whose members were mostly peasants, some of whom were caught and sentenced to prison.*

***Key words:** history source, biography, anti-communist resistance, Bihor county, Ștefan Popescu.*

One of the main aims of contemporary historiography is a thorough analysis of the first post-war decade (1945-1955). Several works and articles, as well as memoirs and monograph studies, have managed to recover some highly important truths for a just update on what happened in Romania when pushed by the Soviets to a so-called “democrat-popular” governance by adopting repressive measures against the opponents to a Soviet regime.

Under the Soviet influence, the Romanian people were trapped in communism and they only managed to escape in December 1989 due to the victory of the rebellions in cities (Timisoara, Bucharest, Cluj-Napoca, Sibiu, etc.) that spread throughout the country and led to the fall of Ceausescu and his supporters.

As a specialist in the field pointed out, the Stalinist totalitarian regime established in Romania as of 23 August 1944, actually after the Red Army occupied the country, aimed at “crushing the structures of power, culture,

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science, education and religion that might have become a barrier against the 'victorious socialism'. Therefore the first merciless illegal blows fell on officers, men of culture, priests and peasants"¹ that were against the communist power in post-war Romania and the Soviet influence in our country with its harmful consequences to this day.

The values of a democratic world were replaced by fanciful political-ideological projects (building a communist society as a "genuine heaven" on earth). The main instrument used to intoxicate the public was propaganda. It was greatly supported by the security and militia "bodies" as representatives of justice. There were several means of resistance expressed at all social levels. This has been shown by recent works based on rich archives information and memoirs.

A consequence of the access to documents existing in the archives of the former Securitate (security) was the discovery of invaluable testimonies on the tragic events happening to most inhabitants of Romania particularly during the so-called Stalinist period (1948-1954).

The *Autobiografia (Autobiography)* of Captain Stefan Popescu, the leader of the anticommunist resistance group² in southern Bihor can be found in one of thousands of files transferred to the National Council for the Study of the Security Archives (C.N.S.A.S.) (P 651, vol. 2, f. 239-257). It was written right after his apprehension (29 June 1950) upon the order of "the security research bodies" and was the *momentary* result of the pressure he was subject to. Consequently, it is a *personal document* issued under threat and elaborated with obvious care to avoid revealing facts that might incriminate him.

Most information is accurate, so it can be used to redraw his biography as a person and as the historian of the anticommunist resistance movement in the Beius depression.

According to a widely accepted practice, Stefan Popescu's *Autobiography*³ started with information on the date and place of his birth (5 February 1912, commune of Draguseni, Baia County), his family, his childhood years, the difficulties he had to face after his father's death in 1921 (as he was raised by his mother, Eufrosina Popescu), the school years (from elementary school to military school in Targu Mures) laying stress on the financial endeavours of his mother and brother (who was a schoolmaster) to help him pursue his studies. He specialised at the Preparatory School for Administration

¹ Doru Radosav, „O perspectivă asupra rezistenței anticomuniste din România (1944-1949)”, in *Istoria – ca experiență intelectuală*, volum îngrijit de Corneliu Crăciun și Antonio Faur, Editura Universității din Oradea, 2001, p. 373

² Antonio Faur, Căpitanul „Ștefan Popescu – liderului grupului de rezistență anticomunistă din sudul Bihorului (1946-1950)”, în *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie „George Barițiu”* din Cluj-Napoca, 2004, p. 651-663

³ Arhivele C.N.S.A.S., *fond 651*, vol. 2, f. 239-397

Officers in Bucharest and graduated in 1935. He was then assigned to Regiment 34 Artillery in Oradea as an assistant cashier at the officers' mess.

There are some uncomfortable moments in his biography that were evoked in a pathetic tone. We have to mention that during World War II (from March 1st 1939 to March 1941) he was at the Petty Officer School in Tg. Ocna, where he was in charge with the tailor shop. Here, he mentioned things that could be advantageous to him, such as the fact that "he was not... at all" on the anti-Soviet front, not even on delegation (thus showing that he could not be accused of being on the eastern front and consequently he had not an anti-Soviet behaviour, as it had happened to many Romanian officers imprisoned during the Stalinist years).

In other words, he referred to the fact that he had helped three young Jews enlisted to "fix the effects" (at the tailor shop of the school in Targu Ocna). He also allowed them go home on a Saturday night without "the commander's knowledge". Thus, he had no anti-Semite attitude.

When he confessed that, he was thinking of the investigators, as most of them were Jews from Oradea (that had escaped from death camps). In this way, he was trying to get their sympathy.

Another section of the *Autobiography* shows the circumstances when he was "unblocked" from army (10 April 1945) and his attempts to get a job because he had a very small pension and he could not provide for his family (his wife, two children and his mother-in-law, who had settled in Vascau).

Hence another chapter in his life devoid of peace and dominated by threats particularly from the Vascau borough organisation of the Communist Party, whose leaders (schoolmaster Nicolae Muset, Ambrozie Tampa and Luca Stancel, with whom he had had a fight on a "family matter") were hostile. They also gave negative referrals, so that he could no longer find a job in the area.

Until the 1st of January 1946, the "unblocked" Captain Stefan Popescu was not involved in politics, according to his own statements. Seeing the way he was treated, he sought for a solution from that day on. He turned to the local organisation of the National Peasants' Party (P.N.T.) – Maniu "thinking that he would manage to get back his rights" and that he would get "the means of living according to his skills".

He was in charge with the party young wing, with distributing member cards and "manifests" during the elections in the summer of 1946. He also delivered a "public speech" to the audience in Vascau, then to the inhabitants of Camp and Sustiu. He attended two meetings in Oradea organised by the county Maniu PNT president, solicitor Teodor Roxin.

He thus admitted he had been involved in the elections in the Vascau borough, as he had been considered a "man of confidence" in the polling station in Vascau.

There were no incidents during the elections in this borough, although his political adversaries strove to find illegalities. Moreover, right before the

elections day, the secretary of the local P.C.R. (Romanian Communist Party) organisation, Ambrozie Tamba, ordered to arrest him.

He managed to escape and he was sheltered by Nicolae Faur, an inhabitant of the village of Seghiste, who was also considered a “man of confidence” in the polling station in Hotarel.

During the elections campaign, Nicolae Muset delivered a speech in Baita. He stated that there would be a time “when Captain St. Popescu and Archpriest Aurel Terebent (president of the Maniu P.N.T. organisation in the Vascau borough) would be “shot in the main square”.

Such threats could not be in vain. They made Captain St. Popescu anxious as he saw what was happening to the Romanian society particularly after the elections in November 1946, when the left wing forces fraudulently won under the F.N.D. banner. He “became suspicious when the Maniu P.N.T. leaders were arrested”. For one week, he was tormented by inner unrest caused by the situation he was facing, foreseeing a future of misery.

The most interesting part of the *Autobiography* is the one recalling what he had been submitted to before his arrest in the summer of 1950. He had had to hide for almost four years and he was sheltered by people in several villages in southern Bihor, mostly supporters of the P.N.T.: Săud, Seghiște, Cusuiș, Râieni, Câmpani de Jos, Chișcău, Poieni de Jos, Sudrigiu, and Dumbrăvani.

Undoubtedly, he was compelled to write down the names of those people. Then, the security officers in Beius went out to apprehend the people nominated by him.

As a matter of fact, the main reason of the security officers was to get the names of the inhabitants supporting Stefan Popescu aiming to destroy the organisation that was deeply anti-communist and belonged to the resistance against the regime imported from Moscow. They began to oppress the people who had provided shelter to St. Popescu, a topic we have tackled before⁴.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I the undersigned, reserve Captain Popescu Stefan, born in the commune of Draguseni, Baia County, on February 5th, 1912, born to peasant parents of Romanian ethnic origin and Orthodox Christian religion named Pavel and Eufrosina (Frasina), hereby declare that my whole life has been as follows:

I lived my childhood and secondary school years in the village of Draguseni, my native village. At the age of 9, I lost my father, who died of a spine fracture he had before.

⁴ Idem, *Ștefan Popescu – liderul grupului de rezistență anticomunistă din sudul Bihorului (1946-1950)*, Editura Universității din Oradea, Oradea, 2007, 232 p.

My father used to sing in the church choir. He was also a farmer, yet he knew how to roof houses with shingle or sheet. Hence the misfortune that left me to my mother's care from the age of 9. My mother worked in the field and the household. After 1921, when my father died, she was helped out by my elder brothers for one or two years. Then they got married and she was compelled to bear the burden of life on her own. At the time, my brother Vasile was a pupil at the Grammar School in Falticeni, which entailed many expenses. My mother had a hard time to cope with these expenses.

We had a small plot of land, I do not know how much. However, it was divided between the brothers. Yet, once I started to go to school, I was no longer interested in the matter.

I attended elementary school in the village of Draguseni. Each year, we had a different schoolmaster.

Since my mother was by her own with the household and my brother Vasile was attending the secondary school, she did not want to send me to school after elementary cycle and kept me at home for one year.

But that year, my brother Vasile was appointed a substitute teacher in Ardeal (commune of Corbu, Ciuc County) and had the opportunity to get informed on the requirements to study at the military school in Tg. Mures. When he came home on summer holidays, he told me that, if I intended to go to secondary school, I really had to go to the military school. If I managed to receive a scholarship, he would do his best to pay the fees. He told me: do not think of going to another school; it is very expensive and we cannot afford that.

I was inclined to go to a civil secondary-school. I feared the military uniform. I was always dreaming of freedom and not at all about enlisting.

Nobody listened to my wishes particularly since poverty would not leave room for any other way but the military uniform. On the train to Tg. Mures, I thought I would say nothing at the exam, to force my brother take me elsewhere. Yet I remembered my expenses and the austerity he had imposed on himself for me. With tears in my eyes, I made the supreme decision to let myself guided by fate. Otherwise, I would have been stuck to the plough and maybe I would have felt better. For seven years, I pursued the classes of the military secondary-school (6 years in Tg. Mures and one year in Iasi) with the only support of my brother Vasile, who had postponed his marriage for this reason only. He got married when I was in the 7th grade. This was not good for me, as he would not pay the fees because of his wife and I could not sit in for the baccalaureate. Rarely did I receive little support from my other brothers. When I graduated from secondary-school in 1932, the same woman resorted to a trick to become the owner of the family land and house. The fee to enter the military school was 5,000 lei at the time. Throughout the summer, she assured me that upon leaving I would get the money. Yet one week before she told me she could not give it to me, which would have prevented me from entering the

Military School. A family meeting with my brothers and sisters followed, and they decided that their share of the house and garden should be transferred to my brother Vasile (which happened at the court house in the commune of Boroaia – Baia County). That was supposed to be the source of the amount requested to go to school. This is how they became the owners of the family house and garden. They demolished the old house and built a new one.

I was assigned to Administration, because of a rick at the left hand at the age of five that was diagnosed during the medical check. It was the first time no students or graduates from the Commercial Academy were admitted to Administration. It was the same year that they established the common year called Officers Preparatory School (S.P.O.), where all branches attended the infantry training. During the second and third years, each arm pursued the special at their own school. Thus, after the Officers Preparatory School graduated in 1933, I took up the Administration Preparatory School in Bucharest. I graduated in 1935 as a sub-lieutenant. I was assigned to Regiment 34 Artillery Oradea. There, I was an assistant cashier, then officer at the officers' mess. This is how I managed to ruin my friendly relationship with the commander of the Regiment as a consequence of a conflict. He used to live in the officer's wing in the courtyard of the casern. He was married but he had no children. One day, the officers eating at the mess told me that there was not enough food and that it seemed to be pretty expensive.

I was shopping the ingredients myself from the market and shops and I was embarrassed by such a remark. I became more careful about the control on the kitchen. One day, I caught the commanding colonel's orderly taking 7 portions instead of 2, and 12 cakes instead of 2. I ordered the soldier to take only what he was entitled to. As a consequence, I was abused, pursued and mocked at. I was just spitted in report notes. At the time, there was a custom that a bad grade from a commander was hardly amended. All new commanders considered the passions of old officers as a letter of law entitled to change your fate. I met my wife in Oradea. She was a pupil at the Commercial School there. Two years later, I had to go to Bucharest again, to attend the classes of the Administration Officers Special School. I was there for two years, that is until the end of February 1939.

I got married in the summer of 1938. That autumn, I was assigned to the Gendarme Centre 4 in Tg. Ocna. I only went there in 1939, after graduation.

There, I was first cashier and clothes officer until March 1944, when we received an evacuation order to the garrison of Gaesti, Dambovita County. During my stay in Tg. Ocna, the Gendarme Centre 5 changed to Gendarme Centre 4, then to the Volunteer Petty Officer School Tg. Ocna. From the 1st of March 1939 to the end of March 1944, I was at the same unit in Tg. Ocna that kept changing names. I was not on the front at all, not even as a delegation.

At the time of the great enlisting in 1939, I had an administrative conflict with a major who could not account for the whole amount of money I

gave him. He was the commander of a gendarme battalion in Baia Mare. The investigation of a quartermaster major sent from Bucharest agreed with me, which made the major give me a hard time especially as he became a deputy commander replacing the commanding colonel, who was not in the casern. Consequently, I asked for a transfer to another unit since I could no longer be responsible for the consequences. The conflict came to an end when, after a disciplinary investigation, the major was transferred to another garrison. Yet the commanding colonel considered it fit to downgrade me for the aforementioned matter. However, the cause was that I was never good at buttering people. In time, I realised that one learns one thing at school, yet it greatly differs from real life.

There, in Tg. Ocna, I was in charge with the tailor's shop, where three young Jews from Bacau were enlisted to fix the effects. Although there was a clear order preventing them from going home, I took the liberty to help them without our commander's knowledge. So they went to Bacau from Saturday afternoon to Monday morning. Twelve Russian prisoners were brought to work on a new pavilion. I responded to all requests directed to my service.

I was then evacuated together with my unit to Gaesti. I got there on foot 15 days later, at the beginning of May. I was there when the truce was signed on the 23rd of August 1944. Upon the order issued by the General Gendarmerie Inspectorate to give some blue effects to a Soviet delegate, we handed in the whole new and good quantity we had in the warehouse. I was subsequently moved to the Cluj Gendarmerie Inspectorate, which was about to be established. On the 1st of November I left for Cluj, where I found out that the headquarters of the Inspectorate was located in the Gendarmerie Inspectorate in Alba. I continued to work until April 10, 1945, when I was unblocked. I stayed in Alba-Iulia for about five more months, out of which one month as called-up reservist. During that time, I tried to find a job or meet someone with whom I could start a business. I had no money, so I was not received by people that could have started a serious business. I forwarded a detailed memoir on the reasons I only suspected (as I had not been informed on the ground of my unblocking) that had brought about my retirement from the active army. I sent the memoir to the Ministry of National Defence for a solution. In the memoir, I requested a review of my case and tried to justify everything I thought that might have brought suspicion on my behaviour.

Three months later, I received a memo of the garrison in Alba-Iulia through the gendarme unit in Vascau informing me that the Ministry asked them to let me know that my request was belated.

During the months I spent in Alba-Iulia, I was treated by a Jewish ophthalmologist. When I became acquainted with him, I asked him to recommend somebody who could provide me with an opportunity to earn my living. He gave me a recommendation to the head of the security in Cluj, who

was from Alba-Iulia, in which he asked him to help me out. First, he asked me about the politics I had made. I told him that I had not been involved in, or compelled to do, any politics whatsoever. But I did not go to Cluj because of my wife, who wanted me to find a job near home, that is Vascau.

After my return to Vascau, since there was nothing for me to do in Alba-Iulia, I went to the U.D.R. plant in Bucharest hoping to find a job there.

I filled out a form and I gave my address to inform me on the result at home. In the meantime, the Communist Party was established in Vascau. The leaders were schoolmaster Nicolae Muset, the borough secretary Ambrozie Tamba, and Luca Stancel, a clerk at the boot factory "Craita" in Vascau. The directorate at the U.D.R. plant later informed me that they had ceased all direct employment by the directorate of the plant and that only the Ministry of Labour was enabled to employ people at the plant. Realising that the Ministry will request the opinion of the local P.C.R. organisation, I stopped making any attempt to settle the matter.

I had the same result regarding the application for a job as a notary that I forwarded to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. When the Ministry requested the documents, the membership in a party and the opinion or recommendation of the Bihor Prefecture, I knew that the prefecture would request the opinion of the organisation in Vascau and therefore I gave up engaging in any further expenses.

I had already had an argument with Luca Stancel for a family matter and consequently he said bad things about me, thus influencing both Muset and Tamba. I was never involved in politics until 6 January 1946. From that day on, after the conference held between the signatories of the truce with Romania in Moscow, the peasants and liberal parties became legal and hence they had freedom of expression. Thus, I could willingly yet unofficially join the National Peasants' Party thinking that it would help me regain my rights or earn my living according to my skills.

I only got in touch with Archpriest Terebent Aurel in June 1946. I had been told that he was in charge with reviving the National Peasants' Party in Vascau and the borough. In the meanwhile – that is from the meeting with Archpriest Terebent until the beginning of the election campaign – no mission was assigned to me. The Archpriest told me that I should organise the youth during the campaign. Indeed, I was active trying to organise the youth in the commune of Vascau for our electoral campaign. They distributed member cards and the few posters we had received from the county seat in order to post them at crossroads.

During the campaign, only one discourse was delivered to the public by Archpriest Terebent at the craftsmen's hall. I only was in Camp and Susti, where I talked to the people I found at pubs. I went to other villages too. But I could not talk or get in touch with any of the people there, since I knew no one.

On the other hand, peasants avoided talking to strangers. I attended two meetings in Oradea: the first was when I met the county president, solicitor Teodor Roxin. At that meeting, Mr. Roxin informed us on the polling stations and the voting operations, as well as the instructions on the matter as issued from the centre. According to the instructions, no incident should occur or be triggered. The list of deputy candidates was settled at the second meeting.

Two weeks before the elections held on 19 November 1946, I heard that the local P.C.R. organisation, that is Mr. Ambrozie Tamba, insisted to arrest me to avoid being present on the day of elections. Therefore, I left for Seghiste, where I met the peasant Faur Nicolae, who had been called a man of confidence by the Archpriest. He had just been over to find out what he had to do as a man of confidence. Before that, my right to vote had been withdrawn. I only received a voting card after the trial held at the court of law in Vascau ended. Since I was called a man of confidence at the polling station in Vascau, I came home on the eve of elections, knowing that they could not arrest me. I had read in the "Scanteia" journal the memo of the Ministry of Internal Affairs stating that no one could be arrested any longer relating to the elections.

I was a delegate of the National Peasants' Party (P.N.T. – A/N) at the elections. I noticed that everything followed its course perfectly and uneventfully, despite Mr. Tamba, Muset and Stancel thought, who enjoyed saying bad things about me to all P.C.R. delegates from the county seat coming to Vascau. Moreover, no suspicious event occurred throughout the whole borough. This showed that both the Archpriest and I had understood that the elections were not about using force as they used to do. They also meant following the instructions received from the centre.

Once the Government officially informed that they still had the power as they won the elections, I had no more activity at the Peasants' Party. Yet I was threatened each and every day by the same people mentioned above, who represented the core of the local P.C. organisation. I heard all kinds of rumours and whispers every day. Mr. Nicolae Muset did not avoid delivering a speech at Baita during the elections propaganda. During the speech, he threatened that there would come a time when the Archpriest and I would be shot down in the main square. Hearing such words uttered by the president of the B.P.D. in the borough of Vascau, I became anxious and started to develop a spirit of stubborn resistance. My pain was even greater since I realised that a genuine well-off person such as Mr. Muset, or Mr. Tamba, could decide on the fate of less guilty people.

Both he and Stancel used to be legionaries. Then they got through the Communist Party to become what they are today. I am glad they have been revealed but I still suffer from what they have done to me. Misery had hit me a long time before. I had to provide for five people and the pension I received could not cover for everything. I have no assets and my wife only has the small

house in Vascau. It has no garden and orchard. There are two plots of lands on her name that I cannot use, they have been given to a man from Varzari by solicitor Petre Popovici for six or seven years. The solicitor made a contract with the peasant and sold it to him instead of settling the ownership to my wife. There still is a trial ongoing and I have to suffer a lot from other people's mistakes. Urged by the misery that was growing overwhelming, I started selling things: two hangers (a wall hanger and an umbrella-shaped one), a sofa, a desk, and then clothes.

The only financial support came from solicitor Ioan Todan from Bucharest. He was born in Vascau and I met him when he was visiting Vascau. At the time, the Archpriest informed him that I had financial problems, asking him if he could find a way to help me out. It was during the inflation time, when two chickens cost about 800,000 lei. The total financial support covered an amount of 4 million lei.

My uncle Gheorghe Andritoi gave us some vegetables and let us grow the bare necessities for the house. Besides my fate was sealed, as no democratic organisation would consider me a man of confidence; then my both children got ill and I almost lost my boy. This involved some expenses thus shattering down my peace even more. Then that bleak day came when all leaders of the National Peasants' Party were arrested together with Maniu himself. This made me think a lot. I felt deep inside that I would have to suffer, that I would either be arrested, or I would never find the means for living and die in misery as a dying candle. I remembered all the threats coming from people willing to strengthen their position on other people's lives. The state of mind I had for one week is beyond description.

It would have been so good if I had been arrested that moment, as I would have come to my senses an hour earlier.

The misfortune was that on the 20th of July 1947, five days after the arrests of the National Peasants' Party leaders, I went together with my wife to the commune of Ginta, Bihor County. We had been invited two or three weeks before by a godson of my father-in-law to his birthday. His name was Ilie Dumitroiu and he was a preceptor. Since there were no Romanian families in the village visiting, and there was no entertainment, he asked us to spend some days with him. That day, he received a subpoena to go to the Court of Law in Oradea. On Wednesday, he left for Oradea, where he was arrested. On Thursday, his wife prepared some clothes and food and convinced my wife to accompany her to Oradea, since she did not know her way in the city. They left on Friday morning and my wife was arrested. I only found out in the evening, when the preceptor's wife returned. My mother-in-law must have tried to inform me that I had been looked for. On Friday, the 25th, someone from the phone company told me that the preceptor had been called from Vascau, but I told him he was not at home. I only realised in the evening that my wife had

been arrested because they had been looking for me and she went to the Security with the preceptor's wife to have some news on her husband. I left to a hut, where I found an old man guarding a plot with melons and watermelons. I had met him two days before when I had been there with my wife and the preceptor's wife, as she had a share there. I told the old man to do something with me, that I could not go back home, as the Security was looking for me. The same night I left with his daughter-in-law to her parents in the commune of Borz. I used the name Popa Ion. I spent there three weeks then I took the train back home.

I stayed home for about two months. Then the gendarmes started looking for me and I had to flee to Saud, where I knew that peasant Faur Nicolae was a miller. I trusted him as I knew him from Seghiste. I was there for one month, then I went back home for a few days. Yet my wife and mother-in-law compelled me to leave as they were afraid for me. I went to Igna Terente at Cusuis. I knew he had been a delegate of the National Peasants' Party during the elections. I spent there two weeks. Hearing that the Security had been to Cusuis looking for me, I went to a relative of Igna at Rieni. I spent ten months in Rieni and over three months in Cusuis. I stayed at Dulca Traian, Dulca Ioan, Dulca Lazar, then at Dulca Ioan, Dulca Vasile and Laza Ioan while I was in Rieni. I stayed at Igna Terente, Lupas Nicolae, Lupas Terente, and a man whose name I think was Fuciu Martian while I was in Cusuis. In the winter of the year 1949, it was maybe in February or the end of January, I went to Calugari, as there was no place for me to stay there anymore. I suspected that I could spend some months there. I had been to Calugari before Tocoianu Iosif fled. I had stayed at his brother's, Tocoianu Alexandru, for a few days. That time, I stayed at some relative of Tocoianu's. His name was Anca Traian. I stayed there together with Tocoianu Iosif.

I left with Tocoianu Iosif to Arad County. According to him, there were several officers in the commune of Iosasel who were willing to make my acquaintance.

I was confident that he was telling the truth on the one hand, and curious to learn about their lifestyle on the other hand. I was also thinking that I might find shelter, which was tormenting me at all times. I therefore accepted to go to the place suggested by Tocoianu. We walked during the night, crossing the Moma Mountain. After midnight, we reached a mill where two individuals were waiting for us (a peasant and an intellectual), instead of the two officers Tocoianu told me about. The miller was nicknamed "Tichertu"; I do not recall his real name. I spent there four days playing cards or cracking jokes.

The intellectual did not say what his name was. Yet they all knew my name from the previous meetings with Tocoianu. He asked me if I had organised something throughout the borough and the amount of money we could collect in case of regrouping in the mountains.

I told him I had not organised anything and that we could not collect any money as the peasants had no money at all, besides the fact that I did not know the people there. Moreover, it was a serious risk to reveal myself.

He was unhappy with my refusal and he told me he would have more things to tell me. He also said he was sorry that Tocoianu Gheorghe was not there instead of me as he was imprisoned. He was convinced that the latter would have done his job. Yet, he told me that he was planning to regroup somewhere in the mountains within one and a half month or two at the most, and that he would organise there a supply drop, huts, and so on. I drew his attention to this matter and showed him that all this was a utopia. The group he imagined would have been found and caught within two or three days at the most. He still stated that he would do that and that he would go to Calugari within a month, hoping that I would change my mind and accept his proposal. We returned to the same Anca Traian at Calugari (Tocoianu and I) and we did not go anywhere else.

One month later, that person came over. He stayed with us for some days. We spent all the time playing a cards game called "Suster". That time I was very firm in refusing his proposals. Seeing that I had no intention leaving Calugari, he got angry with me and left without saying goodbye.

