

## THE GOVERNOR OF TRANSYLVANIA, KARL VON SCHWARZENBERG, AND HIS EPOCH IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF TRANSYLVANIAN HISTORY

**Abstract:** In the autumn of 1849, once the Revolution had come to an end, a series of measures meant to ensure the political stability, pacification and socio-economic modernisation of Transylvania began to be implemented by the first two civilian and military governors, Ludwig von Wohlgemuth (1849-1851) and Karl von Schwarzenberg (1851-1858). The former made a remarkable effort for pacifying the province and punishing those guilty of the revolutionary turmoil by setting up, in each of the six districts of Transylvania, court martials that investigated the abuses committed during the years 1848-1849. During the following period, these courts began to issue numerous custodial sentences, and it is significant that in the museum collections there is a series of objects (wooden cups, boxes, fans, crucifixes, bracelets) made by the convicts, amounting, as the inscriptions on them show, to “memories” of their years in prison.

The museum's collection also preserves valuable pieces from the period of the second governor, including a lithograph that was intended to glorify the imperial patents from the end of 1851 - regulations that repealed the liberal Constitution of 4 March 1849 - and one of the most important items with a memorial character - the sword belonging to the Governor of Transylvania. As shown by the inscriptions on both sides of the blade, the sword arrived in Transylvania after the death of the Governor (25 June 1858), being bestowed upon Baron Samuel Josika by Prince Friedrich von Schwarzenberg, the elder brother of the deceased. Most likely, the sword was given to Baron Josika in Vienna, where he presented of a letter of condolence in his name and on behalf of the nobles from the province. The sword was later brought to Transylvania, becoming a family heirloom for a century, until it was acquired by the museum. Besides these, the museum patrimony includes many prints, books and period documents, foremost among them being a set of circulars issued by the Orthodox Bishop Andrei Șaguna, an outstanding personality of the Romanians in Transylvania.

**Keywords:** Transylvania, neoabsolutism, Karl von Schwarzenberg, Andrei Șaguna, museum exhibits

When the Revolution came to an end, in the autumn of 1849, the Austrian Monarchy faced two critical problems for its destiny. On the one hand, in the short run, it was essential for it to restore, as soon as possible, the internal order that had been seriously affected by the revolutionary unrest throughout the Empire, while in the long run, it would be crucial to find future formulas of political-administrative organisation, in order to prevent the recurrence of the previous year's events or to suppress any attempts at reigniting the revolutionary spark. On the other hand, the young Emperor Franz Joseph's second major challenge was the imperative of change, the need for reforms and modernisation, especially in the fields of economy, education, culture, justice and administration. The central authorities from the Empire's capital were aware that the precarious economic situation afflicting wide social categories was a fundamental cause that had engendered the outbreak and course of the Revolution during the years 1848-1849.

In the case of Transylvania - a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional province located on the outskirts of a Central European empire that was also marked by

numerous regional differences and particularities - the above-mentioned measures, which envisaged the country's political stability and socio-economic modernisation, began to be enforced immediately after the appointment of the first governor, Field Marshal Ludwig von Wohlgemuth (11 July 1849-18 April 1851). In the spirit of the regime, the new governor combined civil and military authority, exerted legislative and executive power on the local level, and answered for his deeds only to the ministerial cabinet in Vienna and not to the representatives of the local population. He did not convene the provincial Diet and relied, in administrative matters, only on the Gubernium, an executive body composed of Austrian officials or those brought from other provinces of the Empire.

In the summer of 1849, the new governor came to the province of Transylvania, which had been strongly affected by the revolutionary turmoil; with the determination characteristic of an Austrian high military commander, hardened in the battles against the Italian revolutionaries, he quickly embarked on pacifying the country. On the other hand, he tried to understand the real state of affairs here and, especially, to attract the local population to his side through a series of well-intentioned proclamations. An illustrative example was the proclamation he addressed to the inhabitants of Transylvania, in Bistrița, on 13 August 1849, in which he said, among other things: "With my entry into this Grand Principality, where His Majesty the Emperour has deign'd to appoint me civil and military Governor, I hereby call upon all the Inhabitants to assist me in my cleane Endeavor to be of use to this Countrie. [...] Instead of tyrannicall Rampancy, let the all-permeating Power of the Law prevail; the Woundes of patriotick Warre require healing. In this Lannde that fanaticism, as well as the most irate bedazzlement, has water'd with so much Blood, the Blessinnges of Peace, of good Concorde and of patriotick Faith shall rise again. The equality of Rights between all the Nations under the shield of the Constitution granted by our most merciful Emperour and Ruler shall be that Covenant, whereby the entwinn'd Peoples shall reach close Unitie among themselves. Here, this is my Tasks, to reconcile the Peoples of this Countrie on unshaking grounds. Inhabitants of Transylvania! Put thy Fayth in me; rest assur'd that I will deserve thy Truste."<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of September 1849, Baron Wohlgemuth addressed a diplomatic circular to the Romanian people, letting them know that in the wake of Hungary's defeat, calling the masses to arms was no longer necessary. Therefore, all the Romanians were urged that after returning home, they should do everything to restore harmony with the other "nations" and the peace that this country needed so much.<sup>2</sup> Previously, the governor had "scolded" the Romanians, in an "annunciation," considering that no one was entitled to requite themselves for the losses they had incurred, as it had often happened before.<sup>3</sup> The dismantling of all the revolutionary