Before being angry with me, he had given me some 9 mm. long shells in exchange for some 9 mm. short shells. We had made the exchange because Tocoianu had promised he would get me a small holster 9 mm. long pistol without shells for a small 6.35 mm pistol with a shell box that could be easily carried in the pocket. The 6.35 mm. pistol was out of order. However I got a 9 mm. long pistol for it. I had never wore guns before except for that small pistol that was out of order and a Kiser grenade I had from a soldier that used to be my orderly for two or three days.

I also lived at Tocoianu's uncle's place at Calugari. His name was Gavris Tocoianu. When I felt the gendarmes were looking for us, I went from Calugari to Rieni. After Easter, I went to Seghiste, where I met Petris Valeriu and Bortis Mihai, whom I had known from before elections. I went to Rilu Popovici at Campani, whom I had not known in person before.

I was there for about a week. In the meantime, Tuduce Nicolae, who was visiting him, saw me through the window when I was going to the restroom. He asked Rilu who I was. He finally found out who I was. After we were introduced, Rilu asked him if I could stay at his place. I heard him say that I could. I then showed him the 9 mm. long pistol asking him to either fix it, or exchange it, because the mechanism was not safe and Rilu had told me that he was good with machines.

He lent me a small 9 mm. pistol of Hungarian origin.

I stayed at Tuduce Nicolae's place over a month, when I was taken to Chiscau by Petris Valeriu. We went to a peasant nicknamed "Briciu". I do not

know his real name. A fortnight later, I was taken to Seghiste by the same Petris Valeriu, to a blacksmith Mihai, also known as "Haia". There Father Popovici visited me two or three times. I had known him for a long time. He brought me a book to read and some food. I went from Haia to Negrut Nicolae, then to Bortis Teodor, then to an itinerant trader whose name I ignore. He has a bad eye covered with a black patch. I stayed there for a little over two months.

While at blacksmith "Haia", Tuduce Nicolae sent me through Rilu Popovici a Russian pistol in exchange for the 9 mm. long pistol. While I was at Negrut Nicolae's place, someone from Seghiste told Petris Valer that he had taken my nephew Mihai (who is going to the secondary-school in Beius) on his wagon. This is how he accidentally tracked me down. So I met him at Petris Valer's home.

He told me he had fled too and had no idea what to do, as he was falling behind with his exams. I gave him a lecture for causing his father so much pain. I also told him he should think of the torments I had been subject to, amongst which the fact that I had to go away. I later found out that he had been caught.

I returned from Seghiste to Rieni and after a while to miller Faur Nicolae at Poienii de Jos. I was there for about a month. I then returned to Seghiste through Rieni, where I stayed at Bortis Teodor's place, then again to the trader with a bad eye. Except for a short while spent at Tuduce Nicolae's place at Campani, I spent there a little over a month there. I then returned to Rieni and after a while, I got in touch with Blaj Nicolae from Sudrigiu, who bought me a pair of boots and then took me to Sudrigiu to spend the winter at his place and at a farmer's place, Sive Bucsa.

In spring, I returned to Seghiste and I spent some time at Bortis Teodor's place, then at some man called Nicolae. I do not remember his family name. This was until I was taken to Dumbravani by Bortis Teodor's brother whom I know by the name of Sim. There, I was in the charge of Cristea Gherasim, who had been a mayor several years. I stayed at his place several times, as well as at some godchildren of his, such as Stef Gheorghe, Miron, and Banciu Miron, where I stayed until I was caught on 29 June 1950 in the afternoon. They found the aforementioned weapon upon me. Two or three days before, there were rumours in the village that there would be some controls for leather. Therefore, when I heard the car in the street, I put the guns at the belt and ran out, thinking to find shelter in the garden, or jump over the fence to the field. I intended to do that to avoid being seen by the people looking for leather or to find the guns at my host's house, which would have exposed me. When I reached the garden, I saw the militia on both sides of the garden. That was when I sought a way out through the entrance gate. At that moment, they showed up there too. I returned to the garden, deeply confused because of the emotion of being caught and of the noise coming from everywhere. I could not realise that any step I would take could bring my death. I was therefore hit by two bullets:

one in my left shoulder, the other in the back above the blade bone. Igna Terente from Cusuis had given me the coat. Traian, “Haia”’s son-in-law, had given me the hat and trousers.

During my runaway, I sought to collect food for my family from the villages where I lived. I tried to send it back home because they had no other means of living as my wife had no job. The small patch of land we have is used by a man from Varzari because of a fake sale contract drawn up by solicitor Petre Popovici. We finally had to sell some of the stuff and clothes we had left after the refuge from Moldova. Such collecting actions were made in Cusuis, Rien and Dumbravani. The goods were first taken straight to my house, then to my uncle Gheorghe Andritoi. The care for my family made up of my wife and two children (Sorin and Doina), the former aged 11, the latter aged 8, as well as my mother-in-law, made me stay in the borough all through the three years, giving up all adventures that I always considered vane and dangerous. If the Anglo-American propaganda had had some influence amongst the people at the beginning, this influence grew weaker each day. It finally faded away because everything they said was sheer lie. I regret that I have not had the courage to turn myself in, but this lack of courage has always been nourished by the rumours that there were fights in Beius, and so on. Yet, during the first year, I was waiting for the Government to settle a deadline for all missing to return home and to declare all still missing after that date as dangerous and enemies to the new popular regime. I attempted to make two reports, but I could not send them to Bucharest. I have not been home in Moldova since 1943, when my mother died. All my brothers are married there. Currently, only my brother Vasile, who is a schoolmaster, is away, as he is working in the Beius Borough, Bihor County.

On the whole, we are four brothers and two sisters.

My eldest sister, Ileana, is married to Nicolae Hudita, a retired notary, in the commune of Uidesti – village of Ioneasa, Baia County. They have eight or nine children. My other sister is married in my native village to Anton Dragusanu, a former mechanic at the beer factory in the village. When the factory was burnt down, he became a fiscal agent at the revenue authority. They have four daughters and one son. My other two brothers, Dumitru and Costica, are married in the village too. Dumitru has eight or nine children. I do not know them all. Costica only has six daughters. They are both farmers. I do not know how much wealth they currently have.

Reserve Captain Ștefan Popescu
10 August 1950

(C.N.S.A.S.,P 651, vol. 2, f. 239-257)

HISTORY, CENSORSHIP AND IDEOLOGY UNDER THE COMMUNIST REGIME: SILVIU DRAGOMIR AND THE INVESTIGATION OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

Sorin ȘIPOȘ*

Abstract: *The investigation of the national phenomenon, that is of the Revolution from 1848, holds an important place in the work of the historian Silviu Dragomir. The national movement between 1848-1849 is, chronologically speaking, the last theme investigated by the historian. He is considered to be, though, by the majority of his exegetes the specialist in the Revolution from 1848. For most of them this is the image, better engraved in their memory by the monograph on Avram Iancu, published posthumously. Having no intention to specify here the reasons which conferred the historian his acknowledgement as a specialist in the revolution, we have to emphasize the impact generated by the publishing of the monograph on Avram Iancu on the Romanian intellectual world and on the general public. Finished a while sooner, the book was published only in 1965, after two decades when the national history was subjected to an unprecedented process of politicizing and falsification. Silviu Dragomir set as a goal for his book to overcome the common clichés of the epoch and to follow the historical truth, even if sometimes it was hard to accept, as it did not fit the canons of the political ideology of the moment. As a consequence, the monograph was perceived as a real turning point in the Romanian historiography, detached from the cominternist and Stalinist theses, as it had in view the recovery of the truth about the revolution of the Romanians and about Avram Iancu. Going beyond the scientific sphere, in a larger plane, the monograph represented a true reaffirmation of the national spirit and dignity, in a time when the political factors in Romania tried to detach from under the soviet communist control. Going beyond the level of expectations of the Romanian society and the manner in which the last contribution of the historian was received, the book represents, according to the majority of the specialists, the peak of Silviu Dragomir's research activity on the Revolution from 1848. The book was preceded by numerous investigations of the author, dedicated to the leaders of the revolution, finalized in monographs reaching for the synthesis, as well as by the publishing of an impressive collection of documents.*

Key words: *Silviu Dragomir, revolution, nation, politics, censorship, communism*

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1. Introduction

The national element holds an important role in Silviu Dragomir's work, particularly the Revolution of 1848. Chronologically speaking, the national movement in 1848-1849 is the last topic approached by the historian. Nevertheless, he is considered by most critics as a specialist in the Revolution of 1848¹. Practically, as Professor Pompiliu Teodor pointed out, it is the image that has been best illustrated by the posthumous monograph on Avram Iancu. Yet beyond the monograph, there is a rich and impressive bibliography, a broad chapter of historiography that lasted due to perseverance and passion². We will not attempt to point out in detail the causes rendering him a specialist in the revolution; we notice the impact that the Romanian intellectual world and the public in general felt when the monograph dedicated to Avram Iancu was published. Although finished earlier, the book was only published in 1965, two decades later when national history was subject to an unprecedented politicising and falsifying process. In his work, Silviu Dragomir aimed at overcoming the boundaries of common clichés of his time and pursuing historical truth even if sometimes it was hard to accept since it did not belong to the political ideology of the epoch.

Consequently, the monograph was perceived as a genuine turning point in the Romanian historiography. It detached from the comintern and Stalinist theses aiming at restoring the truth regarding the Romanian revolution and Avram Iancu. Overcoming science and expanding the perspective, the monograph was a genuine restoration of national spirit and dignity at a time when political actors in Romania were attempting to break away from the soviet communist control. Aside from the level of expectation of the Romanian

¹ Vasile Maciu, *Prefață la Silviu Dragomir, Avram Iancu*, București, 1965, p. 6-10; Eugeniu Sperantia, *Figuri universitare: Silviu Dragomir*, in *Steaua*, XVII, 1966, no. 11, p. 46; Pompiliu Teodor, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești*, București, 1978, p. 129; Idem, *Silviu Dragomir, istoric al unității naționale*, in *Tribuna*, XXVII, 1983, no. 47, p. 6; Idem, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Tribuna*, XXXII, no. 10, 1988, p. 8; Idem, *Silviu Dragomir, istoric al revoluției din 1848*, in Silviu Dragomir, *Studii privind istoria revoluției române de la 1848*. Ediție, introducere, note, comentarii de Pompiliu Teodor, Cluj-Napoca, 1989, p. 7; Idem, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Transylvanian Review*, Volume VII, 1998, No. 3, p. 64-65; Nicolae Stoicescu, *100 de ani de la nașterea istoricului Silviu Dragomir (1888-1962)*, in *Revista de istorie*, tome 41, 1988, no. 5, p. 530; Acațiu Eged, *Silviu Dragomir și cercetarea revoluției din Transilvania de la 1848-1849*, in *Memoriile Secției de Științe Istorice*, Series IV, tome XIII, București, 1991, p. 11-18; Ștefan Pascu, *Silviu Dragomir – portret spiritual*, in *Ibidem*, p. 9; Mircea Păcurariu, *O sută de ani de la nașterea istoricului Silviu Dragomir (1888-1962)*, in *Mitropolia Ardealului*, XXXIII, 1988, no. 2, p. 118-119; Nicolae Bocșan, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric al revoluției din 1848*, in *Revue de Transylvanie* (Romanian edition), Cluj-Napoca, 1991, pp. 152-153; Idem, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Transylvanian Review*, Volume V, 1996, No. 4, p. 46-51; Silviu Dragomir, *Banatul românesc*. Introductory study by Nicolae Bocșan, Timișoara, 1999, p. 7-13.

² Pompiliu Teodor, *Silviu Dragomir, istoric al revoluției din 1848*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 14-15.

society and the way it was perceived, the work stands for the climax of Silviu Dragomir's research on the Revolution of 1848 according to most specialists³. The work was preceded by a thorough investigation of the author on the leaders of the revolution ending with monographs attempting to reach a synthesis, as well as the publication of an impressive collection of documents⁴.

2. Research on the Revolution of 1848 in communist Romania: history, politics and censorship

Silviu Dragomir began his research on the Revolution of 1848 with monographs dedicated to its leaders: Avram Iancu, Ioan Buteanu, and Constantin Romanul-Vivu. He analysed their political programme and described the collaboration between intellectuals and masses. By publishing the mail of the Romanians from the Ardeal with the Romanians from the Principalities and the role played by Nicolae Balcescu, he expanded his investigation to the relations between the Romanians from the Ardeal with the Romanians from the Principalities thus imposing the idea of the unitary character of the revolution in the Romanian historiography. By publishing the documents on the Revolution of 1848-1849, he managed to outline the informational basis to elaborate the synthesis. In this sense, Silviu Dragomir made a lot of research in archives in Romania and abroad. As a positivist historian, he had several issues regarding the history of the revolution. Undoubtedly, he was a specialist managing to introduce an impressive documentation basis in the scientific circuit. It is one of the explanations for which many of his conclusions released decades ago are still of interest. He critically analysed the documents; he confronted them with other written sources. He also resorted to other types of acts, thus broadening the notion of document.

In 1946-1947 Romania, there were few people feeling that the communist forces would do such harm. We have considered this period as these were the last years when Silviu Dragomir managed to publish. In 1946, he finished for print the fifth volume of *Studii și documente privitoare la istoria revoluției de la 1848-1849 (Studies and documents on the history of the Revolution of 1848-1849)*. The same year, he was involved in elaborating the synthesis on *La Transylvanie* for the Romanian delegation to the Peace Conference. The following year, at the peak of censorship, the historian published the study on *Tratatulele româno-maghiare din vara anului 1849. Intervenția lui Simonffy (Romanian-Hungarian negotiations in the summer of*

³ Vasile Maciu, *op. cit.*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 10; Ștefan Pascu, *op. cit.*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 9; Nicolae Bocșan, *Silviu Dragomir – istoric al revoluției din 1848*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 153; Acațiu Egyed, *op. cit.*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 16.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

1849. *Simonffy's intervention*). The title was according to the directives of the communist authorities of the time on the policy of people's twinning.

In the summer of 1947, upon the recommendation of Professor Grigore Nandriș, Silviu Dragomir was asked by the historian Seton-Watson to draft a material on the Revolution of 1848 in the Romanian countries for the *Slavonic Review*⁵. On 25 August 1947, Silviu Dragomir wrote a reply letter to the specialist in Slavonic languages Grigore Nandriș. It is a proof of his generosity and respect for the profession⁶. Seton-Watson was happy about Grigore Nandriș' proposal. Yet he seemed not to have agreed the idea that Gheorghe I. Brătianu would elaborate the part on Wallachia and Moldavia. Although Seton-Watson did not know G. Fotino, he preferred him⁷. Silviu Dragomir informed in a letter dated 8 January 1948 on the title of the paper he was about to send to London to be published in the *Slavonic Review: Ideea de solidaritate la români în revoluția de la 1848*⁸ (*Romanians' idea of solidarity at the Revolution of 1848*). Yet he did not know the exact date when he would send the study, as he needed rigorous approvals imposed by the communist regime⁹. There were signs that the new leaders intended to impose an authoritarian regime meant to break internal opposition and stop all contacts with countries outside the "iron curtain". Not long before, the authorities had begun to arrest National Peasants' Party leaders and intended to turn the party illegal. Regarding Silviu Dragomir's scientific activity, we have to point out that these were the last works published in a Romania that still preserved slight signs and marks from the interwar period.

The year 1948 was the year that started the torment for the academician and university professor Silviu Dragomir. Retired before legal age, eliminated from the Romanian Academy when the institution was restructured, the historian was subject to a humiliating and unjust trial. The following year, he was sentenced to six months of correctional prison and a penal fine. The fine

⁵ Grigore Nandriș, *8 ani din viața României (1940-1949). Pagini de jurnal*. Ediție îngrijită și prefață de I. Opreșan, București, 1999, p. 302.

⁶ "I have great pleasure to write a study on the Revolution of 1848 for Mr. Seton Watson's journal. Allow me to suggest that it may be better if the movements in the Principalities should be approached by somebody else: the Director of the Institute of World History [Gheorghe I. Brătianu, A/N] or by Mr. G. Fotino, who has printed the mail of the Golești. This item might focus more on the diplomatic action of the emigrants, which would undoubtedly be of great interest to the readers. As far as I am concerned, I would try to describe the movement in Ardeal and Bucovina. In order to avoid any complication of the mail, I would take it upon myself to get in contact with the abovementioned historians and inform you on the result." (Biblioteca Centrală Universitară „Lucian Blaga” Cluj-Napoca, *Fond istorici clujeni*, letter no. 220/1947).

⁷ Grigore Nandriș, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

⁸ Idem, *O radiografie a exilului românesc. Corespondența trimisă și primită de Grigore Nandriș între 1943-1967*. Coordination, introductory study and notes by I. Opreșan, București, 2001, p. 444.

⁹ *Ibidem*.

was subsequently altered to one year in prison. After the criminal decision, he was imprisoned in Caransebes. On 5 May 1950, he was transferred to the political prison in Sighet. As long as he was an inmate there, Silviu Dragomir was arbitrarily sentenced to nine more years in prison. He was released only in the summer of 1955. The historian was employed at the beginning of the year 1956 due to the support of Andrei Otetea and Constantin Daicoviciu, an external collaborator at the Institute of History and Archaeology in Cluj. The fact that he returned to the research institute after a long and difficult detention had a benefic influence on his mental and physical state. Research and contact with documents and scholars in the country brought him back to an almost normal world. His state of mind after being employed at the institute was suggestively expressed in a letter he sent to Andrei Otetea: “I finish copying the whole file on Tudor’s movement. On this occasion, I would like to express my gratitude for your kindness. *It has been a valuable help and a means to brace myself and win back my self-confidence* [A/N]”¹⁰. Considering the trauma to which the historian was subject during the detention and the fact that most inmates were employed as basic workers after release, we will manage to honestly weigh Andrei Otetea’s and Constantin Daicoviciu’s intervention in his favour.

From 1955 to 1962, while he worked at the Institute of History and Archaeology, Silviu Dragomir took back the research on the revolution that had been interrupted by his apprehension in 1949. As early as February 1956, a few days after his employment, the historian described in a report the directions to be followed in order to pursue the collection of documents on the Revolution of 1848-1849 by reviewing the main topics on which the Romanian researchers focused in the works published on the revolution¹¹. The historian recommended to pursue the investigation in the abovementioned fields as there were several materials in archives in the country and abroad not known by specialists¹².

¹⁰ National Archives, Hunedoara County Directorate, *Fond Silviu Dragomir*, file 90.

¹¹ “The material collected and printed so far mostly comprises political news and information: the volcanic freedom movements triggered throughout the Habsburg monarchy and their repercussions over the peoples in Transylvania; the elaboration of new political programmes and the attempt to enforce them; the antagonism between nations in Hungary; the new regimes fighting for political liberties; the old regime and the Romanians; the new regime and the political desiderata of the Romanians; the Hungarian revolution and the barriers against the Habsburg absolutism; the position of nationalities regarding Kossuth; the relations between the Romanian revolution with the movement of free peasants; the Emperor and the Romanians; the failure of the Austrian support policy” (ANDJD, *Fond Silviu Dragomir*, file 17, document 4).

¹² “In order to shed a vivid light on the political events, I have rummaged through the most important archives in Vienna and Budapest and I sought to partly restore the archives of the Romanian committee in Transylvania [...]. We are aware of the rich material waiting to be collected from archives belonging to Kossuth, and the ministries of internal affairs, justice and war in the capital of the People’s Republic of Hungary. The secret documents of the Austrian Government that are currently accessible and the Presidential papers in the archives of the Ministry of War in Vienna will

According to the new political context and probably due to the directives from the leaders of the Institute of History and Archaeology in Cluj, Silviu Dragomir suggested historians the topics to be researched. Considering the political background of the time, he thought that their endeavours should focus on researching “the movement of mass people in their trend to gain liberty”, as well as pointing out “the role of recently liberated peasants from the yoke of serfdom and their suffering after the bloody repressions of the feudal reaction”¹³. Setting to the foreground the role of peasants in Transylvania in the Revolution of 1848-1849 was an advantage for the Romanian historiography as perceived by Silviu Dragomir too.

As of the autumn of the year 1957, there is a first information according to which the historian was to publish his new monograph on Avram Iancu¹⁴. The work had been finished at a first stage before 1949, but misfortune prevented him from publishing it¹⁵. After his release, Silviu Dragomir returned to his old projects, that is the idea of publishing the monograph. Thus, besides his concerns regarding the pursuit of a document collection on the Revolution of 1848, he also intended to restore the personality of Avram Iancu in a new form. In January 1958, he forwarded to the Editura Științifică a proposal to publish the monograph on the leader of the *moti*¹⁶. Considering the suggestion he made to the publishing house to introduce the work in that year’s editorial plan, he must have had it ready for print. To a great extent, the manuscript had been prepared before his apprehension. After 1955, the historian returned to his work on the monograph. He updated it with references from the past decade considering the new interpretations imposed by the communists.

If we consider the political context in Romania in 1958, Silviu Dragomir’s conclusions in the monograph were far from being admitted by the leaders of the time: “I have tried to put away chauvinist judgement. Considering that the adversaries at the time belong to the privileged Hungarian noblemen, I do not identify them with the Hungarian people. Mistakes were made on both sides during the Revolution of 1848, a movement that was not devoid of

also be selected as the Czech, Hungarian and Yugoslavian historians have done. We have a rich material resource even here, in our country, in the file of the Hungarian police station in Transylvania established from January to August 1849” (*Ibidem*, p. 1-2).

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ The draft of the letter sent by Silviu Dragomir to Editura Științifică on 25 September 1957, in ANDJD, *Fond Silviu Dragomir*, file 96.

¹⁵ “The manuscript on *Avram Iancu* (five chapters) can be published in a journal. It is the beginning of a biography comprising very interesting information.” (*Testamentul lui Silviu Dragomir din 23 ianuarie 1949*, in Archives of the Enescu family).

¹⁶ “Referring to the conversation we had in Cluj, I am ready to present the historical paper on Avram Iancu, the hero of the Revolution in Transylvania in 1848-1849 to plan it for print this very year. The work covers about 20 printing sheets, to which we have to add about 50 portraits and cards (in medallions) and some facsimiles and maps with battle plans” (*Scrisoarea adresată de Silviu Dragomir directorului Editurii Științifice*, in ANDJD, *Fond Silviu Dragomir*, file 90, p. 4).

internal contradictions. Being objectively revealed, they should use education to avoid repetition, thus threatening the harmony between the two peoples. Therefore, although Iancu was compelled to fiercely fight the opposite team, I have sought to paint them objectively and with proper respect chasing away the feelings of hatred and taking advantage of everything pleading for an enduring understanding between Romanians and Hungarians”¹⁷. These lines are an example of his professional probity and contrasts with the attitude of most historians close to the party. Silviu Dragomir pleaded for an objective history excluding hatred. At the same time he resorted to elements bringing together the two peoples according to the epoch. He divided the errors of the Romanian and Hungarian leaders during the revolution somehow with no justification.

He was aware that the conclusions of the work were mostly outside the official position and could cause discontent and tough reactions from the historians faithful to the party when he proposed the publication of *O viață de erou: Avram Iancu (Life of a Hero: Avram Iancu)*. He therefore expressed his opinion on his working method and the recent conclusions that the Hungarian historians reached on the Revolution of 1848¹⁸. It was a cautious measure in case he had been accused of anti-Hungarian chauvinistic feelings and bourgeois ideas: “Nevertheless, the issues are such that one cannot avoid direct discussions between theses that each has defended. Fortunately, the Marxist Hungarian historiography has settled its point of view in most issues, and the soviet historian A. Narocinitki has also settled a certain norm we should consider when approaching the revolutionary movement of 1848-1849”¹⁹. As a positivist historian, Silviu Dragomir considered that a scientific research had to pursue the truth even if sometimes researchers and public opinion had a hard time admitting it²⁰. His conclusions placed him outside the opinion expressed by party documents praising socialist peoples that were friends. In order to support his statements, he used the theses of the soviet historian A. Narocinitki on the Hungarians’ policy to render people Hungarian during the revolution²¹.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 2.

¹⁸ “I conceived the work from a scientific point of view as a historical monograph based on contemporary information critically analysed. [...] I realized from the beginning that, as the fight of the Romanians in Transylvania in 1848-1849 against the Hungarian feudal class and the Government in Pest was allied with the noblemen in Ardeal, I have to avoid everything that might contribute to the revival of the misunderstanding between the two peoples. Therefore, besides imposing myself a maximum objectivity, I have sought to respect the political desiderata of the Hungarian nation.” (*Ibidem*, p. 1).

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ “After all, the conflict between the Romanians in Transylvania and the Hungarian noblemen, whether great or small, and the polemic between Iancu and Kossuth are historical facts that will be set in the light of truth.” (*Ibidem*, p. 8).

²¹ “Nationalism of landlords and bourgeois in Slavic regions and nationalism of the Hungarian noblemen contributed to instigating Slavs against the Hungarians: although they fought for national freedom of their country, the bourgeois landlords and the Hungarian capitalists still

After 1947, in Romania it was customary that party historians resorted to Russian historians and the works of Marxist classics to justify the often unfavourable conclusions of the historical past. As of 1955, specialists gradually supported the national trend and took over the method of legitimating their own truths that paradoxically turned out to be one of the ways in which the Romanian historiography could escape the Stalinist views.