<sup>1</sup> "Prochiemăciune către locuitorii Transilvaniei," Bistrița, 13 August 1849, in *Mișcarea națională a românilor din Transilvania între 1849-1919. Documente*, vol. I, ed. Simion Retegan, Cluj-Napoca, Fundația Culturală Română, 1996, pp. 57-58, (hereinafter referred to as *Mișcarea națională*...).

<sup>2</sup> Dumitru Suciu, *Destine istorice. Românii transilvăneni spre Marea Unire 1848-1918. Studii*, Bucharest, Editura Academiei Române, 2006, p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> "After the Personne and Propertie of each and every One is plac'd under Protectyon and Shield of the Lawes, vengeance and victorie may not be condon'd for any Nation or Personne, so I shall scolde each

committees and the disarming of the existing military personnel (the Romanian legions and the units formed by the Saxons) also coincided with the new administrative regulation that divided the province into six military and civilian districts, as their official name was, coordinated from the new capital established at Sibiu. The efforts of pacifying the province and punishing those guilty of the revolutionary turmoil, the Hungarian insurgents or their collaborators, culminated in the setting up, in the six districts of Transylvania, of a Court-Martial for investigating the abuses committed during the years 1848-1849. Moreover, the document published in Sibiu on 6/18 September 1849 also provided for the establishment of commissions of purification (exoneration), which were intended to prove the innocence of the suspects. As a result of these measures, several courts and exoneration commissions were set up in Sibiu, Cluj, Alba Iulia, Reteag, and Odorhei. Exoneration commissions also acted in Târgu Mureș, Bistrița, and Brașov.<sup>4</sup> Since the legal authorities had been unable to act during the period when the carnage, violence and arbitrary actions occurred, the governor requested precise information from the population lest the guilty should go unpunished, considering that “given the throttling of the rebellion in Transylvania, the time has come for all those who, by urge and counsel, served the overturning party, to be held responsible and to incur their due punishment... let material (evidence) be gathered and let the guilty not escape unpunished.”<sup>5</sup>

Over the next period, these courts began to issue numerous custodial sentences for those guilty of violating the laws during the revolution. Significantly, the museum's collections preserve a series of objects made by the convicts or the prisoners detained in jails in Transylvania (Sibiu, Arad, Timișoara) or in other parts of the Empire (Kufstein, Terezín). Of great diversity (goblets, boxes, cutlery, fine tools, fans, crucifixes, bracelets, etc.), most of these objects are made of carved wood, representing, as the inscriptions show, “memorabilia” from the years spent in detention. The most numerous are the wood and velvet bracelets, in different colours, shaped as handcuffs, inscribed also with medallions containing the coat of arms of Hungary, the anchor of hope, or patriotic exhortations in Hungarian.<sup>6</sup> Although some are from 1849-1850, the most numerous pieces may be dated to the years 1851-1852, a period that politically corresponded to the beginning of the vast process of restructuring the Empire on the basis of centralism and neoabsolutism, coupled with an ever more extensive control over the society, exercised by the army and the gendarmerie - a military-police institution specific to the regime that appeared in Transylvania in 1851.

It was also now, after recalling Field Marshal Wohlgemuth to Vienna and his demise on the way in Budapest (18 April 1851), that the emperor appointed Karl

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and every One, cautioning them not to rise against the Personne and the Fortune of anyone with Thought of victorie and vengeance; otherwise, those who worke against the grain, shall be held accountable before the Lawes of war and shall be mercilessly gunn'd,” *Mișcarea națională ...*, vol. I, p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> D. Suci, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>5</sup> *Mișcarea națională...*, vol. I, p. 72.