In communist Romania manuscripts submitted to publishing houses were reviewed by two historians specialised in the issue before print. The two expressed their opinions in a written paper. In a democratic society, their remarks were supposed to improve the quality of the paper. Yet at the time, the ones reviewing the manuscripts submitted to the publishing house had to prevent the publication of books that were not according to the materialist-dialectical and historical teachings or against the communist party. The manuscript drafted by Silviu Dragomir followed the same route. Unfortunately, we could not find the papers on the work dedicated to Avram Iancu. Instead we have Silviu Dragomir's reply submitted to the publishing house in which he disagreed to the remarks of the reviewers. When analysing the content of Silviu Dragomir's letter sent to the director of the Editura Stiintifica, we can notice that the reviewer whose name is unknown did not agree to the memoir of 26 September 1848 elaborated by the Romanian leaders and favouring the emperor and the Austrian Parliament, as it supported an absolutist regime. Silviu Dragomir replied as follows to the reviewer's remarks: "We consider the memoir dated 26 September important as the Romanians express their support to the policy of those from whom they were hoping to have guarantees for their freedom. This is a unique act of the kind, as it unveils the genuine reasons determining the Romanian leaders to have a revolutionary attitude. It was submitted to the Austrian Parliament made up of several nationalities with liberal views that were far from serving the idea of the imperialist pan-German trend or reactionary monarchy. Its publication at the time of the Austrian absolutism was considered harmful to national interests just like later on, under the constitutional regime of dualist monarchy. Could the publication of this highly important document be as inappropriate now? We do not agree to this opinion. Why should we not finally dare to show that the Romanians in Transylvania did not throw themselves in the arms of counterrevolution? They were attached to the liberal policy of Austria at a time when the bourgeois-liberal Government originating in the Revolution of March 1848 still existed and when the Government in Pest was still negotiating an understanding with the Court of Vienna"²². In an unfavourable political context, Silviu Dragomir had the courage to request the respect for truth when judging the causes

intended to apply an oppression policy and to enforce Magyarisation in the Slavic and Romanian regions." (*Ibidem*, p. 7-8).

²² *Ibidem*, file 93, p. 69.

determining the political-military option of the Romanian revolutionaries in the autumn of 1848. They did not play along the counterrevolution as many of our fellow countrymen often wrote; they allied with the liberal forces in the empire that guaranteed the respect for nationality. The historian expressed his perplexity regarding the arguments of the reviewer that were far from the scientific spirit when arguing against the publication of the decision of the Romanians in September 1848: "It is therefore regrettable to be blamed for not respecting the revolutionary traditions of the Hungarian people. It is even more regrettable that our good intentions to set forth the progressive attitude of the Romanian leaders in 1848 are covered with unjustified suspicions"²³. We do not know if there are other critical remarks of the reviewer concerning Silviu Dragomir's work.

Considering that it had a negative review, the chances for *O viață de erou: Avram Iancu* to be printed were minimal. Thus, Silviu Dragomir was informed by a memo of the Editura Stiintifica dated 8 August 1958 and signed by the director Andrei Lazarescu and editor-in-chief Mircea Ignat that, according to article 4 in the contract, the manuscript would no longer be published and the publication contract was terminated²⁴.

The publication of a work restoring the scientific past was unlikely to happen in 1958 and the following period. Stalinist structures leading the country were strong enough to prevent the publication of the book. At the same time, the topic was uncomfortable to the communist regime. More likely, Silviu Dragomir's point of view could be condemned by the specialists supporting the leaders. At an unfavourable epoch, the historian tried to reveal the role of the Romanians in Transylvania in the Revolution of 1848. The fact that he sent the manuscript to the publishing house shows that he believed his work would be published. In 1958, the mere existence of points of view differing from the official ones was a serious obliquity. Silviu Dragomir had been released only three years before and was employed again thanks to some historians close to the party. Finally, he was considered a bourgeois historian who had to acquire the Marxist-Leninist doctrine if he wanted to practise his profession. Naturally, a voice expressing different opinions was supposed to be subject to the exigencies and rigours of the authoritarian regime. Party activists working in different fields of the ideological area and a small number of party members with responsibilities in the field of ideology took part in the meeting of the Propaganda and Agitation Section leaders held in 1958. They were as follows: Leonte Răutu, Paul Niculescu-Mizil, Nicolae Fotino, Andrei Oțetea, Mihail Roller, Iorgu Iordan, Ștefan Milcu, Petru Dumitriu, Mihai Beniuc etc. During the meeting, Silviu Dragomir's name was mentioned as one of the historians

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 70.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, file 90, p. 1.

reluctant to acquire the Marxist-Leninist doctrine²⁵. Nicolae Fotino, a member in the editorial committee of the journal *Studii (Studies)*, presented a report on the historical research carried out according to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine in Romania. The report focused on the ways in which the first three volumes of the treaty on the history of Romania would be drafted, as well as some issues on which historians debated. Nicolae Fotino was asked several questions during the presentation of the report by Leonte Rautu and Iorgu Iordan. The first asked N. Fotino if “there was an ideological fight in the field of history; if there were expressions of foreign ideology. In his turn, Iorgu Iordan asked if there were pressures from the bourgeois historiography”²⁶. Nicolae Fotino answered as follows: “Pressures from the bourgeois historiography. I have given an example of direct pressure, that of Silviu Dragomir from Cluj, who tries to introduce a chauvinist and anti-Marxist point of view”²⁷. In other words, because he had launched theses differing from official historiography referring to the Revolution of 1848 and Avram Iancu’s personality, Dragomir was considered as a bourgeois and chauvinist historian. It was a serious allegation showing that Stalinism was still strong in Romania. Leonte Rautu’s conclusions on the orientation of Silviu Dragomir and the bourgeois intellectuals take us to the atmosphere impregnated with dogmatism and reveal the uncertain and unsafe status of the historian in Romania at the time²⁸.

Silviu Dragomir pursued his scientific work ignoring the allegations brought to his historical conception as much as he could. His research after his release, from 1956 to 1962, was fruitful for the Romanian historiography concerning the Revolution of 1848. He kept hoping that his manuscripts would be finally printed until his death. Their publication was always his focus and was reclaimed several times to some of his close friends, particularly Andrei Otetea. He wrote to the director of the Institute of History in Bucharest, Andrei Otetea, a letter on 7 April 1960 in which he wrote the following referring to his works on the revolution: “The time is right for the two volumes of *Revoluția și Avram Iancu (The Revolution and Avram Iancu)*. I will talk about them the first time I get the chance at the C.C. Culture and Science Section. We also have K. Marx’s notes that favour our thesis in his brand new notes. Since they gathered documents on the revolution in Moldavia and Wallachia in Bucharest, we could invoke the idea of embracing the revolution in all three Romanian Countries to publish the two volumes on Transylvania. Under the circumstances, this idea is

²⁵ Constantin Moraru, *Teama de influențele burgheze în ideologia partidului*, în *Analele Sighet 8. Anii 1954-1960: Fluxurile și refluxurile stalinismului*, București, 2000, p. 40.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 45.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 46.

²⁸ “There are few fields of ideology where ideological class fight is as fierce as in history. One cannot say that our historians are on the appropriate ideological level from this point of view.” (*Ibidem*, p. 51).

very attractive. Therefore, I am asking you to prepare the two volumes that will complete the interrupted work and will facilitate an in-depth study of the Revolution of 1848 in Transylvania”²⁹. Andrei Oțetea hoped that Marx’s manuscript favouring the Romanians entitled *Notes on the Romanians* would open the way for Dragomir’s volumes. Marx’s appraising opinions on the role of the Romanians during the Revolution of 1848 were a strong argument to overcome Stalinist obstacles. On 19 April 1960, Silviu Dragomir informed the president of the History Subsection at the Romanian Academy that he had ended the sixth volume of *Studii și documente privitoare la revoluția din 1848* (*Studies and documents regarding the Revolution of 1848*) as well as the *Avram Iancu* monograph. More accurately, he had managed to update the information in the abovementioned works, considering that they had been drafted right after the war³⁰. The historian was hoping for something from the People’s Republic of Romania Academy that had supported the publication of the previous volumes before becoming politicised. In fact, he proposed to the president of the History Subsection to include the two works in the publication plan for that year³¹. Unfortunately, the monograph dedicated to Avram Iancu and the sixth volume of *Studii și documente privitoare la revoluția din 1848* were not published during the author’s life. Marx’s notes on the Romanians and the expansionist policy of the Tsarist Empire appeared only in 1964. Andrei Oțetea wanted to use them as arguments to publish Dragomir’s works. The project of pursuing the collection of documents on the Revolution of 1848 as suggested by the author in 1956 was not achieved as such either. Nevertheless, the idea of editing the documents on the revolution was not abandoned. It was taken up by Silviu Dragomir in 1960 as part of a broad project made up of 10 volumes³². In

²⁹ ANDJD, *Fond Silviu Dragomir*, file 96, p. 33.

³⁰ “The manuscript of volume 6 is of great value. To be provided only for an appropriate honorary. I worked on it for two years. So the approximately 40 print sheets are to be paid for at least the income of a university professor for one and a half year. [...] The manuscript on *Avram Iancu* (five chapters) can be published in a journal.” (According to *Testamentul istoricului Silviu Dragomir*, in the archives of the Enescu family).

³¹ “Both works are based on a long-term study through historical analysis of all stages of the revolution and only need finishing using historical literature and documents discovered in the past years. The publishing of these works would be really useful for the research of new historiography. If they correspond to the publication plan of the historical subsection, I am ready to provide them for printing.” (ANDJD, *Fond Silviu Dragomir*, file 93, p. 2).

³² “The draft for the second volume is ongoing under the coordination of comrade Prof. V. Cherestesiu who we hope will receive the completion from Budapest. Volumes 1 and 3 will be conceived from now on. This will be easily carried out in a short time by a group of researchers. Volume 4 would comprise the documents from the Kossuth archives (January 1849-august 1849) that have not been published either in the publication of the Romanian Academy (Dragomir), or in Kossuth’s papers (Academy of the People’s Republic of Hungary), as well as another material from foreign archives. Volumes 5 and 6 are reserved for papers and documents from the Transylvania police station (1849). Volume 7 has to comprise papers on the movement of the Hungarians and Szeklers in 1848-1849. It would complete the material presented in

the author's opinion, the fulfilment of such an ambitious project supposed to organise a group of specialists to copy, elaborate and translate the documents for print³³. The materials of volumes four to six and eight were almost ready; yet they could not be sent to print unless the publication norms were settled: would they be published in their entirety in the original language, or would they publish an abridged translated version?³⁴ In order to edit and end the numerous volumes of documents, Silviu Dragomir tried to stimulate the labour of his collaborators³⁵ and complete the list of specialists who used to be concerned with editing documents on the Revolution of 1848, such as Professor T. Bodogae³⁶.

Silviu Dragomir had a great scientific basis amongst the professional historians close to the political power. It might have been due to Andrei Otetea's suggestion that the historian from Cluj was invited to participate to the debates on the draft of the fourth volume of the *Istoria României*³⁷ (*History of Romania*). As the volume approached the Revolution of 1848, Silviu Dragomir was the most appropriate specialist to express his opinion on the events occurring in Transylvania. We have to note that, although at the time he was the researcher who had investigated the greatest number of funds in the archives in the country and abroad and had published studies and collections of documents thus clarifying several problems relating to the Revolution in Transylvania, Silviu Dragomir was not involved in the draft of the synthesis on the history of Romania. Maybe he did not manage to show the decision-makers that he had

volumes 1, 4, 5 and 6. Volume 8 begins with the publication of documents from local archives (counties, chamber administrations, etc.)" (*Ibidem*, p. 27).

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 28.

³⁴ *Ibidem*.

³⁵ "I therefore take the liberty of asking you to help us complete the collection with the new or wrong and incomplete material published so far that can be found in the Academy collections. The first volume will comprise internal documents, mostly Romanian, collected from our archives and libraries. The foreign archive documents will be published in future volumes" (*Ciorna scrisorii adresată de Silviu Dragomir domnișoarei Cornelia Bodea*, in *Ibidem*, p. 34).

³⁶ "The Institute of History here has assigned me to ask you a request as a consequence of an item of information I provided. The Academy of the People's Republic of Romania has decided to publish a ten-volume collection of documents regarding the revolutionary movement of 1848-1849. They would have the opportunity to insert the documents collected by you and partly published in the memorial volume dedicated to Metropolitan Bălan [T. Bodogae, *Câteva documente în legătură cu frământările sociale la românii ardeleni în vara anului 1848*, în *Omagiu Dr. Nicolae Bălan Mitropolitul Ardealului 1905-1955*, Sibiu, 1955, p. 281-292, A/N]. If you remember, you told me once that you have several pieces besides the printed materials. The Academy affiliate assured me that they were ready to pay the appropriate honorary for the contribution. I am therefore asking you to inform me if you are willing to collaborate with us and provide further information on the number of pieces you copied and their size, as well as if you need to work further to collect other Romanian materials." (*Scrisoarea lui Silviu Dragomir adresată lui T. Bodogae*, in *Ibidem*, p. 3).

³⁷ *Ibidem*, file 92, p. 147.

fully acquired the Marxist-Leninist doctrines in historical research and that he had become a reliable element for the political regime in Romania.

From 28 to 30 June 1961, the debates on the draft of the fourth volume of the *Istoria României* were held in the hall of the R.P.R. Academy. According to the content set up by the scientific secretariat of the volume, several academicians and correspondent members of the R.P.R. Academy participated to the discussions, as well as researchers at the institutes of history in Bucharest, Cluj, Iasi and academy affiliates in Sibiu and Targu-Mures, researchers at the Party Institute of History, the “Stefan Gheorghiu” Party High School, the Military Academy, philosophers, economists, linguists, literary historians, legal counsellors, etc. One of them was Silviu Dragomir³⁸. Although the members of the editorial secretariat presented only an abstract of participants’ interventions, they noticed that “the revolution of 1848 in Transylvania raised most of the issues”³⁹. According to the documents, Silviu Dragomir had taken the floor and proposed the editorial committee to deepen the study on the peasant movements in Transylvania during the revolution⁴⁰. The published text shows that the intervention of the historian was accepted by the members of the editorial committee⁴¹. Knowing his research on the role played by Nicolae Balcescu in the reconciliation of the Romanian and Hungarian revolutionaries, the remark in the text published by the members of the editorial committee of the journal *Studii* belonged to Silviu Dragomir. The testimonies presented years later by some of the historians attending the discussions at the academy show the courage of Silviu Dragomir when expressing his opinion on the fourth volume. The historian criticised the way in which the authors had presented the participation of the Romanians to the Revolution in Transylvania⁴².

³⁸ *Dezbaterile privind macheta volumului IV din tratatul Istoria României*, în *Studii. Revistă de istorie*, no. 5, 1961, București, p. 1273.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 1275.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴¹ “This just point of view needs to be described in such a way to pursue the guiding principle of the great democrat revolutionary N. Bălcescu to have a common fight element of the Romanians and national minorities in Transylvania against social and national oppression.” (*Ibidem*).

⁴² “In exchange for the monograph on Avram Iancu, Dragomir – faithful to the points of view previously expressed – rejected the conception and points of view expressed by Cherestesiu in the chapter on the revolution in Transylvania during the discussions organised on the elaboration of the fourth volume of *Istoria României*. During the same meeting, there was a violent reaction of the official line considering the revolution of the Romanians in Ardeal as a counterrevolution. Dragomir’s intervention was great and bald. In the end, the initiative of Miron Constantinescu and Daicoviciu triumphed over Dragomir’s viewpoint. It was a moment for the affirmation of national communism foretelling a political line, yet not based on historical grounds, as it would be obvious under Ceausescu’s regime.” (*Pompiliu Teodor*, in Toader Buculei, *Clio încarcerată. Mărturii și opinii privind destinul istoriografiei românești în epoca*

On 15 November 1961, the historian sent his remarks on the third volume from Cluj. He expected an invitation from Andrei Otetea, the editor-in-chief, to participate to the debates. He only made two pertinent remarks on the chapter drafted by Stefan Imreh on the situation in Transylvania at the time of the revolution⁴³. We think that the paper was amongst the last documents drafted by the historian before his death: “According to his niece Florica Enescu, they went on a trip to Bucharest before Christmas in 1961; it was the last one for Silviu Dragomir.”⁴⁴ The historian had been invited together with several specialists to participate to the debate on the draft of the third volume of a synthesis on the history of Romania on 19-21 December 1961⁴⁵. It was his last trip. He spent Christmas and New Year in the capital with his wife and the

totalitarismului comunist, Brăila, 2000, p. 266-267); “I would also notice about his belated career that, as an employee at the institute, he was invited to participate to the elaboration of the first version of the treaty on *Istorie a României* published in about 1960-1964. I saw him during a preliminary debate on the treaty about the Revolution of 1848, in the hall of the Romanian Academy, where people such as M. Roller and others were in charge [Roller had already died, yet his orientation in historiography had not yet disappeared – A/N], people imposing an anti-national trend to history. I saw Silviu Dragomir there. He was defying. He was devoid of all imposed opinions and rose firmly, even vehemently, to defend the justice of the position of the Romanian people in Transylvania in the Revolution of 1848. When they said we had been sold to Vienna, that the Romanians had no horizon, he showed things with passion, vehemence, and courage based documents, sometimes too cruel documents.” (Camil Mureșanu, *Silviu Dragomir*, in *Munții Apuseni*, year III, nr. 1-2, Oradea, 1997, p. 53).

⁴³ „5) As far as the class fight led by the peasants in Transylvania is concerned, on the eve of the Revolution of 1848, we consider that the urbarial reform debated in the Diet of 1846-1847 should be broadly described showing more in detail the facilities provided to the serf and why the reform was still a step back from the point of view of feudal duties of the serf. New studies of the Hungarian historiography revealed many new points of view worth mentioning. 6) We do not agree to one detail on the otherwise insightful and thorough interpretation of comrade St. Imreh. Speaking of the results of the Magyarisation policy, the author concluded at this stage: “The increasing trend of Magyarisation considered as an element of an intentional political and official programme is one of the most important causes pushing the national movement of the Romanians towards the Austrian Imperial Court.” This conclusion does not seem either logic or well-grounded from a historical point of view. Before the burst of the revolution, the connections of the Romanians in Transylvania, who had no leaders, with the Habsburgs were almost inexistent while the trend to get closer was prevented by the failed attempts in 1790-1792. The submissive expressions of some scholars, mostly clergymen, and the articles in Baritiu’s journals written under the pressure of the Metternich regime cannot be considered as conclusive. It would be natural to see that the trend to deprive of nationality brought about a regrettable conflict between the two peoples aware of it, thus triggering a long range of fights and national conflicts from which the Habsburg despotism would take profit.” (Silviu Dragomir, *Observații cu privire la vol. III din Tratatul de Istoria României*, ANDJD, *Fond Silviu Dragomir*, file 92, p. 4).

⁴⁴ Toader Buculei, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

⁴⁵ *Sesiunea consacrată dezbaterei machetei volumului III*, in *Studii. Revistă de istorie*, no. 1, 1962, București, pp. 177-186.

family of their niece, Florica Enescu. On 23 February 1962, the historian passed away after a failed surgery⁴⁶.

Silviu Dragomir did not have the opportunity to see his last research on the revolution published. The political context was once again hostile to uttering the truth on the Romanian – Hungarian relations during the revolution. If in 1959 the professor had had the chance to publish his work *Vlahii din nordul Peninsulei Balcanice în evul mediu (Wallachians in Northern Balkans in Middle Ages)*, as well as his studies on the union of the Romanians with the Church of Rome, which indirectly served the party policy. His vision on the revolution was too radical for the epoch. Despite the support of Andrei Otetea, who was familiar with influential party supporters, they did not manage to convince the authorities to accept his publication. The tough side party adepts considered that Dragomir was spreading bourgeois opinions and had a chauvinist attitude due to the conclusions he reached in the manuscript of the work on Avram Iancu, although they were supported by documents of the time.

III. The monograph on Avram Iancu

The work on *Avram Iancu* was published by the Editura Stiintifica only in 1965⁴⁷. Unfortunately, we do not know if the published manuscript was the final version for print in 1958. The reviewers might have altered the text. However, they might have not altered the text submitted to the publishing house until after Silviu Dragomir's death. Our conclusion is strengthened by the information provided by Florica Enescu who got involved in publishing the manuscript in good conditions upon the request of Flora Dragomir, as she lived in Bucharest⁴⁸. The political background changed. Thus, between 1958 and 1965, the political regime in Romania utterly stated their intention to promote the values of national history⁴⁹. In 1958, state authorities blocked the republishing of the work because of the type of historical discourse favouring truth and national history. Yet in 1965, when the regime needed a national viewpoint, it was unlikely to be censored by somebody.

In the year 1958, Silviu Dragomir was labelled as promoter of bourgeois learning and chauvinistic spirit based on the conclusions expressed in the monograph on Avram Iancu. Only a few years later, in 1965, due to the changing attitude of the communist leaders regarding national history, the work was published and highly appreciated by the Romanian scholars and politicians.

⁴⁶ Toader Buculei, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

⁴⁷ Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*.

⁴⁸ Information provided by Florica Enescu.

⁴⁹ Stelian Tănase, *Elite și societate. Guvernarea Gheorghiu-Dej 1948-1965*, București, 1998, p. 197-198.

We have to note that the change promoted by the Romanian communist leaders in relation to national values and partly to the interwar intellectual elite that had survived the suppression policy was determined by the fight for power in Romania and the emancipation under the “Moscow suzerain elite”, as Stelian Tanase called it. It had no connection with the awareness of the local political elite that national history had been subject to an unprecedented forgery process⁵⁰.

In order to launch the process of emancipation relating to Moscow, local communist leaders needed the support of the people to whom they had not been very close. Party and state leaders in Romania resorted to history and manipulated national symbols⁵¹. The communists were aware that the past of the Romanians and historians would play a core role in the action about to begin. In 1947-1955 Romania, breaking from the bourgeois past was a state policy; they condemned the nationalism of interwar historians; representative specialists were imprisoned and subject to extermination. From 1956 to 1964 there was a transition period with ideological conflicts between the communists faithful to Moscow and party members eager to emancipate from the USSR control. At the same time, valuable works were published without definitely breaking away from the previous epoch. After 1964, the political leaders in Romania officially changed their attitude towards the suzerain power of Moscow. The group of national communist leaders changed the party policy concerning the past, an essential condition to obtain Romanians’ support.

We can now state that the publication of Silviu Dragomir’s work belongs to the national trend encouraging honest and scientific research of the history of the Romanians. The aim of the action initiated by the party leaders was to inoculate to the public a state of mind favouring the communist leaders in their dispute with Moscow without drifting away from historical materialism. Vasile Maciu, author of the *Prefata (Preface)* to the monograph on Avram Iancu, stressed the availability of Silviu Dragomir regarding the new research orientation in the Romanian historiography imposed after 1948⁵². He considered that the author had acquired historical materialism and had become a

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 196.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 197.

⁵² “His work before 1948 had bourgeois class limits often preventing the author from distinguishing in national fight between the interests of the bourgeois and the rural and urban masses; the most important representatives of the latter were Avram Iancu and Ioan Buteanu. [...] The cultural revolution started under the leadership of the Romanian Communist Party as of 1948 involved the passionate researcher on the movement for the liberation of the Romanians in Transylvania. Although quite old, yet having a sharp mind, Silviu Dragomir managed to acquire most of the materialist conception of the history and use it as a scientific basis by elaborating the broad monograph on *Avram Iancu*. It was based on a much larger plan with much more numerous means of information than he could have to draft the promotion work in 1924 referring to the hero of the Moti.” (Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*, p. 8).

historian close to the political regime. These were statements devoid of material support. The monograph on Avram Iancu was considered by Vasile Maciu as superior to previous contributions of the historian for the sole reason that it had been written in the spirit of the new conception on history. In order to have his work published, Silviu Dragomir had to declare his faithfulness to the new materialist conception on history and the role of the social element in revolutionary movements in the *Cuvânt înainte*⁵³ (*Foreword*). Considering that the work had no connection whatsoever with historical materialism, the contextual “courtesy” does not incriminate the author. It merely shows that it was not about a genuine and complete opening of the regime towards the national past and even less about abandoning interpretations in the materialist spirit⁵⁴.

The book was conceived as a new monograph on the leader of the revolution due to the discovery of new documents and the new conception on which it was based⁵⁵. According to the time, Silviu Dragomir assured his readers that he had succeeded in distinguishing between the generally anti-Romanian wishes of the Hungarian nobility and those of ordinary Hungarians. According to the author, the Romanian and Hungarian revolution was defeated because the leaders of the two movements belonged to two different social strata⁵⁶. In other words, Silviu Dragomir’s opinion on the beginning and development of the revolution was tainted and close to the ideology of the time. According to historical materialism, he distinguished between social categories in Hungary and their attitude towards the Romanians’ claims. The nationalist policy promoted by the leaders of the Hungarian Revolution did not admit that the Romanian majority in Transylvania was entitled to decide on the future of the province. According to the spirit of the time, the historian mentioned the limits of certain Romanian leaders, who could not distinguish between Hungarian nobility and the masses of urban and rural population. Actually, when this generally spread conclusion meant to un-historically divide the

⁵³ “Considering the historical materialism, we are attempting to render in these pages a detailed synthesis of new sources due to which we can restore the time of fierce battles, the role of the mass of people and the valour of the loyal leaders of this tormented people.” (*Ibidem*, p. 12).

⁵⁴ Șerban Papacostea, *Istoriografia română în epoca totalitarismelor*, in Jordan Chimet, *Momentul adevărului*, Cluj-Napoca, 1996, p. 251.

⁵⁵ Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*, p. 12.