<sup>6</sup> A part of these have been published in the study authored by Melinda Mitu, Ovidiu Muntean, *Rememorând Revoluția. 1848-2008*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Mega, 2008, pp. 92-101, and were displayed at the headquarters of the National Museum of Transylvanian History in a temporary exhibition occasioned by the celebration of 160 years since the Revolution of 1848-1849.

Borromäus Philipp von Schwarzenberg as governor. Although he was initially somewhat reserved about the high office that he had been entrusted with, he came to Sibiu in May, not before, that is, submitting to the Council of Ministers in Vienna several conditions that he considered compulsory for the good governance of the country. His plan envisaged: that he would be accompanied here by an assistant ("adlatus"), who would also be his deputy; that he would be entitled to appoint all the senior officials; that all the troops should be subordinated to him; that the civilian administration should also be led by the military in order to avoid jurisdictional competence conflicts; and that after two years, he should be allowed to submit a relocation petition.<sup>7</sup> The emperor accepted his proposals but did not agree to his relocation after two years. On 29 April 1851, he was officially invested,<sup>8</sup> and one month later, he launched, from Sibiu, a proclamation to the inhabitants of the country whereby he demanded their obedience, because he wanted an orderly province, and assured them that the government "is sincerely striving thither, that by conscientiously respecting each Nationality, it will advance this Crowned Country's welfare in the interest of the unitary Imperial State."<sup>9</sup>

Born in Vienna on 21 January 1802, he was the second son of Field Marshal Karl Philipp von Schwarzenberg - the Supreme Commander of the Grand Allied Army in Bohemia and Napoleon's adversary in the campaign of 1813-1814<sup>10</sup> - and of Countess Maria-Anna Hohenfeld. Like his two brothers, he embarked on a military career. In 1821, he joined the military school and demonstrated his talent, quickly climbing the hierarchical ladder. He became Colonel in 1834 and, then, Major-General with the General Staff of the Austrian Army (12 October 1840). With the outbreak of the 1848 Revolution, he was advanced to the rank of Lieutenant Field Marshal (4 February 1848) and then he was sent as the leader of a military unit against the Italian revolutionaries from the north of the country. In 1849, after the Austrians' victory at Novara (23 March) and the administrative-political reorganisation of Lombardy, he was appointed Governor of Milan.

This experience was of real use to him later, when he was appointed Governor of Transylvania; his seven years at the head of the province (29 April 1851-25 June

<sup>7</sup> Helmuth Klima, *Guvernatorii Transilvaniei (1774-1867)*, Cluj-Sibiu, Tipografia Cartea românească, 1943, p. 73.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*. The instructions he received from the Viennese authorities on his departure contained six points and foreshadowed some of the future reforms of the province during the neoabsolutist decade: 1. The military and civilian governor was the head of all the civil and military authorities, and General Ioan, Knight of Bordolo, was appointed as his deputy; 2. Pending the introduction of the new administrative system, all the authorities should continue their activities as before; 3. The Courts-Martial were subordinated to the governor; 4. The governor would cooperate with the financial bodies and in case of disagreement, he would resort to the emperor; 5. The governor must be in harmony with the judicial authorities, without the latter being under his command; 6. Steps should be taken to place the military border regions under civil administration, allowing, however, the inhabitants of these regions to continue using the forests in the future.

<sup>9</sup> Teodor V. Păcățian, *Cartea de aur sau luptele politice-naționale ale românilor de sub coroana ungară*, vol. I, Sibiu, Tipografia Societate pe acțiuni, 1902, p. 702.

<sup>10</sup> The museum collection preserves a period reproduction of a famous painting executed by Johann P. Krafft in 1839, entitled *Siegesmeldung nacht der Schacht bei Leipzig*. Here, Field Marshal Schwarzenberg is painted on horseback, facing the sovereigns of Austria, Russia and Prussia, to whom he brings news of the victory won after the battle of Leipzig (19 October 1813).

1858) proved to be rich in legislative-administrative and economic achievements. Through individual study, the new governor attempted to acquire first-hand knowledge of the realities in the Transylvanian society, in order to avoid arbitrariness, and always reach the most correct decisions. In time, an important source of information on the realities of Transylvania was the three-volume work compiled by one of his close collaborators, government adviser Joseph Ritter von Grimm,<sup>11</sup> as well as a juridical work, written by Alois Sentz and published in Sibiu in 1852, which has been preserved in the museum's collections.<sup>12</sup>

Our collection also features a valuable black-and-white lithograph<sup>13</sup> from that time, whose purpose was to glorify the imperial patents of 1851, regulations that had been passed amidst the consolidation of monarchical authoritarianism from the second half of that year (Figure no. 1). The lithograph has at its centre the image of Franz Joseph, with the imperial crown above and his title translated into several languages. Perched atop a pedestal that is inscribed in German with the names of the main central institutions subordinated to him, the emperor is pointing with his left hand at a document containing two of the state reforms that formed the basis of the Austrian Monarchy's future organisation, as well as the place and date of issue: *Kabinetsschreiben, Schönbrunn am 20 Aug. 1851* and, respectively, *Kaiserliche Patente, Wien am 31 Decbr. 1851*.