⁵⁶ “Nationalist policy of the Government in Pest supported by the Hungarian nobility in Transylvania disregarded that the right to decide upon the fate of this province belonged not to a small group of privileged people, but to the large masses whose overwhelming majority was represented by Romanians. On the other hand, some Romanians determined by the bourgeois limits of their ideas could not make a clear distinction between the Hungarian landlords and the masses of Hungarian rural and urban population. Because of the terror actions of the noblemen administration the contradictions between peasants and landlords were ever harsher, thus complicating the class and national relations, considering that the contradiction between noblemen and serfs in Transylvania appeared like a contradiction between noblemen, mostly Hungarians, and the mostly Romanian serfs.” (*Ibidem*, p. 13).

responsibility was confronted with the facts, it had to mention the policy regarding nationalities at the revolutionary stage⁵⁷. In the actual text of the monograph, Silviu Dragomir presented a different point of view regarding the beginning of the Romanian – Hungarian conflict that was closer to the one expressed in his interwar works. Why did the *Cuvant inainte* express a point of view resembling the ideology promoted by the Romanian leaders and far from the conclusions of the work? In order to answer this question, we need to point out some general facts. From the 1960s until late 1980s, the publishing of certain books was not appreciated by the state leaders if they had conclusions that did not meet the ideology promoted by the P.C.R. (Romanian Communist Party) even though they were valuable from a scientific point of view. In order to pass by censors, or in complicity with them, some authors agreed that an introduction should contain brief opinions close to the political ideology of the time hoping that the work would be published. We think it is the case of Silviu Dragomir's monograph. Therefore, we have to be cautious about the statements and quotations belonging to the Marxist philosophy as they were a condition for publication most of the times at the time.

“However, there were hard words on both sides during the battle. We cannot consider they have not been uttered as history has marked them, disapproving some and justifying others. The battle episodes between the two sides cannot be ignored.”⁵⁸ In other words, during the Revolution of 1848-1849, military conflicts occurred between Romanians and Hungarians and they need to be investigated from a scientific point of view. The book was “a brand new text differing from the old draft through both the much broader documentary basis and the conception according to which the way of the revolution is interpreted”⁵⁹. The text published in 1965 is much broader than the version conceived by the author at a first stage, as early as the beginning of the year 1947⁶⁰. We know for sure that after his release, he worked a lot on the 1947 version before he reached the final form in 1965. As we currently have access to more new documents, we can settle the stages of the text until it reached its final form. We think that after his release, Silviu Dragomir changed the manuscript of *Avram Iancu* and the sixth volume entitled *Revoluția. Eroii. Împăratul și românii* (*Revolution. Heroes. The Emperor and the Romanians*). Practically, the author melted the second part entitled *Eroii* (*Heroes*) of the

⁵⁷ Pompiliu Teodor, *Silviu Dragomir, istoric al revoluției de la 1848*, in *loc. cit.*, p. 37.

⁵⁸ Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*, p. 14.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

⁶⁰ Romanian Academy Library, Section manuscripts, *Fondul Silviu Dragomir, Studii și documente privitoare la revoluția românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848-1849, Revoluția. Eroii. Împăratul și românii*, vol. VI, Cluj, 1947. According to Silviu Dragomir's will, “the manuscript on *Avram Iancu* (five chapters) can be published in a journal. It is the beginning of a biography with several interesting items of information.” (*Testamentul istoricului Silviu Dragomir, redactat la Cluj în 23 ianuarie 1949*, in Archives of the Enescu family).

sixth volume entitled *Studii și documente* (*Studies and documents*) in the *Avram Iancu* monograph. The proof is the resemblance between the chapters in the sixth volume entitled *Revoluția. Eroii. Împăratul și românii*⁶¹ as conceived in 1947 with the work on *Avram Iancu* published in 1965⁶². After 1955, given the new political situation, Silviu Dragomir thought of a new structure of the sixth volume on din *Studii și documente...*, as well as of the monograph on *Avram Iancu*. Thus, he put aside the last two parts of the sixth volume, that is *Eroii* and *Împăratul și românii*. The second part of the volume entitled *Eroii* was introduced in the monograph on *Avram Iancu*. The result was a broader work that the author hoped to publish more easily.

The chapters mentioned above were completed by the following topics: chapter 1: *Copilăria lui Iancu; Adolescența; Zori de libertate* (*Iancu's Childhood; Teenage; Dawn of freedom*); chapter 8: *Românii din Transilvania și împăratul; Biruința austro-rusă* (*Romanians in Transylvania and the Emperor; Austro-Hungarian Victory*); chapter 9: *Lupta împotriva reacțiunii; Iancu și împăratul* (*Fight against Reaction; Iancu and the Emperor*). We notice that the text was expanded due to the multiplication of the information. Unlike the interwar synthesis, the following monograph had according to Silviu Dragomir “the features of a scientific research and a critical analysis, where preference is granted to historical truth settled based on genuine testimonies. The work was meant to outline the personality of Avram Iancu before the revolution as well as his fate after the end of the movement”⁶³. In other words, the historian restated

⁶¹ The part entitled *Eroii* comprised the following chapters: chapter I: *Stăpânirea ungurească în Ardeal; Cetatea din munți; Buteanu și Zarandul* (*Hungarian rule in Ardeal; The citadel in the mountains; Buteanu and Zarandul*); chapter II: *Românii din Banat împotriva Voivodinei; Misiunea lui Ioan Dragoș; Iancu și Hatvani; Drama lui Dragoș; Înfrângerea lui Hatvani; Moartea lui Buteanu* (*Romanians in Banat against Voivodina; Ioan Dragoș' mission; Iancu and Hatvani; Dragoș' drama; Hatvani's defeat; Buteanu's death*); chapter III: *Iancu și Kemény Farcaș; Prefectul Simion Balint; Axente; Fântânele* (*Iancu and Kemeny Farkas; Prefect Simion Balint; Axente; Fantanele*); chapter IV: *Să piară cine nu se supune; Iancu și Kossuth; Bălcescu, Iancu și Kossuth, 29 iulie 1849* (*May the disobedient die; Iancu and Kossuth; Balcescu, Iancu and Kossuth, 29 July 1849*). Cf. volume VI of *Studii și documente privitoare la revoluția românilor din Transilvania în anii 1848-1849, Revoluția. Eroii. Împăratul și românii*, Cluj, 1947 (in the Romanian Academy Library, Section manuscripts, *Fondul Silviu Dragomir*).

⁶² Chapters IV to VIII of the work dedicated to Avram Iancu resemble and are almost identical with the part entitled *Eroii*. „Chapter IV: *Prietenul fățarnic; Victoria nobilimii maghiare; Cetatea din munți* (*False friend; Victory of the Hungarian nobility; The citadel in the mountains*); chapter V: *Misiunea deputatului Dragoș; Iancu și Hatvani; Drama lui Dragoș; Înfrângerea lui Hatvani; Moartea lui Buteanu* (*Deputy Dragoș' mission; Iancu and Hatvani; Dragoș' drama; Hatvani's defeat; Buteanu's death*); chapter VI: *Iancu și Kemény Farkas; Fântânele; Oastea moșilor și comandanții ei* (*Iancu and Kemeny Farkas; Fantanele; Army of the Moti and their leaders*); chapter VII: *Iancu și Kossuth; Bălcescu, Iancu și Kossuth; Sfârșitul revoluției ungare* (*Iancu and Kossuth; Balcescu, Iancu and Kossuth; End of the Hungarian revolution*)”. (Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*, p. 303).

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

his appurtenance to criticism. As of 1924, the year when the first work on the Revolution of 1848 was published, until 1962, the year when Silviu Dragomir died, he researched several archives in the country and abroad. The documents he discovered showed the connections between revolutionaries in Transylvania and the Principalities, as well as the influence of the events in Hungary and Austria on the fate of the revolutionaries in Ardeal. The historian had become aware that a new monograph had to be carried out against the background of the time and open to foreign bibliography. Having the experience of previous research, the specialist confessed as follows: “In order to better know the historical circumstances providing a key role to Iancu and imposing him in a difficult and responsible battle, we have been compelled several times to approach his connections with other leaders of the Romanians in Transylvania and generally the development of the revolution in Hungary”⁶⁴.

The monograph published in 1965 was not a break from the spirit and conception in which the interwar work was drafted. The pre-eminence of the national element in historical judgement, the Romanian – Hungarian and the Romanian – Austrian relations, the role of the personality and also the importance of masses in history, the closeness between the elites and the Romanian peasants are but a few topics to be found in the new monograph. The work also had several elements different from the interwar work. Silviu Dragomir redrew the biography of the Moti leaders before the revolution, being aware that an objective description of Avram Iancu’s personality during the events in 1848-1849 would clarify his previous actions. As early as 1924, George Bogdan-Duica drew attention on the need to research Iancu’s whole life precisely to have an objective image. In the 1924 monograph, Silviu Dragomir interrupted the description in 1852, the moment until which the hero’s life had been somehow normal. There was shyness, timidity and respect at the same time for what Iancu represented in the national movement in mid-19th century. They all *defeated* the historian at the time. Over years, succeeding to overcome the complex of the *hero defeated by fate*, the author redrew the last years of Avram Iancu’s life. It is remarkable that he tried to explain Iancu’s behaviour during the visit of Emperor Franz Joseph in the Apuseni as much as the spirit of the time allowed it.

We have to point out that there are few specialists in the Romanian historiography attempting to clarify Iancu’s fate after 1852. To many historians like Silviu Dragomir “Iancu’s story ends here [in 1852, A/N], although his life lasted two more decades”⁶⁵. Yet in a monograph the researcher had to investigate the hero’s life until his physical death irrespective of the coordinates. In time, two different points of view on Iancu’s last years of life have developed. They cover the span of time from 1852, when the Emperor

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 283.

visited the Apuseni, to 1874, when he died. In Silviu Dragomir's opinion, the behaviour of the Moti leader after 1852 could be explained by the neuropsychiatric disease caused by the pressure he was subject to during the revolution, the great responsibilities he had to undertake and particularly the undignified treatment to which the Moti and their leaders were subject by the Austrians after the revolution⁶⁶. According to the author, Iancu's attitude during the visit of the Emperor and the hero's entire behaviour until his death are tightly connected. Most historians considered Iancu's refusal to meet the Emperor as the first signs of his disease. Yet there are several questions if Iancu was truly ill. If we admit that he was ill, we have to settle the nature of the disease he suffered from. Silviu Dragomir based his theory on Iancu's disease on the testimonies of some of his collaborators in the revolution. What evidence do the testimonies provide and who were their authors? The testimonies generally referred to the crisis triggered during the apprehension in Sibiu, when Iancu was slapped by an officer. Until that moment, according to Silviu Dragomir's research, there was no sign of illness in Iancu's biography. Although some tensioned moments in the hero's life were surprising, such as the harsh attitude at the consistory meeting in Sibiu after the events in Mihalt, or the excessive enthusiasm during the third meeting in Blaj, they were considered by the author as exaltations of Iancu's young age and temperament. Silviu Dragomir did not find any evidence of illness at his forerunners. Consequently, he excluded the option of a genetic disease. Although there are accounts mentioning Iancu's relationships with young women in the Apuseni, the author excluded the possibility of a sexual origin of the disease. There are several accounts speaking about the times when Iancu left home, crossed the mountains and stopped over at his former collaborators or at ordinary Moti families. Poorly dressed, he was often seen playing the flute. Silent and pensive, he replied with parables or ironies to people asking about the revolution. Many of his contemporaries never understood his attitude and considered him crazy. Certainly, there was a huge difference between Iancu at the time of the revolution, when he had managed the administration of the Apuseni, and Iancu after the revolution, disappointed and wandering around. Most of his contemporaries must have judged him shallowly by taking over and relaying the image of a sick Iancu, a subsequently general image.

⁶⁶ "The surprising attitude of the imperial Government equal to a defeat of their nation, the never ending discussions in Vienna, the scandal about the decorations, the expulsion from the capital, the economic disaster in the haunted regions in the mountains, and the conflict on the woods exhaust him ever more. Particularly the expulsion from Vienna hurts him the most. Therefore, after the return from the capital of the Empire, he starts to drink more and more. The new troubles stimulate this disastrous vice that will destroy his nervous system and break his will. If the disease is considered from this point of view, his demeanour during the imperial visit is no longer an enigma." (*Ibidem*, p. 288).

Pursuing George Barit's explanations, Silviu Dragomir considered that the illness was triggered by the succession of some unpleasant events⁶⁷. The malady was associated with an overconsumption of alcohol. As the historian wrote down, the more the ideal for which he had fought with all the power of his soul faded away, the more Iancu lost his balance and got under the influence of alcohol⁶⁸. As a conclusion, Silviu Dragomir did not explicitly speak of Avram Iancu's madness. He only spoke of the disease he had suffered from. Although the historian did not say a word, the work comprises passages suggesting that the disease mentioned was madness.

There are testimonies stating the opposite⁶⁹. Although it is unexplainable for a critical historian as Silviu Dragomir, the testimonies vehemently denying Iancu's disease were not even mentioned in the work. In the present study on the history of historiography, we do not aim at clarifying Iancu's fate between 1852 and 1874. Yet we cannot ignore that the analysis on the temporal segment mentioned above does not pursue the critical method. The historian did not mention the point of view and arguments of those who had considered Iancu a healthy man. We also notice that most of the people considering him insane belonged to the wealthy Moti in the Apuseni and the Romanian intellectuals in Transylvania. Another aspect worth mentioning is that it was the first time that the idea of his insanity was mentioned after his refusal to meet the Emperor. Certainly, his attitude during the Emperor's visit aroused discontent amongst the Moti, particularly the wealthy ones, who were hoping to have some advantages due to his willingness. We also notice that unlike most former collaborators in the revolution, Iancu's attitude towards material advantages proposed by the imperials was a refusal. He did not accept any advantage from imperial authorities. Instead, he requested to respect the promises made to ordinary Moti. We wonder how the elite of the Apuseni and most intellectuals

⁶⁷ "Iancu did not fall into spiritual dispassion all of a sudden; he was prepared to it successively through different measures meant to narrow his activities; they abused the people and tried to close the future of his nation. As far as we know, I find it hard to believe that Iancu's unhappiness was triggered by several long-term psychological causes until they destroyed him. Used to order and be obeyed by a people, having hopes that the extraordinary sacrifices and loyalty of the people would bear fruit, which Iancu had promised on behalf of the state and the Emperor whenever he exposed the people to the Hungarian cannons, Iancu saw himself as the opposite when he was surrounded by the gendarmes, when he was differently threatened by people who used to stand in front of his door, and when the rights of the people were trodden over and their loyalty was rewarded with some decorations." (*Ibidem*, p. 289).

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 288.

⁶⁹ "But who spoke of Avram Iancu's madness, who considered him mentally deranged? None of the strangers who were close to him; and none of those who did not listen to testimonies circulating in the bourgeois environment in Transylvania. This is the truth! His contemporaries, not his close friends, and certainly some historians considered him mad." (Horia Ursu, *Avram Iancu*, București, 1966, p. 236). See also Radu Mareș, *Postfață*, in Silviu Dragomir, *Avram Iancu*, Cluj-Napoca, 1998, p. 193-203.

in the Ardeal perceived Iancu's repeated refusals to the offers of the authorities. Even his family disowned him for refusing the advantages offered by the authorities. Thus, there are several issues relating to Avram Iancu's disease, or the attitude of his own family that were not even mentioned by Silviu Dragomir. The author should have just studied the behaviour of the Moti leader, which was honest and idealist, and he would have noticed that Iancu was steady in preserving it. Could an insane man have such noble thoughts?

In the book, Iancu's image is even better outlined than in the interwar monograph. Whether it is about the battles in the Apuseni, or the chapter in which the author shows the way in which the army was organised, or the relations between the Hungarians and the imperialists, Iancu is always in the foreground right from the beginning. His honesty, courage, and wisdom doubled by a pleasant aspect made Iancu be loved and obeyed by the Moti army, by tribunes and prefects in the mountains. Nevertheless, he was not spared of serious allegations. Some of his "good will" contemporaries, particularly Hungarians as well as officers in the Austrian army, accused him of ordering to destroy Hungarian settlements during the military operations; that he contributed to robbing imperial offices in the mountains; that he did not collaborate enough with the imperial army and, most serious, that he negotiated with the Hungarian and Romanian revolutionaries in Wallachia. To the Moti and ordinary people, Iancu was *Craiul muntilor (Mountains Prince)*, a genuine legendary figure, until his death. Right from the beginning of the revolution until the end of the military operations, Iancu was the brains of all actions. Silviu Dragomir was aware that the revolution was not limited to Avram Iancu, that the masses of Romanians had the same hope for emancipation. Consequently, he dedicated the subchapter *Oastea moșilor și comandanții ei (The Moti army and its leaders)* to ordinary peasants who managed to cope with the attacks of regular armies successfully. It was the eulogy of the historian to the peasants participating to the revolution, the eulogy of the solidarity between people and intellectuals achieved for the first time in the history of the Romanians in the Ardeal. It is extremely important that the historian noticed that the Romanians were united because the elites gathered the serious social issues of the peasants in Transylvania, they assumed them and attempted to solve them. The idea of the collaboration between the elites and the people during the revolution was not due to the fact that Silviu Dragomir got closer to dialectical and historical materialism, as Vasile Maciu stated in the preface to the work. The idea of solidarity between the elites and the people can be found in his works prior to the communist regime in Romania. To the same extent, the Moti in the Apuseni that had participated to defend the revolution understood that they needed to fight for the acknowledgement of the nation. It became the most important postulate of the Romanian revolutionaries after the annexation of Transylvania to Hungary. The acknowledgement of the nation was the top

desideratum of the Romanians in Transylvania. It was the core of the discussions between Iancu and Dragos and Balcescu, or of his mail with Kossuth and Simonffy. It was the reason for all battles fought by the Transylvanian Romanians. Often expressed by Iancu, Buteanu, Constantin Romanul-Vivu, the acknowledgement of the nation was also the aim for which the Moti sacrificed themselves. No one before Silviu Dragomir was able to express the spirit of sacrifice of the Moti and their loyalty to their leader with such warmth. No one understood better that Iancu's refusal to be decorated and get high offices were actions meant to fight for Moti's rights of somebody who wanted nothing for himself as long as his comrades were forgotten and despised.

Considering that the sixth volume of *Studii și documente privitoare la revoluția de la 1848* was not published, the monograph dedicated to the leader of the Moti was considered by the specialists as the climax of Silviu Dragomir's research on the revolution.

CONTAINING THE ENEMY: AMERICAN STRATEGY IN THE BALKANS (1952-1955)

*Penka PEEVA**

Abstract: *This study focuses on the American containment policy in the Balkans in the early 1950s and its outcome—the military alliance between Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. A set of published diplomatic records on American foreign policy had been analyzed as to reveal the motives behind that cooperation initiative. The results of the analysis indicate that American Wedge strategy had only a temporary and partial success. Although, for a short time, there was an impression of endangered Soviet predominance in the Balkans, the United States failed to preserve and take advantage of the military, strategic and political potential of the Balkan Alliance.*

Keywords: *Containment, Balkan pact, Cold war, United States wedge strategy, Soviet-Yugoslav rapprochement*

Introduction

The first decade after the Second World War started the bipolar era of the Cold War. The new international developments added new features to the traditional characteristics of the Balkans. In addition to the turmoil and ethnic instability, which the region was famous for, the result of the two former allies' confrontation (the USSR and the USA) was the division of the Balkans into camps, where Bulgaria, Rumania and Albania belonged to the Soviet bloc; Yugoslavia followed its own 'national road to socialism,' and Greece and Turkey belonged to the Western camp. Yet, in the early 1950s, a peculiar alliance came into existence in the Balkans. In 1954, in Bled, Communist Yugoslavia, the Greek Monarchy and the Turkish Republic—countries with a different political and social system, signed a 'Treaty of Alliance, Political Cooperation and Mutual Assistance,' based on collective security against possible aggression from the Soviet satellites – Bulgaria, Romania and Albania.

The strategic interests of the main participants in this cooperation initiative and especially the true nature of Yugoslavia's relations with the USA and NATO have been of well-founded interest to Balkan history researchers. But there is lack of studies focusing on the decision making process of

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the highest state bodies of the two superpowers (the USA and the USSR) and on their role in the creation or the decline of the Balkan alliance.

The purpose of this article is to explore one of the major cooperation initiatives in the Balkans in the 1950s against the background of Cold War realities. It looks into the American Wedge strategy in the Balkans and examines the basic motives of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. Also, this study attempts to give an assessment of the Soviet regional strategy and its impact on the military alliance. The main argument is that, although the prevailing security considerations of the Balkan states were the main factor for the alliance, the realization of this initiative depended mostly on the geopolitical interests and planning of the Great Powers.

Setting foot in the Balkans

Located at the crossroads of three of most volatile regions in the world, the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Middle East, Greece and Turkey provided the strategic anchor for South-eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean security and economic development. The United States interests in the region with respect to the Balkans, the energy corridor- Iran and Iraq, and the southern flank of NATO required an active and supportive foreign policy which ensured the friendship and cooperation of Greece and the stability of Turkey. Historically, US policies toward Greece and Turkey have been linked since the formal aid relationships were established in 1947 under the Truman Doctrine. Greece, then in the midst of a civil war, was viewed as relatively more vulnerable to the Soviet threat, and was deemed more urgent, but both nations were in need of post-war assistance. The two countries joined NATO in 1952 and were viewed in concert as the south eastern flank of the Western Alliance.¹

In contrast to the US attitude, the Soviet Union's perceptions of these countries were rather negative. The events during and after the Second World War logically placed them in the Western sphere of influence and thus predetermined the character of their relations with the Soviet bloc countries. These relations were influenced by different circumstances of geopolitical essence, like the Truman doctrine, the Marshal Plan and Athens and Ankara's NAT engagements. Both countries were viewed as a bridge-head for the Western powers against the USSR.² The negative approach contributed to Greece and Turkey's further alienation from the Soviet bloc.

¹ Karaguz, M. 'US Arms Embargo against Turkey—after 30 Years. An Institutional Approach towards US Policy Making.' *Perceptions* 9, no.4 (Winter 2005). <http://www.sam.gov.tr/perceptions>

² Ulunjan, Ar. 'Soviet Cold War Perceptions of Turkey and Greece (looking out the CC of the CPSU headquarters: information and appraisals 1945–1958,' *Mezhdunarodny Istorichesky zhurnal* 2 (March–April 1999) http://history.machaon.ru/all/number_02.

As for Turkey and Greece, they had little choice in their foreign policy. Historically Greece and Turkey were not the best friends. But in the early 1950s several factors determined their rapprochement: they both had fears about a possible attack from Bulgaria and Albania; both depended politically and economically on the USA and both had common military commitments as NATO members. These factors paved the way for establishment of a solid relationship between them, which fitted well into the American containment policies.

Yugoslavia represented a special case. Situated on the dividing line between the East and the West, the country was trying to follow its own strategy, to preserve its independence and stay aside from either bloc. The late 1940s and the early 1950s brought radical changes in the 'triangle' US–Yugoslavia–USSR, as Yugoslavia's departure from the Soviet bloc unexpectedly afforded an opportunity to Washington to apply in practice its Wedge strategy.

Since 1948, when the Yugoslav party was expelled from the international communist movement and the people's democracies terminated all friendly ties with Yugoslavia, the Soviet hostile attitude had remained unchanged for nearly five years. Moscow viewed the Yugoslavian challenge as a threat to its regional hegemony and started a political and economical warfare against the Balkan country.

The Soviet-Yugoslav discord represented an outstanding and long-expected possibility for the US to gain advantage in the Balkans over the USSR. Firstly, an independent Yugoslavia would be a very serious breakthrough in the Soviet orbit.³ This could encourage socialist countries to assert their independence and to develop alternative non-Soviet models of socialist development. Secondly, the strategic importance of Yugoslavia for the US military planning was well beyond doubt. The Yugoslav army was the largest in the Balkans. The combined forces of Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece were greater than all of the European members of the Atlantic alliance and represented a 'formidable bastion against aggression in the Mediterranean area.'⁴ Thirdly, the strategic position of Yugoslavia was very important in case of war in Europe. A well-prepared joint Italian-Yugoslav defence would successfully repulse an attack. Yugoslavia could become an important ally should it be persuaded to join in the defence of the area.

Thus, with Yugoslavia's growing military independence from Moscow, a new approach to it was advanced and the stage for improving the relationship between the US and Yugoslavia was set. In 1949 the country received its first economic aid from the US and in 1951 Washington negotiated a military

³ The Ambassador in Yugoslavia (Cannon) to the Secretary of State, Belgrade, January 31, 1949, *Foreign Relation of the United States (FRUS) 1949. Eastern Europe; the Soviet Union*, V (1949): 857.

⁴ Carlton Savage memorandum, May 23, 1951, *FRUS 1951*, 1: 1834–1840.

agreement with Yugoslavia.⁵ Its inclusion in the western defence system became one of the priorities of US strategy. It was summarized by John Campbell as:

‘Our whole approach to the military program was, first, that its principal purpose was to increase Yugoslavia’s defence strength; second, that somehow it was a very important beginning for the association of Yugoslavia with the Western defence in general.... So, there was [...] the idea that somehow we would gradually bring the Yugoslavs to a closer association with NATO.’⁶

As to the Yugoslav leadership’s perceptions of a possible rapprochement with the West, it did not intend to assume any direct obligations with respect to NATO. Fearing attacks from its neighbours—Bulgaria and Rumania, and trying to find an appropriate solution to the Trieste problem, Yugoslavia sought to conclude certain arrangements with the West, that would not endanger its military and foreign-policy independence and at the same time would ensure the western military and financial support. The widespread view was that this aim could be achieved by the conclusion of a regional military political alliance with Greece and Turkey and by joint strategic planning, coordinated military action and NATO logistic support in case of aggression.⁷

One of the substantial obstacles to Yugoslavia’s inclusion in the Western military planning was its conflict with Italy over Trieste. Their controversy and hostilities endangered the American designs in the region. Washington was well aware that together with the security guarantees against the Balkan Soviet satellites, Yugoslavia was also seeking NATO protection against Italy, which was a NATO member. Thus, in the beginning of 1952, with the US–Yugoslavia relations getting further improvement on the one hand, and Italy being an important NATO ally on the other, Washington faced a difficult decision on Yugoslavia’s place in the western defence system. To what extent should the US commit militarily with Yugoslavia and how should this come into line with NAT engagements and Trieste issue? What was the most effective way to use this country within the framework of US containment policy?