The first regulation came in the context of the political events from the summer of 1851, when the young Emperor Franz Joseph began to increasingly exert his monarchical authority by presiding over the meetings of the Council of Ministers, downplaying, therefore, the office of Prime Minister held by Prince Felix Schwarzenberg. The immediate effect of this change was the fact that the Cabinet ministers answered only to the emperor. Moreover, in the letters addressed to the prime minister by the emperor on 20 August 1851,<sup>14</sup> it was stated that each minister was obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the emperor, pledging to accurately carry out all the required tasks and to enforce the imperial decrees.

To understand the historical context of the imperial patent issued on 31 December 1851, one should remember that between March 1849 and December 1851, the Austrian monarchy had, at least formally, a Constitution with liberal provisions, such as the provinces' right to limited self-government or the principle of equality in rights between all the nations. The road to the implementation of the Constitution of 4 March 1849 proved nonetheless to be extremely difficult and the new developments which led to the establishment of order in the Empire, the countless emergency ordinances with which the state was governed and the measures meant to eliminate any liberal opposition were all the signs that its repeal was only a matter of time. On the last day of 1851, the Constitution of 4 March was repealed by these imperial patents; with

<sup>11</sup> Joseph Ritter von Grimm, *Die politische Verwaltung im Großfürstenthum Siebenbürgen*, Bände 1-3, Hermannstadt, Theodor Steinhäufen, 1853-1857.

<sup>12</sup> Alois Sentz, *Die provisorische Civilprozeßordnung für Siebenbürgen*, Hermannstadt, Theodor Steinhäufen, 1852, 608+26 p.; (MNIT, Inv. no. M 7527).

<sup>13</sup> The lithograph has Inv. no. M 5506; size 47,5x69,5 cm.

<sup>14</sup> *Allgemeines Reichs-Gesetz und Regierungsblatt für das Kaiserthum Österreich*, Wien, no. 194-195/1851, (hereinafter referred to as *Reichs-Gesetz und Regierungsblatt...*). See also Stefan Lippert, *Felix Fürst zu Schwarzenberg. Eine politische Biographie*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998, pp. 385-386.

them, the so-called *Constitutional Principles*<sup>15</sup> were also drafted, practically paving the way to the processes of centralisation, Germanisation and bureaucratisation that were specific of the Austrian Monarchy during the neoabsolutist decade.

Having at its centre Emperor Franz Joseph's personal *motto* ("Viribus Unitis" - "With United Forces"), the lithograph had obvious propaganda purposes and aimed to emphasise the indissoluble link between the sovereign and the so-called "crown countries," represented here by their old coats of arms. The shield protecting this new political-administrative set-up of the Monarchy was the imperial army, victorious and glorious during the years of the revolution; in this sense, 24 Austrian military leaders who distinguished themselves on the battlefield are represented in the medallions. In the larger medallions, in the four corners, we find Prince Windischgrätz, the Croatian Ban, Jelačić, Field Marshal Radetzky<sup>16</sup> and General Julius Jacob von Haynau.<sup>17</sup> Next to them, on the four sides, other Austrian high military commanders are represented in smaller medallions; next to their name, there is the name of the locality and the date when they fought against the revolutionaries of 1848. With reference to Transylvania, in the lithograph one may distinguish the figures of the above-mentioned Field Marshal Wohlgemuth and three other senior officers, who operated here against the Hungarian revolutionaries, namely Generals Anton Puchner, Eduard Clam-Gallas and Georg Rukavina. In the upper half, the visual ensemble is completed by one representative image for each of the four major cities in the Monarchy: Vienna, Prague, Milan and Pest. Underneath them, the image of the arches of a bridge symbolises the union of the "crown countries" in the general effort of economic development; in this sense, the main domains of the Empire's economy and science are enumerated and illustrated with a suggestive image. At the foot of the pedestal on which the emperor is protectively placed, the graphic description is complemented by a series of elements and general symbols belonging to the Catholic Church or related to its worship practices. On both sides of the chalice bearing the luminous host, placed on the Bible, are positioned the double cross, the staff and the papal tiara with the triple-tiered crown, the episcopal mitre, the keys to the Kingdom of God, the censor, the royal gates and the liturgical books. The Austrian victories from the time of the revolution are illustrated with a period reproduction placed at the bottom of the lithograph, representing the attack of 28 June 1849, followed by the conquest of Raab (the town of Győr in Hungary today),<sup>18</sup> as well as two side medallions, containing battle scenes from Novara and Custoza.