Estimating the opportunities

In the beginning of 1952 the Truman administration was divided on the estimation of the probable developments in the Balkans. According to the National Intelligence estimates, an attack upon Yugoslavia by the adjacent

⁵ John Campbell, Oral History Interview, June 24, 1974, New York, Truman Library. John Campbell was an officer in charge of Balkan affairs and a member of the Policy Planning Staff, State Department, during 1949–55. Available from <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/campbell.htm>, at p.164.

⁶ *ibid.* p.154. John Campbell said: ‘I’ve always felt that that had a considerable significance in breaking the ice on the question of military aid.

⁷ Milošević, N. ‘Yugoslavia, USA and NATO in the 1950s.’ *Western Balkans Security Observer* 5, No.2 (April–June 2007): 64–80, at p. 73.

satellites, with Soviet support, was unlikely. In contrast, the military officials argued that ‘during 1951 the Satellites, adjacent to Yugoslavia, achieved the capability of attacking Yugoslavia provided they were given logistic support by the USSR.’ They concluded that ‘there is a serious possibility of an attack on Yugoslavia during 1952.’⁸ Despite the difference of opinion Washington decided to conduct tripartite (US, UK, France) military talks with Belgrade with the purpose of simply obtaining information on the Yugoslav military potential without making any commitments concerning Italian–Yugoslavian dispute. It was conceived that Italy, Greece and Turkey should only be notified about the pending conversations, and should not participate in their initial phase.⁹ Besides, the whole matter, concerning both the tripartite aid to Yugoslavia and the military talks, was not to be coordinated by NATO.

However, as the Italian–Yugoslav discord over Trieste was deepening, Washington decided to postpone the military conversations. In considering the relationship between the two problems, US Government had from the start decided that the progress regarding Trieste and proposals regarding the military cooperation should follow separate and parallel courses and not become conditionally related in such fashion as possibly to jeopardize favourable results in either sphere. The State Department view was that political issues should not be permitted to interfere while military talks were being conducted. That’s why, when London, in contrast, proposed that the tripartite approach be modified in such a fashion as directly to link the proposed military talks with Yugoslav concessions on Trieste, Washington objected strongly.¹⁰

In November 1952 a delegation of American, British and French officers arrived at Belgrade, headed by Gen. Thomas Handy, Deputy US Commander in Chief. The tripartite military talks proceeded according to the American plan. The purpose of the delegation was only to get information about the state of Yugoslav military enterprise in order that later a tripartite military group in Washington could undertake tripartite contingency planning, based on the reports of the present talks.

The results of the mission were not satisfactory for either side. While, according to the American record of the conversations, much useful information was obtained, ‘the Yugoslavs were by no means as full and frank as Gen. Handy wished, and at one point talks became rather warm, due chiefly to the Yugoslav repeated accusations that we were demanding more operational and strategic information than we were willing to give.’ The record of the talks

⁸ National Intelligence Estimate, Washington, January 4, 1952. *FRUS, 1952-1954*, VIII: 1264-1266.

⁹ Memorandum by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Secretary of Defense, Washington, 10 September 1952, *ibid.* VIII, 1306-1308.

¹⁰ The Secretary of State to the Embassy in Yugoslavia, Washington, September 17, 1952, *ibid.* VIII: 1310.

depicted the Yugoslavs as 'rather disappointed.' Throughout the conversations, frequent slighting remarks regarding the Italians were made by the Yugoslavs 'sometimes of highly derogatory nature.' But Handy pointed out that the purpose of the talks was to discuss Yugoslav military potential and not Italy.¹¹

The talks could not give the Americans a satisfactory picture of the Yugoslav military potential and defence planning, nor did they satisfy the Yugoslav demand for extra security of the disputed region. Later, in a conversation with the French ambassador in Belgrade, Kardelj (Foreign Minister until 1953) said that

'[he] thought Handy talks had not proceeded as far as either side had hoped, chiefly because participants on neither side seemed to know what goal they were seeking.... Kardelj said planning would have to be entirely different depending on what eventualities were envisaged. He said Yugoslav authorities were also coming up against this difficulty in their military talks with Turks and Greeks. He hoped, of course, that Yugoslavia would not either have to defend itself alone or become another Korea.'¹²

Obviously, the concept that some political understanding on Trieste was a precondition to the fruitful follow-up to Handy conversations had been a subject of active consideration by the Yugoslav government.

The disillusionment of the Yugoslav leadership with the American approach soon got clearer manifestation. In his speeches at Smederevska Palanka, in December, Marshal Tito implied that he was getting no help from the US and made veiled threats about 'another outcome.' He claimed that Yugoslavia would 'go Italian' rather than be dictated to by either Moscow or West.¹³

This kind of pressure did not have the anticipated effect. Indeed, Washington was provoked by the tone of the speeches, but did not change its firm position. The speeches were defined as 'bombastic,' 'unhelpful' and 'foolish.' It was proposed that Tito and Popovic be informed (1) that the American aid was not to be construed as implying approval of policies of Yugoslav regime, with particular reference to recent statements and acts, (2) that the US expected generous public statement by Tito, without qualifications, expressing appreciation for this aid, (3) that international cooperation was a two-way street, and (4) that Americans were definitely not impressed by references to 'other outcome'.¹⁴ When in December 1952 the Congress approved a program of

¹¹ The Ambassador in Yugoslavia (Allen) to the Department of State, Belgrade, November 20, 1952, *ibid.* VIII: 1320.

¹² The Ambassador in Yugoslavia to the Department of State, Belgrade, December 22, 1952, *ibid.* VIII: 1322.

¹³ The Ambassador in Yugoslavia to the Department of State, Belgrade, January 5, 1953, *ibid.* VIII: 1327.

¹⁴ *Ibid*

aid for Yugoslavia and decided to extend \$20 million in supplemental aid, the American officials admitted that the humanitarian considerations were not foremost in their aid and that 'primary reason for our aid is to strengthen Yugoslav ability to maintain its national independence against Cominform. Tito is above all a realist and understands this thoroughly.'¹⁵

This was an unambiguous marker as to what Yugoslavia's place was in American containment strategy. Having understood that at this time it wasn't possible to get the US guarantees for security against Italy, Tito looked south. He actively responded to the Greek and Turkish overtures about a joint defence of the Balkans.

Deploying the Wedge strategy

The Yugoslav-Greek and Yugoslav-Turkish rapprochement became evident in the beginning of 1952. Both Greek and Turkish officials expressed desire to develop jointly closer relations with Yugoslavia and reach an agreement on military coordination in case of attack by the Soviet Union or its satellites. The Yugoslav government did not feel in position to initiate talks with Turkey and Greece because of the reluctance of certain members of the Communist Party to form a pact with NATO members. That's why in May 1952 Yugoslavia made it clear that it would receive any Turkish and Greek approach 'with great sympathy.'

Over the next several months, the Greek-Turkish-Yugoslav rapprochement continued, taking the form of visits by military and political representatives from one capital to one or both of the others. The Yugoslavs expected to go much further in their talks with the Greeks and Turks than they did with General Handy. They hoped to obtain indirect NATO commitment through getting the Greeks and Turks to sign reciprocal assurances of support in case of attack and thus to strengthen their position vis-à-vis Italy.

The Greeks and Turks appeared anxious to undertake serious negotiations with the Yugoslavs, too. But the recommendations of the State Department were that the Greek and Turkish delegates should not make serious commitments without prior consultation with the US, UK and France, and prior NATO clearance. Moreover, the State Department recommended that policy agreement on inter-governmental level should be required before the military authorities of Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia could advance very far.¹⁶ It was clear to all the parties in the conversations that the understandings, reached on bilateral level, would be subject to subsequent coordination with arrangements

¹⁵ Ambassador in Yugoslavia to the Department of State, Belgrade, January 5, 1953, *ibid.* VIII: 1327.

¹⁶ The Ambassador in Yugoslavia to the Department of State, Belgrade, November 24, 1952, *ibid.* VIII: 597.

between Yugoslavia on the one hand and US, UK and France on the other. The State Secretary Acheson pointed out that

‘... the more Yugo is made to realize that her own interests are inextricably related to common defence efforts of West, and that she will not be permitted to play off one power or group of powers against the rest, the better and the more likely we are to achieve our purposes.’¹⁷

In the course of the conversations the Turkish and Greek military delegations were faced with a clear Yugoslav request for a politico-military understanding resulting in a formal tripartite defence agreement that Greece and Turkey would assist in case of attack upon any one of the parties. The agreement would include concrete details as to use of forces in case of war. The Yugoslavs pressed for prompt further meeting at a higher level at which a decision along the proposed lines might be reached.¹⁸

The urgency with which the Yugoslavs were pressing for a military agreement had its explanation. Ever since the break with Cominform became irreparable, the logical goal of Tito’s foreign policy had been to obtain military alliances with the West. This requirement, arising out of obvious security considerations, had been slow of achievement because of ideological barriers within and without Yugoslavia, which separated the Yugoslav regime from all NATO nations. In addition, there was the territorial dispute of Trieste which removed Yugoslavia one step farther from Italy. Events had however developed favourably for Tito both internally and externally and he now felt confident enough to abandon his stand against regional blocs and to advance the concept of formal military commitments on a governmental level as a precondition to further progress in military talks. With the United States, United Kingdom and France this had so far taken the form only of a broad hint. The naturally greater receptivity of the Turks and Greeks to broadening the scope of the talks particularly in the political field, had prompted Tito to begin a process of moving under NATO umbrella by attempting to secure alliances to the south.

However, the Turkish and Greek delegations were instructed by Washington to proceed cautiously with regard to military commitments. Before visiting Belgrade in January 1953, the Turkish Foreign Minister Koprulu consulted the State Department and requested advice on how to proceed with Yugoslavia. He pointed out that the matter vitally affected NATO. Koprulu considered that one of the principal difficulties in the West approach to Belgrade was that its efforts were ‘desultory.’ In Koprulu’s view the time was soon to be ripe to attach Yugoslavia to NATO, preferably by direct entry. If United States and United Kingdom could persuade Italy to accept Yugoslav

¹⁷ The Secretary of State to the Embassy in France, Washington, December 5, 1952, *ibid.* VIII: 598–600.

¹⁸ The Ambassador in Greece (Peurifoy) to the Department of State, Athens, Dec. 31, 1952, *ibid.* VIII: 600–602.

admission, the Foreign Minister felt that other NATO countries, despite the ideological opposition of various groups including Catholics, would ultimately agree. If direct entry into NATO was not possible, an alternative solution should be sought through creation of a separate three-power alliance with reciprocal guarantees with NATO.¹⁹

In contrast to Ankara, the State Department believed that the time was not ripe to encourage Yugoslavia to join NATO, nor was it to create a separate tripartite security organization linked with NATO. But it had no objections to the conclusion of bilateral or trilateral security agreements with Yugoslavia, bearing in mind that such arrangements should be made in the light of the obligation of Greece and Turkey to NATO and that the military planning involved would be subject to coordination with the appropriate NATO military agencies.²⁰

Koprulu visited Belgrade, where he had talks with Tito and from Belgrade, Koprulu travelled to Athens where he held conversations with Stephanopoulos and Papagos from 26 to 30 January 1953. Stephanopoulos then departed for Belgrade, where he held conversations with Yugoslav officials on 3–7 February 1953. During the conversations Tito assumed the initiative in proposing a tripartite treaty of friendship between Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia. Tito explained that such a tripartite agreement would be extremely useful in conditioning the internal Yugoslav public opinion and would also produce helpful psychological and propaganda effect internationally vis-a-vis the Soviets. All the meetings ended with the issuing of communiqués, which manifested the final understanding between the three governments.

As a result of these bilateral meetings on both military and political levels, a tripartite military conference took place in Ankara 17–20 February 1953, and a political conference of the three Foreign Ministers convened in Athens on 20 February 1953. At the initial session of the Greek–Turkish–Yugoslav political discussions in Athens on 20 February, the Yugoslav representatives presented a draft of a Friendship Treaty which proposed that an agreement concerning military collaboration should form part of the treaty.

This draft treaty, 20 February, was countered by a Greek draft which recognized in the preamble the importance of organizing for common defence, but which provided only for consultation in the event of hostilities directed against one of the parties and which specifically reserved for Greece and Turkey the right to avoid action which might be deemed to be in contradiction of the United Nations Charter or the North Atlantic Treaty. These drafts were transmitted to the Department of State.²¹

¹⁹ The Ambassador in Turkey (McGhee) to the Department of State, Ankara, January 6, 1953, *ibid.* VIII: 603–605.

²⁰ The Ambassador in Greece to the Department of State, Athens, January 26, 1953, *ibid.* VIII: 612.

²¹ Editorial Note, *ibid.* VIII: 623.

The Yugoslav draft formulations aroused alarm in Washington. Concerned at the scope of the treaty, namely its imbuing with the character of a mutual assistance pact, rather than restricting it to friendship and consultation, the State Secretary Dulles authorized the American ambassadors in Ankara and Athens to speak informally with the Turkish and Greek Governments, impressing upon them 'that unless it is possible to redraft treaty to exclude element of precise commitment to assist, serious problem for all NATO members would be created...'²² It was clear that the basic question was whether the Yugoslavs could or could not be given any assurance that, in case of attack, they could count on Greece and Turkey implementing joint war plans which were being worked out among the three General Staffs.

The reaction of the State Department brought again bitter disappointment to the Yugoslav government. The Yugoslav Foreign Minister Popovic declared that '... 'Great powers' do not fully understand the importance of this part of world or the necessity of organizing its defence on concrete and firm basis.'²³

At the insistence of the United States and United Kingdom the Greeks and Turks revisited the critical paragraphs. The Yugoslavs were assured that the removal of the military provisions from the draft treaty was being recommended only for reasons of timing, in view of the sensibilities of certain NATO members, and not because the United States opposed the principle of Balkan military cooperation.²⁴

On 28 February 1953, in Ankara, the Treaty of Friendship and Collaboration between Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, the Kingdom of Greece and the Turkish Republic was signed by the Foreign Ministers of the three contracting states. Known formally as the Treaty of Ankara, and normally referred to in published accounts as the Balkan Pact, the text did not include the provision advocated by the Yugoslavs for the appending to the treaty of any tripartite military agreements subsequently to be negotiated by the three parties.

Washington was satisfied with these developments. The outcome of the agreement did not link directly the Balkan Pact with NATO. One of the presumed great benefits from the events in the Balkans in 1952-1953 was the fact that Yugoslavia would stand as an alternative Communist state with an attractive power for other Communist states. John Campbell explained:

'The more Yugoslavia became a part of the Western grouping and the more it lost its character as an independent Communist state, then presumably the less drawing power it would have for Communist rulers in Poland, Czechoslovakia, or somewhere else.'²⁵

²² The Secretary of State to the Embassy in Greece, Washington, February 21, 1953, *ibid.* VIII: 625.

²³ The Ambassador in Greece to the Department of State, Athens, February 26, 1953, *ibid.* VIII: 625.

²⁴ *Ibid.* fn 2: 626.

²⁵ John Campbell, *op.cit.*: 166.

Indeed, the question about the desirability of Yugoslavia's closer cooperation with the West was rather theoretical and was never decided as a matter of policy. The decision as to what exactly the primary purpose really was and what US would hope to gain from Yugoslavia's position of independence from the Soviet Union was never taken. But in practice, the concrete decisions taken at every step of the Pact preparation and the precise control of the whole affair clearly indicate what the American intentions were. Avoiding military and political commitments Washington succeeded in binding a socialist state to two NATO members, hoping to breach the Soviet bloc and to provoke its disintegration. For the time being American Wedge strategy started working successfully.

Protracting the Balkan military agreement

Contradictions getting deeper

Soon after the ratification the three countries declared their wish to start military talks. The second round of tripartite military conversations started in June 1953 in Athens. Even at this early stage, the contradictions between the three partners regarding the disposition of forces and provision of information, coloured by distrust began to emerge clearly. The Yugoslavs insisted on political commitments that an attack against the one should be regarded as an attack against all three. This met the reluctance of Turkey and Greece, which were instructed by Washington that the talks be conducted entirely on national military level without political commitments or extending the area of NATO obligations.²⁶

The next meeting of the military representatives took place in Belgrade, 10-20 November 1953. It discussed the specific military planning. The purpose of the adopted plan, a subject to further detailed formulation, was 'to coordinate the defence of (a) Yugoslavia area, facing Bulgaria; (b) central and eastern Greek Macedonia; (c) Greek and Turkish Thrace.' The plan was prepared 'to meet the general situation created by a war imposed against Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey by invasion of Bulgarian forces or Bulgarian-Soviet or other satellite forces.'²⁷

The main point of discord was the contingent character of the military planning. While Yugoslavia desired that the mutual assistance agreement should replace the contingent planning, Greece and Turkey continued to procrastinate on this issue, following the American instructions. The United

²⁶ The Ambassador in Greece to the Department of State, Athens, June 6, 1953, *FRUS, 1952-1954*, VIII: 632.

²⁷ The Ambassador in Greece (Cannon) to the Department of State, Athens, November 28, 1953, *ibid.* VIII: 634-635.

States was encouraging the negotiations and made it clear that it would not object as long as such planning was consistent with NATO plans, did not cause any troubles regarding Trieste negotiations and was on contingent basis without formal political commitments to be exchanged. In Department's view 'taking formal political commitment at this time [...] does not seem so pressing or important as necessity to accomplish basic detailed and coordinating contingent planning.'²⁸

Another serious difference of opinion arose between Yugoslavia on one side and Greece and Turkey on the other, concerning the change of the Soviet foreign policy. Moscow's attempts to normalize its relations with the three Balkan countries had some impact and delayed the military talks. In the summer of 1953, Tito declared in an interview (7 July 1953) that Soviet policy 'is undergoing a real change'. The Greeks and the Turks, having accepted the Soviet changes as merely tactical, were concerned with the possibility of future rapprochement between Yugoslavia and Soviet Union. They feared that Yugoslavia might cool off towards the whole scheme. In view of the fact that Yugoslavia was exerting constant pressure for more binding military arrangements, Greece required that the Department reappraise the situation.²⁹

Washington once again urged for caution and delay of the military negotiations, adhering to the analysis of the National Intelligence Estimate, which concluded that 'Until a settlement of the Trieste issue is generally accepted, the usefulness to NATO of the Greek-Turkish-Yugoslav entente will be impaired.'³⁰ Department's statement read as follows:

'Regarding Yugoslav pressures for more binding military arrangements with Greece (and Turkey?), we regret that in present situation when satisfactory resolution of Trieste issue remains to be worked out, we cannot usefully add to position we have already put forward.'³¹

The US view was reiterated once again in May 1954. Desiring to delay further actions on the military alliance until the settlement of Trieste issue, the Department prepared a *démarche* to Belgrade and Athens, urging caution due to the sensibilities within NATO.³² Washington indicated clearly that the key to the appropriate defence arrangements in the Balkans was the solution of the Trieste problem.

²⁸ The Acting Secretary of State to the Embassy in Greece, Washington, December 16, 1953, *ibid.* VIII: 638–639.

²⁹ The Ambassador in Greece to the Department of State, Athens, February 13, 1954, *ibid.* VIII: 639–640.

³⁰ National Intelligence Estimate 1, Washington, October 23, 1953., FRUS, 1952-1954, National security affairs (in two parts), Volume II, Part 1 (1952-1954):.557.

³¹ The Acting Secretary of State to the embassy in Greece, Washington, February 16, 1954, *ibid.* VIII: 641.

³² The Secretary of State to the Embassy in Greece, Washington, May 17, 1954, FRUS, 1952-1954, VIII: 644.

This caused again great dissatisfaction among the Yugoslav political circles. According to Foreign Minister Popovic, the US 'was becoming a pawn to Italian policy on Trieste.' The Yugoslav government insisted that the development of Balkan entente had no relation to the Trieste question. In a conversation with the American Ambassador in Belgrade, Popovic stated that the American demarche 'did not correspond to the present cordial state of US–Yugoslav relations and that it went a little far in making recommendations, particularly on what should be said in the communiqué.' He continued that 'if US considered exchange of views on development Balkan entente [it is] desirable that this could be done in different and, perhaps, a more appropriate manner.'³³

On 31 May 1954 the USA, UK and Yugoslavia signed an agreement solving the problem of Trieste. The Trieste zone was *de facto*, divided between Yugoslavia and Italy. The governments of the USA and the UK undertook to make a statement not to support anyone's territorial aspirations, after the agreement was also signed by Italy.³⁴

Still trying to avoid any problems within NATO, Washington instructed the embassies in Greece and Turkey 'discreetly' to emphasize the desire of the United States that any new military pacts entered into by those countries be submitted to the North Atlantic Council for the information of all NATO members.³⁵

Giving the green light

The positive attitude toward the Balkan alliance prevailed among NATO members. The regular NATO sessions in April and May 1953 discussed the Balkan pact. A sub-commission of the political council was given the task to examine whether the tripartite cooperation was at variance with NATO interests. It concluded that the alliance should still be tolerated without, however, making an official public statement to that effect, since that was bound to damage NATO's interests. Most member countries on NATO's political committee believed that eventually Yugoslavia would join the Atlantic Treaty and that the Tripartite Agreement was only a roundabout way to get there. In effect, NATO gave an unofficial agreement to continue military cooperation with Yugoslavia.³⁶

In June 1954, a tripartite working group of British, French and American representatives took place in London regarding the Balkan pact. The

³³ The Ambassador in Yugoslavia (Riddleberger) to the Department of State, Belgrade, May 24, 1954, *ibid.* VIII: 647–649.

³⁴ Finally, with the adoption of a memorandum of understanding between Yugoslavia, USA, UK and Italy on 5 October 1954, the Trieste problem was 'taken off' the agenda.

³⁵ *ibid.* VIII: 650, fn.3.

³⁶ Milosevic, *op. cit.*, p. 74

main question during the conversation was the character of the link between NATO and the Balkan alliance. The British and French representatives' concept was that with the creation of Balkan military alliance, a staff or committee should be established to consult and coordinate with appropriate NATO military command, and eventually, a political commission to consult with NAC. Overall provision for such arrangements might be made by an exchange of protocols guaranteeing assistance and consultation between Balkan alliance and NATO. The French insisted that a tripartite *demarche* should be created to inform the Greeks and Turks that

'West's ultimate objective is integration of Yugoslavia into western defence architecture and ... that ... (1) NAC must be consulted before Balkan military alliance is concluded; ... (5) Provision should be made for political liaison between NATO and Balkan alliance, probably through a ministerial council and committee; (6) military arrangements under Balkan alliance should be such as to fit into NATO military arrangements for Southeast Europe.'

At that time Washington believed that such a statement would go considerably further than it should. Trying to avoid any linkage between NATO and the Balkan pact, it insisted that US/UK/France should not speak for NATO, particularly with respect to the integration of Yugoslavia into the western defence structure. The State Department did not want to invite discussions of specific military arrangements. Its immediate purpose was to learn the nature of the proposed terms of the alliance and to take steps to assure that it did not conflict with Greece and Turkey's NATO obligations. Washington stated that it would refrain from comments on the Balkan military arrangements until draft agreement had been available to the US.³⁷

Finally, the British and the French representatives supported the American position. The group ended its discussions with a general statement, reassuring that the development of the Balkan military alliance was welcomed by the three countries as a step toward a close political and military association of Yugoslavia with the West and reminding that it should be carefully and properly presented to NATO partners for consideration.³⁸

A committee composed of representatives from Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey met in early July 1954 in Athens for the purpose of drafting a Balkan military alliance. The State Department expected the text to be presented to NAC prior to the meeting of the foreign ministers of Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia in Belgrade scheduled for 12–18 July.

The draft military treaty was transmitted to the Department of State on 6 July. Some of the articles in the treaty caused disapproval and concern among

³⁷ The Secretary of state to the Embassy in the UK, Washington, June 14, 1954, *ibid.* VIII: 652–653.

³⁸ The Ambassador in the UK (Aldrich) to the Department of State, London, June 17, 1954, *ibid.*, VIII: 657.

the department officials. Department's concept of the Balkan alliance required that it be fully compatible with and hence make a contribution to NATO. While a technical legal approval by NATO was not required, the commonly shared idea was that NATO members had to be given full and adequate opportunity to consider the substance of the Alliance as it related to their individual obligations and commitments. State Secretary Dulles envisaged that some of the formulations of the articles could cause troubles to NATO members. According to him, some of them were a departure from the formulations of NAT, others referred inappropriately to UN Charter obligations. This would tend to create misunderstanding and friction among NATO members as to what their obligations would be in case of war. In Dulles' view these articles required clarification.

Bearing in mind these issues, Dulles sent a telegram to London in which he proposed a common *demarche* to Athens, Ankara and Belgrade, suggesting that the draft treaty presentation to NAC for comments be postponed until these matters were resolved. On 8 July the tripartite powers (US/UK/France) sent a *demarche* to Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia asking them to reconsider some aspects of the present draft, which were seen as points of discord.³⁹

The Greeks and Turks accepted the American observations and undertook the difficult task of bringing the Yugoslavs around to an acceptable position. On 14 July Dulles received a telegram from the American ambassador in Turkey, who noted that the Turkish officials would do all they could to make consistent the articles of the military alliance with those of the NAT. Another telegram from Belgrade reported that the Yugoslavs were bitter about and indignant at the delay in signing the military pact and they attributed this delay to the US pressure. But they were completely aware that their government could not conclude this alliance without the support and goodwill of NATO.⁴⁰

The meeting of NAC regarding the Balkan alliance was scheduled for 29 July. All of the members expressed approval of the action Greece and Turkey had taken in organizing the new alliance and considered it would represent substantial strengthening of NATO security.⁴¹

Finally, after the formal approval of the draft treaty by the NAC members, the Ankara Pact Foreign Ministers met in Bled, Yugoslavia, on 9 August 1954 and the 20-year Treaty of Military Alliance between Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia was signed. Known thereafter as the Treaty of Bled, the alliance entered into force upon final ratification by the three parties on 21 May 1955.