<sup>15</sup> *Reichs-Gesetz und Regierungsblatt*..., no. 4/1852 (One of the three imperial patents known in the specialised literature as *Silvesterpatent*); In Romanian translation in Teodor V. Păcățian, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 713-717.

<sup>16</sup> In that time, there was an anecdote claiming that when the emperor began his messages with the formula, *Wir, Franz Joseph*..., he had in mind the initials of these three military commanders' names, who had suppressed by the force of arms the revolutionary movements from the Empire during the years 1848-1849.

<sup>17</sup> In the museum's collections, there is a trilingual publication that he issued on 10 December 1849, which announced the establishment of a foundation that would financially assist the wounded from both warring camps at the time of the revolution. (Inv. no. M 7484).

<sup>18</sup> *Die Einnahme von Raab am 28. Juni 1849*, a colour lithograph by B. Bachmann-Hohmann which appeared in Germany in 1849.

One of the most valuable period pieces of a memorial nature found in the collections of the museum is somehow linked to these events on the Italian front: the sword of Karl Borromäus von Schwarzenberg, Governor of Transylvania (Figure no. 2). The text engraved in Latin on one side of the blade clearly indicates this ownership,<sup>19</sup> especially given that the sword was carried by Schwarzenberg in the war against the Kingdom of Piedmont in 1848-1849. Newly promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Field Marshal (4 February 1848), he was appointed to the head of a division that was part of the great Austrian army under the general command of Field Marshal Radetzky, who then installed Schwarzenberg in the high office of Governor of Milan (1849-1850).

The text on the other side of the blade<sup>20</sup> refers to the manner in which the sword arrived in Transylvania after the death of Governor Karl von Schwarzenberg, who passed away in Vienna on 25 June 1858. As the inscription indicates, in his memory, the sword was given to Baron Samuel Josika by the brother of the deceased man - Prince Friedrich von Schwarzenberg. It was well known at that time that the former governor had had very good relations with the great nobility of Transylvania and that he had felt very good in the company of the Mikó, Josika, Béldi and Bánffy families, frequently visiting them at their estates.<sup>21</sup> As evidence of these relations stands the letter of condolence presented to the governor's widow - Countess Josefina Wratislav-Mitrovtva - by the nobles of Transylvania. Drafted by the former Aulic Chancellor Samuel Josika, the letter was undersigned, in addition to the two Josika brothers, by Baron Fr. Kemény, Comites E. Mikó, I. Nemeş, Alb. Bánffy, the Béldi brothers, the Toldalagi brothers, Bethlen, Esterházi, Barons Vesselényi, Wass, Nopcea, etc, a total number of over one hundred noblemen and representatives of the province's authorities.<sup>22</sup>

Therefore, it is very likely that when he presented the condolence letter, as its draftsman, Baron Josika received this sword and then brought it to Transylvania, becoming a family heirloom for a century, until it was purchased and it entered the museum's patrimony.<sup>23</sup> The donor of the sword, Prince Friedrich von Schwarzenberg (1799-1870), was the elder brother of the Governor of Transylvania.<sup>24</sup> An adventurer by nature, he fought as an Austrian officer against the Poles in the Duchy of Posen (1846),

<sup>19</sup> *ENSEM QUO CAROLUS PR. IN SCHWARZENBERG, REITORMENTARIAE PRAEFECTUS, POSTREMO TRANSYLVANIAE GUBERNETOR DURANTE BELLO ITALICO PER SARDOS MOTO FORTITER USUS EST ANNO 1848 & 1849.*

<sup>20</sup> *IN MEMORIAM FRATRIS CARISSIMI FRIDERICUS PR IN SCHWARZENBERG VETERANO AMICO SAMUELI B. JOSIKA D. D. 1858.*

<sup>21</sup> H. Klima, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>22</sup> George Bariţ, *Părţi alese din istoria Transilvaniei pe două sute de ani în urmă*, vol. II, second ed., Braşov, The Inspectorate for Culture of Braşov County, 1994, p. 655.