³⁹ The Secretary of State to the Embassy in Yugoslavia, Washington, July 8, 1954. *ibid.* VIII: 663–664.

⁴⁰ The Ambassador in Turkey (Warren) to the Department of State, Ankara, July 16, 1954. *ibid.* VIII: 667.

⁴¹ The US Permanent Representative on the NAC (Hughes) to the Department of State, Paris, July 29, 1954, *ibid.* VIII: 671–673.

The most important article of the treaty was article two, which read as follows:

‘The contracting parties have agreed that any armed aggression against one or more of them, on any part of their territories shall be considered aggression against all the contracting parties which, in consequence—exercising the legitimate right to collective defence, recognized by article 51 of United Nations Charter will individually or collectively render assistance to the party or parties attacked, undertaking in common accord and immediately all measures, including the use of armed force, which they deem necessary for efficacious defence. . .’⁴²

The conclusion of the 20-year ‘Treaty of Alliance, Political Cooperation and Mutual Assistance’ was the culmination in cooperation among Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece. Of the three countries, Yugoslavia happened to be in the most advantageous position. Without joining NATO, it concluded a political and military pact with two NATO members and successfully dealt with the Trieste crisis. Thus, counting on the Great powers’ rivalry, Yugoslavia managed to preserve an independent foreign policy and to solve problems, vital to its national interests.

For the moment Washington was satisfied with these developments too, for what the United States needed was not a new NATO member, but an ideological example, a communist country, opposed to the Soviet system and serving as an attractive model of non-alignment for the rest of the Soviet satellites. What the United States could not envisage was that this alliance would soon become dormant as a result of Yugoslavia's rapprochement with the Soviet Union, culminating in the visit of Soviet leaders to Belgrade in May 1955, and of the conflict between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus.

The failure

The Balkan cooperation initiative was carefully watched by Moscow. The official party and state position with respect to the Treaty of Friendship was that it was an American initiative, aiming at strengthening the Southern-East flank of NATO and including a direct danger for the peace in the Balkans. The declassified ‘top secret’ files of the Committee of Information (KI) contain interesting records of Soviet estimative intelligence. In some of the reports on the American strategy Soviet analysts pointed to the danger in the Balkans. They wrote that the Americans ‘believe the creation of a Balkan alliance would strengthen the strategic position of NATO in the immediate proximity of the

⁴² ‘Treaty of Alliance, Political Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Between the Turkish Republic, the Kingdom of Greece, and the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (Balkan Pact), August 9, 1954,’ *Avalon Project at Yale Law School*, available from <http://www.yale.edu>

People's Democracies and would provide for the Western powers an offensive military grouping aimed at Central Europe.' The KI warned that this alliance would become 'a tool of the Western powers to exert pressure on the People's Democracies—primarily on Albania and Bulgaria.' To the analysts it represented a link [in the chain] of US government activities directed, according to the 'policy of liberation' proclaimed by Eisenhower and Dulles, toward subversion of the People's Democratic regimes in the countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe.⁴³

The comparison between the official government line and the KI assessment shows that they both were in accord. A top-secret inter-party document, dated 27 May 1953, prepared by the Head of the IV European Sector of the Foreign Ministry Zimianin and addressed to V. Molotov, read as follows:

'... In foreign policy, the efforts of the ruling circles of Yugoslavia aim at broadening economic and political ties with capitalist states, first and foremost with the USA and England. This has made Yugoslavia dependent on them and has drawn it [Yugoslavia] into aggressive blocs organized by the Anglo-American imperialists....'⁴⁴

The editorials of the official daily paper '*Pravda*' popularized this attitude. A detailed article in '*Pravda*,' 16 July 1953, read as follows:

'What is the meaning of the Treaty of 'Friendship and Collaboration'? It's a matter of public knowledge that it has a military character. ...the pact was concluded on American instructions. The Turkish press asserts that the USA takes part actively in the financing of this pact. ...it was concluded as a military alliance and is one of the units of the aggressive North-Atlantic pact.'⁴⁵

The meeting of the foreign ministers of the three countries, held in Athens from 7 to 11 July 1953, was defined by '*Pravda*' as a 'continuation of the current [American] policy, which can not be said to contribute to the easing of the tension in the Balkans.'⁴⁶

The conclusion of the Balkan pact coincided with the shift of the Soviet foreign policy after Stalin's death. The entire soviet foreign policy, including its Balkan direction, came under serious study.⁴⁷ The new approach to the Balkan events was demonstrated in the obvious desire to take the three Balkan

⁴³ Zubok, Vl. 'Soviet intelligence and the Cold war: The 'small' committee of Information, 1952–53' in *CWIHP*, Working Paper 4, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C. (December 1992), 24.

⁴⁴ Edemskii, A. 'The Turn in Soviet–Yugoslav Relations 1953–1955.' *CWIHP*, Bulletin 10, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C. March 1998: 138

⁴⁵ 'Yugoslav–Greek–Turkish conference in Athens.' This editorial was reprinted in '*Rabotnichesko delo*,' (Sofia) No. 200, 19 July 1953, p. 3.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Peeva, P. *Aizenhauer, studenata vojna i mirnata alternative (Eisenhower, the Cold War and the Peace Alternative)* (Burgas, 2009).

countries away from the American influence and first of all to normalize relations with Yugoslavia.

In the spring of 1953 the issue of the diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia was discussed. On 29 April 1953 Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov had received the Yugoslav chargé d'affaires in Moscow, Dragoje Djuric—for the first time since 1948. The meeting lasted merely ten minutes, and only very formal diplomatic niceties were exchanged. On 31 July 1953, the ambassador of USSR to Yugoslavia V. Valkov presented his letters of credence to the Prime Minister of Yugoslavia Tito.⁴⁸

The Balkan pact was discussed on 10 November 1953, when the Yugoslavian ambassador Vidich met with M. V. Zimianin. Zimianin claimed the necessity for improving the Soviet-Yugoslav relations, saying that 'the Balkan pact could hardly assist the normalization and promotion of the Soviet-Yugoslav relations.' Vidich noted that the actions of the Yugoslav statesmen do not always correspond to the facts. Yugoslavia's entrance into the Pact was due to the political situation and she had no other choice. The ambassador stressed that as long as Yugoslavia was a member of the alliance it would never be used against the USSR and the people's republics. He added that despite the strong pressure, Yugoslavia did not join NATO.⁴⁹

Trying to abort the developing of the tripartite agreement into a military alliance, Moscow demanded that Bulgaria and Albania normalize their relations with their neighbour. A reference of the IVth European division of the Ministry of Foreign Relations of the USSR, dated 9 December 1953, read that the Bulgarian government was not enough assertive in its efforts to normalize its relations with Yugoslavia. This allowed Yugoslavia to take the initiative, to accuse the Bulgarian government of insincerity. That's why the problems between the countries had to be discussed more assertively, in particular the opening of an airline between Sofia–Tirana through Yugoslavian territory, the reestablishment of the frontier commissions' activities, etc.⁵⁰ Following the Soviet directives Bulgaria signed an agreement with Yugoslavia regarding the transit movements and crossings through the frontier zone. On 22 December 1953 Yugoslavia and Albania re-established diplomatic relations.

Meanwhile, Moscow took steps to improve its relations with Greece and Turkey. Greece and the USSR exchanged ambassadors in July 1953 and began trade negotiations, which finalized in conclusion of payment and shipping agreement and promises for Soviet oil supplies in Greece and purchases of

⁴⁸ Orlik, I. (ed). *Centralno-vostochnaja Evropa vo vtoroi polovine XX veka*. T.I, (Moskva: Nauka, 2000), 281.

⁴⁹ Gavrilov, V. and N. Vasilieva. 'Porohovoi pogreb Evropi.' *Voенno-promishlenny kurier* 2, No. 118 (18–24 January 2006).

⁵⁰ Orlik, *op.cit.*, 310.

Greek tobacco.⁵¹ Likely, in May 1953, Moscow declared its intention to improve the Soviet–Turkish relations. ‘*Pravda*’ made an official statement that Moscow had decided to give up discussions on territorial issues and the Straits. Two months later the Turkish government expressed its appreciation for this attitude.⁵²

At the 31 May 1954 Presidium meeting in which the need to foil the ‘anti-Soviet plans of the Anglo-American imperialists and to use all means to strengthen our influence over the Yugoslav people’ prevailed. On October 21, 1954, Zimianin wrote: ‘...it seems appropriate to put forward measures for the further development of Soviet-Yugoslav relations that would force the Yugoslav government to come closer to the USSR and the peoples’ democracies’.⁵³

Most probably, in 1954 a commission for investigation of the Yugoslav issues was created in Moscow. It was composed of party workers and scientists. Its aim was to analyze the political, economical and social situation in Yugoslavia in order to estimate if it was a socialist or capitalist state. The commission concluded that Yugoslavia was a socialist state. In the spring of 1955 the commission decided on the necessity of a new approach to the Soviet–Yugoslav relations. The new task was set as a priority: to normalize and improve the relations with Yugoslavia and LCY, ‘to reduce the influence of the imperialistic West,’ to increase the Soviet influence over the Yugoslav people and members of LCY and to provide for the rejoining of Yugoslavia to the socialist camp.⁵⁴

Implementing the new party line and trying to get ahead of the signing of the military alliance, the Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev decided to contact Tito directly. In his judgment, the time was ripe for normalizing the relations and pulling Belgrade away from the Western influence. Khrushchev’s first letter to Tito on 22 June 1954 opened the communication between the two leaders. This new tactics was designed to forestall the signing of the Balkan Pact, planned for July, and to prevent closer military alliance of Yugoslavia and the West.⁵⁵

Although Khrushchev’s sudden move could not prevent the signing of the military treaty, Tito-Khrushchev’s correspondence established a dialogue between the Yugoslav and Soviet leaderships and set the pace of normalization of relations between the two countries. This exchange prepared the ground for

⁵¹ Editorial ‘Soviet–Greek Trade relations’ *Rabotnichesko delo*, No.212, July 31, 1953: 4.

⁵² Ulunjan, Artjom. *Balkanii: gorjachii mir holodnoi voini. Grechia i Turcia mezhdu Zapadom i Vostokom. 1945–1960 gg.* (Moskva: Nauka, 2001).

⁵³ Edemskii, *op.cit.*, 138.

⁵⁴ Orlik, *op.cit.*, 281.

⁵⁵ Rajak, S. ‘New Evidence from the Former Yugoslav Archives.’ *CWIHP*, bul.12/13, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington, D.C. (Fall/Winter 2001): 315

Khrushchev's visit in Belgrade in May 1955. In addition, the Soviet proposal for Yugoslav–Soviet normalization helped Tito solidify Yugoslavia's position in the final stages of the Balkan Pact formation and strengthen its neutral stand between East and West. In his speech before the Yugoslav Federal Assembly on 25 October 1954 President Tito emphasized that 'this reduction of tension has definitely opened new possibilities which must be exploited.'⁵⁶ On the other hand, Tito did not forget to stress the importance of the Balkan Treaty signed by Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey on 9 August 1954.

These active Soviet moves marked the beginning of new developments which actually brought about the decline of the alliance. In the course of 1954 and 1955 the Soviet demonstration of good will for reconciliation resulted in a change of Yugoslav view regarding the military significance of the Balkan Pact. The visit of Turkish Premier Adnan Menderes to Yugoslavia in May 1955 (only three weeks before Khrushchev's visit) showed the difference between the Yugoslav and Turkish estimates of the Balkan situation. Menderes was interested in the whole field of cooperation within the Balkan Alliance. On the contrary, Yugoslavia was reluctant to take any steps that might appear to give added significance at that time to the military side of the Balkan Pact. In connection with the pending arrival of the Soviet delegation at Belgrade, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister informed the American, British, French, Greek and Turkish Ambassadors in Belgrade that: 'Yugoslav Government welcomes this initiative ...'⁵⁷

In the course of Khrushchev and Bulganin's visit in Belgrade in May 1955 the issue regarding the Balkan pact was raised again. Tito explained that at the stage of its preparation, the participating parties had in mind its military significance. But subsequently, Yugoslavia began following a line of modification of the Balkan Pact character in order to ensure the prevailing of its economical and cultural aspects. Tito underlined that Yugoslavia was against the participation of Italy in the Balkan Pact, because in that case, the Pact would accept a character of a bloc.⁵⁸

The Yugoslav–Soviet rapprochement alarmed the State Department officials. CIA estimation concluded that as a result of the Soviet–Yugoslav reconciliation Yugoslavia's adherence to its Balkan Alliance commitments in time of war became rather doubtful, and thus its wartime usefulness to the West became uncertain.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Editorial, *Politika*, (Belgrade), 26 October 1954.

⁵⁷ Telegram from the Embassy in Yugoslavia to the Department of State, Belgrade, May 13, 1955. *FRUS, 1955-1957*, XXVI: 650.

⁵⁸ Editorial, *Borba*, (Belgrade) 3 June 1955, p.1.

⁵⁹ National Intelligence Estimate, Washington, September 7, 1955, *ibid.* XXVI: 663–664; Penka Peeva, 'United States and normalization of Soviet-Yugoslav relations in 1955-1956' *Management and Education*, vol. 4, № 3, 2008, pp.239-248.

This commonly accepted view forced the Department to take active steps in order to regain control on the Balkan developments. In the fall of 1955 high-ranking State Department officials visited Belgrade to clear up the points of concern. But this top-level offensive could not reverse Yugoslavia's line. In the course of conversations Tito summarized the Yugoslav position referring to the relaxation of tension and the spirit of Geneva. He explained that it was important to emphasize the political, cultural and economic sides of the Pact. As to the military aspect, Tito argued that he did not wish to emphasize it as much as in the past.⁶⁰

Since the reconciliation between Moscow and Belgrade in May 1955 the Yugoslavs had considered the Balkan Pact a dead letter, even though they had never officially abrogated it. Occasionally, depending on the line of Soviet-Yugoslav relations, Tito showed some interest in reviving the Balkan alliance, but the Pact remained dormant. In February 1959 the Yugoslav government reaffirmed its opposition to any attempt to revive the military aspects of the Balkan Pact. But it said it would continue efforts to cooperate with Greece and Turkey on the political, cultural and economic levels. In November 1961 a spokesman of the Yugoslav government declared that the August 1954 Balkan Pact was 'dead,' a statement which no Yugoslav information media published. However, none of the three countries legally cancelled the military alliance before its legal expiration in 1974.

Conclusion

In the early 1950s the American administration faced favourable opportunities for implementing its political, strategic and military interests in the Balkans. Starting with Greece and Turkey's accession to NATO in 1952, Washington took the next step—bringing Yugoslavia out of the Soviet bloc. The US basic purpose was to help Yugoslavia solidify its position against the Soviet Union and to turn the country into an attractive model of independent development. Making of Yugoslavia an ideological example would serve Washington's desire for long-expected breakthrough in the Soviet orbit. At that time the American strategy did not envisage direct political and NATO commitments with Yugoslavia for the longer Yugoslavia stayed independent and aside of the two blocs, the better example it would be for the other people's republics in Eastern Europe. In implementing its Wedge strategy Washington applied the scheme of regional grouping, which took the form of a military alliance between Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. By binding Yugoslavia in a

⁶⁰ Record of the Meeting Between Secretary of State Dulles and President Tito on the Island of Vanga, November 6, 1955, *ibid.*, XXVI: 694–695; Penka Peeva, 'Termination of U.S. military aid to Yugoslavia 1957', *Management and Education*, vol. 4, № 3, 2008 pp. 249-255.

contract to two NATO countries, without itself making direct political and military commitments, Washington moved a step further to the realization of its Balkan design. What remained hidden to the administration's perceptions was Yugoslavia's resourcefulness in gaining advantage by counting on the superpowers' rivalry. Being an object of competition Yugoslavia managed to preserve its independence against the USSR and to deal successfully with the Trieste crisis without any political, ideological and strategic concessions to either bloc. With the normalization of relations with the USSR she did not need any more the guarantees of the Balkan Alliance. Because of the Cyprus conflict between Turkey and Greece that broke out in September 1955, these two countries lost interest in it, too. The Pact remained dormant; its military potential and political significance remained unused. US lost the chance to assure the Yugoslav wartime usefulness to the West. In addition, as the time passed by, it became obvious that the Yugoslav ideological example would not be followed. The picture of the breakthrough in the Soviet orbit faded.

Thus, despite its temporary success American Wedge strategy in the Balkans in the early 1950s failed. Washington could not estimate the Balkan realities and in effect could not handle the developments. Its foreign policy course of action on the Balkan issue came under discussion and was submitted to sharp criticism on domestic level, which consequently brought about substantial changes in its approach to the whole region.

THE ALIENATION OF HISTORY IN ROMANIA, DURING NICOLAE CEAUSESCU'S REGIME

*Gabriel MOISA**

Abstract: *Between the end of the Second World War and 1989, there is no area of activity in Romania in which the ideology did not intrude changing the initial message. This fundamental characteristic of the totalitarian state is very clear.*

It is a true fact the use of the history museums, by the political authority, as a propaganda mean. The museum, which was considered too many times a political institution, was transformed in a very efficient instrument of ideological modeling. Here, the people went beyond the abstract of the books and came direct and visual contact with a national history, as it was presented in the history sections of the exhibitions.

The museum became very quickly a high point of interest for the political authority, because it was a direct and very efficient way of informing the citizens on their historic past, according to who had the power. The historic past was permanently a terra incognita, because from one era to another new interpretive valence were added, and we do not talk about the scientific interpretation, but of political and ideological interpretations. In consequence, the Romanian museums knew in this period of time several changes.

Soon after the communists took complete control over power, the change of the Romanian museum became an important objective in the Romanian culture. Starting with the 1948, all the museum which were already open were transformed, while the new ones were in accordance with the new ideology.

Key words: *Alienation of History, Museums, Exhibition, Nicolae Ceausescu's Regime, Propaganda, Ideology*

Between the end of the Second World War and 1989, there is no area of activity in Romania in which the ideology did not intrude changing the initial message. This fundamental characteristic of the totalitarian state is very clear¹.

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¹ Hannah Arendt, *Originile totalitarismului*, București, Editura Humanitas, 1994, p. 448-476

political institution, was transformed in a very efficient instrument of ideological modeling. Here, the people went beyond the abstract of the books and came direct and visual contact with a national history, as it was presented in the history sections of the exhibitions.

The museum became very quickly a high point of interest for the political authority, because it was a direct and very efficient way of informing the citizens on their historic past, according to who had the power. The historic past was permanently a *terra incognita*, because from one era to another new interpretive valence were added, and we do not talk about the scientific interpretation, but of political and ideological interpretations. In consequence, the Romanian museums knew in this period of time several changes.

Soon after the communists took complete control over power, the change of the Romanian museum became an important objective in the Romanian culture. Starting with the 1948, all the museum which were already open were transformed, while the new ones were in accordance with the new ideology.

Actually the history exhibit in the Romanian museums, during the communist regime was nothing but a permanent change in accordance with what was happening in the Romanian historiography. There is also a close connection between the evolutions of history and the content of the history exhibitions. The themes and the accents presented in the historiography were presented in the exhibitions. These evolutions were closely connected with the political regime existed in Romania in one period or another. All this along the four and the half decades led to several changes which lack in real scientific support. These overlap the great steps of the external and internal Romanian politics. Except the first part of the 50's, perhaps the most intense ideological control, translated in a continuous change of the Romanian museums, was in the 80's, in the context of an exaggerated cult of personality, which regarded the secretary of the Romanian Communist Party.

During the extended plenum of the CC of PCR on 1st of June 1982 Nicolae Ceausescu presented a point of view regarding the "*actual state of socialism edification to theoretical problems, ideological and to the political and educational activity of the party*". There was stated an idea which was not understood at that time, but which referred directly to the Romania museums. He spoke about "*the unification of the museums in one center of history, which will contain all the important documents, while the museum from other centers will contain document referring to the area in which the museum is*"². The content of the speech is contradictory. The evolution of the situation clears up the statement, actually regarding the unification of the permanent history

² Nicolae Ceaușescu, *România pe drumul desăvârșirii construcției socialiste multilateral dezvoltate*, București, Editura Politică, 1982, vol. 24, p. 67

exhibitions from the Romanian museums, which except a few arguments of local history, were meant to underline the national history as a hole.

Shortly after, Gavrilă Sarafolean, member of the editorial office of the Magazine of Museums and Monuments, was entering into a vast activity for the entire museographic front, to translate "*in life the precious instructions given to the cultural institutions by the general secretary of the party, tovarish Nicolae Ceausescu, to become a center of revolutionary, patriotic education, for our men*"³. It is hard to believe that this kind of mobilization was made in its own name. It was more an ideological impulse.

Not long after this moment were to come the necessary instructions, actually the new unique theme for the exhibitions, capable to contribute directly to the configuration of the "new man". In April 1985 museums were receiving the document *The framework theme for the county history museums*. Leaving aside the cacophony in the title, this document contained a unique theme, which left little space for the specific of the county, being elaborated by the Propaganda Section and Press Agency of the Central Committee, of the Romanian Communist Party, led by general Constantin Olteanu, together with Council of Culture and Socialist Education, institution led by Suzana Gadea and second in command, Iulian Antonescu.

The document sent to all the museums was 45 pages long. From the very beginning this was a disproportion, from the point of view of the balance of the shown objects, since the majority of the exhibition was dedicated to the contemporary history. From 45 pages, only 11 were given to a history, other than contemporary. Actually about 27% of the new exhibition was for the ancient, medieval and modern history, while 73% was for the contemporary history, which according to the theme, started with "*8th of May. The birth of the Romanian Communist Party*"⁴. With few exceptions, the whole part of the contemporary history was dedicated to the communist party. The theme of the other ages, cabined in 11 pages, from which 2.5 ancient history, 4 medieval and 4.5 modern history, with the mention that in the last case, a page was exclusively given for the explanations for the "*birth of the political party of the labour class*"⁵.

The big ideological themes of that age were very well put in work, while promoting the exhibitional theme. Actually the official historiography was promoted. The theme of the continuing living of the Romanian people in this geographic area of contemporary Romania was a red thread along this project. In the very first sub-theme which was supposed to be exhibit "The ancient

³ Gavrilă Sarafolean, *20 de ani de mărețe realizări ale muzeografiei românești*, în *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor*, nr. 2, 1985, p. 19

⁴ *Tematica cadru pentru muzeele județene de istorie, Colecția de Istoria Instituției*, Muzeul Țării Crișurilor din Oradea, inv. 8692

⁵ *Ibidem*

history or the Romanian people” this thing is very well presented. Even though the theme was referring to the beginnings of the Romanian history, we see that actually the theme is about the Paleolithic and Neolithic, ages which have nothing in common with the notion Romanian people.

The next major sub-themes were dedicated to Dacian people, underlining the idea that they are our ancestry. In this chapter, the importance of the Romans was reduced, because according to the official theme they did not have to be mentioned as ancestry of the Romanian people. At most what was to be mentioned was the idea of the two nations combined, but with an obvious small number of Romans.

The part dedicated to the medieval age, was meant to underline the idea that the Romanian people had developed as a united nation⁶. It is true that the entire theme was subordinated to this idea. Sub-titles like *The economical affairs between the Romanian countries, The establishment of feudal states the Romanian Country, Moldavia, Transylvania and Dobrogea, The united fight of the Romanian countries for independence, The cultural bounds between the Romanian countries*, etc, underline this constant attention. Other ideological traditions, like the negative influence of the foreign domination and its role in the development of the countries, was present in sub-chapters like *Depredation of the countries*⁷. In the exhibitional project dedicated to the Medieval Period are very well known ideas like: the exacerbation of the peasants in their fight for freedom, the scumble of the leaders role, others then Nicolae Ceausescu, as they are presented in a painting by Sabin Bălașa, the several attempts to unite the countries, and others, all of this presented in the official documents of the Party, starting with the program of the Romanian Communist Party, the speeches held by the leader from Bucharest, or in the works of the official history men. It is interesting how the problem of continuity, an important aspect of the historiography and ideology during the Ceausescu regime is being solved. They took for granted the idea launched by the Party, that after the roman army retreated, Dacia remained a state with no organization what so ever and very weak in front of the migrations⁸.

The modern time is not that affected by the ideology, at least that is what the project shows. The formation of the modern state is underlined. With all this important aspects of the Romanian history is omitted, while minor aspects for the history, but important for the Communist Party, are underlined. We refer here to the “Falanster” from Scaeni, “The position of the socialist worker movement regarding the war of independence”, the birth of the labour party in Romania. All this had to be presented in the exhibitions. If until 1893,

⁶ *Ibidem*

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 12

⁸ *Ibidem*

the birth of PSDMR, part that talks about the modern history is accepted, but from that historical moment, going on with the XX century, the exhibit follows almost exclusively the ideology. For example the period between 1893- 1914 had to be represented by the following sub-themes: *Professional and political worker's organization, The socialist propagandism, The peasantry movement, The social democrat worker's party from Romania and its place in the social-economical life, The great peasantry fight from 1907, International solidarity*. In this way it was suggested that these were the most important historic moments that are worth presented in an exhibition.