<sup>23</sup> The sword was purchased in 1959 from Bethlen György and inventoried with Inv. no. M 4602 (IN 13822). The blade is curved and engraved on both sides, and the guard is cruciform, with globular heads. The guard and the pommel are gilded with geometrical and floral motifs. The handle is a bone hilt and the scabbard is wrapped in leather with two clamping rings. Because of its importance and value, it has been classified into the legal category of a treasure belonging to the National Cultural Heritage under MCPN Order no. 2516/9.09.2010. Size: L=93 cm; Blade L=79,5 cm, w=3 cm.

<sup>24</sup> The youngest son, Edmund von Schwarzenberg (1803-1873), was also an Austrian senior officer. He was promoted by Emperor Franz Joseph to the supreme rank of Field Marshal in Vienna in 1867, when the foundation stone of the memorial in honour of his father - who defeated Napoleon in the Battle of Leipzig - was laid.

against the Italian and Hungarian revolutionaries during the 1848 Revolution, and he also participated in the military campaigns from Algeria, Spain or Switzerland. In his many travels through Europe, he also reached Wallachia in the autumn of 1836, and the description of this journey was made in a paper published in Leipzig one year later.<sup>25</sup> On his return from Constantinople, after being forced to endure the rigors of quarantine in Giurgiu, he went to Bucharest, where he attended a reception given by the Wallachian Prince Alexandru D. Ghica.<sup>26</sup> From there, he travelled to Transylvania and after the “endless” quarantine from Turnu Roșu, he came to Sibiu, where he visited Brukenthal Palace and its art gallery.<sup>27</sup> Further on, his notes show that he was pleasantly impressed with the city and felt very good in the midst of the Saxon population here. After a stay of a few days, he went to Timișoara, and *via* Szeged, he reached Pest, the final destination of this voyage, which “acquainted him better with the people and the places in this part of Europe.”

Finally, the museum’s collections also preserve a series of circulars and other period documents belonging to Bishop Andrei Șaguna, an outstanding personality of the Orthodox Romanians in Transylvania.<sup>28</sup> Referring to a vast array of religious, educational, cultural and social matters, they represent the testimonies of the high hierarch’s involvement in the national and political life of the Transylvanian Romanians during the years of the revolution, as well as of the initiatives he undertook towards ecclesiastical emancipation and establishing the Orthodox Metropolitan See. From the first category, mention should be made of circular no. 51, addressed to the Orthodox clergy and issued from the episcopal residence on 13 October 1849.<sup>29</sup> Responding to a demand made by Governor Wohlgemuth, who had actually pronounced himself in favour of prosecuting and punishing those guilty of crimes and looting during the revolution,<sup>30</sup> Andrei Șaguna urged the clergy to make records of the widows, the orphans and the invalids the revolution had left in its wake. Next, he requested the priests to assess these people’s material situation and to show great responsibility in reconstituting the facts, each of them having to mention in the reports they submitted to the archpriests “where, how and when such Misfortunes occur’d.” Also dating back to this period, a pamphlet outlining his tireless efforts for re-establishing the old Orthodox Metropolitan See of Transylvania and for organising it in canonical-administrative terms is preserved.<sup>31</sup> Published towards the end of 1849, it is the first in a series of three

<sup>25</sup> *Fragmente aus dem Tagebuche während einer Reise in die Levante*, Leipzig, Gedruck bei W. Daach, 1837, 257 p. The same year saw the publication in Vienna of his *Rückblicke auf Algier und dessen Eroberung durch die königlich-französischen Truppen im Jahre 1830*, a work on the Algerian military expedition in which he participated with the French troops. His most important work, entitled *Aus dem Wanderbuche eines verabschiedeten Lanzknechtes*, was published in five volumes between 1844-1848.

<sup>26</sup> *Fragmente aus dem Tagebuche...*, p. 233.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 258.

<sup>28</sup> MNIT, Inv. no. M 6895-M 6935.

<sup>29</sup> *Către Preacinstiții D.D. Protopopi și Cinstiții Preoți Eparhiali, Pace și Milă dela Dumnezeu Tatăl!*, Sibiu, 3 October 1849. MNIT, Inv. no. M 6895.

<sup>30</sup> See note 5.

<sup>31</sup> *Promemoria despre dreptul istoric al autonomiei bisericești-naționale a românilor de relegea răsăriteană în ces. reg. provincii ale monarhiei austriace*, Sibiu, G. Klozius, 1849, 15 p., Ex libris “D. Sturza”. MNIT, Inv. no. M 9420. The copy belonged to former Prime Minister of Romania Dimitrie A.



pamphlets that upheld, with historical and canonical arguments, the necessary reestablishment of the Metropolitan See.<sup>32</sup>

Of the valuable volumes published during these years for the purpose of emancipating the Romanian nation, mention should be made of Ioan Pușcariu's work dedicated to the decree of abolishing serfdom in 1854.<sup>33</sup> A bearer of the Romanian flag during the Blaj National Assembly of 3-5 May, 1848, and an illustrious genealogist of the Romanian nation in Transylvania, Ioan Pușcariu competently analysed here the entire agrarian problem addressed by the patent for the abolition of serfdom, issued for Transylvania on 21 June 1854. His perseverance in examining the complicated problems of the newly introduced agrarian reform was helpful for the Romanian serfs in Transylvania and the Banat,<sup>34</sup> since they were the main beneficiaries of these regulations. The distribution of the land plots they had held in use laid the foundation of the long process that led to the formation of middle landed property in Transylvania. Alongside these measures that were aimed at modernising agriculture, Governor Karl von Schwarzenberg undertook a large-scale action - through well-considered and thoroughly-implemented reforms -towards the development of the administration, the industry, transportation, and the banking, tax and legal systems: all these represented a great leap towards the general modernisation of Transylvanian society in the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>35</sup>

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Sturdza (1833-1914), from whose collection the museum also has other volumes, French journalism in particular. See Ovidiu Muntean, *Publicistică franceză în colecțiile Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei (mijl. sec. al XIX-lea)*, in *Acta Musei Napocensis*, Historica, no. 41-44, Cluj-Napoca, 2007, pp. 135-144.

<sup>32</sup> The other two were published over the subsequent years as follows: *Adaos la Promemoria despre dreptul istoric al autonomiei bisericești-naționale a românilor de relegea răsăriteană în ces. reg. provincii ale monarhiei austriace*, Sibiu, G. Klozius, 1850, and, respectively, *Memorial prin care se lămurește cererea românilor de religiunea răsăriteană din Austria pentru restaurarea Mitropoliei lor din punct de vedere al sfințelor canoane*, Vienna, 1851.

<sup>33</sup> *Comentariu la prea înalta Patentă din 21 iunie 1854 pentru Ardealu lucratu pentru poporul românu de Ioane Pușcariu*, Sibiu, the Diocesan Printing Press, 1858. MNIT Bibl. No. 1741. The museum also holds a rare lithograph depicting the author in the specific outfit of the time, printed in Sibiu by F.A.R. Krabs, after a drawing by Professor Ioan Costandeu. Inv. no. M 3575 (I 3571).

<sup>34</sup> The Patent was promulgated for the Banat and Hungary on 2 March 1853.

<sup>35</sup> See, in this sense, the work written by Iosif Marin Balog, *Dilemele modernizării. Economie și societate în Transilvania 1850-1875*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura International Book Access, 2007.