The XX century was the one who suffered the biggest changes of all. What is surprising in the document and than in the exhibition is the fact that the period between 1918- 1944 is described in four pages, while the period between 1945- 1985, the rest of 30 pages. This thing will be reflected in the exhibitions as well. Even more striking is the proportions given to the communist period. So for Dej's period we have only two pages, while for the Ceausescu regime we have 28 ages. And what is even more interesting is the fact that the two pages about the period between 1945-1965, 1.75 of the pages is about the period between 23rd of August 1944- 30th of December 1947 and only 0.25 is about the Dej regime. Actually this period of contemporary history is almost inexistent, the name Dej is not even mentioned.

This comparison is important to understand the trend of that period in the Romanian history. The cult for Ceausescu had to be present in the museums as well as mean of education for the young generation, through the example he gives.

Those 28 pages about "*The Golden Age*", star, of course, with the IX th Congress. From this moment on everything was presented in details, being mentioned even the pictures and the texts are about to be exhibited.

Obligatorily, the text which was meant to be at the beginning of the expository part dedicated this historic period, leaves no doubt on the importance of years during the Ceausescu regime. "*The period started by the IX th Congress, is the most important period from the point of view of achievements, which are closely related to the activity of tovarish Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party*"⁹. The announced is as clear as it can be for the visitors, regarding what is going to exhibit and in which way. Along with this text, of course that it had to be exhibit the picture of Nicolae Ceausescu at the grand stand at the IX th Congress of P.C.R.¹⁰.

From now on, the entire theme will try to plea the opening text of the exhibitional part, dedicated to "Nicolae Ceausescu period". Various comparisons, pictures presenting Nicolae Ceausescu talking to the people, the

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 17-18

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 18

argument for the solid unity, the industrial revolution in the 20's, the welfare of the people, due to the development of work, education, culture, all these presenting people with smile on their face.

The theme of the exhibits is very explicit. All the museums had to reorganize their exhibits, so they can be a tribute to the president of the state. The majority of the museums all over the country changed their main history exhibits, one of them completely and others only for that period of contemporary history. That is way in that period all the museums look-a- like. For visitors was enough to see one museum and he could say he saw them all. Few particular aspects accepted by the C.C. of P.C.R. did not change much the idea of the exhibition. So in this manner the will of the general secretary of P.C.R, from Mangalia in 1-2 June 1982, to unify the museums all over the country comes true.

It seems like the thing would stop here. Few months later it proved to be wrong. Educating the young Romanian people, through the model presented by Ceausescu in the exhibits, was not enough. The cult for personality had to be underlined with other means too. This thing led to an exhibition named: "*Nicolae Ceausescu period-the age of the greatest achievements of the Romanian people 1965- 1985*". Starting from the title, given by the CCES, the sense and the content of the exhibition is clear.

At the beginning of June 1985, museums all over the country received an address signed by second in command at CCES, Iulian Antonescu, in which museums were invited to organize their exhibitions with the title mentioned above, until 10th of July 1985. The main coordinates for the exhibit were presented in 32 pages. All the pictures, the achievements presented Nicolae Ceausescu as the main character. Nothing around him, just the people, an impersonal, amorphous, mass which he wanted to control and keep close to him.

Along the years 1985-1986, many museums had to change their contemporary history exhibits, and not only that according to the pattern. The end of the exhibitions according to the new orders was an ordeal for the curators. Before opening the exhibits were visited by ideological commission form different levels. Each of them had something to add, so that after they left, the curators had to change things according to them. There were cases when a commission came and said something, another one came to change what the first one said, and the third one came to agree with the first one.

The last years of the regimen were as dark as Romanian museography. In the last five years the role of the museum as an instrument of propaganda grew. The cult of personality manifested directly in museums. New orders came from the propaganda and press section of C.C. from P.C.R.

The last attempt to update the exhibits was released few months before the fall of the Ceausescu regimen. So on 28th of February 1989 a new document

given by the same section of propaganda from C.C. and P.C.R., signed by General Constantin Olteanu. Museum got the document in the first days of March 1989. The order was as clear as possible: "*We send you the selected texts from the meeting of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, of democratic organizations, given by the general secretary of Romanian Communist Party, tovarish Nicolae Ceausescu, in November 1988, for the update of the history exhibits in county museums*"¹¹. As clear was the deadline to finish this action in the museums. The deadline was 30th of March 1989. Not all the museums were receptive at this new idea. The document was received on 4-5 of March 1989, leaving only three weeks to complete the task. Many of the museums did nothing regarding this document, leading to several inconveniences for the administration¹².

In 12 pages it was written in details all the necessary movement to change the exhibition. With no exception all the texts were from Nicolae Ceausescu's speech delivered in the plenary of CC of PCR, from 28-30th of November 1988. Even subtle changes were proposed. For example it was asked to replace the existing phrase "*the carpato-danubiano-pontic space*", with "*the birth and living space or the Romanian people*" or "*the first Dacian centralized country*" with "*the centralized and free state of Dacian people*".

The main idea underlined by this investigation course, is that like other fields, the Romanian museography was used along the years as a propagandistic mean. This made these institutions to live in very small and controlled horizon. The curators were used in propagandistic way, sometimes with-out their will. There few thing that you could do in a museum and not to be controlled. Even so, museums were a huge resource for research. In a totalitarian political system, like the one in Romania, in order to survive, museums had to go on under the terms given by the political regimen.

¹¹ Notă privind actualizarea muzeelor de istorie, în *Colecția de Istoria Instituției*, Muzeul Țării Crișurilor din Oradea, inv. 8692, p. 1

¹² Sever Dumitrașcu, Ion Zainea, *Operațiunea „Focarul” sau urmărirea istoriografiei române 1987-1991*, Oradea, Editura Universității din Oradea, 2003, p. 367

ARCHAEOLOGIST SEVER DUMITRAȘCU'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE FREE DACIANS OF ROMAN ERA IN THE NORTHWESTERN ROMANIA

Contribuția arheologului Sever Dumitrașcu la cunoașterea istoriei și culturii dacilor liberi de epocă romană din nord-vestul României

Florin SFRENGEU

Abstract: The paper presents the great contribution brought by the archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu, to the knowledge, in the northwestern Romania, of the free Dacians during the Roman period. There are listed the main archaeological sites, with findings from this era, those on the valley of the Crișului Negru River (Rohani, Râpa, Cociuba Mare) to which you can add also the important archaeological sites from Biharea and Medieșul Aurit, systematically investigated for a long time. These researches have allowed the Professor of Oradea to find the continuity of the free Dacians communities in the northwestern Romania, like the other communities in the entire area of the free Dacia of Roman era, the Romanization of these communities and their participation in the complex and lengthy process of formation of the Romanian people in its entire historic home.

Keywords: Roman era, free Dacians, Medieșul Aurit, Biharea, archaeological researches

Sever Dumitrașcu's archaeological researches in the past five decades, made mostly in the archaeological resorts in the northwestern Romania made a major contribution to the history and culture knowledge of the free Dacians of Roman era and the inter-ethnic relations. Of course, the concerns of the famous archaeologist do not refer only to the knowledge of the realities during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., there are also covered the previous eras but especially the formative period of the Romanian language and people until the early middle Ages. This time we will briefly present only the researches that relate to the historical period mentioned above. Without the detailed knowledge of the books, studies and articles published on this subject by His Master, any honest scientist will not continue the researches even if the new findings will confirm or deny the conclusions reached by the well-known professor and archaeologist.

Over the 50 years of archaeological and historical scientific activity, Professor Sever Dumitrașcu published 20 books of archeology and history, studies and scientific papers, over 300, and over 200 articles and promotion notes in dailies, additional several volumes of literature and poetry¹. The studies and books that refer to the period of 2nd-4th centuries A.D. are numerous; from an initial assessment, it appears that they exceed 50 titles². In recognition of the unquestionable merits of his scientific performances and originality of whole work, the archaeologist was commissioned by Dumitru Protase and Alexandru Suceveanu, the coordinators of the Second Volume of the *Romanians' History Treaty*, under the aegis of the Romanian Academy, to write two chapters: *Western and Northwestern Dacia (2nd -4th Centuries)* and *Western and Northwestern Dacia in the 4th -6th Centuries*. The last appeared, probably, of a regrettable error only in the second edition, that of 2010.³ Since the beginning of his archaeological activity, after coming to the Pedagogical Institute -

¹ See *Lista lucrărilor științifice și literare*, made out by Simona Stanciu, Laura Ardelean and Florin Sfrengeu in: Sever Dumitrașcu, *Scieri arheologice privind istoria Daciei Apusene*, volume cared by Laura Ardelean and Florin Sfrengeu, Oradea, 2007, p.11-30.

² Among the many works we name a few: Sever Dumitrașcu, Tiberiu Bader, *Așezarea dacilor liberi de la Medieșul Aurit*, Satu Mare, 1967; Sever Dumitrașcu, *Așezări și descoperiri dacice din vestul și nord-vestul României în secolele II-IV e.n.*, in *Lucrări Științifice*, 2, Oradea, 1968, p.239-256; Idem, *Contribuții la cunoașterea graniței de vest a Daciei romane*, in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, Cluj Napoca, VI, 1969, p.283-491; Idem, *Așezarea dacică de la Moroda din sec. II-IV e.n.*, in *Lucrări Științifice*, 4, B, Oradea, 1970, p. 147-160; Idem, *Romanizare, romanizizare, românizare*, in *Crisia*, IV, 1979, p.19-27; Idem, *Noi considerații asupra dacilor liberi de epocă romană din nord-vestul României*, în *Studii și Comunicări. Satu Mare*, III, 1975, p.51-59; Idem, *Stadiul cercetărilor privind istoria și arheologia dacilor liberi din Crișana*, in *Sargeștia*, XI-XII, 1974-1975, p.263-267; Idem, *Fibule romane de tipul cu „capete de ceapă” descoperite în Crișana*, in *Crisia*, VI, Oradea, 1976, p.35-60; Idem, *Dacii liberi din vestul și nord-vestul României (sec. II-IV e.n.)*, in *Crisia*, VII, 1977; Idem, *Descoperiri arheologice dacice din epoca romană la Biharea*, in *Ziridava*, XI, Arad, 1979, p.195-214; Idem, *Les Daces libres de Crișana*, in *Actes du II-e Congres International de Thracologie*, II, București, 1980, p.351-357; ; Idem, *Descoperiri dacice de epocă romană de la Biharea*, in *Muzeul Național*, București, 1981, p.115-122; Idem, *Stadiul cercetărilor privind civilizația dacică din nord-vestul României*, in *Studii și Comunicări. Satu Mare*, V-VI, 1981-1982, p.59-68; Idem, *Realități istorice în Dacia de nord-vest*, in *Crisia*, XVII, 1987, p.55-60; Sever Dumitrașcu, Ioan Crișan, *Descoperiri și cercetări arheologice din anul 1988 de la Sănnicolau Român, jud. Bihor*, in *Crisia*, XX, 1990, p.97-128; Sever Dumitrașcu, *Dacia Apuseană*, Oradea, 1993, 210 p.; Idem, *Ceramică descoperită în nord-vestul Daciei romane (sec. II-IV)*, in *Munții Apusenii*, II, no. 2, Oradea, p.34-40; Idem, *Vase ceramice din secolele II-IV d. Ch .descoperite la vest de provincia Dacia*, in *Acta Musei Porolissensis*, Zalău, XXI, 1997, p.525-538 ; Idem, *Dacii apuseni în epoca romană*, in *Analele Universității din Oradea, Seria Istorie-Arheologie*, VI-VII, 1996-1997, p.25-48; Idem, *Upper Tisa Region in IIIrd-Vth Centuries A.D.*, in *Crișana Antiqua et Mediaevalia*, I, Oradea, 2000, p.43-50.

³ S. Dumitrașcu, *Dacia vestică și nord-vestică (sec. II-IV)*, in *Istoria Românilor*, second volume, second edition, coordinators Dumitru Protase and Alexandru Suceveanu, Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 2010, p.471-480, Idem, *Dacia vestică și nord-vestică în secolele IV-VI*, in *vol. cit.*, p.730-740

university ranking of Oradea, the young archeologist of Hunedoara, formed at the archaeological school of Cluj led by Constantin Daicoviciu, researched remains that had belonged to the free Dacians of Roman era. He discovered one of the most important archaeological sites in Romania and, we can say with conviction, in the central Europe. On the place called *Șuculeu* they investigated a Dacian settlement dating from the 2nd-4th centuries. During the archaeological excavations (1964-1966) carried out by Sever Dumitrașcu and Tiberiu Bader, which were immediately monograph published, in 1967⁴ were found 10 burning vessels kilns and pits for their service. Then in 1971 the number of the kilns found in this site will reach 13, also discovered the first dwelling from *Șuculeu*⁵. They are fire chamber kilns and long holes, median foot furnaces. The furnaces were countersunk in ground; they used to dig one hole for the combustion chamber and one for the service pit. The two pits were connected through a double cable. In the service pit, they put the fire at the mouth of the channel, through the channel the hot air was passing towards the burning chamber, where the clay formed and dried vessels were put on a specially installed grill and supported on the median wall. Besides provision jugs, of large dimensions, they also produced other gray vessels modeled on wheel for dining ware and jar vessels, molded by hand, decorated with classic Dacian motifs. One of the most important discoveries is a fragment of a badge “beneficiarius” that got here from empire on the way of a plundering expedition or can certify even the presence of a Roman official. Analogy for this object we know from the culture area of free Dacians in Wallachia, from Mătășaru and may signal a recruiting expedition among the Barbarian peoples in the Roman army.

The chronology of the settlements of potters is not clearly defined until now, but most likely, it starts even since the 1st century A.D. and ends sometime in the 4th-5th centuries A.D. The objective is only partially explored, the ceramic fragments on furrow indicate a stretched settlement and you can notify the traces of some pottery kilns not researched so far. At present, the archaeological site is protected by a restricted archaeological reserve, found in the administration of Satu Mare County Museum, being able to visit five pottery-burning kilns preserved “in situ”, on the location of their discovery. At approx. 500 m from the settlement of Dacian potters, on the location of the vineyards from Medieșu Aurit at the point “La Leșu” they discovered the cemetery of the settlement. They researched 74 cremation graves of which 61

⁴ Sever Dumitrașcu, Tiberiu Bader, *Așezarea dacilor liberi de la Medieșul Aurit*, Satu Mare, 1967

⁵ Sever Dumitrașcu, *O locuință descoperită în stațiunea arheologică „Șuculeu” de la Medieșul Aurit*, in *Apulum, In memoriam Avram Iancu 1972-1972*, Alba Iulia, 1972, p.669-683, a study also published in Sever Dumitrașcu, *Scrieri arheologice privind istoria Daciei Apusene*, volume cared by Laura Ardelean and Florin Sfrengu, Oradea, 2007, p.252-260.

with burnt bones deposited in urns and 13 with burnt bones deposited directly into the pit, without an urn. The cemetery was assigned to those who had lived in the settlement nearby, to the Dacians to that was not excluded an addition of Costoboc ethnic elements that apparently entered the area at the end of the 2nd century A.D.⁶

The archaeological excavations conducted in the Dacian settlement from “Șuculeu” in the area of the archaeological western reservation of the vessels burning stoves, preserved in situ, followed on in 1995 under Professor S. Dumitrașcu drive, attended by many students from the specialization History-Geography, University of Oradea, including myself, and have led to obtain several crucial archaeological information.

Three levels were found in the resort before (the pre-Roman Dacian level and the Dacian level of Roman era, dating from the 2nd – 3rd centuries from the settlement of “Șuculeu” on the right bank of the Racta River and the latter level, dating from the 4th century, possibly the first decade of the 5th century from the settlement of “La Oșanu” on the left bank of the Racta River). In addition, they have also outlined in the settlement of “Șuculeu” two more living levels: a level of the late Roman era, the 3rd - 4th centuries with gray ceramic and especially black rough and a level dating from the 4th century with Dacian ceramic and of Roman provincial, further proving the Dacian settlement also in the late Roman era and relations with the new nations entered in area: the Eastern Dacians (Big Dacians?), the Boers, Vandals, early Gepids. They found the massive presence in settlement (in housing) of the late Dacian ceramic (the 3rd – 4th centuries) of Roman provincial rough black, that does not appear till now in the vandal settlements of Beregsurány type (Hungary) or in the Gepid ones (Celtic -Gepid?) of Blaze type (in Slovakia). They maintain the modeling of the large provision jugs on wheel, of gray color, some decorated with alveolar belt, with the trimmed lace pottery on the potter's wheel disc⁷.

In 1996 they investigated for the first time the southwestern edge of the resort from Medieșul Aurit, in the area outside the famous “pottery district”. They found six homes four of them fully investigated. There are surface housings, half-deep in ground, rectangular, some with fire fireplace, others without fireplace with the roof in two waters. They noted that all material found in homes indicates an early level of 2nd century and early 3rd century only in the Dacian settlement of Roman era from Medieșul Aurit. The ceramic modeled by hand (fragments of jar and cup vessels) and especially the ceramic modeled on wheel – provision jugs (with bands of simple lines and in wave), bowls, tazza,

⁶ Sever Dumitrașcu, *Dacia Apuseană*, Oradea, 1993, p.104-108

⁷ Sever Dumitrașcu, Nicolae Sărac, Florin Sfrengu, Florica Cheregi, Speranța Pop, Ioana Scurt, Marinel Roșu, Florin Maier, Gabriel Vezentan, Gheorghe Lazin, Ioan Crișan, *Medieșul Aurit punct Șuculeu*, in *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, Campania 1995*, <http://www.cimec.ro/scripts/arh/cronica/detaliu.asp?k=304>

the remaining of findings (beads, iron knife blades, numerous fragments of sandstones for sharpening and fragments of mola manuară) indicate the earlier dating of this level of living in the settlement from Medieșul Aurit. You should note that for the first time could dig in the settlement from Medieșul Aurit, and not in the “pottery district”. They have also carried out surface researches in the area of other two settlements connected to that of “Șuculeu” - the quasi-contemporary from the “Hydro-Technical Canton” (Przeworsk?) and that on the land called “The Oșanu” later, probably in the 4th -5th centuries⁸.

The researches in the summer of 1997 continued in the archaeological resort from “Șuculeu” on the left side of Drumul Roșului. They have brought forward three levels of living consisting of housing remains dating from the 2nd century, perhaps the early 3rd century. They had much hand-shaped ceramic (fragments of cups and jar vessels decorated with alveolar belts) and of a ceramic modeling workshop dating from the 3rd century that had massed a large amount of dry ceramic, but unburned in the southeastern side. It is for the first time when in the pottery center from Medieșul Aurit were discovered the remains of a ceramic modeling workshop. Both the unburned and burned ceramic belong to the well-known types of the gray ceramic modeled on wheel - large provision jugs decorated with wave bands, tazza, small amphorae, bowls of different types. The northwestern corner of the workshop was cut by a deep hole of 0,80 to 0,90 m and where found ceramic dating from the 4th century, fragments of large gray provision jugs and two fragments of stamped grey vessels, of type “the bird of peace”, probably imported from the workshops of Beregsurány-Luzanka type⁹.

In 2011, a team of archaeologists, headed by Robert Gindele, from the Satu Mare County Museum has conducted excavations at Medieșul Aurit - Șuculeu with the main purpose to verify the geomagnetic data from the previous years, when they have identified over 200 signals that appeared to be pottery-burning kilns. The archaeological excavations carried out on two areas of 10x10 m brought forward two pottery production workshops which had alongside the two ceramic burning kilns, with median wall supporting the grill with a diameter within 1.7 to 2.2 m, service pits connected through fire channels within 1.2 to 1.8 m, as well several provision pits¹⁰. It was natural that in this archaeological report, published in 2012, we mention at least a part of the early investigations as bibliographical sources. Since 1967 the archaeologist Sever

⁸ Sever Dumitrașcu, Nicolae Sărac, Marinela Roșu, Florin Maier, Speranța Pop, *Medieșul Aurit punct Șuculeu*, in *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, Campania 1996*, <http://www.cimec.ro/scripts/arh/cronica/detaliu.asp?k=454>

⁹ Sever Dumitrașcu, *Medieșul Aurit punct Șuculeu*, in *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, Campania 1997*, <http://www.cimec.ro/scripts/arh/cronica/detaliu.asp?k=519>

¹⁰ Robert Gindele, Eugen Silviu Teodor, Ioana Marchiș, Ovidiu Onac, *Medieșul Aurit punct Șuculeu*, in *Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, Campania 2011*, no. 42, p.84 <http://cimec.ro/arheologie/cronicaca2012/cd/index.htm>

Dumitrașcu has intuited the existence of several such furnaces and in the monograph archaeological site, he said that “we do not know how many furnaces will discover in the future and if we find, although we suppose that must exist more after some signs captured in 1966”¹¹. Today this archaeological site, of large dimensions, discovered and researched for a long period by the archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu is at the forefront of the Romanian and European archeology and considered, rightly, the largest pottery craft center in the first half of the first millennium A.D. Europe.

Returning to the beginning period of the scientific activity of the archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu, we briefly introduce the important archaeological discoveries and researches between the 2nd and 4th centuries A.D., made on Crișana territory. This research work has become more intense especially after Sever Dumitrașcu had been admitted to doctoral in 1968, under the supervision of the great professor, the Romanist Constantin Daicoviciu. He had the privilege of being in front of a prestigious committee composed of: Prof. Dr. Doc. Nicolae Lascu, Prof. Dr. Doc. Kurt Horedt and Prof. Dr. Doc. Bodor András, great scientists of the history and archeology in Romania and Europe. The field archaeological studies and researches tried to cover all villages in Crișana, from the upper Tisza, at the north, to Mureș, at the south, a huge workload, made also with the Oradea Pedagogical Institute management support and the participation of the students from the History-Geography specialization. In this short period of just four years, when the young archaeologist managed to finish writing his thesis entitled *Teritoriul dacilor liberi din vestul și nord-vestul României în vremea Daciei Romane (Free Dacians' Territory in the Western and Northwestern Romania in the Time of the Roman Dacia)*¹², archaeological excavations have been made at: Moroda on Cigher in Arad County¹³, at Râpa and Tinca on the Crișul Negru River in Bihor County¹⁴, at Medieșul Aurit in Satu-Mare County, started in 1964, also continued during this period, some of them shown above, at Boarta in Sibiu County¹⁵, of the Roman Dacia territory, for comparison. In these years of doctoral, 1968-1972, published an impressive number of scientific papers, about 40, and over 50 articles in culture magazines and newspapers, with topics

¹¹ Sever Dumitrașcu, Tiberiu Bader, *Așezarea dacilor liberi de la Medieșul Aurit*, Satu Mare, 1967, p.52

¹² The thesis, as the Ph.D. supervisor, Constantine Daicoviciu, died in 1973, was supported only in 1978, at the University of Bucharest under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Doc. Dumitru Berciu, was published in 1993 in Oradea, entitled *Dacia Apuseană*.

¹³ Sever Dumitrașcu, D. Mălăiescu, Fl. Dudaș, *Așezarea dacică de la Moroda*, j. Arad, in *Lucrări Științifice*, 4, B, 1970, p.161-167

¹⁴ Sever Dumitrașcu, *Cercetări arheologice în Depresiunea Holodului (II). Săpăturile arheologice de la Tinca-Râpa (j. Bihor)*, in *Lucrări Științifice*, 6, 1972, p.49-67

¹⁵ Sever Dumitrașcu, G. Togan, *Săpăturile arheologice de la Boarta-Cetățuie*, j. Sibiu, in AMN, VIII, Cluj, 1971, p.423-436

that capture some aspects and findings on the free Dacians of Roman era and of different epochs, no less important¹⁶.

From several systematic surface researches and archaeological excavations made in Holod depression in the late 60s and in 1970, in the localities of Sânnicolau, Suplacu de Tinca, Căpâlna, Rohani, Ginta, Holod, Dumbrava (Mociar), Râpa, Tinca, Șoimi, Ursad, Petid, Cărăsău, Cheșa, Cociuba Mare, Belfir, the archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu identified within some of these localities traces of Roman era settlements (Tinca, Cărăsău, Belfir). He also investigated the settlements with abundant archaeological material from Rohani - *Peste Criș*, Râpa - *La Luncă* and *Dealul Morii*, and at Cociuba Mare - *Cohărești* and *Fântâniță*. The archaeological materials discovered in these sites were attributed to the free Dacians of Roman era¹⁷.

Besides the field archaeological researches, briefly mentioned above, for preparing his thesis, the archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu studied, on bibliographic bases, Dacian materials in Hungary and Slovakia, conducted researches in the museums in Krakow, Igolomia and Nowa-Huta of the southern Poland, in some archaeological sites in the valley of the Vistula, at the Poland Archaeology Institute of the University Jagellone, in the archeology museum in Warsaw. To these you can add also the researches in the History Museum of Moldavia in Iași where they have studied the archaeological materials derived from archaeological sites of Roman era in Moldavia as well as a rich bibliography of foreign literature. When supporting the thesis, held on April 5, 1978, in front of a committee composed of: Prof. Dr. Doc. Dumitru Berciu - scientific supervisor, Prof. Dr. Doc. Dumitru Tudor, Prof. Dr. Dumitru Protase, Prof. Dr. Constantin Preda, there were many scientists, researchers and professors from the most prestigious institutions of the time. That was a real support for the assertion of the following facts: "1) the presence and living of the western Dacia by Dacians also in the area between the Apuseni Mountains, Slovakia and the middle Danube, including the curvature of the Carpathians, so the entire Ciscarpathy in the right of Tisza. 2) the continuance of the *free Dacians* communities in *Crișana* and throughout the area of free Dacia of Roman era in the western and northwestern part and the *Romanization* of these communities, as in all rural settlements in the north of these provinces and their participation in the complex, large, long, but continually process, of forming the Romanian people *throughout its historic home*, of the Romanian block of the

¹⁶ See *Lista lucrărilor științifice și literare*, made out by Simona Stanciu, Laura Ardelean and Florin Sfrengu in: Sever Dumitrașcu, *Scieri arheologice privind istoria Daciei Apusene*, volume cared by Laura Ardelean and Florin Sfrengu, Oradea, 2007, p.11-12.