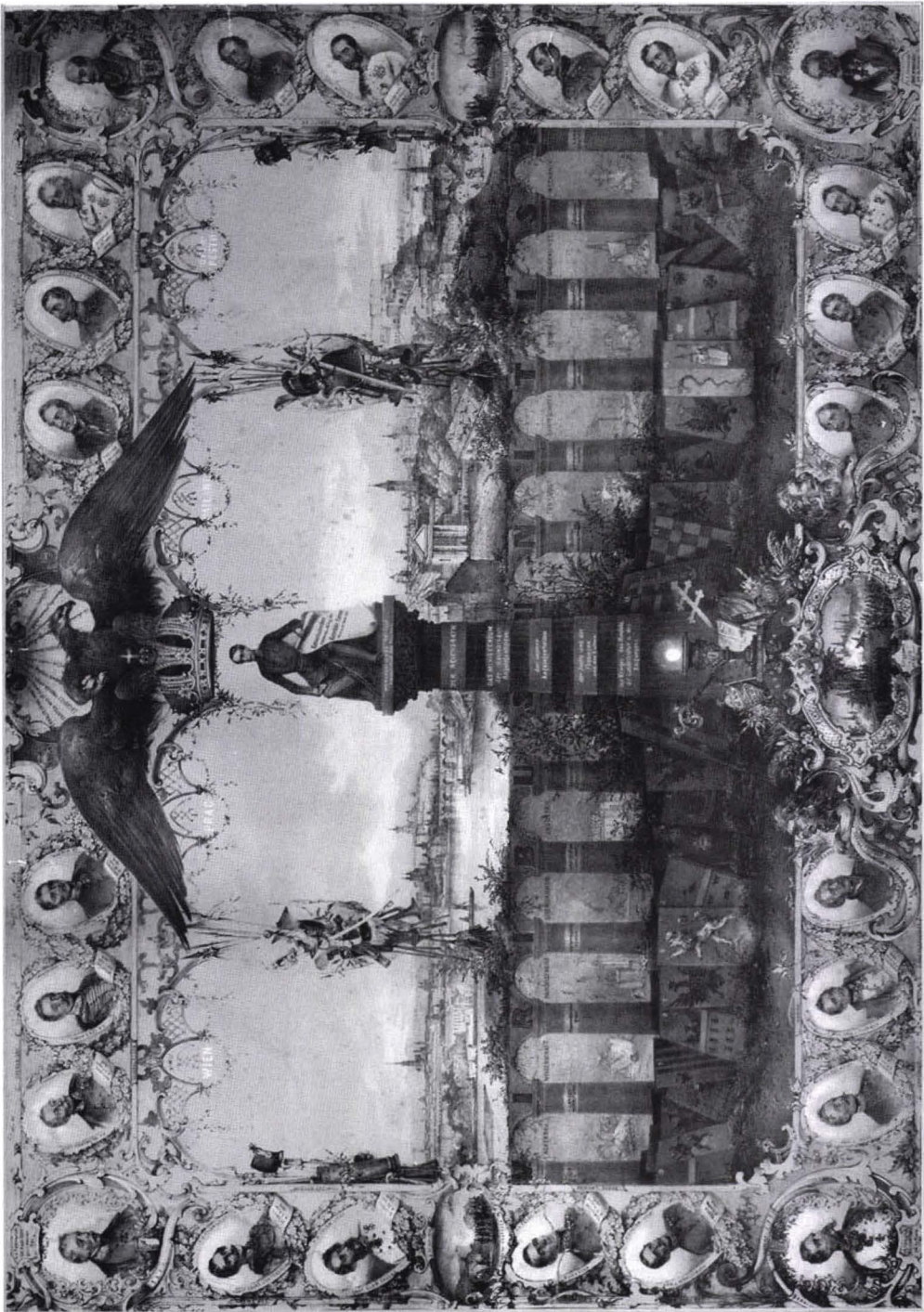
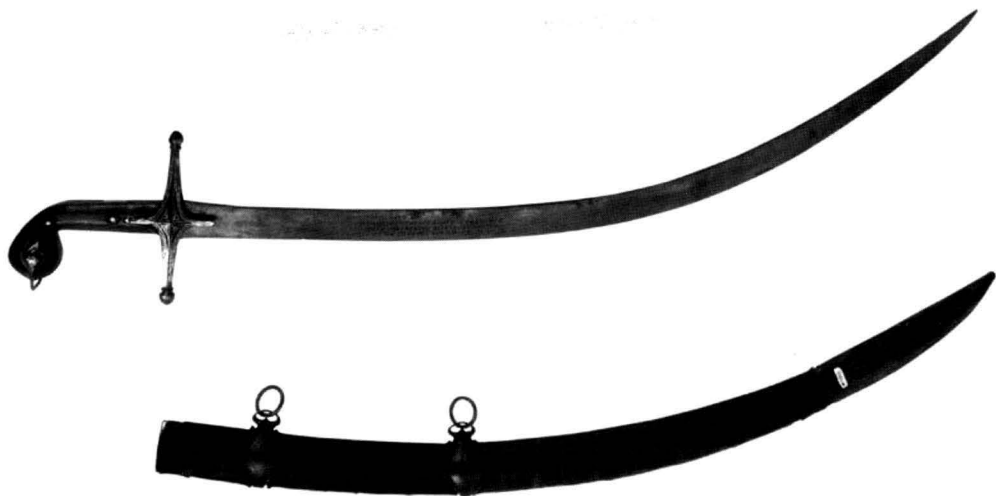


Figure no. 1



ENSEM QUO CAROLUS PR. IN SCHWARZENBERG,  
REITOR MENTARIAE PRAEFECTUS POSTREMO TRANSYLVANIAE GUB-  
ERNATOR DURANTE BELLO ITALICO PER SARDOS MOTO FORTITER USUS  
EST ANNO 1848 & 1849.

IN MEMORIA FRATRIS CARISSIMI FRIDERICUS  
PR. IN SCHWARZENBERG VETERANO AMICO SAMUELI  
H. JOSIKA D.D. 1856.

Figure no. 2