¹⁷ Sever Dumitrașcu, *Cercetări arheologice în depresiunea Holodului (I). Săpăturile de la Cociuba Mare, j. Bihor*, in *Crisia*, III, Oradea, 1973, p.139-162; Idem, *Cercetări arheologice în depresiunea Holodului (II). Săpăturile arheologice de la Tinca-Râpa, jud. Bihor*, in *Lucrări Științifice*, 6, Oradea, 1972, p.49-67

ten Romanian provinces: Transylvania, Oltenia, Banat, Wallachia, Dobruja, Bessarabia, Moldavia, Bukovina, Maramureș and Crișana and 3) continuity of the Dacian-Roman communities in Crișana, as on the whole territory of the ancient Dacia, thus including both the territory of the former Roman Dacia, the Roman Moesia and that of the free Dacians - more than half the Dacian "nation", as Vasile Parvan said -, in the late Roman, Roman-Byzantine, *Roman* and *paleo-Christian* period, so"¹⁸. This paper is actually the first synthesis of the Western Dacia during the first half millennium of the Christian era, work that was followed thereafter by a new series of studies and articles, which revealed new researches and archaeological discoveries. The synthesis goal was to gather all the archaeological and historical data on Crișana and Maramureș history during the Roman Dacia period, reviewing also the period until the Roman conquest. They tried a corroboration of the news among themselves, in fact, as the archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu himself said: "an attempt to expose the state of the researches known to us at the time of writing these lines"¹⁹.

This scientific approach was exceptional, much appreciated over time by the specialists in the field, the work being cited by those who, in the later works have treated issues of this geographical region in the first half of the first millennium and not only. Moreover, the book appears as a reference work in the most of the Romanians history synthesis, in many cases on the list of the mandatory works of the undergraduate and master courses, and those who develop doctoral theses that consider the Dacian, Dacian - Roman and Roman periods.

In this article we will not present in detail the contents of this well-known book, we want to point out a few issues mainly related to the conclusions reached by the famous specialist of Oradea. A first problem cleared up, largely, is that related to the territory inhabited by the Dacians in their classical period. It spread to the middle Danube, including the northeastern corner of Pannonia and the Slovak Mountains to the west and northwest, statement resulting after studying the literary sources, the archaeological monuments, all facing the researches done by the Romanian, German, Hungarian, Austrian, Czech and Slovak archaeologists. The author assumes a Dacian living in the southern Poland, in the Carpathian area, "either by an extending to the northward of the Dacian elements of the Púchov culture or by some separations from the Dacian communities, of the Lipița culture, so by the Costoboc Dacians"²⁰. Then is defined the free Dacians' territory in the western, northwestern and northern of the Roman province of Dacia, which, in the opinion of the archeologist Sever Dumitrașcu included: Crișana, Maramureș, the eastern Slovakia, northeastern Hungary, the Ciscarpathic and Transcarpathic

¹⁸ Idem, *Dacia Apuseană*, Oradea, 1993, p.16-17

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.25-26

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.156, for argument see Chap. II, p.27-67

western Ukraine, the western Dacia territory being narrowed by the iazyge enterings. In the eastern part of this territory, the Roman Empire pushed the oversight area up to the Zarand Basin, Crişului Repede Valley to the west of Bologa and to the north of Someş River up to the foothills of the Maramureş Mountains²¹.

For the period of the 3rd – 4th centuries they determined a “rebirth” of the ancient Dacian fund to which were added some new Dacian elements coming from the east, in the northern and western side of the Roman province of Dacia, a phenomenon, in the Daco-Roman and paleo-Christian sense, “as historical becoming in the ethnic unity of the ancient Dacia, a phenomenon observed not only in the Dacia before 271/275 or in the post-Aurelian Dacia in its triple aspect:

a) of the northern region inhabited by Dacians on the way to Romanizing and Christianizing

b) of the central region inhabited by Daco-Romans largely Latinized and Christianized, especially in the urban areas, where from the process extends also into the rural areas, and

c) of the southern region, the Daco-Moesian, inhabited by Daco-Moeso-Romans and where the late Roman and Roman-Byzantine domination remains strong, like *Romanize* and *Christianize*, from Constantine the Great to Justinian and later²².

We note in the content of the paper, the existence, besides the history of the historiographical, archaeological, numismatic, epigraphical and of other nature researches, of some working tools, the repertoires, extremely useful for any researcher. They make available both the previous findings and especially their resulting contributions, as already mentioned, after the surface researches and the systematic archaeological diggings of longer or shorter duration. We believe that they deserve to be mentioned on this occasion, too. A first repertoire includes the findings attributed to the free Dacians known at that time: settlements, cemeteries and random discoveries, the following includes the Roman findings in the western and northwestern border of the Roman Dacia, the third repertoire includes the discoveries attributed to the Sarmatians in the western Crişana (settlements, cemeteries and random discoveries). The next is the repertoire of the findings attributed to the German people (the Boers and Vandals) in the western and northwestern Romania in the 2nd – 3rd centuries A.D., without settlements or cemeteries discoveries, only three random findings, all grouped under Chapter V entitled *Free Dacians' Territory in the Western and Northwestern Roman Dacia*²³.

Another series of repertoires are considering the Roman imports from the free Dacians' territory in the western and northwestern of the Roman Dacia,

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.156

²² *Ibid.*, p.158

²³ *Ibid.*, p.86-123

grouped as follows: monetary findings (money treasures and isolated coins), terra sigillata ceramic, glass, brooches, buckles and weapons. Then there are presented the imports from the northern, northwestern and northeastern Barbarian world, weapons, spurs, tools and utensils, ornaments and pieces of clothing, few in number. The last repertoire of this work includes the archaeological findings dating from the second half of the 3rd century and the 4th century with: Dacian, Sarmatian discoveries, those in the Carei zone, of Blažic type, monetary findings, and of the ramparts in the western Crișana²⁴.

We conclude the summary of the outstanding achievements included in this volume with a quote we believe edifying for the personality of the archaeologist and Professor Sever Dumitrașcu in the European scientific world:

“All archaeological sources (but for clarity especially for the pre-Roman times and then for the Roman and partially post-Roman and the literary ones) reveal, *concretely* (settlements, cemeteries, pottery centers, “metallurgic centers”, numismatic and even epigraphical discoveries, in the Austrian-Hungarian-Slovak area of the Danube and in Dacia), priceless *historical vestiges* relating to the modest, working, especially not warrior population, that gave the clot and continuity of the history of these territories in pre-Roman, Roman and post-Roman era centuries, in this part of Europe.

Among these nations, the Geto-Dacian people, the *Dacians*, Romanizing and Christianizing themselves, melting in the being of the Romanian people, live up today, and, as with the Irish, Scots, Greeks and the substrate of all *neo-Latins*, under the deep historical, etnodemographical basis, on which was built the Romanian people and Romanian Language, the Romanian civilization and culture, in *its historical home*, which the province of Crișana, at the Apuseni Mountains feet, between Mureș at the south and the upper Tisza at the north and, of course, Oaș Country and Maramureș Country belong to²⁵.

Discoveries belonging to the free Dacians of Roman era were also made during the systematic archaeological diggings from Biharea, an important archaeological site in the northwestern Romania, where the archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu conducted researches between 1973-1984 and 1998-2004. The archaeological researches have uncovered artifacts belonging to several historical periods beginning with the Neolithic until the 13th century. The Roman era discoveries from Biharea were published in several journals of specialty but also in the monograph of the archaeological site from Biharea²⁶. These archaeological findings, in many points of the site, prove that at Biharea

²⁴ *Ibid*, p.124-149

²⁵ *Ibid*, p.163

²⁶ Idem, *Descoperiri arheologice dacice din epoca romană la Biharea*, in *Ziridava*, XI, Arad, 1979, p.195-214; Idem, *Descoperiri dacice de epocă romană de la Biharea*, in *Muzeul Național*, Bucharest, 1981, p.115-122; Idem, *Biharea. Săpăturile arheologice din anii 1973-1980*, Oradea, 1994, p.61-91, 137-157, 242-243

there also was a settlement inhabited by the free Dacians of Roman era. The 39 holes, probably tombs or religious complexes, found out throughout the five campaigns (1976-1980), in the point *Grădina SA-Baraj*, with Dacian archaeological material, come into notice. Analyzing the ceramics derived from these complexes, they found out that the overall structure belongs, in approximately equal proportions, to the two species: hand-made ceramics (vessel-jars and cups) and ceramics made on gray and reddish wheel (provision jugs and tazza). This last species, especially the reddish ceramic, with new forms (the bowl of Roman provincial style), shows the progress of the Dacian ceramics during the 2nd -3rd centuries A.D. The Roman influence, even if the ceramic of import is less, was noticed in the Roman style ceramic imitated by the free Dacians, who have mastered the new technology of burning the ceramics. Referring to the fine ceramics worked on wheel (gray or reddish) decorated with polished motifs, the archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu finds that it is “a kind of local, native ceramic of Roman era, which then will generalize and assert in the post -Roman era, too”²⁷.

The Dacian archaeological findings of Roman era from Biharea fall within the horizon of discoveries called: *Medieșul Aurit (Satu Mare County) - Biharea (Bihar County), Sântana (Arad County)*. Sever Dumitrașcu, referring to the importance of the Dacian discoveries of Roman era in the area of Crișul Repede-Barcău underlines their double significance: “Contribute, firstly, to the knowledge of the Dacian civilization and culture in the center of Crișana, through a long-term Dacian living in the same settlement (the 1st -3rd /4th centuries A.D.), gradating the possibilities of knowledge of the Dacians’ history in Crișana before, during the Roman rule in Dacia and after leaving the province by the Roman authorities. Secondly, the Dacian findings from Biharea contribute substantially to the knowledge of the local aspects of the Dacians material culture of Roman era, which by their nature reinforce the knowledge of the Dacian cultural unity in general, of the Daco-Roman culture, later. Like everywhere in the world of the free Dacians of Roman era, in the western, northern and eastern of the province of Dacia, the findings from Biharea allow, in the context of the other researches, to know the process of integration of the material culture of the free Dacians in the context of the Daco-Roman material culture in the flow, slower in Crișana, but irreversible, of gradual takeover and adoption by the Dacians of many Roman elements of material and spiritual culture, process which ends with the Romanization of the free Dacians, i.e., acquiring the Latin language itself. The Aurelian retreat created political conditions which favored the restoration of the Dacian and Daco-Roman world unity, case of Crișana and Apuseni Mountains, of the unity of the Dacians in Crișana with the Daco-Romans in the Apuseni Mountains”²⁸.

²⁷ Idem, *Biharea*, p.152

²⁸ *Ibid*, p.242-243

Some of the Dacian artifacts of Roman era discovered at Biharea were included in the prestigious exhibition the *Dacians*, along with other artifacts in the museums of Romania. The exhibition under the Ministry of Culture, organized by the Museum of History of Transylvania, the Museum of Bucharest and the Museum of History and Art of Bacău, was presented, during 1978-1981, in the largest museums of Europe: France, Germany, England Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Bulgaria, Austria, Bulgaria and Poland, enjoying great success. Another exhibition, organized by the Museum of Țării Crișurilor, with artifacts from Biharea that illustrated the Dacian continuity of Roman and post-Roman era, called the *Thracians and Geto-Dacians in the Northwestern Romania*, was opened in the cities of: Oradea, Carei, Baia Mare, Sighetul Marmăției, in 1980-1981²⁹.

All these discoveries and archaeological excavations regarding the Roman and post-Roman era, to which you can add many more, make us to believe that the archaeologist Sever Dumitrașcu was a pioneer for the researches in the northwestern Romania. The Master generously offered a real support in the assertion on scientific field of many researchers, being able to talk to Oradea about a real archaeological school on the first millennium of the Christian era.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p.14

THE CHRONIC OF THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITY IN THE ACADEMIC YEAR 2011

In the academic year, 2011 the members of the Department of History issued at **publishers recognized CNCS**, the following **books**: Mihaela Goman, *The Teaching and Scientific Activity of Constantin Daicoviciu*, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2011, 388 p.; Bodo Edith, *The Rural World of Bihor County after the Theresian Urbarial Regulation (1771-1820)*, Oradea, University of Oradea Publishing House¹, 2011, 306 p.; Adrian Dume (lector asociat), *Wine and Vineyard in the 18th and 19th Centuries Crișana*, Oradea, University of Oradea Publishing House, 2011, 236 p.

In addition, they have written **chapters of books to publishers CNCS**: Florin Sfrengu, *Bistra Valley from Prehistory to the 7th Century A.D.*, p. 9-21; *Bistra Valley in Romanian Ancient Times (8th-11th centuries) and at the Beginnings of Middle Ages (12th-14th centuries)*, p. 22-30, in vol. *The Villages on the Upper Bistra Valley. Monographic Account*, coordonator Sorin Șipoș, University of Oradea Publishing House, Oradea, 2011. In the same volume, also the following colleagues published: Sorin Șipoș, *The Upper Bistra Valley – between Local and Regional (13th century – beginning of the 17th century)*, p. 31-44, Bodo Edith, *The Bistra Valley in the 17th century*, p. 45-50, Radu Romînașu, *Its Involvement in the Major Social and Political Events of Bihor County (1711-1919)*, p. 51-74, Gabriel Moisa, *The Interbellic and Postwar Periods*, p. 77-109; Antonio Faur, *The Contribution of Some Jewish and Romanian Historians and Memoirists (During 1986-1989) To Reconsider an Important Chapter on Human Solidarity (1944)*, p. 232-243, in vol. *The Jews' Contribution to the Urban Development of Central Europe (Economy, Culture and Art)*, (coordinator: Antonio Faur), University of Oradea Publishing House, Oradea, 2011. In the same volume also have contributed the following colleagues: Sever Dumitrașcu, „*The Blue Flame at Oradea*”, p. 132-135, Viorel Faur, *From the History of the Printing Activity of the Jews From Bihor in Modern Era*, p. 291-298, Aurel Chiriac, *The Contribution of the Jewish Community to the Enrichment of Oradea's Architectural Asset in the Second Half of the 19th Century*, p. 68-77, Adrian Dume, *File in the History of Hebrew Education. Privat Hebrew High School in Oradea (1925-1930)*, p. 169-177, Radu Romînașu, *Aspects of the Interwar Activity of the Hebrew Women Association in Oradea*, p. 281-288. Radu Romînașu, *Vasile Stroiescu (1845-1926) - A Model of Philanthropic Life*, p. 262-270, in vol. *Historiography*,

¹ University of Oradea Publishing House is recognized CNCSIS, code 149.

Culture and Politics in the Western Romania, (vol. cared by Radu Romînaşu), University of Oradea Publishing House, 2011. In the same volume has also published Sever Dumitraşcu, *Two Martyrs of Oradea: Andrei Silviu and Rajkovič Nicholas*, p. 317-320, Florin Sfrengu, *Prehistoric Archaeological Discoveries of the Bistra Valley (Bihor County)*, p. 41-49, Mihaela Goman, *Aspects on Constantine Daicoviciu's Contribution to Support the Museums Activity in Transylvania and Banat*, p. 297-303, Bodo Edith, *Remanential Lands (terrae remanentiales) - Lands with Urbarial or Allodial Character?*, p. 108-114, Laura Ardelean, „*Military Genius*” in the Orăştie Mountains, p. 351-356, Gabriel Moisa, *Unpublished Data on the Anticomunist Activity of Adrian Mihuş during the Period 1948-1956*, p. 321-332, Antonio Faur, *Report of the Romanian General Consul in Oradea about the Jews' Situation in the Northern Transylvania (1944)*, p. 304-316, Ion Zainea, *Aspects on the Integration of the Annexed Provinces and Minorities in the Romanian National State*, p. 278-288 and Adrian Dume, *Aspects of Wine Marketing in Bihor County in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, p. 115-128. Antonio Faur, *ASTRA. Historiographical Highlights. Research on Its Activity in Bihor County (1898-1948)*, p. 141-149, in vol. *Joints and Cultural Nationalism in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (coordinators Liviu Maior, Ioan Aurel Pop, Ion Bolovan), Romanian Academy – The Center for Transylvanian Studies, Cluj-Napoca, 2011; Ion Zainea, *Joints and Romanian Cultural Nationalism in Bihor County (in the late 19th Century – in the early 20th Century)* Aurel Lazăr, “*Astra*” and “*Hilaria*” p. 201–221 (in the same volume); Sorin Şipoş, *History, Censorship and Ideology in the Communist Regime: Silviu Dragomir and the Investigation of the Revolution of 1848*, p 295-318 (in the same volume).

The teachers of the Department published in 2011 a series of studies and articles in journals recognized **CNCS, rated ISI, B + and C**. Antonio Faur (*The Contribution of the Oradea General Consul Mihai Marina, and His Collaborators to Saving Some Northern Transylvanian Jews from Death – 1944*, in *Transylvanian Review, Supplement*, 2011, no. 1, p. 71-83 – **ISI** ; Aurel Chiriac, *Oradea at the Turn of the 19th and 20th Centuries. The Contribution of the Jewish World to the Urban Development*, in *Transylvanian Review, Supplement*, 2011, no. 1, p. 17-22 – **ISI** ; Bodo Edith, *A Few Aspects Concerning the Life of the Oradea – Subcetate Jewish Community – the end of the 18th century – the beginning of the 19th century*, in *Transylvanian Review, Supplement*, 2011, nr. 1, p. 7-16 – **ISI** ; Radu Romînaşu, *Contributions to a History of Jewish Education in Bihor in the Interwar Period. The Orthodox Israelite Gymnasium in Oradea (1922-1938)*, in *Transylvanian Review, Supplement*, no. 1, 2011, p. 119-131 – **ISI**; Florin Sfrengu, *Information Collected from Anonymus Gesta Hungarorum on the Duchy of Menumorut and the Archae Logical Research at Biharea*, in *Transylvanian Review, Supplement*, 2011, no. 3, p. 23-33 – **ISI** ; Gabriel Moisa, *Text and Subtext in Communist*

Romania : Thematic Framework for County Museums of History (1985), in *Transylvanian Review, Supplement*, 2011, no. 3, p. 135-148 – **ISI**; Sorin Şipoş, *The Security, Silviu Dragomir and the Notes in this Surveillance File (1957-1962)*, in *Transylvanian Review, Supplement*, 2011, no. 3, p. 109- 134 – **ISI**; Florin Sfrengeu, *Archaeological Discoveries in the Bistra Stream Area (First Half of the 1 Millennium a.d.)*, in *Crisia*, 2011, p. 81-85 (**CNCS - B+**), Bodo Edith, *The Robot System in The Domains of Oradea's Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic Bishoprics*, in *Crisia*, 2011, p. 145-154 (**CNCS - B+**), Radu Romînaşu, *Contributions to the Hystory of the Romanian Cultural Association in Bihor County. The ASTRA Branch from Marghita (1910-1918)*, in *Crisia*, 2011, p. 217-222 (**CNCS - B+**); Gabriel Moisa, Corina Moisa, *Data on the Development of the Health Institutions in Bihor County*, în *Crisia*, 2011, p. 223-228 (**CNCS - B+**), Mihaela Goman, *Aspects of Constantin Daicovicu's Activity at the Institute of Classical Studies of the University „King Ferdinand I” from Cluj (I)*, in *Crisia*, 2011, p. 243-254 (**CNCS - B+**), Antonio Faur, *Saving the Jews within Northern Transylvania and Hungary (1944). Historiographical Perceptions (1944-1946)*, in *Crisia*, 2011, p. 255-261 (**CNCS - B+**), Gabriel Moisa, *The Cult of Nicolae Ceauşescu's Personality and History Museums in the Years 1980 in Romania*, in *Crisia*, 2011, p. 265-277 (**CNCS - B+**), Ion Zainea, *Aspects of the Communist Censorship Activity: the Control of the Production for Social-Political Book. Trends and Phenomena Reported During 1972*, in *Crisia*, 2011, p. 279-285 (**CNCS - B+**). The articles listed **C** (each of the members of the department has published one article) were included in the Yearbook of the Department of History - *Annals of the University of Oradea, History-Archaeology Fascicle*, which benefits of a site (<http://www.anale-istorie-oradea.ro/>).

The lecturer Monica Pop, specialist in Philology - English Language and Literature, translates most of the articles.

Professor Dr. Mihai D. Drecin (consultant professor) had succeeded to edit (in English, French and German) under the University of Oradea Publishing House *Revista Română de Istorie Financiar-Bancară (Romanian Review of Financial and Banking History)*, year I, no. 1, July-December 2011. In this number a series of personalities in the country and abroad published studies of specialty. Of the Department of History have contributed Mihai D. Drecin, Ioan Zainea şi Gabriel Moisa.

That same year, the Department of History organized a series of sessions and scientific local and national conveyances: *Scientific Session of Ph.D.-s in History at the University of Oradea*, Oradea, Ediția a VI-a, March 2011 (principal organizer Professor Dr. Mihai D. Drecin; *The National Session of the Students in History under the title "Conference of Humanists"*, Oradea, 20-21 May 2011 (principal organizers: „Gh. Şincai” History Students Association – Oradea and History Department); *Annual Scientific Session of the Department*

of History - University of Oradea, the XXI Edition, May 26, 2011 (principal organizer Professor Dr. Antonio Faur, all the members of the department presented papers on the sections: Ancient History and Archeology, Middle Age History, Modern and Contemporary History); Symposium „King Ferdinand I” organized by the Cultural Foundation „Mușii Apuseni”, Oradea, 4-5 June 2011 (main organizers: Professor Sever Dumitrașcu, lecturer Ph.D. Florin Sfrengeu)

The department was also involved in organizing of five International Scientific Sessions: International Conference *History and Archaeology in Central Europe. New Historiographical Interpretations*, Oradea, 4-8 May 2011 (principal organizer lecturer Ph.D. Florin Sfrengeu; from the Department of History participated with papers: Sever Dumitrașcu, Aurel Chiriac, Ion Zainea, Sorin Șipoș, Gabriel Moisa, Antonio Faur, Bodo Edih, Florin Sfrengeu, Mihaela Goman, Laura Ardelean, Radu Romînașu, Adrian Dume); International Symposium *The Historian's Workshop: Sources, Methods, Interpretations*, Oradea-Chișinău, 26-28 May 2011 (principal organizer Professor dr. Sorin Șipoș; au participat colegii: Sever Dumitrașcu, Viorel Faur, Aurel Chiriac, Ion Zainea, Sorin Șipoș, Gabriel Moisa, Antonio Faur, Bodo Edih, Florin Sfrengeu, Mihaela Goman, Laura Ardelean, Radu Romînașu); International Conference *The Monograph Research in Central Europe (1990-2010)*, Oradea, 7 October 2011 (principal organizer Professor Dr. Antonio Faur; have participated: Sever Dumitrașcu, Viorel Faur, Mihai D. Drecin, Aurel Chiriac, Sorin Șipoș, Gabriel Moisa, Antonio Faur, Bodo Edith, Florin Sfrengeu, Mihaela Goman, Laura Ardelean, Radu Romînașu, Adrian Dume); International Conference *The Jews' Contribution to the Urban Development of Central Europe (Economy, Culture and Art)*, Oradea, 4-5 November 2011, (principal organizer Professor Dr. Antonio Faur; have participated: Aurel Chiriac, Viorel Faur, Bodo Edith, Antonio Faur, Radu Romînașu, Adrian Dume); International Conference *Between Old and New. Insight into the Value System of the Rural World (17th-19th Centuries)*, Oradea – Stâna de Vale, 18-19 November 2011, (principal organizer Professor Dr. Barbu Ștefănescu; have participated the colleagues Aurel Chiriac, Bodo Edith, Gabriel Moisa, Adrian Dume).

The year we refer to, the members of the department have presented all in all 68 papers, in several local, national and international scientific sessions.

The Department of History has publicly brought out the following Ph.D. theses during 2011: Daniel Antonescu, *Life and Work of Hadrian Daicoviciu*, Apăti Timea, *Hungarians' Cultural Life in Bihor County (1849-1918)*, Simina Balint (Goia), *Gheorghe Sofronie. Contributions to a Monograph*, Mariana Buda, *Transmission of the Idea of European Unity and Status of European Studies in the Universities of Romania*, Marioara Chereji (Donca), *State Romanian Primary School of Bihor County in the Interwar Period. Historical and Sociological Perspective*, Florentina Chirodea, *Higher Education Institutions in Transylvania in the Interwar Period. Study of Case: Law*

Academy of Oradea (1919-1934), Luminița Dumitrescu (Moga), *Victor Onișor (1874-1932). Lawyer and Teacher. Historical Monograph*, Livia Ghiurcuța, *On the Footsteps of Professor Constantin Petrescu Ercea*, Nicolae Nistoroiu, *History of the Romanian Education in Bihor County in the Early 20th Century (1900-1918)*, Polgár István, *Treaty of Trianon - Impact on the Romanian and Hungarian Historiography (1920-2010)*, George Robotin, *Bishop of Oradea Demetriu Radu. Monographic Study*, Aurel Romocea, *Biography and Work of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Founder of the Modern Turkey*, Vasile Sarca, *Coriolan Hora (1928-1951). A Half Century of Art and Museum Living in Oradea*, Adelina Stoenescu, *Romanian Legislation and Minority Identity in Arad County (1919-1945)*, Mirela Vesa (Vancu), *Life and Work of the Scientific Researcher Ion Horațiu Crișan*.

Also, Professors Viorel Faur, Barbu Ștefănescu, Mihai D. Drecin, Ioan Horga, Aurel Chiriac, Ioan Godea, Ion Zainea and Gabriel Moisa were invited, as referees, when bringing out several doctoral theses in prestigious university centers in the country.

Radu ROMÎNAȘU